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VILNIUS ADOLESCENTS' SOCIAL ORDER: AN OUTSIDER'S LOOK INSIDE

**An Ethnographic and Sociolinguistic Study of Social Categories
and Stylistic Practices among Vilnius Adolescents**



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“We notice people’s clothing, their hair, their movements, their facial expressions, and we notice a speech style – a complex construction of lexicon, prosody, segmental phonetics, morphology, syntax, discourse. And we come to associate all of these with the things they do and say – with the attitudes and beliefs they project, and with the things they talk about. It is individual speakers who bring language to life for us, and whose behavior points us to the social significance of variables. But these observations, and many of the insights that they embody, rarely find their way into our scientific accounts of sociolinguistic variation. With our eyes fixed firmly on statistical significance and the global picture, we repackage individuals as members of groups and categories, and we speak of those categories in terms of the characteristics that their members share, losing the local experience that makes variation meaningful to speakers. Ultimately, the social life of variation lies in the variety of individuals’ ways of participating in their communities – their ways of fitting in, and of making their mark – their ways of constructing meaning in their own lives.”

(Eckert 2000: 1–2)

TRANSCRIPTIONS AND OTHER DENOTATIONS

[overlap]	overlapping speech
xxx	unintelligible speech
(laughs)	author's comments
((comment))	implicit information in the original utterance which becomes stated in the translation unit for the sake of clarity, for instance,

Original: amžinai yra taip kad man ką nors padarau
jau grasina kad eisiu pas socialinę

Translation: it is always so that I do something ((they))
threaten that I will go to the social worker

↑↓	pitch raise and fall
=	“latching”, no discernible pause between two utterances
<...>	omitted utterance or passage
(.)	pause of less than a second
(1.0)	timed pause

blet *	Russian swearing
<i>užpiso (it pisses off)</i> *	Lithuanian swearing
<u>kurva</u> (<u>bitch</u>)*	Polish swearing
<u>pasikačialint</u> (<u>to work out</u>)*	Slavic slang
<u>fuck</u> *	English in the original utterance

* see also 6.5. for the in-depth explanatory remarks

1. SETTING THE SCENE

nu į miestą kur man tai aš nesuprantu ką jie veikia mieste (1.0) centras miestas ką jame veikt be pin ypač be pinigų (.) nebent kokią šimtinę reik turėt kišenėj <...> ir po kavines bastytis o šiaip tam centre tai aš nežinau ką daryt ir mieste

(Virginija)

well going out I don't understand what they are doing in town (1.0) in the center out in the town what are they going to do without the mon especially without the money (.) unless you have a hundred in your pocket <...> and go strolling about the cafes otherwise I don't know what else to do in the center and the city

(Virginija)

na aišku irgi yra privalumai jeigu ten bendrausi su ten rūkančiais geriančiais (.) tai tarp jų būsi labai populiarius ten jeigu tu ten fainas ir visa kita <...> bet vat <...> tarkim (.) Aš aš pavyzdžiui bendrauju tik su tais (.) kurie (.) man yra (.) eh nu maždaug pavyzdžiai (.) nes pavyzdžiui Kamilė jinai mokosi gerai (.) jinai tiesiog jinai niekada jinai nemeluoja mamai tėvam (.) nesvarbu (.) kad ir kas būna jinai vis tiek visą laiką pasako tiesą (.) ir tiesiog aš nenoriu tikrai nenoriu daryt kitaip (.) ir (.) tiesiog aš su tokiais bendrauju

(Urtė)

well of course there are also advantages if you like friends with like the ones who smoke drink (.) so you will be popular among them like if you are like awesome and all that <...> but so <...> let's say (.) I I am for example only friends with those who (.) are (.) eh well kinda role models for me (.) because for example Kamilė she learns well (.) she simply she never lies to her mother parents (.) it doesn't matter (.) no matter what it is she nevertheless always tells the truth (.) and I simply really don't want to do differently (.) and (.) I am simply friends with such people

(Urtė)

buvusi klasė ten nors visi ten išsidirbinėdavo taip toliau (.) ten darydavo nesąmones bet nieks neskųsdavo vat kaip nepasakysi z klasėj ten kažką padarai (1.0) tau nieks neprisipažins kad kažkam pasiskundė bet tai (.) nu čia nieko negali bloga daryt turi [o tave yra jau kas nors įskundė (.) dėl ko nors?]¹ <...> nu pavyzdžiui girtas (giggles) į vakarėlį atėjau kažkas gi pasakė auklėtojai (1.0) duris kai buvau užkimšęs irgi kažkas

¹ My questions are inserted in brackets [...].

(.) nu sako <...> su Edgaru ten degtukų prikišom į spyną kad neatsirakintų durys (giggles) iš karto (.) paskundė <...> buvusioj klasėj ten kiekvieną dieną duris užkimšinėt prieš kiekvieną pamoką ir nieks neskųsdavo visi nieko nežinau (.) ir viskas [šiaip pasiilgsti buvusios klasės?] nu (1.0) tai (.) čia (.) gal ir nelabai šiaip tai <...> nes ten tos (.) ten pagrinde (.) berniukai buvo (.) nu mes aišku kartu tos (.) bet ten ne ne nebuvo taip kad ten labai ten (.) linksma ten tos nu mergaičių gražių nebuvo aišku

(Albertas)

in the former class like even though everyone would fool around and so on (.) like everyone would do nonsenses but no one would inform so this you cannot say about the z class there you do something (1.0) no one would confess to you that someone informed to somebody but well (.) well here you cannot do anything bad you have to [has anyone already informed you (.) because of something?] <...> well for example when I came to the party drunk (giggles) somebody told the class teacher (1.0) when I plugged the door up somebody also (.) well reported <...> me and Edgaras like had stuffed the lock with the matches so that the door wouldn't open (giggles) somebody (.) at once informed <...> in the former class like you could every day plug the door up and nobody would inform everybody goes I do not know anything (.) and that's it [in general do you miss the former class?] well (1.0) that (.) like (.) maybe not so much <...> because there was (.) like mainly (.) boys there (.) well we were obviously together (.) but there was not not not like that like very (.) funny there well obviously there were no beautiful girls there

(Albertas)

In the popular public discourse, adolescence is quite often linked to revolt – adolescents are being depicted as rebellious adult norm breakers. This assumption suffers from a couple of over-generalizations: (1) firstly, it treats adolescents as if they were the same, i.e. they all are rebellious; (2) secondly, it refers to adult norms in a quite narrow sense. The first overgeneralization is quite easy to deny. Virginija and Urtė, these two girls whose extracts from the interviews opened my dissertation, would not qualify as rebellious adolescents, at least not in that sense as rebellious is understood in the popular discourse. As we will see later on, there are quite a few adolescents whose practices, attitudes, and stances are not that unruly. Of course, rebellious adolescents really do exist and Albertas with his drunken presence at the class party and plugging-up of classroom door just proves it. However, it is essential to remember that despite their clear visibility in the public discourse, rebellious adolescents constitute just a part of all adolescents. The second overgeneralization concerning adult norms is a little bit trickier. I have stated that adult norms are being referred to in a rather narrow sense in a popular public discourse. Indeed, what is understood there as 'adult norms' is the norms that encompass a middle-class or white-collar lifestyle, i.e. these 'adult norms' refer to adults who conform to all laws and other regulations as well as

“the forces of approved and official morality” (Becker 1967: 240). However, even though this set of norms, combined with a particular lifestyle is the aspirational and the prevailing one in many societies, including Lithuanian, and many public institutions, for instance, public secondary schools, are mono-centered around it, it does not lock out the existence of other sets of norms that govern other lifestyles, for instance, working-class norms, street norms, criminals’ norms and others (cf. Cohen 1971: 113–114). Our society is essentially polycentric (Blommaert 2010); it is comprised of many norm-centers to which members of the society can orient themselves to:

Authority emanates from real or perceived ‘centres’, to which people orient when they produce an indexical trajectory in semiosis. <...> And very often, such authorities have names, faces, a reality of their own; they can be individuals (teachers, parents, role models, the coolest guy in class), collectives (peer groups, sub-cultural groups, group images such as ‘punk’, ‘gothic’ etc.), abstract entities or ideals (church, the nation state, the middle class, consumer culture and its many fashions, freedom, democracy), and so on: the macro- and micro-structures of our everyday world (Blommaert 2010: 39, also see Blommaert 2007).

<...>

It is obvious that even though places impose rules and restrictions on what can happen in communication there, every environment in which humans convene and communicate is almost by definition polycentric, in the sense that more than one possible centre can be distinguished. One can follow norms or violate them at any step of the process, and sometimes this is wilfully done while on other occasions it comes about by accident or because of the impossibility of behaving in a particular way (Blommaert 2010: 40, also see Blommaert 2007).

Adolescents as legitimate members of the society are aware of this polycentricity. Even more, adolescents are also aware, at least to some extent, of the unequal evaluation and hierarchical distribution of different centers (cf. Blommaert 2010: 41). The center linked to the school authority is the most rewarding and the ‘safest’ one in the society for adolescents because quite a few resources and opportunities for adolescents are concentrated in the school (Eckert 1989: 177). This is most probably the reason why Urtė takes a pride in surrounding herself with the friends who do not lie to their parents, who do not smoke and drink, i.e. who do not break any regulations of the aspirational and the prevailing center. Deviation from the school norm, i.e. orientation towards another center, puts a pupil at extreme odds with the aspirational and the prevailing center – in the case of a pupil it would be school authorities. To appear drunk in a class party could be perceived as daring and in a way cool. However, it is as cool as it is harsh for a drunken pupil. If a school teacher or a principal gets to know about the alcohol consumption, a pupil will not only be thrown out of a party, the incident will be reported to the parents, which in turn might result in grounding, loss of allowance etc.

Until now, I have talked about adolescents in relation to different adult norms. Let us read the extracts from the interviews with Virginija, Urtè, and Albertas one more time. All three adolescents describe themselves through their (explicitly or implicitly stated) relations to other adolescents. Virginija talks rather scornfully about adolescents who spend a lot of their time in the city center which implies that she is a type of a person who would rather sit at home. Urtè divides adolescents into two broad categories – the ones who drink and smoke and the ones who listen to their parents and do well in school. She places herself in the latter category. Albertas in the report about his conflicting relations to his new classmates divides pupils into uptight ones who report everything to a teacher, and the ones who, like himself, enjoy spoofing around in school and back up fooling around. By choosing to conform to different norms, adolescents are not only orientating to different centers in the society at large, they are also orienting themselves to a specific center in the adolescents' social order. Cf.:

Young people organize themselves into peer-based social order that is to some extent separate from, but also partly reliant on, adult-driven social structures. Contrary to the beliefs of many parents of teenagers, the social practices of youth are not designed or deployed primarily to rebel against adults but to identify with and distinguish themselves from their peers (Bucholtz 2011: 12, cf. a similar statement in Coleman 1961: 11).

There is no doubt that adolescents' social order is embedded within broader social structures. In a way, different adult norms lay foundations for adolescents' social structures, however, they are realized in day-by-day interactions among adolescents themselves. And, naturally, these daily interactions are the most important to adolescents because they spend more time with their peers than with the adults. Adolescents are also aware that every single trajectory they make in the community will not only be judged by the adults, but also by their peers, and actually, in the first place, by their peers. Thus, when Urtè states that she surrounds herself with friends who never lie and study well, she, at the same time, identifies herself with this group and distances herself from the "awesome" rowdy crowd who smoke and drink. In a similar way, smoking, drinking and, fooling around in school are not barely a violation of school rules. These social practices are a means for certain pupils to distinguish themselves from other peers who do not engage in these practices and who follow school rules.

However, there is one more social practice, which is most probably not apparent at all in the adolescents' quotes above, but which is inevitably incorporated in the processes of identification and distinction. That is – language. As it is false to assume that all adolescents are rowdy rebels, it is also false to assume that all adolescents talk the same. There is conducted a huge amount of scholarly work which proves that different adolescents speak differently. Every human-being's language is comprised of multitude of different resources which are used in different situations and for different purposes (Blommaert 2010, Jørgensen 2008). Thus, a linguistic practice, as any

other social practice, is involved in the mapping of the human social order. And though judging from the transcriptions of the given quotes, it may seem that Virginija, Urtė, and Albertas speak the same – there are no instances of swearing or slang which may instantly help to reveal different styles which these adolescents are creating – actually, they do not. Albertas tends to lengthen short front vowel /i/, for instance, he says /vi:si:/ instead of /visi/ and /duri:s/ instead of /duris/. As we will see, it is not a coincidence that Albertas' realization of short /i/ differs from Virginija's and Urtė's. Yes, even such a little detail as lengthening of a short front vowel /i/ can act a means for identification and distinction.

1.1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND OBJECTIVES

Adolescents through their engagement in different social practices – linguistic and non-linguistic ones, through the stances that they take and attitudes and evaluations they hold, construct adolescent social categories and styles which are the main interest of the present study. This interest in adolescent category construction could be broken down into three blocks of research questions:

- (1) What adolescent social categories are there? How these social categories and affiliated styles are being constructed? What resources are involved in the construction and maintenance of the categories and styles?
- (2) Linguistic resources should also be involved in the construction of categories and styles. How do adolescents in the course of style construction give social meaning to certain linguistic resources? How do certain linguistic resources emerge as socially meaningful to adolescents?
- (3) Will the linguistic construction of a particular style be recognized as such by adolescents outside the observed community of practice, i.e. how global is the social meaning, which was discovered through the detailed ethnographic investigation.

The study of the social meaning or, more precisely, the study of what is socially meaningful to adolescents, underlies all my research questions (cf. Eckert's argument that current sociolinguistic enterprise should take meaning as its point of departure (Eckert 2008: 454). In order to answer the research questions, I have undertaken a couple of studies, which I briefly introduce in the following paragraphs.

(1) Study on the social dynamics of Vilnius adolescent categories and styles

In order to find out what is socially meaningful to adolescents one has inevitably to spend some time together with them: either to interview adolescents (qualitative interview) or literally be around adolescents for a period of time in their own environment (ethnography: participant observation and qualitative interviews). Although both

methodologies are well-established in the present sociolinguistic enterprise and both in principle would be suitable for the present study, I have chosen to conduct an ethnographic research. In Chapter 2, I give a detailed argument for my methodological choice, hence, in this introductory chapter, I just briefly account for choosing ethnography. “Meaning is made in day-to-day practice, much of it tacitly, the study of social meaning requires access to this practice” (Eckert 1997: 7). Ethnography focuses on the social practice in interaction. It enables a researcher directly to observe how human categories and styles unfold in the daily interactions, what social patterns there are in that particular community. And as the study of what is socially meaningful to adolescents is the focal point of my research, it almost naturally called for the ethnographic approach.

By definition, ethnography entails fieldwork, a working site, where the study will be carried out. As my intention was to analyse the construction of social categories among adolescents in urban setting, it was obvious that my field site would be located in the capital of Lithuania. (For that matter, my research questions could be re-formulated as *What adolescents social categories and styles are there in Vilnius?; How do certain linguistic resources emerge as socially meaningful to Vilnius adolescents?*). In Vilnius, I have had quite a variety of choices where to conduct the study. My field site could be a youth club, any institution established for adolescents’ leisure activities, for instance, sport club or music school, a courtyard of the housing estate, or a school. I have chosen the latter. School is not only more easily accessible for an adult outsider than courtyard; it also brings together pupils from different social backgrounds and with various interests. Considering that education in Lithuania is compulsory for 14–15 year-old adolescents – the age of informants that I chose for my study, school definitely houses adolescents with the broader spectrum of interests and from the broader spectrum of social backgrounds than an institution established for adolescents’ leisure activities. It makes school an ideal field site for a researcher interested in adolescent category construction. (For a comprehensive description and discussion of the choice of the field site and presentation of the data collection techniques – participant observation, interviews with pupils, self-recordings, and the questionnaire, see Chapter 3.)

(2) Study on the linguistic dynamics of Vilnius adolescent categories and styles

Language – from the small phonetic variables to lexical items – as any other social practice, is also involved in the construction, maintenance, and negotiation of adolescent social categories. As smoking signals anti-school stance, so does swearing. However, if only everything were that straightforward. No social practice is confined to any particular social category and style (likewise no social category or style is entirely pure). If a pupil occasionally smokes after school with his or her best friend, but comes ‘clean’ to school, he / she still manages to maintain a pro-school style.

Similarly, swearing, taken out of the context, is associated with norm-breaking because swearing in our society is deemed ‘bad’. ‘Violation of norms’ is thus, a fixed

meaning of swearing. But it does not mean that linguistic variation cannot acquire other meanings, especially if we take into consideration that linguistic variation never occurs in a vacuum. Linguistic variation, like any other social practice, is discursive.

Variables have indexical fields rather than fixed meanings because speakers use variables not simply to reflect or reassert their particular pre-ordained place on the social map but to make ideological moves. The use of a variable is not simply an invocation of a pre-existing indexical value but an indexical claim which may either invoke a pre-existing value or stake a claim to a new value (Eckert 2008: 464) (for the detailed discussion see chapter 2).

My research objective is two-fold: I am interested both in ‘fixed social meanings’, or ‘pre-existing, ready-made social meanings’, in the terminology of the third wave sociolinguistics (see 2.3.3.), and how those social meanings are being negotiated in the everyday interactions when speakers make different *ideological moves* (see chapter 6). To exemplify the exploration of the indexical fields of linguistic variation I would like briefly introduce my research about swearing practices among my informants (for the full account, see chapters 5 and 6). The research in question involved two methodologies, each of which addressed one part of the two-fold research objective. In order to identify fixed social meanings of swearing practices I performed an online survey where I asked my informants to indicate five swearwords which are, in their opinion, the strongest. In the same survey, the informants were also requested to evaluate two adolescent utterances, containing swearwords – to describe an adolescent who could say so and to indicate gender of a speaker. This attitudinal approach served to identify what social categories adolescents associate different swearing practices with. Results of the survey were contrasted with the interactional analysis, which in turn was combined with the ethnographic findings. This approach focused on the identity negotiation process and the ideological moves, for instance, how the same swearwords can be employed both to index female streetwise style (see 6.10.1.) and male non-streetwise cool style (6.10.2.)

(3) How local is the social meaning of the linguistic variation?

Throughout the thesis, I argue for the need to study the local social meaning of the linguistic variation: how social meaning is evolving in the process of the construction of the local categories and personas and how social meaning is created in interaction. I am also accounting for ethnography to be the best suitable tool to investigate this ‘meaning-making enterprise’. However, ethnography, as any other method, has its limitations. Ethnographically-driven study brings in-depth analysis (and interpretations) of the social mechanisms, but its scope is limited to a single community, in my case, one school. This raises a question of locality and peculiarity: how global are the linguistic mechanisms, which were analysed by the ethnographic inquiry.

Based on the ethnographic fieldwork in school, I have distinguished nine styles among Vilnius adolescents. But how can I be sure that the practices, involved in the

construction of the distinguished social categories and styles, will be recognized as having the particular social meaning in other locations than the one where the study was carried out? Will the construction of, let's say streetwiseness, involve the same practices in other schools in Vilnius? Well, I assume that the majority would agree that smoking, consumption of alcohol, cutting classes, teasing of teachers, and the usage of swearwords will be incorporated in the construction of a streetwise persona. It is quite unlikely that these practices, especially, the whole cluster of them, would be associated with a pro-school persona. But what about lengthening of the short front vowel /i/ in a stressed syllable which, as we will see, is more characteristic to the streetwiseness than to other adolescent styles? With what certainty can I claim that lengthening of the short front vowel /i/ in stressed syllables is part of a streetwise repertoire? With an inspiration in Maegaard's study (2007, 2010), the third research question addresses the locality of the social meaning of the linguistic variation. In order to examine the universality of the local social meanings, I conducted a verbal guise experiment in three other schools (for a full account see chapter 5).

The main purpose of the current study is not to provide the clear-cut descriptions and linear relations of adolescent social categories, but rather to explore the underlying dynamics of adolescent social order, or in the words of Penelope Eckert, the current study puts emphasis on "the practices that make categorization meaningful" (Eckert 2000: 3). Besides, the current study takes one step further and examines the wider social recognition of the locally meaningful linguistic practices.

1.2. STATEMENTS TO BE DEFENDED

1. It is common to think of youth community of practices (in this case, the pupil community of practice) as homogenous and chaotic groups. However, they do have a rather clearly defined social order with its own power structure. Even though the social order and power structure are embodied through the local resources, which are socially meaningful to adolescents, social order and power structure are also dependent on the broader social and cultural context.
2. The most prominent poles of embodiment of the pupil social order are: 1. orientation towards the school as institution and acceptance of its norms, and 2. orientation towards the street life and rejection of these norms.
3. Ethnographic method enables the holistic analysis of the social meaning of linguistic variation.
4. Ethnographically discovered social meanings are recognized in other similar communities of practice, i.e. they are not entirely local.
5. Swearing practices in the adolescent community of practice are also socially meaningful. One set of linguistic resources Vilnius adolescents draw on when constructing their social categories is swearwords of Russian origin. The speech,

loaded with swearing in Russian, is commonly associated with orientation towards the street and construction of streetwise style. This is the fixed meaning of the swearing in Russian. However, the same Russian swearwords and even abundance of them could be involved in the construction of other styles, thus, the Russian swearwords get attributed a new, more specific social meaning.

1.3. APPROBATION OF THE RESEARCH

Publications on the subject of dissertation

1. Čekuolytė, Aurelija. 2012. „Etnografinio metodo taikymas sociolingvistiniuose (jaunimo kalbos) tyrimuose“ in *Taikomoji kalbotyra* 1. [Online] Available: <https://taikomojikalbotyra.lt/ojs/index.php/taikomoji-kalbotyra/article/view/11/3> [Accessed 8 January 2017]
2. Čekuolytė, Aurelija. 2014. “Streetwise, Active and Cool: How Do Vilnius Adolescents Perceive Their Peers’ Linguistic Identity?” in *Taikomoji kalbotyra* 6. [Online] Available: <https://taikomojikalbotyra.lt/ojs/index.php/taikomoji-kalbotyra/article/view/48/43> [Accessed 8 January 2017]
3. Čekuolytė, Aurelija. 2014. “*He blet nachui was in a shop*: Swearing Practices and Attitudes to Swearing among Vilnius Adolescents” in *Taikomoji kalbotyra* 6. [Online] Available: <https://taikomojikalbotyra.lt/ojs/index.php/taikomoji-kalbotyra/article/view/43/38> [Accessed 8 January 2017]

Conference papers on the subject of dissertation

1. “An Ethnographic Study of Vilnius Adolescents’ Speech”, Graduate Conference on Areal Linguistics, Grammar and Contacts, University of Tartu, May 4-6, 2012.
2. “Pop Girls and Tough Boys: An Ethnographic Study of Russian and English in Vilnius Adolescents’ speech”, The 11th Nordic Conference on Bilingualism, Department of Education, Aarhus University – Copenhagen, June 14-16, 2012.
3. „Rusų ir anglų kalbos socialinė reikšmė Vilniaus jaunimo kalboje“, Young Scholars’ Conference „Užuovėjos: apie kalbą ir kitas baimes“ (“Lees: On Language and Other Fears”), Research Institute of the Lithuanian Language, Nida, September 13-16, 2012.
4. „Socialiniai skirtumai – kalbos skirtumai: nelygybė kaip sociolingvistinių tyrimų objektas“, 4th National Lithuanian Sociological Conference „Nelygybių Lietuva“ (“Inequalities of Lithuania”), Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Vilnius, November 30, 2012 (together with Loreta Vaicekauskienė).
5. “What’s Involved in Being Streetwise? The Linguistic Construction of Street-wiseness among Vilnius Adolescents“, international conference “Language and Super-diversity: Explorations and interrogations, University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, Finland, June 5-7, 2013.

6. "Constructing Youth Identities: Analysis of Linguistic and Social Behaviour among Vilnius Adolescents", 3rd International of Applied Linguistics "Languages and People: Space, Time, Identity", Vilnius University, Vilnius, October 3-4, 2013.
7. "Polylinguaging in Vilnius", 7th International Conference on Youth Language "Youth Language and School", University of Education in Karlsruhe, Germany, April 3-5, 2014.
8. "*Blet, pamenu, susit[i:]nku tave*: Vilniaus gatvės paauglių tapatybė ir kalba", Lithuanian Social Science Forum "Socforumas", Molėtai Astronomical Observatory, Molėtai, Lithuania, May 16-18, 2014.
9. "Russian vs. English: Swearing Practices and Attitudes to Swearing among Vilnius Adolescents", Sociolinguistics Symposium 20, University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, Finland, June 15-18, 2014.
10. "Ethnographic Study on the Social Dynamics of Vilnius Youth: Social Categories and Language", presentation of the project "Vilnius Speaking II" to the international board, University of Copenhagen, October 1, 2014.
11. „Vilniaus gatvės paauglių kalba po padidinamųjų stiklų“, the final seminar of the project "Vilnius Speaking", Faculty of Philology, Vilnius University, November 14, 2014.
12. „Gatvės paaugliai: Bausti negalima pasigailėti – kur dėsimė kablelį?“, 6th National Lithuanian Sociological Conference „Sociologinės laiko ir erdvės formos“ ("Sociological Forms of Time and Space"), Vilnius University, November 14, 2014.
13. „Vilniaus paauglių kalba ir tapatybė, arba kas bendro tarp cigarečių, keiksmazodžių ir ilgųjų trumpųjų /i/?“, invited presentation at the Academy of Sociology, Faculty of Philosophy, Vilnius University, April 11, 2015.
14. "*Swags, Noliders and Streetwisers*: What's Involved in the Construction of Different Contemporary Adolescents' Identities?", 1st National Conference for Young Sociologists and Anthropologists „Aktualūs sociologijos ir antropologijos tyrimai: problemos ir kontekstai“ ("Current Research in Sociology and Anthropology: Problems and Contexts"), Vytautas Magnus University, April 24, 2015.
15. "Adolescents' Social Categories in Vilnius: Making Use of the Legacy of the Russian Occupation and the New Flows of Globalization", international conference "Sociolinguistics of Globalization", University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, June 3-6, 2015.
16. "Jaunimo kalba ir kultūra – įdomus kitoks(?) visuomenės variklis", invited presentation at the Academy of Sociology, Faculty of Philosophy, Vilnius University, April 2, 2016.
17. "Active*Cool*Nice*Streetwise: The linguistic construction of femininity among Vilnius school girls", Sociolinguistics Symposium 21, University of Murcia, Murcia, Spain, June 15-18, 2016.

18. "Kiek lokali yra Vilniaus paauglių kalba?", 8th National Lithuanian Sociological Conference „Skirtys ir jungtys lokalumo – globalumo sandūroje“ (“Differences and Connections in the Intersection of Locality and Globality”), Mykolas Romeris University, November 18, 2016.

Broad audience outreach

1. „Kalba Vilniaus paaugliai“, „Tyrėjų naktis“ (“Researchers’ Night”), cafe „Coffee Inn“, Vilnius, September 27, 2013.
2. „Tokie skirtingi ir tokie įdomūs: Vilniaus paauglių kalba ir tapatybė“, seminar about youth language for Lithuanian schools, active presentation in schools 2013–2014.
3. “Jaunimo kalba ir kultūra – ar tikrai yra taip prastai, kaip mums atrodo?”, informal meetings–discussions with researchers „Café Scientifique @ Coffee Inn“, organized by Baltic Institute of Advanced Technology and café network „Coffee Inn“ May 8, 2014.
4. „Apie keiksmazodžių nevienareikšmiškumą“, invited presentation at Panevėžys Correction House (for female offenders) and Krekenava Gymnasium, February 26, 2015.
5. “Streetwise Adolescents vs Adult Authorities: The Neverending Tension?”, TEDxVDU, music club „Punto Jazz“, December 10, 2015.
6. “Kietos, ramios, populiarios. Paauglių kuriamas moteriškumas. Nuo drabužių iki smulkiausių kalbos požymių“, „Tyrėjų naktis“ (“Researchers’ Night”), cafe „Coffee Inn“, Vilnius, September 30, 2016.

1.4. STUDIES ON YOUTH SOCIAL CATEGORIES AND LANGUAGE IN LITHUANIA

The need to explore adolescent social world in order to explain their linguistic practices places the present study in the interdisciplinary field of youth studies and youth language as it addresses the topics, relevant to both research fields. However, youth social categories and youth language so far has received scant attention among Lithuanian sociologists and sociolinguistics. In the following section, I give a brief review of the major scholarly work, relevant for my own study, on the Lithuanian youth, particularly adolescents.

1.4.1. Research on youth language in Lithuania

Jolanta Lėgaudaitė was the first Lithuanian scholar to carry out the comprehensive study, devoted to the youth language in Lithuania. It is also worth mentioning that Lėgaudaitė was one of the first Lithuanian linguists to analyse the urban linguistic

practice. In her doctoral thesis (Lėgaudaitė 2002) and the related articles (Lėgaudaitė 2001, 2003, 2005, and 2009), she reports the findings of her corpus-based analysis of adolescent slang in Kaunas, the second largest city in Lithuania. The corpus consists of questionnaire-based conversations among ten recruited adolescents and their friends. Although researcher herself explains that questionnaire served as a tool to achieve a relaxed conversational atmosphere, but, in my opinion, it primarily served as a prompt to use slang in the conversations because most of the questions involve topics, such as parties, dress styles, sex, drugs, where slang is likely to occur. Within the framework of the Psycho-Social Theory, she seeks to find out psychological and social-cultural factors that characterise Kaunas adolescent slang, to distinguish the key features of Kaunas adolescent slang and to examine differences, if there are any, in boys and girls slang, in slang of different adolescent age groups, and in slang, used by adolescent in various Kaunas neighborhoods. Lėgaudaitė also compares her findings – Kaunas adolescent slang practices to The Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language, which includes slang usage among London adolescents. Lėgaudaitė's study provides a few interesting insights on Kaunas youth slang. (1) Boys use more slang than girls, (2) Early adolescents (12–13 year olds) are the most active users of slang, but the age-specific, i.e. slang, which is characteristic of a certain adolescent age group, is more popular among the middle adolescents (14–16 year olds), and (3) Adolescents, who reside in Kalniečiai, a peculiar neighborhood in Kaunas where many youth gangs have their bases, use more slang than adolescents in other Kaunas neighborhoods. Comparison of Kaunas and London adolescent practices revealed that Kaunas adolescents use twice as more slang as London adolescents.

However, Lėgaudaitė do not in many cases provide a detailed discussion for the differences in Kaunas adolescents' use of slang or the given interpretations are not quite plausible (cf. also review of her 2009 article in (Fuller 2010) and (Izon 2011)). It is probable that early adolescents use more slang, and especially more sexual and offensive slang, than other age groups due to the specific changes in the cognitive development. And indeed, the stronger self-awareness and the lesser orientation to other peers could result in absence of dirty slang and slang related to drugs and alcohol in late adolescent (17–19 year olds) speech, although Lėgaudaitė should also have taken into consideration that late adolescents were the most sensitive to the recording situation of all age groups. It is a highly interesting finding that Kalniečiai adolescents stand out as the greatest users of slang which makes Lėgaudaitė speculate that slang can spread from here to other parts of Kaunas, however, a social network analysis would be necessary in order to confirm this hypothesis. The most problematic, after all, is Lėgaudaitė's argument regarding the gender differences in the use of slang. Boys' greater use of slang is interpreted as the construction of a tough masculine style and indication of the bigger self-esteem and possession of more social power. Contrasted against this background, girls' speech, which usually does not contain many occurrences of slang appear as powerless and lacking self-esteem. However,

it is rather precarious to relate possession of social power and greater usage of slang, though, I have to admit that based only on the linguistic analysis, this assumption looks valid. Social power involves a lot more practices than just linguistic ones, and as my ethnographic analysis will show, feminine pro-school style, which construction does not involve intensive usage of swearing, can be as powerful as masculine anti-school style (see chapter 4 and 6.10.5.).

Another major study on adolescent language in Lithuania was carried out about a decade after Lėgaudaitė's pioneering research in the field of youth language. Inga Vyšniauskienė, based on the first ever Vilnius Adolescents' Speech Corpus, examines correlations between gender and ethnic marking of Vilnius neighborhoods and Russian and English resources in Vilnius adolescent language as well as the lexico-functional variation and discursive and stylistic meanings of these resources (Vyšniauskienė 2012, 2014, in preparation). Differently than Lėgaudaitė's corpus, Vyšniauskienė's corpus comprises adolescent naturally-occurring speech. Vyšniauskienė's studies reveal that adolescents in ethnically marked Vilnius neighborhoods (i.e. neighborhoods where Lithuanian Russians and Poles make up a significantly bigger part of the population compared to the so called unmarked neighborhoods), use more diverse Russian resources than adolescents in ethnically unmarked neighborhoods where Russian resources are confined to slang and swearing. Boys use significantly more Russian elements in their speech than girls. Though not that common as the Russian resources, English resources are nonetheless more lexico-functionally diverse. And again, boys lead the girls in the use of English resources. Predominant use of English by boys most probably is a result of boys' interest in computer games: talking about them they use a lot of computer-related English slang (Vyšniauskienė 2014: 15). In general, swearing in Russian predominates over swearing in English (for more see Vyšniauskienė, in preparation).

The third larger study in the field would be Laura's Čubajevaitė's doctoral thesis (2013). It is a questionnaire-based research which analyses the development of pupils' ethnic identity in Kaunas. A particular emphasis is put on the ethnic identity of pupils in the only school in Kaunas, where language of instruction is Russian. Their identity development is analysed in more detail. Ethnic identity in Čubajevaitė's thesis is tightly linked with language. Due to the design of the thesis – it is a questionnaire-based research – the ethnic identity is approached through the aspects of language usage, learning, and attitudes. The analysis of the quantitative data revealed that Kaunas is indeed ethnically and linguistically a homogenous city, which makes pupils with minority background stand out even more. As a result, these pupils tend to hide their ethnic identity and therefore they speak Lithuanian in public (Čubajevaitė 2013: 78).

Although these three projects – Lėgaudaitė's, Vyšniauskienė's and the present one – are linked topically, they are all studies on adolescent linguistic practices, the present project differs from the other projects theoretically and methodologically. The point of departure of the present study is not to study linguistic variation as reflection of various social categories (boys, girls, younger informants, older informants), but how

various social categories and styles are constructed, including how linguistic variation is employed in the category construction. Therefore, unlike the previous quantitative corpora-based studies, and in addition to Vyšniauskienė's analysis of discursive construction of adolescent's identity (in preparation), the present project is a qualitative ethnographic study. The application of ethnography naturally entails a stronger interdisciplinary approach in the data analysis. Hence, in order to understand the complexity of linguistic phenomena researcher must have a solid grasp of the social context. In my case, I have to understand adolescent social order to be able to explain their linguistic practices. Therefore, unlike Lėgaudaitė and Vyšniauskienė, I implement a detailed analysis of adolescents' non-linguistic social practices.

1.4.2. Research on youth social categories in Lithuania

Construction of youth social categories, especially adolescent categories, is largely neglected research field in the Lithuanian social sciences. Rasa Petrauskaitė-Pranskūnienė carried out an ethnographic research in a school in Kaunas (Petrauskaitė-Pranskūnienė 2007). The aim of the study was to analyse pupil culture and the causes of its formation. Unfortunately, the research is reported in a very short article, therefore, it yields only brief glimpses into the tensions between school authorities and pupils and formations of pupil leadership groups. Pupil social groups are also discussed in Marijona Barkauskaitė's monograph about adolescent issues in school and society (Barkauskaitė 2001). However, in the study, adolescent social groups are perceived as alternative units to school and class rather than an intrinsic part of it. And in general, adolescent social practices and their culture are analysed from teacher's point of view (the author worked as a researcher / teacher in school). Consequently, all adolescent practices are normatively measured against school norms what in turn means that adolescent practices are divided into proper and improper ones, thus, practices which are perceived as violations of norms should be changed. Besides, the study, which is more quantitative than qualitative, is also dated both theoretically and empirically (the data was collected in 1979–1999).

Due to their particular place in the society, delinquent youth have received more attention among Lithuanian social scholars. Four major studies were conducted to investigate delinquent practices among Lithuanian adolescents. Dobryninas (2000) explores how juvenile delinquent behavior is depicted in the Lithuanian mass-media. Dobryninas and his colleagues in the complex research, which involved sociological surveys with school teachers and pupils as well as discussions with the experts of youth matters, investigate what pupils are associated with delinquent behavior, what are pupils' relations to delinquent adolescents, how delinquent culture emerges in the school context, and how the emergence of it could be suppressed (Dobryninas et. al 2004). Similar topics are also discussed in the monograph by the researchers at the

Law Institute of Lithuania (Justickaja et. al 2015). However, all three studies, even though they set out to investigate delinquent practices and to address the problems that delinquent youth might experience, they do so without establishing the contact with the delinquent adolescents who engage in these practices. Civinskas and colleagues take a different approach in their qualitative study which explores the topic of absences from school – why do pupils skip classes (Civinskas et. al 2006)? The sample of the study was namely adolescents who are inclined to cut classes. The qualitative interviews with members of three youth groups² – football fans, skinheads, and bikers – are also employed in Aušra Gavėnaitė's research (Gavėnaitė 2003). The study concludes that notwithstanding marginalization delinquent youth is an integral part of the society. Delinquent youth problems in families and with police officers are discussed in Vileikienė's paper (Vileikienė 2005). Albeit the mentioned research inquiries yield interesting insights into the daily lives of Lithuanian at-risk youth, we still do not have a comprehensive study which would provide an outlook from the inside on what it is like to lead streetwise lifestyle.

1.5. PROJECT'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE RELATED RESEARCH FIELDS

Considering that there is little research conducted in Lithuania on adolescent speech (Lėgaudaitė's and Vyšniauskienė's works are the only comprehensive studies on adolescent speech in Lithuania) and qualitative research on youth in general, this project aims to break fresh ground in the research fields of Lithuanian youth studies. This project is also a contribution to the growing body of research focusing on the linguistic practices in the urban settings of Lithuania (see (Ramonienė (ed.) 2010) and Vaicekauskienė (ed.) 2014)). Naturally, I cannot deny that many practices, analysed in the thesis, are restricted to Vilnius adolescents, but as the research is located in Vilnius, I can with higher certainty only talk about the adolescents in Vilnius. Equally, the project also documents the daily lives of adolescents in a post-Soviet city.

1.6. OUTLINE OF THE DISSERTATION

Including this first introductory chapter, the dissertation consists of 7 chapters. In chapter 2, I discuss in more detail the theoretical background of my study, briefly presented in the introductory chapter. Chapter 3 encompasses the methodology *in practice*. In this chapter, I account for the choice of the school and the informants,

² All three groups involve adolescents as well, although they sometimes take lower positions in the hierarchical structure of the group.

present data collection process, and give reflections of my fieldwork experience. Chapter 4 involves the analysis of the social dynamics of adolescent social order – practices and stances that give rise to adolescent social categories and styles, thus, this chapter can be treated as *pure* ethnography. The chapter serves as a background for the following chapters, where the linguistic practices are examined. Chapter 5 is dedicated to the investigation of the locality of the ethnographically derived social meanings of the linguistic variation. The biggest emphasis is put on the lengthening of short front vowel /i/ which, as it turned out, is the most significant result of the linguistic analysis. Chapter 6 explores the diversity of adolescent swearing practices. Based on the findings of the questionnaire survey, I in the first part of the chapter briefly analyse the reported linguistic practices which the informants indicated as swearing. The main body of the chapter discusses how swearing practices are involved in the construction of adolescent social categories and styles. The twofold approach is applied in the analysis of swearing practices: interactional and attitudinal. The first approach focuses on the daily interactions and the construction of the style. The second approach addresses the perception aspect of construction: What social categories adolescents associate different swearing practices with. Finally, in chapter 7, I bring together conclusions of the preceding chapters, sum them up, put them perspective and hereby coin the main argument of the thesis.

1.7. WHOSE SIDE AM I ON?

The research, reported in this thesis, has been carried out from adolescents' point of view, or rather from my interpretation of adolescent's point of view. Either way, it inevitably raises the question of bias.

Howard S. Becker claims that side taking is unavoidable in the sociological research, however, it does not mean that the performed research is useless and distorted (Becker 1967, see also chapter 9 in Becker 1963). Becker begins his paper³ by examining why by and large the charge of bias arises. It stems from the study of deviance and an attempt to explain the position deviants are in. However, deviants are subordinated in the society⁴. They possess a lot less power and their competences are much

³ The title of the section was inspired by Becker's (1967) article "Whose Side Are We On?".

⁴ Studies on adolescence fall to some extent into the framework of studies of deviance. Adolescents are clearly subordinated members of the society, they have less power than teachers, school administration and parents (cf. Eckert 2000: 219). Besides, adolescence is a transition period from an ascriptive place in the society (childhood) to the achieved one (adulthood), i.e. from a place based on parents' place to one's own (Eckert 2000: 14–15). Adolescents are granted more freedom and responsibilities than children, but yet, as they are minors, they remain under adult control. As a result of the tension between the need for autonomy and adult control, adolescent culture – "a viable alternative to adulthood" (Eckert 2000: 15) emerges.

less valued than those of superordinates (see also Becker 1963: 149). “‘Everyone knows’ that responsible professionals know more about things that laymen, that police are more respectable and their words ought to be taken more seriously than those of the deviants and criminals with whom they deal” (Becker 1967: 242). Becker also aptly notices that research, conducted from superordinates’ point of view would be less likely accused of bias. Notwithstanding that, sociologists of deviance – and sociolinguists for that matter – assume that “subordinates have as much right to be heard as superordinates” (ibid: 241). In pursuing such projects, i.e. by bringing deviant culture to the spotlight, researchers inevitably challenge the “established order” (ibid: 242), where deviants’ voices are usually kept in the background. However, as Becker claims, as long as researchers make it clear whose side they take in their project and as long as the empirical data was not *altered* in favor of the informants, the findings of these projects are valid and bring new insights into discourse.

The underlying objective of the project is also to provide space for the ordinary adolescents’ voices⁵ – it is not a coincidence that adolescents’ thoughts open the thesis – in the discourse about adolescence and its challenges and issues. However, it does not mean that all adolescents have the same *voice*. As we will see, different adolescents hold different views. And this diversity and complexity of adolescence I am committed to convey to a reader of my work.

⁵ Blommaert defines *voice* as “the capacity to make oneself understood” (2005: 255).

2. THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

2.1. ETHNOGRAPHY⁶

Ethnography is a research method which entails the extended involvement of the researcher in the social life of those he or she studies (Bryman 2001: 289). It has its roots in social anthropology and ethnology. Traditionally, ethnography was applied when investigating the exotic non-Western cultures. Anthropologists would travel long distances overseas, spend a considerable amount of time with the people whose culture they intend to investigate and then return home and write a final report – an ethnography (as a term *ethnography* is quite ambiguous, it refers both to a research method and a final report which is based on ethnographically derived data (see also Bryman 2001: 291, Spradley 1980: 217)). According to one of the founders of the modern ethnographic method Bronislaw Malinowski, who conducted fieldwork on Kiriwina Islands, New Guinea, the goal of ethnography is

to grasp the native's point of view, *his* relation to life, to realize *his* vision of *his* world. <...> To study the institutions, customs, and codes or to study the behavior and mentality without the subjective desire of feeling by what these people live, of realizing the substance of their happiness—is, in my opinion, to miss the greatest reward which we can hope to obtain from the study of man (Malinowski [1922] 2005: 19).

As it is clear from the quote, the emphasis should be put on the social order of the investigated community, researcher should uncover informants' understanding of life rather than imposing own concepts. Otherwise, it can lead to misconceptions and misunderstandings as Spradley's study on vagrants shows (reported in Spradley 1980). In social science literature vagrants are as a rule defined as homeless unemployed people. This definition is correct in terms of the middle-class people; however, in terms of vagrants' culture (or of tramps and skid row men as Spradley calls them), this is not correct. Vagrants may not have a room or a house and an ordinary job, but they do have a different homebase – a car, a bedroll etc. and have they own 'ways of making it' (Spradley 1980).

Even though with its origins in social anthropological investigation of non-Western cultures, ethnography is by no means restricted to research on exotic overseas societies. The method is widely applied in research on modern urban societies. However, it is worth noting that even in modern urban societies, the informants of the ethnographic studies are usually in their own way exotic communities whose lifestyle differ from middle-class lifestyle, for instance, vagrants, drug dealers, prostitutes, football fans,

⁶ This part of the chapter is the greatly elaborated (and translated into English) version of my article: Čekuolytė 2012.

slum dwellers, youth (for a summary of various ethnographic studies check Bryman 2001, Spradley 1980; Bengtsson 2012, Bucholtz 2011, Eckert 1989, 2000, Heller 2006, Jaspers 2008, Jørgensen 2008, Lytra 2007, Madsen 2008, Mendoza-Denton 2008, Ramp-ton 2006, just to name a few ethnographic studies on youth; for an ethnographic re-search on the dump in Lithuania, see Petružytė 2009; Petrušauskaitė (2014) has con-ducted an ethnographic study with Roma pupils). Ethnographic accounts about the non-middle-class lifestyles act as channels through which the marginalized communi-ties are being heard and which make them valued, knowledgeable, and interesting.

However, even in studies, undertaken in modern urban societies, the principal research questions are similar to the ones formulated by Malinowski in the beginning of 20th century: (1) how is social order constituted (created, managed, reproduced): what makes this particular group of people a functioning unit and (2) how do indi-viduals make sense of their way of living; how do they explain (to themselves first) why they live the way they do and differently from others (Duranti 1997: 90).

Language has a crucial role in ethnography. Language is both a means of com-munication with the informants and a means of conveying the study to the readers. When investigating the exotic non-Western cultures, it went without saying that the researcher had to learn the native language; otherwise the communication with the informants would be impossible. Besides, one could not really understand another culture without having direct access to its language (Duranti 1997: 52, see also a similar argument in Malinowski 2005: 82). The importance of language should not also be neglected in ethnographies about urban modern culture (see Spradley 1980 chap-ter “Language and Field Work”). Commanding a local slang (argot) can contribute greatly to better understanding of the studied community. However, language is not an object of research in sociological or social anthropological study; language is just one of the tools, used to carry out the research. But in recent years, quite a few eth-nographic studies appeared where an object of research is language, even more, language(s) in urban modern societies. So, ethnography has not only made its way to investigation of urban cultures, but also made its way into linguistics. In the sections below I provide a brief explanation of how and why ethnography is being imple-mented in linguistic research.

2.2. IMPLEMENTATION OF ETHNOGRAPHY IN LINGUISTICS

Change in methodology is always related to the change of objectives, or the re-de-finition of the previous objectives. Implementation of ethnography marks a paradigm shift in the study of language.

In the 1960s Dell Hymes and John Gumperz launched the innovative program for the study of language – ethnography of speaking, which was later due to amendments called as ethnography of communication. It was the response to the Chomskyan Ge-

nerative Grammar which focused on an ideal speaker in a homogenous society. The cultural and social context was completely ignored as well the actual linguistic use. However, neither an ideal speaker exists nor does exist language which would be not dependent on cultural and social context. In fact, language is part of a culture and also one of a means of creating a culture. The main principle of the ethnography of speaking (communication) was to combine the ethnography, the description and analysis of culture, with linguistics, the description and analysis of language (Keating 2007: 285). The core concept in the program is communicative competence. Communicative competence encompasses the knowledge what speakers need to know to communicate appropriately in a particular community, and how this competence is acquired (Keating 2007: 287). Thus, communicative competence not only includes command of the linguistic structure and language use, it also encompasses cultural knowledge, for instance, how you should approach people of different statuses and roles, what linguistic variety should be used in a particular context. This program entails that no linguistic community is homogenous. Every linguistic community has a repertoire of linguistic varieties – dialects, sociolects, styles, used by a group of particular participants and or used to achieve a particular communicative goal. Ethnography of speaking (communication) marks “a new form of linguistic enquiry: turning from an investigation of language as a referential code, to an investigation into social meaning, diversity of practices, and actual language use in context” (Keating 2007: 286). With the inclusion of the social and cultural context in the linguistic research, there was a need for a method which could provide both linguistic and social data. The ethnographic method satisfied both criteria.

2.3. CHANGES IN SOCIOLINGUISTIC METHODOLOGY AND OBJECTIVES: SOCIOLINGUISTIC WAVES

2.3.1. The first wave in variationist sociolinguistics: Surveys and sociolinguistic interview

Even though Hymes' and Gumperz's program set the foundation for inclusion of the ethnography in the linguistic inquiry, this method was not directly implemented in the studies of variationist sociolinguistics. The first wave of variationist sociolinguistics was dominated by quantitative methods – surveys and sociolinguistic interviews, the type of enquiry started with Labov's ground-breaking study of the social stratification of English in New York (Labov 1966), and which later was replicated in a plenty of cities, among others also in Vilnius (Čičirkaitė and Vaicekauskienė 2012). The main principal of the Labovian inquiry was the theoretical and methodological foundation that each speaker commands a variety of styles which are dependent on the attention paid to speech (Eckert 2012, see also discussion about the principle of

style shifting and principle of attention in Labov 1972b: 112). Sociolinguistic interview was constructed to uncover that variety within the speaker. The casual interview style between the researcher and the interviewee, especially topics about danger of death, sex and the sexual / flirting interactions, and moral indignation (Labov 1972b: 114) should elicit the unmonitored, most spontaneous linguistic style when the minimum attention is paid to speech, the so-called vernacular (Labov 1972b: 112), whereas the text and wordlist should prompt the more formal linguistic style – the use of vernacular forms should decrease. The results of the study showed the correlation between the linguistic variables and broad categories, such as class, age, and gender (one of the most cited examples in the sociolinguistics is the social stratification of the postvocalic /r/, (Labov 1966, Labov 1972a). The use of standard variables indexes the higher status in the socioeconomic hierarchy whereas the use of vernacular variables indexes lower status and casual style. However, the quantitative studies also revealed important exceptions: Women appeared to be the greatest users both of vernacular variables and standard variables. With the quantitative approach, it was not possible fully explain those exceptions. The exceptions called for a change in the inquiry – from the operation of the predetermined social categories – gender, class, age – to the local categories and the local dynamics in the community (Eckert 2012). Understanding of the local dynamics in the community could only be gained through direct knowledge of the studied community. Ethnographic method was one of the ways to get the direct access to the community.

2.3.2. The second wave in variationist sociolinguistics: Ethnographic inquiry

“The second wave began with the attribution of social agency to the use of vernacular as well as standard features and a focus on the vernacular as an expression of local or class identity” (Eckert 2012: 91). Instead of operating with predetermined categories and focusing on filling in a sample, the studies in the second wave aim to find out what it worth sampling (Eckert 2000: 69).

Labov’s study on Martha’s Vineyard is traditionally treated as the first variationist sociolinguistic study, which involved ethnographic approach (Maegaard and Quist 2005: 45, Eckert 2012: 88)⁷. However, Labov himself called the approach as “direct observation of a sound change” (Labov 1972a: 1) and specified that the observations were made in various casual situations, such as diners, bars, stores, docks, but these observations only served as additional method to the sociolinguistic interviews (Labov 1972a: 13). The findings of the study revealed that the linguistic variation was gro-

⁷ Chronologically Labov’s study on Martha’s Vineyard belongs to the first wave.

unded in the ongoing changes on the island. The increased usage of a typical Martha's Vineyard dialect came to index a resistance to the changes and the preservation of a traditional Vineyard identity. However, the residents who connected their future with the mainland tended to use more standard variables. Even though, the study relies more on a sociolinguistic interview than observations, the interpretation of the findings places the study in the second wave of sociolinguistic research. Labov operated not with the predetermined broad social categories but with the locally discovered categories. Even more, he found out how those locally discovered categories are sustained through linguistic variation.

Eckert's (1988, 2000) study of adolescents' linguistic practices revealed similar findings. The difference in linguistic practices was reflected in orientation to Detroit area. Through the ethnographic research in a school in the Detroit suburban area (and with supplementary short-termed studies in a few other schools), Eckert found out that the social order in schools is focused around two prominent adolescent categories – Jocks and Burnouts. Jocks are the middle-class school-oriented pupils with aspirations to enter the university which also means to leave the Detroit area. Burnouts, on the contrary, come from the working class families, have little motivation to study and orient themselves towards Detroit. So there is no surprise that Burnouts use a lot more urban Detroit variables in their speech than Jocks. However, although it is through the burnouts' linguistic practices that urban variables spread outwards from the city, it is the so-called In-betweens, the pupils who are not affiliated with neither Jocks nor Burnouts, who are responsible for the upward spread of the urban variables. When an urban variable is employed in the speech of In-betweens, it loses its association with the Burnout category, which means that it may become more acceptable for Jocks (Eckert 1988: 204).

It is also important to mention that Eckert does not view Jocks and Burnouts as completely static categories (1988, 1989, 2000). Every school has Jocks and Burnouts and in every studied school Burnouts lead in the use of urban variables. But Burnouts and Jocks in those schools are different: the nearer the school is located to Detroit, the greater usage of urban variables. Both the social and the linguistic characteristics of a Jock in one school may correspond to the characteristics of a Burnout in another school. The construction of a category is limited to available resources. Through the detailed observation, Eckert (1988, 2000) not only gave a thorough account for the ongoing sound change, but also placed the urban variables in the broader semiotic system.

The second wave viewed variables as indexing locally determined categories. However, as it is evident from Eckert's (2000) study about adolescents' social categories and linguistic variation that categories are not static entities and that variation does not simply reflect, but is involved in construction of categories. This is the theoretical foundation that has given rise to the third wave.

2.3.3. The third wave in variationist sociolinguistics: Stylistic practice

Speakers in the studies of the third wave are being treated as stylistic agents who employ whatever semiotic resources are at their disposal to self-construct and differentiate (Eckert 2012: 98, also cf. Quist 2008: 49), and who through their stances – ideological moves (Blommaert 2010, Eckert 2008, Silverstein 2003), orientation to different centers in the society (Blommaert 2010) – give meaning to the linguistic variation (Eckert 2000, 2008, 2012). The key concepts in the third wave are therefore stylistic practice and persona construction. Quist (2008: 50–51) defines stylistic practice as a “process through which signs and differences become meaningful resources in daily enterprises and activities. Stylistic practice covers the processes that connect different recourses (linguistic and nonlinguistic ones) in meaningful relationships in association with the participants’ identity negotiations”. The emphasis on the stylistic practice “places speakers not as passive and stable carriers of dialect, but as stylistic agents (Eckert 2012: 97–98). And indeed, persistent usage of certain linguistic resources, for instance, harsh swearwords, is an important part in the maintenance of a streetwise persona. However, the same harsh swearwords can index a cool persona, or a person can attain cool personality in the course of a conversation through the use of obscene language (see chapter 6).

Since the same variable will be used to make ideological moves by different people, in different situations, and to different purposes, its meaning in practice will not be uniform across the population (Eckert 2008: 466–467).

The social meaning of the linguistic variation is not only flexible, it is also local in a sense that meaning is constructed in use (Eckert 2000: 4) and associated with specific local categories and local symbols (Eckert 2000: 22). Thus, in this new dialectical view of linguistic variation, “the social is not just a set of constraints on variation – it is not simply a set of categories that determine what variants a speaker will use (i.e. linguistic variation is not a reflection of a social order. A.C) – it is a meaning-making enterprise” (Eckert 2008: 472). In order to explore the local meaning-making, one has to study the social order, in which it occurs.

The shift from a view of the linguistic variation as reflection of the (existing) social categories and identities underlies Zhang’s analysis (Zhang 2005, 2008) of the construction of a new emerging identity in Beijing.

China’s transition from the state economy to the market economy created the new job market which “fosters a new generation of Chinese professionals working for foreign businesses” (Zhang 2005: 436), the so-called *yuppies*⁸. With the higher salaries

⁸ In short, the social category “yuppy” refers to middle or top managerial positions in foreign companies in Beijing.

than in the state-owned companies⁹, global prestige of their companies and increasing media attention to them, the yuppies have constructed a new consumer and cosmopolitan lifestyle which is perceived by lay Chinese as “<<they wear foreign brand clothes, speak foreign languages, eat foreign food, and deal with foreigners>>” (Zhang 2005: 436). This is the lifestyle which as one can assume differs drastically from the lifestyle of the top professionals, working in the state-owned companies and which was, by the way, the only top managerial position in China for a long time.

The yuppies have also developed a new linguistic style to match their modern identity. This style entails the significantly less usage of the traditional local variants of Beijing speech than in the linguistic style of the professionals in the state-owned enterprises, and the usage of a full tone, which never appears in the linguistic style of the state professionals. The realization of a neutral tone as a full tone is a foreign variant not only in Beijing’s speech, but also in Mainland Standard Mandarin. However, this variable is associated among the Chinese with the Gāngtái pop culture, or in other words, with the Hong Kong and Taiwan pop culture. Therefore, Zhang calls this variable the cosmopolitan variable (Zhang 2005: 444). So by adopting a full tone, the yuppies make their speech not only non-local (non-Beijing), but also non-mainland (Zhang 2005: 450). This way, the yuppies clearly mark their participation in a different – global – market. What is also of great importance is the fact that by employing a full tone in the creation of their identity, “yuppies have constructed not only themselves as cosmopolitan, but [also] the state managers as local” (Eckert 2012: 95). The yuppies considerably less use of the local Beijing variables could be explained by invoking the characters – “the smooth operator” and “the alley saunter¹⁰” – which are traditionally associated with a certain speech style. “The alley saunter” is a local stereotype of a feckless uneducated lower-class male, wandering in the narrow alleys of Beijing. As this character is associated with the negative qualities in the business sector, the yuppies also depart from the speech style associated with this stereotype. “The smooth operator” is a male urban Beijing social persona, “who is smooth and streetwise”, <...> extremely skillful and tactful in dealing with issues and people” (Zhang 2005: 441). Even though this character is associated with the qualities such as smoothness and good communicative, which are also positively valued in the modern business, it has salient ties to the local character which may not be compatible with an image in the international business (Zhang 2008: 217). Linguistically, “the smooth operator” is connected with the most probably the most local Beijing feature, a sort of Beijing’s speech trademark – rhotacization. This social meaning is

⁹ State professionals monthly salary ranges from 1000 to 4000 yuan where the yuppies earn from 3000 (mid-level position) to over 8000 yuan (top position) (Zhang 2005).

¹⁰ “The smooth operator” entails rhotacization and lenition, “the alley saunter” is associated with the interdental realization of the dental sibilants (Zhang 2005: 441 – 443, see also Zhang 2008 for a detailed analysis on the social meaning of rhotacization).

so salient that even lay Beijingers can express their attitudes towards it: “<<In fact, Beijingers are said to be smooth, the so-called Beijing Smooth Operator, mainly because Beijing speech has a lot of rhotacization, Beijingers are naturally gifted with gab, and with heavy r-sounding>> (comment by a male chief representative of a foreign bank)” (Zhang 2008: 211). The linguistic style with salient ties to a certain locality clashes with the yuppies’ orientation to and participation in the global market. On the contrary, “the smooth operator” features are particularly salient in the linguistic style of the professionals in the state companies.

Zhang analysis of the emergence of the new social identity also invalidates the linear dimension “the standard vs vernacular” and “the formal vs the informal” which have been prevailing in the variationist sociolinguistics since its dawn. The linguistic difference between the two professional groups – foreign business and state – cannot be simply described along the dimension standard – vernacular (Zhang 2005: 450). Given the demographic background – geographical origin, level of education – is the same and having in mind high positions that Zhang’s informants hold in their companies, one might expect similar linguistic styles, and yet the linguistic styles of the yuppies and the state professionals differ significantly. Zhang accounted for the difference by their participation in two different linguistic markets (Bourdieu 1991). The state professionals participate in the Mainland Standard Mandarin (MSM) linguistic market. But Beijing Mandarin is the phonological standard for MSM. Therefore, state professionals can get away with speaking standard MSM with a Beijing accent, which in return explains their greater use of local variables (Zhang 2005: 453). The yuppies, however, participate in a different linguistic market – the transnational Chinese linguistic market. This market contains not only MSM, but also other varieties of Mandarin – Taiwan Mandarin, Singapore Mandarin etc. Speaking Mandarin without a local accent is highly valued in this new market, therefore this feature is employed in the construction of a new professional identity.

Emphasis on the local stylistic practices, i.e. how and why the linguistic variation attains social meaning, means that studies in the third wave also depart from the dialectological approach, the main focus is neither the linguistic change (see also Quist 2012: 260). This shift in approach, which is evident in Zhang’s analysis (2005, 2008), is also exercised in Quist’s (2012) ethnographic study of the stylistic practices among Copenhagen adolescents. Before she began her ethnographic fieldwork in school, she had not chosen any linguistic variables which social meaning she would like to analyse. It was after Quist had listened to all the gathered material, i.e. she was literally looking for socially meaningful variables, she had decided which variables she would focus her analysis on. The chosen variables had the implications of being involved in the construction of different styles which needed to be analysed in more detail. Quist’s enquiry differs remarkably from Eckert’s study (see the discussion about the second wave above). Even though Eckert discovered locally determined categories (as opposed to global categories as such boy, girl) through ethno-

graphy, the linguistic analysis was based on the premeditated variables – the vowels which were part of the so-called “Northern Cities Chain Shift” (Eckert 1988, 2000). Quist, however, bases her study on both ethnographically derived social categories and linguistic variables.

The objectives in the third wave studies are to discover what it is socially meaningful in a community and to examine how speakers through their construction of different identities (re)interpret variables and combine and recombine them (Eckert 2012: 94). Going hand in hand with the changes in the modern world, the studies in the third wave also depart from the linear “standard – vernacular” dimension. Instead they analyse the construction of the linguistic styles.

This study about stylistic practices among Vilnius adolescents falls in the theoretical framework of the third wave.

2.4. COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE

Speech community for a very long time was a solid analytical concept in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. Speaking in general terms, speech community is “a language-based unit of social analysis” that allows “sociolinguists to demonstrate that many linguistic phenomena previously relegated to the realm of free variation are in fact socially structured” (Bucholtz 1999: 203). The concept was not problematic in the framework of the first wave of sociolinguistics. With an emphasis on the social meaning-making and practice in the second and third waves, there was a need for a new theoretical framework which could emphasize the practice aspect of people’s everyday life. Sociolinguistic enterprise needed a more dynamic concept of a community which “articulates place with practice” (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992: 464). The concept of community of practice could provide the fruitful framework. The concept was developed by Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger in their theory on situated learning in 1991 and a year later, in 1992, the concept was firstly introduced in a sociolinguistic study (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992). Community of practice is

an aggregate of people who come together around some enterprise. United by this common enterprise, people come to develop and share ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations, in short – practices – as a function of their joint engagement in activity. Simultaneously, social relations form around the activities and activities form around relationships. Particular kinds of knowledge, expertise, and forms of participation become part of individual’s identities and places in the community. It is not the assemblage or the purpose that defines the community of practice; rather, a community of practice is simultaneously defined by its membership and the shared practice in which that membership engages (Eckert 2000: 35, see also Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992: 464).

The key features of the community of practice are (1) mutual engagement, (2) a joint enterprise, and (3) a shared repertoire (Wenger 2007 [1998]: 73). In the following, I will briefly describe these three features and at same time I will argue that an aggregate of people I was studying constitute a community of practice. It is false to assume that any group of people functions as community of practice (see also King 2014). As Wenger notes, “a residential neighborhood, for instance, is often called “the community” but it is usually not a community of practice (Wenger 2007 [1998]: 72). But is a school, or more precise, three eighth grade classes – a locus of my study – a community of practice?

Mutual engagement. Practice does not exist in the vacuum. For Wenger, practice is “doing in a historical and social context that gives structure and meaning to what we do (ibid: 47). Therefore “practice resides in a community of people and the relations of mutual engagement by which they can do whatever they do” (ibid: 73). The important feature of pupils’ practice is coming to school from Monday to Friday. School makes mutual engagement possible. However, *mutual engagement* does not necessarily entail homogeneity. Firstly, school houses pupils with different interests (fashion, computers, and books) and different aspirations: Some pupils are studying very hard on purpose to enter a good gymnasium, while others are hardly paying attention to lessons and occupying themselves with something else. The latter would be described by teachers as unengaged pupils. However, lack of interest in class activities does not mean that pupils are not engaged participants of a community of practice, as Wenger points out: “As a form of participation, rebellion often reveals a greater commitment than does passive conformity” (ibid: 77). Violation of school regulations usually do not come unnoticed not only by the teachers but also by the pupils themselves. Label ‘troublemaker’ might be the reason why some pupils are keen in becoming friends with that adolescent while others might try to avoid him / her. In either way, violation of norms is also participation in a community of practice because it creates and maintains relations among its members. This brings me to another point why mutual engagement does not entail homogeneity: Participants of a community of practice do not have an equal status (note also “power relations” in the definition of a community of practice). Each member “finds a unique place and gains a unique identity” (ibid: 76). There are pupils who stand alone by the closed classroom door during the whole break and hardly talk to anyone. There are pupils who are responsible for class parties. And then again, there are pupils of reputation: *jam pasakius (.) visi jam pritartų (if he said something (.) everybody would agree with him)* (from an interview with Agota about her classmate Giedrius).

Mutual engagement as well as the superordinate term *community* might presuppose harmony and togetherness which might not be the case. Not all school children are good friends with each other. As in any community of practice, in school quite often occur conflicts and tension among pupils themselves as well as among pupils and school administration, for instance, if a principal forbids organizing a class party or tightens the anti-smoking policy (see 4.3.2. and 4.5.2.).

Joint enterprise. In defining a joint enterprise Wenger distinguishes three main points:

- 1) It is the result of a collective process of negotiation that reflects the full complexity of mutual engagement.
- 2) It is defined by the participants in the very process of pursuing it.
<...>
- 3) It is not just a stated goal, but creates among participants relations of mutual accountability that become an integral part of the practice (ibid: 77–78).

Enterprise in a school context is most probably instantly associated with learning, where learning is understood as a participation in class activities: doing various exercises, preparing for the exams, listening to a teacher and alike. Naturally, schoolwork takes in one way or another significant part in participants' practice. But school is not only homework, school is also friends. In fact, for the majority of pupils their classmates are also their best friends. Thus, adolescents go to school not only to participate in lessons, but also to maintain their friendships. As it is important to do homework so is to remember to congratulate your best friend on her / his birthday. Failing to perform both can have its consequences. Mutual accountability plays an important role in a community practice. Some aspects of mutual accountability might be reified in the forms of rules, for instance, respect your teacher and your classmate, do not disturb during lessons. Quite often, regulations of this kind are printed and displayed publicly for all to see them. However, the unwritten rules are equally influential, for example, to remain silent when a teacher asks whether the class is supposed to have a test that day.

Here it is worthwhile to point out that joint enterprise does not mean that "everybody believes in the same thing or agrees with everything" (ibid: 78). As I have mentioned in the paragraph above, school encompasses a great variety of adolescents: Some adolescents focus more on the academic activities, while the others are more engaged in everything else but lessons. Thus, joint enterprise in a school context can be defined as various modes of being young (Quist 2012: 66). Although enterprise in a community of practice is defined by its participants, it is not entirely independent from the historical, social, cultural, and institutional contexts (Wenger 2007 [1998]: 79). It was not adolescents who invented school. In fact, quite often pupils do not have control over the decisions that concern their community of practice. Recently there has been enacted that majority of schools in Lithuania had to be reorganized into progymnasiums and gymnasiums which meant that pupils had to change school after the eighth grade. It is no surprise that in the spring time, discussions about the choice of gymnasiums and preparations for the exams filled a great deal of pupils' enterprise. However, although communities of practice develop in larger contexts and are results of complex processes, they are always realized and experienced by their participants here and now.

Shared repertoire is the third key feature that holds a community of practice together. "The repertoire of a community of practice includes routines, words, tools, ways

of doing things, stories, gestures, symbols, genres, actions, or concepts that the community has produced or adopted in the course of its existence, and which have become part of its practice” (ibid: 83). The shared repertoire in the community of practice – school – would be everything from daily routine class-break-class-break to schoolbags, from giving girls a snow bath to linguistic resources, for instance, in Lithuanian schools, pupils are supposed to address teacher formally, i.e. in plural form of second-person personal pronoun. But there is a lot more than that. Even though they might not be explicitly articulated¹¹, lexical and phonetic resources are part of a shared repertoire of a community of practice, they are involved the meaning-making process.

2.5. COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

We are members of different communities of practice: family, school, basketball team, dance team, youth gang etc. We can also participate in conflicting communities of practice, for instance, school and youth gang. In some communities of practice, we may be full or central members whereas in the others our participation may be of a marginal manner¹². The loner girl who hardly talks to anybody in school can be the leader singer in a choir. Likewise, the biggest troublemaker in school can be a marginal member of a neighborhood gang. Membership in any community of practice is just a part of our identity (Wenger 2007 [1998]: 158). Hence, in order to grasp the process of identity construction better, it could be useful to observe various communities of practice that informants belong to¹³.

The proposed approach has many features in common with the analytical concept of *a social network* which was introduced to sociolinguistics by Lesley and James Milroy (Milroy & Milroy 1992, Milroy 1980). Social network, as it is defined by L. and J. Milroy, is “a boundless web of ties that reaches out through a whole society, linking people to one another, however, remotely” (Milroy & Milroy 1992: 5). However, due to practical reasons, as an analytical tool, social network is restricted to individuals and the social relationships linked to them (Milroy & Milroy 1992: 5, Milroy 1980: 174). The key characteristics of a social network are its *density* (structural characteristic) and *multiplexity* (content characteristic) (Milroy 1980: 49–52). Network is dense if people, who

¹¹ Bethan Davies makes an interesting remark about people not paying attention to phonetic variation – people are simply not taught to observe this aspect of linguistic variation (Davies 2005: 569). So even though people are indeed using different phonetic variables, most of them would not hear or would not be able to explain the difference.

¹² According to Wenger, marginality is a form of participation in a community of practice which indicates long-standing members being kept in a marginal position (2007 [1998]: 166).

¹³ Besides, members of a community of practice also shape its identity (cf. Eckert 2000: 36). A school which has a great deal of pupils with gang affiliations would differ from a school which does not have such pupils.

are linked to a certain individual, are also linked to each other. Network is multiplex if people in a network interact with one another in different contexts, or to use L. Milroy's term, capacities (ibid: 51), for instance, the same person can be linked to an individual as colleague, relative, member of a local choir etc. On the contrary, if an individual is tied to many people in a single capacity, he / she has an uniplex network. The study of language use in three different poor Belfast communities, comprised largely by working-class speakers, proved that the nature of the network has impact on the linguistic variation. Dense and multiplex networks maintain linguistic stability whereas uniplex networks with looser ties provide channels for linguistic innovations.

L. Milroy proposed the concept of a *social network* as an alternative to an analytical concept of a *social class*, which, she believed, could not be successfully applied in the smaller-scale studies. Social class is a rather broad social category which might not have an objective reality (Milroy 1980: 13–14). In real life, people very often categorize themselves into more concrete social categories and groups which in turn have greater influence on their linguistic choices. Even though the social stratification of linguistic variation, i.e. speaker's speech correlates with his / her social class (or social class aspirations), is associated with Labov's urban studies, Labov himself was not consistent in applying social class to explain the patterns of linguistic variation. I mentioned previously that Labov's work on a small island, Martha's Vineyard, differed from his later studies (see 2.3.1. and 2.3.2., see also Milroy 1980). On Martha's Vineyard, the major force behind the linguistic change was not a class, but the locals' reaction to the flood of the so-called 'summer people'. A group of fishermen, the most close-knit group on the island, who felt threatened by the newcomers, enhanced their local dialect in order to preserve the local identity of a Vineyarder (Labov 1972a: 37). Dense networks usually hinder linguistic change and preserve local variables (Milroy 1980). It seems that a similar network structure contributes to both the maintenance of the local identity, including the linguistic variation (cf. Milroy 1980: 137). This short discussion leads to prove that the concept of a social network seems to be a more versatile analytical tool than a social class (Milroy 1980: 174).

Social network analysis has a couple of features in common with the community of practice – both are first of all applicable to small communities, involve an ethnographic approach, and focus on the coherence and interaction within the studied community. However, interaction is interpreted rather different in these two frameworks: "A social network requires *quantity* of interaction; a community of practice requires *quality* of interaction" (Holmes & Meyerhoff 1999: 180, emphasis in the original). Social network is an immense web of ties (cf. definition in Milroy & Milroy 1992: 5), which although in practice is usually restricted to 30 – 50 individuals, i.e. first-order network ties (ibid.), in theory involves people with whom an individual has limited or sporadic contact, whereas community of practice requires frequent interaction and engagement in the same practice. Social network and community of practice have different points of departure. Social network begins with an individual: "Each person may be viewed as a focus from which lines radiate to <...> persons with whom he is

in contact” (Milroy 1980: 46, see also Quist 2012: 64–65). Community of practice focuses on practice (cf. definition above) and *iconic speakers / participants* (Eckert 2000: 216–217, Mendoza-Denton 2008: 211–212). Iconic speakers are not necessarily sources of innovation, no, iconic speakers are individuals who through engagement in various practices, develop such a salient and recognizable style that the others can imitate it. So basically, while the framework of a social network investigates the density and multiplexity (individuals with looser network structure are probable linguistic innovators), a community of practice deals with power structures: “[The linguistic map] is populated not only by iconic variables, but by iconic speakers” (Eckert 2000: 217) (see also Eckert & Wenger 2005 on the role of power in a community of practice). And lastly, the framework of a community of practice entails a stronger ethnographic approach than a social network (cf. Davies 2005: 560).

Notwithstanding the differences, both frameworks, in my opinion, can be fruitfully combined. (My proposed combination of the two frameworks is somewhat different from the one offered in Holmes & Meyerhoff 1999: 180 which suggests applying an approach of a social network as a measure of integration into a community of practice.) As it was previously mentioned, we are members of different communities of practice. At the same time, we all have our own social network, people with whom we interact most often. Those people, in turn, are also members of communities of practice, some of them we actually may not be members of. Thus, it would be interesting to investigate the structure of one’s social network and membership in different communities of practice. My own study would have benefited immensely have I had the possibility to observe my informants in different communities of practice. For instance, one my informants – an unpopular nerd girl in school who does not have many friends in and outside school preserved her Lithuanian-Russian accent because the people, she interacts most often are most probably her parents, i.e. her ties presumably are stronger to her family than to her peers. Or in the case of the streetwise adolescents whom I will focus quite a lot in the dissertation, it would have been of great help if I studied the street community of practice. Although they are by far *the baddest* pupils among the eighth graders, whose name sometimes go beyond the eighth grade, they are not necessarily *the baddest* adolescents in the neighborhood. It might be that they are under the influence of the iconic participants of the street community of practice (see chapter 5).

Before heading to the next paragraph, a couple of words have to be said about the self-recordings which by and large took place outside of the school (see also 3.2.6.). Albeit geographically placed outside of the studied community of practice – school, the social positions and identity negotiations that the self-recordings document, are made available through participation in this particular community of practice. The exception, however, is self-recordings, provided by the streetwise adolescents, which commonly documented their participation in another community of practice which I label rather broadly as *street*. Their conversations usually included their non-school friends or other streetwise classmates. So due to these self-recordings, I was able to get a glimpse into the street practices.

3. ETHNOGRAPHY IN PRACTICE. THE FIELDWORK IN SCHOOL

Tai mes būsim družokai?¹⁴

So we gonna be buddies?

As my main goal with this thesis is not only to answer the question how adolescents' social categories and styles are being constructed, but also how micro-level items, such as linguistic variables, are implemented in constructing macro-level social constructs – adolescents' social categories, ethnography is the method which enables me to analyse the construction of categories at various levels. In this chapter, I describe the main components of the ethnographic research – participant observation and interview – as well as other data collection methods which I had to include – self-recordings and online questionnaire. I also introduce the participants of my research and give account of the process of the fieldwork.

3.1. LOCATION OF THE FIELDWORK AND RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

3.1.1. The Owl School in an urban neighborhood in Vilnius

As the main objective of my research is to analyse the construction of Vilnius adolescents' social categories and language, school was a natural choice where to carry out the fieldwork. An ordinary school, i.e. the school where one does not have to take any exams or have special skills in order to be admitted, is the place which contains children with a broad spectrum of interests, attitudes, and learning capacities. As the main purpose of the study is to analyse the categories of the typical Vilnius adolescents, the neighborhood where their school was located, had to be socially unmarked, in other words, the typical Vilnius residents should be living there. The research also encompasses the linguistic objectives – to analyse the Lithuanian language, hence, the language of instruction in the school had to be Lithuanian. To sum it up, the selection of the school for the research was based on the social criteria of the neighborhood, school type, and language of instruction.

The following criteria were taking into consideration when selecting the neighborhood: percentage of the Lithuanians in the neighborhood; percentage of the residents with higher education; the number of employed residents; the number of unemployed residents; the percentage of unemployment (2001 Lithuanian Population and House Census, more specifically, 2001 Population and House Census of Vilnius City

¹⁴ A greeting phrase, addressed to me by a streetwise pupil Laurynas after I had introduced myself to the class on the very first day of the fieldwork in school.

municipality)¹⁵. The percentages / numbers of the chosen criteria of the neighborhood have to come closest to the average. I have also consulted brokers, where residents with average income usually buy apartments, and they confirmed that the neighborhood which I picked for my study, met the distinguished criteria.

Additionally, I have checked the place of the school in the school rankings (weekly “Veidas” 2012¹⁶). However, in Lithuania only schools (and gymnasiums) with graduating classes (the 12th grade) are being ranked, which means that progymnasiums (schools with 1st – 8th grades) are not included in the rankings. According to the new education reform, many secondary schools (schools with 1st – 12th grades) were re-organized into either progymnasiums (schools with 1st – 8th grades) or gymnasiums (schools with 9th – 12th grades) in recent years.

The selected school for the research¹⁷ was being re-organized into the progymnasium. There were no 9th graders in school and very few classes in 10th– 12th grades. The school has been ranked as number 160–170 out of 460 Lithuanian schools and as number 15–20¹⁸ out of 33 Vilnius schools.

An attempt was also made to contact the Education Department at Vilnius City Municipality. They advised me to carry out the research in schools with innovative programs, which is of course very understandable. My project would contribute to promotion of these new programs. However, I was not convinced that schools with innovative program and special extracurricular activities satisfy the criteria of a typical school, therefore I repeated my questions, but this time I also mentioned a few names of schools where I intended to carry out my project. The worker at the Department confirmed that all the chosen schools would qualify as ordinary schools with no distinctive features.

The fieldwork in school took place from the 1st of October, 2012 to 31st of May, 2013 (8 months in total). The neighborhood, where the school is located, is about 5–6 km away from the city center and can be easily reached by public transport. The majority of housing estate in the neighborhood comprises of 5–12-storey grey prefabricated block houses (for a more in-depth analysis of building in the post-Soviet cities, see Krupickaitė 2009). There are quite a few green areas and playgrounds interspersed across

¹⁵ The needed data of the recent 2011 Population and Housus Census was not available in September 2012.

¹⁶ The school rankings are compiled according to the following criteria: how many pupils have graduated from the school; how many pupils have entered the university program at Lithuanian universities which they indicated as their first priority in their university application form; how many pupils have been enrolled in universities abroad; the results of four state exams – Lithuanian, Mathematics, Foreign Language, and History. However, it should also be noted that the school rankings, compiled by the weekly “Veidas”, is widely criticized.

¹⁷ There is one more school in the selected neighborhood, but that school also takes in pupils with disabilities which is not a common practice in Lithuanian schools, therefore it was automatically rejected.

¹⁸ Due to ethical reasons, I do not indicate the accurate placement in the rankings.



Picture 3.1. An urban neighborhood where the school is located

the housing estate (see picture 3.1.). The majority of pupils lived in a neighborhood where the school is located, or in a similar neighborhood nearby. For some adolescents, life in the neighborhood was more important than school, mooching around in the neighborhood, sitting on the bench talking with friends, i.e. spending time in the courtyard, is a crucial leisure practice for certain adolescents. Besides, not all interactions among adolescents that I analyse in my thesis, are taking place in school. Actually, the majority of them took place outside of school. Therefore, I wanted the readers to get a little bit acquainted with the environment where pupils spend time after school.

Before the start of the fieldwork, the school principal had signed the consent to conduct the research in school. I also made it clear from the start that the object of my study is solely adolescents and their language, I would not judge teaching methods nor would I intervene in school matters. One of the deputy principals was appointed as the responsible for the project and if I had any questions, I had to contact her. I was really lucky to have a very supportive deputy principal that had never interrupted the research and had never asked to change the research design.

Due to ethical reasons, the real names of the urban neighborhood and school are anonymized. Whenever needed, I will refer to school as *The Owl School*.

3.1.2. Participants

Participants in my study were all 8th grade classes in the Owl School, 90 pupils¹⁹ in total. Thus, the research participants were 14 – 15 year olds. The eighth grade was not an accidental choice. The eighth grade is the last grade before the gymnasium which entails that after the eighth grade pupils have to change school which in turn means that the class split. Pupils choose school according to their needs and capacities: Some might take exams and try to get enrolled in the higher ranked schools while others might choose the school which is closest to their home. Although the objective of the dissertation is not the analysis of adolescent learning styles, it was nonetheless crucial to encompass various levels of adolescents' motivation to learn. The previous studies on adolescent social categories and styles have found out that eagerness to learn very often determine adolescent's relations to school. Relations to school is one of the resources, involved in the construction of the style (Eckert 1989, 2000, Quist 2012). And indeed, the choice of the eighth grade satisfied this criterion. The participants of my study represent different interests and attitudes, if we take into consideration pupils' performance in school, both pupils who established solid good relations to teachers, and pupils whose relations to the school was tense and disharmonious and who later were expelled from the school, participated in my study.

On the first day of my fieldwork in school, on the 1st of October, 2012, I introduced myself to each of the eighth grades. I told the pupils that my name was Aurytė, that I was a researcher who was doing the study about Vilnius adolescents. In order to know the modern adolescents better, I had decided to spend the whole school year together with them. One of the boys instantly exclaimed: "*Tai mes būsim družokai*" (So we gonna be buddies?) Well, I could only hope.

I did not mention the linguistic aspect of the study, so that pupils would not regard me as an authority to correct their language. At my request, the deputy principal was waiting outside the classroom while I was presenting myself and my project to the class. Right from the start, I wanted to have as little connection to the school administration as possible.

After the short presentation, I distributed letters of agreement which had to be signed by pupils' parents. Before carrying out any recordings, I had told the pupils that it was a prerequisite to hand in a letter of agreement, signed by their parents; otherwise they could not participate in the recordings. However, two boys had never returned a signed letter of agreement – they either had lost the signed agreement or had forgotten it somewhere – but as they assured me that their parents had permitted them participate and judged by their great interest in the project, I interviewed them nonetheless.

¹⁹ During the course of the fieldwork, 2 boys have been expelled from school and 1 girl decided to leave school.

All adolescent names in the thesis are pseudonyms. Russian / Polish names have been replaced with fictitious Russian / Polish names if a pupil had a Russian / Polish name. However, here it should be also noted that a few pupils with non-Lithuanian background or mixed families, had Lithuanian names, hence, their pseudonyms are also Lithuanian. The grades have also fictitious titles – 8x, 8y, and 8z, where x, y, and z does not follow the order of original titles of the classes – a, b, and c.

3.2. COMPONENTS OF THE ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH²⁰

3.2.1. Participant observation

Participant observation is the key component of the ethnographic research that distinguishes ethnography from other data collection methods. Unlike the (sociolinguistic) interview or survey, when researcher and informants usually meet just once, in the case of the ethnography, the researcher spends a great deal of time together with the informants.

As the term *participant observation* suggests, ethnographers have a double role in the research – that of a participant and that of an observer – participating observer. The study of a particular community is not attained from a distant and safe point but by participating in the social life of that community (Duranti 1997: 89). Role of the participating observer differs from other roles which researcher can have in the study: the complete participant, the participant-as-observe, the observer-as-participant, and the complete observer (Bryman 2001: 299 based on Gold (1958²¹)). The complete observer is a research role, when researcher does not participate in the social life of the community, the informants do not notice the presence of the researcher. The observer-as-participant describes the role when researcher and the informants meet for a very short time, for instance, during the interview (see also Adler & Adler 1994: 379). The role of the complete participant is a research role when researcher functions as a full member of the community. The role of the participant-as-observer is the closest to the one which ethnographer has in the study. In this case, researcher participates in the community activities, interacts with the informants on a regular basis, but the informants are aware of the researcher's status as a researcher (Bryman 2001: 299). This role has its advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, such a role gives researchers a great opportunity to experience the processes which they are analyzing. On the other hand, as the participants-as-observers, researchers might lose the distance which is needed to maintain to be able to analyse the situation and might

²⁰ This part of the chapter is the vastly elaborated (and translated into English) version of my article: Čekuolytė 2012.

²¹ Gold, R. L. 1958. Roles in Sociological Fieldwork. *Social Forces* 36, 217–223.

risk going native (Bryman 2001: 300). The perfect role of the researcher in the ethnographic study could be described as an accepted by-stander or a professional overhearer (Duranti 1997: 101), i.e. neither to get too much involved, nor too much detached from the community life.

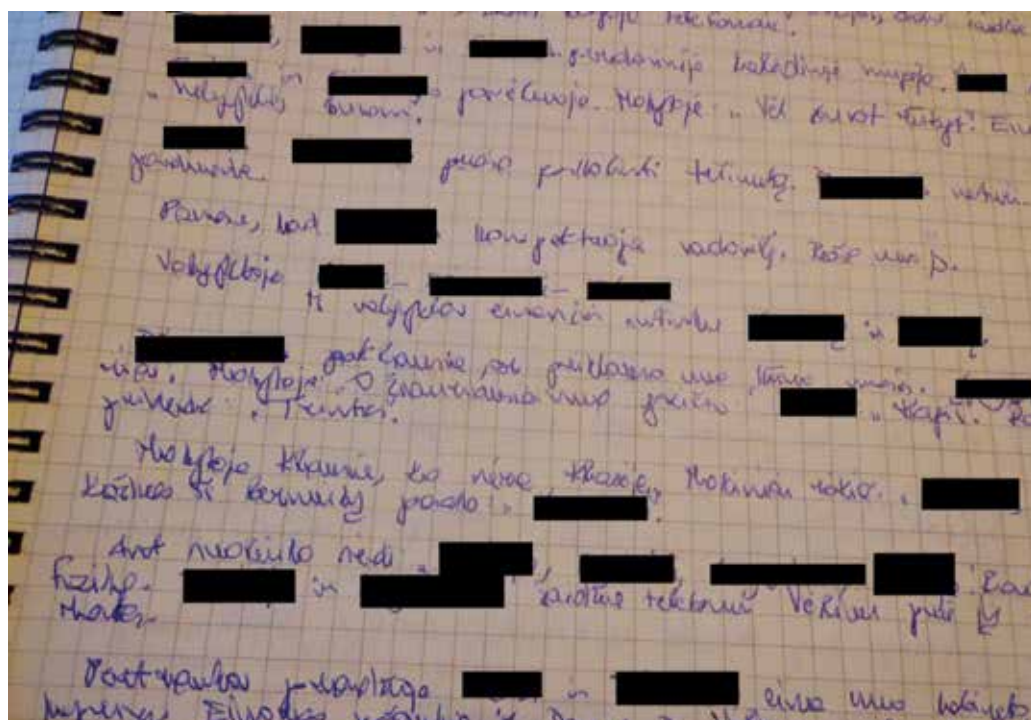
However, in the case of the ethnography, it is better to discuss not the categorization of the researcher roles, which is rather conditional, but the modes of participation and observation:

There are different modes of participant-observation, from *passive participation*, in which the ethnographer tries to be as unintrusive as possible to *complete participation*, in which researchers intensively interact with other participants and might even get to participate in and perform the very activity they are studying (Duranti 1997: 99).

The intensity of participation depends on the situation. The researcher has to find “the right demeanor for a given place” (Duranti 1997: 101). During the breaks and parties, I was more of a complete participant – I was talking with pupils, dancing etc. Sometimes, however, even during the breaks, I was trying to find a blind spot – the least intrusive place where I could observe the pupils. At times, when I was sort of offered a role of the complete participant, I chose to observe rather than participate, for instance, during girl craft lesson, most of the girls in one class were sitting around a table and talking, I was sitting in the same circle but I hardly ever participated in conversations. During lessons, on the contrary, I was more a passive participant. As I was not a pupil, I did not have to answer teacher’s questions, go to the blackboard, do any tasks etc. However, as the time went on, my relation with pupils got closer, pupils tried to involve in the unofficial activities during lessons – girls wanted to talk, to show their diaries, boys tried to persuade me to play cards with them: *Davai pažaidžiam kortom* (*Let’s play cards*) (Arnas, Biology). (See also section 3.3. Relation with informants where I give an extensive account about my fieldwork and fieldwork relations.)

3.2.2. Fieldnotes and diary

When the fieldwork was finished, the ethnographic observations and experiences have to be turned into ethnographic report. Ethnographers take fieldnotes during the course of the fieldwork. Fieldnotes refer to various notes, pictures, schemes recorded during or after observation. It is advised to take notes every single day. Fieldnotes do not have to form a coherent and logic text. It is very probable that not every fieldnote will be used in the report (cf. Emerson et al. 2007: 353). How often and what to note depends on the research question. As the objectives in my study were adolescents’ social categories and language, I paid great attention to the pupils’ social relations and language use, i.e. I tried to note in my notebook who is friend with whom, what they are doing as well as write down slang and other interesting expressions.



Picture 3.2. Extract from my notebook which I filled in every single day at school

As stated above, in the course of the fieldwork it is important to find “the right demeanor for a given place” (Duranti 1997: 101). This applies not only to the relations with the participants but also to taking of fieldnotes. On the one hand, fieldnotes often come handy in the writing phase of the study. On the other hand, sometimes the active participation in the practices of the community provides a better understanding of the community social order than fieldnotes (Emerson et al. 2007: 355). It should also be kept in mind that taking of fieldnotes can attract attention and sometimes this research activity can be rather intrusive to the participants, for instance, taking of fieldnotes in the class party can be considered very inappropriate by the pupils. Besides, in our technology age, spontaneous observations, especially interesting slang expressions, can be noted in the mobile phone.

I took my notes exclusively during the lessons when I both noted what happened during the previous break and the current lesson. I felt that this routine would be the least intrusive to the pupils because in lessons pupils are usually engaged in writing tasks. In that way, my research activity resembled their class and breaks’ activity. The majority of the pupils did not pay any attention to the fieldnotes, except a few boys who throughout the fieldwork tried to read from my fieldnotes despite my explanations that the notes are about my personal experiences and I am the only person who can read them.

Picture 3.2. is the extract of my note book, all names of participants are hidden.

After the school, when I was at home, I wrote the out-of-the-field diary (Delamont 2002: 93) based on my fieldnotes. I wrote quite long passages in the first weeks of the fieldwork. In the last months, the reports were getting shorter and shorter. I was aware of that I most probably would not need even half of the diary pages, however, especially during the first weeks, going through my fieldnotes and writing long passages, helped me to get the better overview of the social order in school.

Below I present two extracts from my diary. The first one is from the second day of my fieldwork in school (actually, this day can count as the first actual fieldwork because on the first day in school I just introduced myself and my study for the pupils and handed out the letters of agreement). The second extract of the diary was written after more than a month of fieldwork.

The first extract from the diary

1st week, 2nd day of fieldwork: 2nd of October, 2012

Before the Lithuanian lesson: 8y

I'm the first one, waiting by the class door all alone. Children are passing by. I keep on thinking: Are these my kids? I've seen them only once, I'm afraid that I might not notice them, not recognize them. I'm even getting worried, if I'm waiting by the right classroom. Where is the teacher? Children?

Finally, the first pupils appear – Andrius and Olegas. They greet me: “Good morning, dear teacher”. Andrius hands in the letter of agreement. Olegas have forgotten it but he adds that he has told about the research to his parents and they let him participate. Another boy comes. Olegas asks him if he has brought the letter of agreement. He has forgotten.

*The boy is standing further from the boys. I noticed that he is revising something. Andrius and Olegas are standing on the opposite side of the hall than me. They are talking about the lessons, I overhear “English test”. Andrius would like to have a different schedule: “It could be Maths, English <...> **joptvaimat**”.*

*Little by little, other pupils show up. When Modestas notices me, he remembers that he has forgotten parents' letter of agreement. He is about to swear **jobš** (the beginning of the swearword “**jobšikmat**”), but restrains himself.*

Here comes a quite tall guy, he looks older than other pupils. Others start to explain to him that he must fill in the application. Most probably he was absent yesterday when I introduced myself to the class. I take the parents' letter of agreement out of my bag and hand it to him. He takes it. The boys around us are laughing. Somebody shouts: “Don't score!” as if that tall guy was about to dangle me.

We go in a classroom. I don't know where to go, so I'm standing in front of the class besides the teacher's table. Sergejus is sitting in front of me. He is bandaging his arm. I ask what's wrong with the arm. He answers that he has strained his arm. Me: “During PE?” Sergejus: “No, during Roman wrestling”. Me: “Are you going to wrestling? Future Olympian?” Sergejus: “No. That boy with a yellow sweater is also attending”.

There are no girls in the classroom yet. That lonely boy is sitting in the front desk, he doesn't go to any boy group. Sergejus is also sitting in his place. Other boys are standing in the back of the class. I notice that Modestas and that older boy talk the most.

The girls come. I don't know their names. I concentrate on their clothes and rituals: who is kissing who (this is their greeting ritual). Most of the girls have fashionable sneakers on. A couple of girls wear wedges like my little sister. One girl has a big light blue watch. The make-up is neutral.

The bell rings. The teacher is still absent and I'm still standing in front of the class. The pupils start to rise to their feet. I tell them not to. As I'm standing in front of class, I'm using this opportunity to ask if there is anybody else who has parents' letter of agreement. Not everybody hears me. The big girl from the back of the class shouts out softly: „Look, there's a question if anybody has brought agreement“. (Later on, I find out that she is a class representative.) No one. Me: “So what, let's wait for the teacher”. I grab the chair from Olegas' desk and put it at the back of the class – that's my place.

The second extract from the diary

7th week, 31st day of fieldwork. 19th of November, 2012

After school

I'm one of the last ones to take my coat from the cloakroom. There are only Laurynas and Liepa left. Albertas took her cloakroom number, so it was kinda difficult for her to take her jacket. The cloakroom attendant even advised her to go to the social worker²². Liepa, however, didn't want to write a petition for such a trifle. “Why do I need additional problems?” Albertas even joked about it: “Let's go to the social worker”. Luckily, everything ended well. It turned out that the number was already hung in its place.

I noticed that Laurynas was talking with somebody fiercely, I'd even say aggressively, on the phone while he was in the cloakroom. It was heard: “He is debilas” (retarded person) and so on. At one point, the phone fell off his hands and fell into pieces. Laurynas swore strongly and assembled the phone. He was still swearing. I thought that the phone was broken; however, it worked fine, as it turned out later on.

I go towards Liepa. I'm holding her scarf, cap and bag while she is taking on her jacket. Liepa says that I don't have to hold the bag. I answer that I want to, it is safer this way. Here comes Laurynas. He tries to grab Liepa's breast. Liepa doesn't say and do anything. Laurynas leaves her alone.

We are going out of school now. Sandra is walking beside me, Liepa and Eglė are in front of us. Sandra is complaining that Eglė and Liepa didn't say goodbye to her. Liepa tells that they'll do that outside. Laurynas is walking behind us.

When we are outside, Liepa and Eglė hug me and say goodbye. Virginija goes out of school. Laurynas and Liepa start a little scramble. Liepa and Eglė even think of to squash

²² Social worker is a post in school with the following functions: handling such problems as smoking, drinking, bullying and alike.

Laurynas' bag into a litterbin, but in the end, they don't do that. However, they mention to Laurynas that Albertas is afraid of them.

As Liepa and Eglė begin to head towards their home, I also head toward the bus stop. Virginija, Sandra and Laurynas walk behind me.

After some time, Albertas joins us at the bus stop. Laurynas and Albertas ask Sandra for a cigarette. After a short persuasion, Sandra gives a cigarette to each of them.

At some point, Sandra asks Laurynas if he is drunk. Laurynas curses and answers: "No". They start talking about drinking. Albertas asks jokingly what Virginija is drinking. Virginija starts mentioning various cheap alcoholic drinks, "Pastogė" and alike. Laurynas replies that only bomžai (tramps) drink "Pastogė". Albertas adds that Laurynas drinks, unfortunately, I don't remember the name of the drink, what I remember is, that it was a slang word. Albertas also adds that Virginija knows too much. Shortly after, Albertas leaves us.

Sandra asks Laurynas why he was expelled from the (previous) school. At first, Laurynas doesn't want to answer, but, later on, he just says that he got caught smoking. However, I doubt this is the real reason – there are usually quite a few smokers in school. Sandra notices as well that this is nonsense – "So you can expel almost the whole school". Virginija adds that teachers make light of smoking pupils. Many pupils smell of smoke, but nothing is said about it.

I noticed that Laurynas is constantly spitting in the litterbin, almost every 5 seconds... Laurynas takes a look at a bus timetable and asks us if it's Saturday today. (What a question!) I start suspecting that Laurynas might not 100 % sober. Laurynas swears again – he has to wait for a bus for quite a long time.

Laurynas gets a phone call. I don't remember the whole conversation but it must be the same person he talked on the phone in the cloakroom cos Laurynas explains that his phone fell off his hands.

Laurynas takes a hammer out of his bag, it's quite a big hammer. He asks if Virginija still needs it. Virginija answers that she would have needed it in class. (Somebody has folded Virginijas knitting needles, so she needed something to straighten them.) I ask Laurynas why he needs a hammer. He answers that he thought that he might need it during craft class, but he didn't need it. However, the answer doesn't convince me – craft class has plenty of various tools.

Laurynas decides to have a smoke. I warn him to be more cautious – he is about to smoke in front of the school! Laurynas doesn't care. Besides, Sandra tells that she also sometimes smokes at a bus stop. Laurynas takes out his green lighter and lights a cigarette. Sandra says that she has the same lighter but red. Laurynas mouths something quite grossly to her. Sandra notices that Laurynas is smoking very fast. That is true – in a few minutes, half of the thin pink cigarette that Sandra gave to him, is gone. Sandra also tells that once they shared the cigarette and Laurynas finished his bit in a minute.

When Laurynas starts smoking, Virginija ostentatiously goes away from him – the whole 5 meters away if not further. I stay at my place. Sandra asks me if I've tried to smoke. I'm not sure what to say – actually, I have never even tried a cigarette, but if I tell

the truth, will I look like as a true good little girl? I just shrug. Sandra takes it for a positive answer: "Of course, all modern people have tried."

Laurynas asks me: "Where do You live?" Me: "You have already asked me this. I live in xxx." Laurynas: "Oh, there lives one such redhead". Me: "Jonas?" Laurynas: "No, such bigger redhead. Once he got in coma, the ambulance was called, he is an idiot." Me: "Has he drunk that much" Laurynas: "Yeah, that's my former classmate". Sandra: "What's his name?" Laurynas: "xxx".

Milda joins us. Laurynas starts to blow smoke towards her face. She tries to chase them with her arms. Sandra: "I let you blow the smoke on Milda". Virginija asks Milda where she is going. She answers: xxx (one of the neighborhoods of Vilnius). Sandra shouts: "xxx (the name of the neighborhood) rules!"

Shortly after, Laurynas' bus arrives. He says bye to us: "Bye, pacanai (male fellas)". Sandra rushes after him. She quickly hugs Virgnija and Milda.

I'm going home on the same bus as Virginija. Virginija could have taken the same bus as Laurynas and Sandra, but she doesn't want to be with them. Virginija can't understand why Sandra is after Laurynas.

In the second day of my fieldwork in school I was very uncertain – I was worried if I was waiting by the right classroom, if I would recognize the pupils – I had seen them only once. I was also trying to find my place in the classroom before the lesson. Until this day, I remember that uncertainty very clearly: where I should stand, what I should do. However, even though it was my second meeting with the pupils and I did not know them at all, I concentrated my observations on pupils' relations: who is talking with whom, who is sitting by themselves, I also paid attention to the girls' clothes. Pupils did not know me either. When the bell rang, they instantly stood up – there was an adult in front of the class, so they must act accordingly. Besides, the first week was affected by research practicalities – the pupils handed in letters of agreement.

The seventh week of the fieldwork was a lot more relaxed. As it can be told from the diary, I knew the pupils quite well and the pupils had also accepted me in their community. Before going home, the girls hugged me, the boys did not scruple to talk about drinking and even smoked in my presence whereas in the first week, the boys even did not dare to swear. The level of formality had reduced significantly.

3.2.3. Ethnographic interview

Participant observation is usually supplemented with ethnographic interviews (Bryman 2001). One of the main reasons for inclusion of the interview in the ethnographic study is to gather data which is not accessible through participant observation, such as informants' thoughts, interests, and activities which take place outside of the field where the study is being conducted, in my case of my research it would be the

activities that the pupils engage in outside of school. To carry out a sociolinguistic research or linguistic ethnography relying solely on participant observation without the implementation of interview or other methods of data gathering (see below) would be a hard task, if not impossible.

Interview is a popular and well-established method in (socio)linguistics. There are different types of interviews: unstructured interview, semi-structured interview, structured interview, qualitative interview, sociolinguistic interview, ethnographic interview, group interview etc. In the following, I will present the type of interview, I used in my study – the ethnographic interview – and outline the differences between the ethnographic interview and other types of interviews as well as the casual every day conversation.

Ethnographic interview is an unstructured or semi-structured qualitative interview, used in a project where “researchers have established respectful, on-going relationships with their interviewees, including enough rapport for there to be a genuine exchange of views and enough time and openness in the interviews for the interviewees to explore purposefully with the researcher the meanings they place on the events in their worlds” (Heyl 2007: 369). This also means that this type of interview is part of the bigger research enterprise, namely ethnography, as the relationships between researchers and their informants have been established through participant observation.

The difference between the qualitative interview and the ethnographic interview lies in the relation between the researcher and the interviewee and the frequency of contact. In the case of the qualitative interview, the researcher and the interviewee usually do not know each other and meet for the first time during the interview. In the case of the ethnographic interview, as mentioned above, the researcher and the informant are acquainted with each other. Even more, the researcher has already attained a certain role in the community and has already gained his or her informants’ trust²³, which the researcher doing the qualitative interview, has to gain during the interview. However, despite the fact that the researcher and the informant know each other, the ethnographic interview is not a casual friendly conversation (though participation observation consists of many casual conversations with the informants). In a friendly conversation, all participants ask questions and give answers. Whereas in the ethnographic interview, the conversation is much less balanced: the researcher asks questions, the interviewee answers them (Spradley 1979: 28). Thus, the usual hierarchical relationship is also prevailed to some extent during the ethnographic interview.

The purpose of the ethnographic interview is to reveal informant’s experiences and world-view. There are several strategies to fulfill this purpose. The researcher can use an unstructured interview – ask a single question and let the informant respond almost

²³ Therefore, it is in general advised not to conduct interviews in the first weeks of the fieldwork.

uninterrupted (Bryman 2001: 314). However, the unstructured interviews rely heavily on the informant's ability to talk freely. Therefore, the semi-structured interviews are more frequently used. The researcher usually has a list of topics (based on prior knowledge of the field and on the experience gained during the fieldwork), which he or she would like to discuss with the informants. Besides, in this way it is possible to compare informants' answers and to analyse their views of the same topic.

In sociolinguistic studies interviews also serve as data for the linguistic analysis. One of the most popular and most probably widely established types of interview to collect data for the linguistic analysis is the sociolinguistic interview, pioneered by the American sociolinguist William Labov. The difference between the sociolinguistic and the ethnographic interview lies in the main objective. The sociolinguistic interview is designed to collect linguistic data for the variation sociolinguistic analysis, i.e. the researcher is interested in the informant's speech (see also Davies 2001: 55) while the main focus of the ethnographic interview is to give the informant the possibility to talk about his or her thoughts and interests.

The sociolinguistic interview builds on the hypothesis that the stylistic repertoire of each speaker encompasses two styles: the informal one – vernacular, the unmonitored authentic linguistic style (this is how the speaker talks when his or her linguistic behavior is not observed) and the formal one, or the standard one – the linguistic style that the speaker uses when he or she pays attention to the language use. In other words, the sociolinguistic interview builds on the assumption that speakers operate on the one-dimensional continuum between vernacular and careful speech and that situation decides the formality of the language use (Maegaard 2007: 67–68, see also Eckert 2012). The speakers are able to produce a lot more linguistic styles than informal and formal, they can also construct “cool”, “streetwise”, “modern”, “conservative”, “nerd” styles, just to name a few. We cannot be sure that the speaker will change the linguistic style when the formality of the situation increases. For instance, in the job interview in the media organization the applicant may use “the youth style” (the linguistic style, characteristic for the contemporary youth) and even slang expressions because it can be appropriate in this situation (Maegaard 2007: 67). In order to demonstrate their intelligence and hereby to distinguish themselves from the mainstream youth, nerd girls in Buchtolz's research (2011: 150 – 163) used the style akin to the formal and careful speech even in their spontaneous conversations with friends. Besides, the latest sociolinguistic research has shown that linguistic innovation emerges and flourishes not necessarily in the informal style, but in a style which can be defined as flamboyant, hence, it is the flamboyant practices which capacitate the sound change (Eckert 2011).

In general, the question of formality can be irrelevant in late modernity when there is a clear tendency to informalization and democratization in the public sphere (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011). What is also interesting that it can be difficult to assume

how a speaker will react to the change of the formality in the sociolinguistic interview, i.e. when a speaker is asked to read a text passage or a wordlist at the end of the interview. Quist's (2012) study on the Copenhagen youth stylistic practices revealed that adolescents tended to exaggerate /t/ affrication while reading the text, even though the affricated /t/ is associated with the low Copenhagen style (Quist 2012: 283). It is highly possible that the Copenhagen adolescents do not associate the affricated /t/ with the informal style and they simply articulated clearer when they were asked to read the given text which resulted in the longer affrication (ibid.).

Despite the criticism, the sociolinguistic interview is a valid method in sociolinguistics and gives reliable results. Besides, this method is especially useful to survey quite large populations and informants with different educational and occupational backgrounds. Having said that I do share Maegaard's (2007: 68) argument that the sociolinguistic interview provides the (over)simplified picture of the variation in the society. It cannot capture many important nuances of the variation. Instead of operating with the linear stylistic dimension (formal – informal, standard language – vernacular), the studies of the third wave sociolinguistics which are based on the sociolinguistic interviews, shift their focus to the construction of persona / social identity as demonstrated by Zhang (2005, 2008, see also the discussion about the third wave in 2.3.3.).

As my research is interdisciplinary, the interview has two purposes in this case. The interview is the opportunity to get to know the pupils better, for instance, to get to know about their leisure time and time off-school, and to let them express their opinions about certain topics, even though, the topics were largely chosen by me. But as my research also has the linguistic aspect, the interviews also have been used for the linguistic analysis. The sound quality in the interview is a lot better than in the group discussions and self-recordings, when a few informants' talk might overlap and the background can be quite noisy (the latter is especially true for self-recordings). The objective of the linguistic analysis is to discover the connection between the linguistic variation and other social practices.

3.2.4. Interviews with the pupils

I conducted interviews with 75 pupils out of 90 pupils (two pupils – Pijus and Renata – were interviewed twice) as well as 4 group discussions. It is a common practice to interview the informants twice (or even more times) in the ethnographic study, however, due to time limits, I could not interview all the pupils twice. Originally I even have not planned to interview a pupil more than once or to carry out any group discussions, but as the pupils' interest in the project was overwhelming, I had to re-consider my initial plan. Consequently, I decided to make an additional

interview with the pupils who were particularly keen on being interviewed for the second time or who were not satisfied with the first interview (see Andrius' case below). The exception here was though Renata who got interviewed twice as a reward for performing a self-recording. It was usually a pair of friends who wanted both to participate in an interview for the second, so in order to save time a pair of friends was interviewed together, thus the second interview turned into a small group discussion. During a group discussion (the second interview), I as a rule asked pupils to elaborate on a few topics from the first interview as well as to discuss a few events that I had encountered through participant observation, unless there was a particular topic which adolescents were interested in talking about, for instance, two girls wanted to tell about the trouble they got in after having participated in the wild party (see section 4.7. and appendix 1).

Individual interviews and group discussion yielded approximately 64 hours of recorded material: 61,5 hours of interviews and nearly 2,5 hour of discussions. 14 pupils did not wish to be interviewed and one girl had left school. The vast majority of those pupils, who did not want to participate in the interview, were the silent pupils, many of whom could be described as loners (4.8), which means that this pupil category is underrepresented in the interview part of my study. Many of those pupils did not participate in any class social activities, and, as a result, did not have any power in their class. They constituted the invisible mass on the social landscape of the school. Their non-participation in the school culture, except lessons, made it quite hard for me as a non-full member of the community to reach them. They did not express any dissatisfaction with my presence in school, but most probably they were the most indifferent with my being and my enterprise, which can explain their unwillingness to be interviewed. Here I should also note that their classmates found it strange that someone did not want to be interviewed, which can point to the fact that what is fun and cool for the majority of the pupils, is not for the minority.

I began to carry out interviews with pupils in middle of November 2012, the second month of the fieldwork. The last interview took place at the end of May 2013. Most of the interviews took place in the school museum. If it was booked, I used an empty classroom instead. The interviews varied from 20 minutes to one hour and 20 minutes. The school administration kindly allowed me to use lessons for interviews provided a teacher agreed to let a pupil go of the class. Granted this permission, the project gained a great success among the pupils. However, this also meant that all interviews which lasted longer than 45 were actually split in two parts because I could not be sure that the teacher of the next lesson would let the pupil to be interviewed. In many cases, the remaining part of the interview took place the next day or later.

Every interview began with a short introduction of my project about adolescent's culture. I also reassured the pupils that the interview is anonymous; I would not men-

tion neither their names nor the names of their friends *in my book*. I also made it clear that nothing we would discuss about would be reported to the third parts – school authorities and their friends. I explained that the interview had to be recorded in order for me to remember what we talked about, so that I would not distort their thoughts and opinions. None of the pupils, who agreed to do an interview, were against the recording of their talk.

The interview guide, I used in my study, was inspired by the Danish studies on youth language (Maegaard 2007, Quist 2012), see table 3.1. The actual formulations of questions and even the order in which the questions were asked of course differed from interview to interview. Besides, after the first interview, when I felt that I had learned the interview guide by heart, I did not place it on the table when I was interviewing the pupil. The purpose of leaving the guide in the bag was to create a lovely atmosphere and not some sort of school situation when the pupil and I had to tick off certain points from the scheme.

The interview guide includes questions about the pupil's activities off-school (part I.) I asked these questions at the beginning because I assumed that they should be the easiest questions to answer. Part II involves questions about the social relations in the class and the pupil's attitude to school (question "What is it the most important in school for you?"). Questions in part III were asked for the analysis of the pupils' aspirations: the higher aspirations mean a choice of a better gymnasium. The question about the plans of the distant future (What would you like to do when you grow up?) was not very successful, as it could be predicted, because my informants had a very vague idea what they would do when they would be *adults*, a few pupils though shared very interesting ideas. Part IV involves questions about the pupil's linguistic repertoire. The interviewed ended with the demographic questions about the pupil (part V).

The success of the interview relied on my ability to create conditions for the pupil to open up, on the pupil's social skills (some are in general more talkative than others), the level of trust and period in the fieldwork (beginning, middle or toward the end of the project) when the interview took place. The latter two factors are interrelated: the more to the end of the fieldwork I conducted the interview, the more trust pupils had in me. All the interviews in the last months of the fieldwork lasted at least 40 minutes while at the beginning of the fieldwork I also had interviews which lasted about 20–25 minutes. Besides, I also got to know pupils better through the on-going participant observation which resulted in more questions I wanted to ask them.

To illustrate the impact which the period of fieldwork might have on the level of trust I list below two extracts from the interviews with pupils. The first one is the extract from the interview made with the boy Andrius in December 2012; the second one is the extract from the group discussion where Andrius and his friend and classmate Naglis participated in the end of May 2013.

Table 3.1. Interview guide

Interview guide

I. Questions about the informant: His / her daily life, free time, and hobbies

Tell me about your daily life, how does your week look like?

Do you attend any clubs outside school? What did you attend as a kid?

How do you spend your free time with your friends? Who are you friends? Best friends?

Your favorite music groups, TV programs etc.

Computer: how much time do you spend online? What do you use computer for?

Parties – what parties do you attend? What do you do? How do you celebrate your birthday? Tell me about some party you attended.

II. Questions about a pupil's class and fellow eight-graders

What groups are there in your class? Why are those pupils together?

What are your best friends in school?

What do you have to do to be popular? To be known among other 8th graders? Can you name a few popular pupils?

What is it the most important in school for you?

III. Questions about the future plans

What gymnasium are you planning to go? Why?

What would you like to do when you grow up? What would you like to work?

IV. Questions about languages

What languages can you speak? How well? When do you use these languages?

Have you noticed that some pupils speak differently or that their language is somewhat different?

Why have you chosen Russian / German as your second foreign language?

V. Questions about the informant

Were you born in Vilnius? If not, when did you move here?

Where do you live now? (Neighborhood)

Parents occupation

How old are you?

The concluding question: What is your general opinion of nowadays adolescents?

Extract 3.1. Interview with Andrius

- 1 Aurytė: tenka dalyvaut vakarėliuose juos ruošti
2 Andrius: ne buvau šiaip porą kartų apskritai tokiam klube
3 Aurytė: mh
4 Andrius: o šiaip tai su draugais į plotus
5 Aurytė: mh
6 Andrius: nu kaip ir viskas
7 Aurytė: o ką per plotus plotuose veikiat
8 Andrius: paslaptis
(laughter)
9 Aurytė: paslaptis nenori pasakyti
10 Andrius: nu kaip visi
11 Aurytė: kaip visi?
12 Andrius: taip

Translation:

- 1 Aurytė: do you happen to participate in the parties organize them
2 Andrius: no I have been generally a couple of times in such a club
3 Aurytė: mh
4 Andrius: and so with friends in wild parties
5 Aurytė: mh
6 Andrius: and so that's it
7 Aurytė: and what during wild parties in wild parties do you do
8 Andrius: it's a secret
(laughter)
9 Aurytė: a secret you don't want to tell
10 Andrius: so like everybody
11 Aurytė: like everybody?
12 Andrius: yes

Extract 3.2. Group discussion with Andrius and Naglis

- 13 Aurytė: gal gali man papasakoti truputį plačiau kas buvo su policija dėl ko tu atsidūrei
14 policijoje?
15 Andrius: aš ne tai kad atsidūriau bet aš dabar sėdžiu įskaitoj
16 Aurytė: hm
17 Andrius: nes aš prisigėriau
18 Naglis: iki komos
19 Andrius: jo
[Naglis makes a noise with his nose]
20 Andrius: [reani]macijoje gulėjau mano buvau piniginę
21 pametęs kažkas tai nunešė į mentūrą
22 Aurytė: hm
23 Andrius: mentūroj sužinojo kad aš reanimacijoje nes prisigėriau ir gavau tą kažkokią tai
24 nesąmonę

Translation:

- 13 Aurytė: maybe can you tell me a little bit more what happened with the police
why did you
14 end up in the police
15 Andrius: it's not that I ended in the police I sit in the record
(("to sit in the record" is a slang expression for being registered in the police records))
16 Aurytė: hm
17 Andrius: because I drank myself full
18 Naglis: to coma
19 Andrius: yea
[Naglis makes a noise with his nose]
20 Andrius: [I was in the reani] mation unit my I lost my wallet
somebody
21 brought it to the police station
22 Aurytė: hm
23 Andrius: in the police station they got to know that I'm in the reanimation unit
so I got that
24 nonsense

During the individual interview (extract 3.1.) Andrius admits that he sometimes attends the (wild) parties – *plotai*, but he is uncomfortable to talk about them: it's a secret to know how those parties look like. Without further elaboration Andrius solely marks that his behavior is just like everybody else's (line 10 "so like everybody") and his pronunciation of "yes" in line 12 clearly marks the end of discussion of this topic. But halfway through the fieldwork Andrius approached me to ask for the second interview because as he himself put it – he had not told me *everything* in the first one. Due to time restrictions, I could not perform the second individual interview with him; instead I included him in two group discussions. Extract 2 is from the second group discussion. Unlike the first interview in December, during the group discussion with his best friend in the class Andrius feels more relaxed and is willing to let me know about the parties and even his encounters with the police.

However, I am aware of that interview "is discovery and only partial knowledge will ever be attained" (Heyl 2007: 370). Therefore, it has never been my aim to extract the truth out from my informants (and what it *the truth* anyway!). Instead I have viewed interviews as acts of identity in which my informants give away information about themselves (Blommaert 2005). I have never challenged pupils' opinions and questioned their answers, even though I have obtained different information from other pupils and through participant observation. (However, I did not apply this approach in the group discussions when I allowed myself to question pupils' answers and this way keep the discussion going.) For instance, a group of girls asserted that they did not smoke, although other pupils told me they did and I also

overheard them boasting to the boys that there is a kiosk in the neighbourhood which sold cigarettes to them. I did not interpret girls' answers as *lies* but as the construction of a style of school-oriented girls who tried to live up to certain expectations and who were aware of that certain information might damage the construction of "good girl" image.

As it was noted above, the interviews serve also as data for the variationist analysis of adolescents' speech due to the better sound quality. However, interview is not the situation that adolescents participate on a daily basis. Actually, it is rather exceptional, especially the interview with an adult and the voice-recorder. One can assume that adolescents would talk differently in such a situation than with their peers. Therefore, I have to discuss how well I have succeeded to cope with the observer's paradox (Labov 1972b: 113), i.e. to what degree I succeeded to obtain "the language of everyday life used when the linguist is not present" (Labov 1972b: 109). Firstly, my informants did not know that their language is being observed because I had stated both in my first presentation to the class and before in the interview that the focus of my research is adolescents and their culture. Secondly, pupils knew me quite well and accepted myself in their community which should have diminished the awkwardness of the interview situation. And in general, I assumed that there should not be much motivation for Vilnius' adolescents to change their phonetics as it usually happens in a smaller town where people tend to hide dialectal features in their speech. All my informants were born (or lived for quite a long time) in Vilnius. Metalinguistic commentaries, provided by lay Vilnius dwellers, revealed that Vilnius speech is perceived as an unmarked variety which has no prominent dialect features. Furthermore, Vilnius speech pronunciation is often thought of as standard variety (cf. Vaicekauskienė & Čičirkaitė 2011, Vaicekauskienė & Aliūkaitė 2013, Vaicekauskienė 2014). Adolescents are young, which means a rather minimal exposure to formality (cf. Quist's (2012) analysis of the affricated /t/ of the Danish adolescents' speech in interview and in the given text to read). Obviously, I can never be sure of motivations and intentions of concrete individuals and, thus, I cannot know whether my informants deliberately tried to manipulate their styles by changing their (phonetic or lexical) variation patterns during the interview. However, as later analysis has shown, I succeeded in eliciting linguistic variation which is involved in construction of different adolescent styles.

3.2.5. Interviews with the teachers

It has never been my intention to interview teachers, but as I got along very well with a couple of them, I used a few lessons to sit and talk with them separately about the streetwise pupils in order to get information about their families (see section 4.5.

for the extensive discussion about these pupils and their practices). I did not manage to gather enough data about the families from the interviews with pupils, but I have had an assumption that the explanation for their choice of style could be traced back to the family relations and possible problems. I had not recorded any of the talks with teachers and none of their thoughts made its direct way into the pages of my thesis, however, the information that I got to know from the teachers, shaped my understanding about the streetwise pupils and their social background.

3.2.6. Self-recordings

The interview is a reliable method to collect data for the variationist linguistic analysis. However, the language use in the interview does not represent the language used to talk with the pupils' friends. The interview with an adult, even though if you know that adult quite well and can trust her, meant decrease in slang expressions and especially decrease in swearwords which were extinct in the interviews.

Extract. 3.4. Interview with Albertas

Albertas: pavyzdžiui kai ten per praeitą klasės valandėlę ten išvis buvo kažkas ten (.) sulaužė spintelę sako (.) ss sako kažkas spintelę sulaužė auklėtoja Arnas (.) Arnas **blet** *debilas* sako e sako (light laughter) karočia mes su Albertu ten tikrai buvom ten nieko nelaužėmo net nepaminėjo apie mus ten karočia

Translation:

Albertas: for instance when like during the previous class hour like kinda it happened somebody like (.) broke the cupboard (.) ss says the class teacher says somebody broke the cupboard Arnas (.) Arnas **blet** *retard* says eh says (light laughter) so me with Albertas were just there we didn't break anything but she even didn't mention us there so

This is one of the extremely rare instances when the harsh Russian swearword (see chapter 6) had been used in the interview. However, the utterance, where the swearing occurred, had been followed by a light laughter of embarrassment which marked the awareness that the conventions of the talk with the adult had been broken.

In order to get the speech patterns used to talk with the peers, I have equipped 12 pupils, 7 girls and 5 boys, with a voice-recorder with an attached microphone to it and asked to record conversations with their friends outside of school. Adolescents for this task were chosen based on the local category affiliation and style (see chapter 4, for a quick overview go directly to section 4.10.). Ideally, informants of all categories and styles should have been presented in the corpus of self-recordings, however, it was not that easy to fulfill this goal due to a number of reasons. Firstly,

this part of the project was started rather late – in March, the sixth month of the fieldwork, which left me just three months to collect the data (unless the pupils would be willing to participate in the research during their summer holidays. A few pupils agreed to record conversations with their friends in the summer time). The late start of self-recordings was caused because of my wish to be certain that I had pupils' trust, so they would be comfortable recording their speech. However, when I look back now to my fieldwork in school, I realize that I could have easily started earlier with self-recordings. Secondly, pupils used to either to forget to record their chats with friends or to bring back the voice-recorder to me at the agreed time. Thirdly, for the most time of the project I had only one voice-recorder at my disposal which I could give to the pupils (the other voice-recorder I was using for the interviews).

Not all of the 12 pupils have actually recorded anything and a few have recorded very few minutes. However, one girl, Rugilè, was very enthusiastic about this enterprise and returned what could amount to more than a half of all the collected self-recordings – approximately 38 hours. Thanks to Rugilè I have managed to collect the extensive recorded material from the streetwise adolescents.

Most of the pupils recorded conversations with their classmates and the absolute majority of those conversations took place outside of school. I have instructed the pupils that they have to inform their non-school friends that they are participating in a scientific project about youth and ask for the friends' permission to record the conversation. When returning the voice-recorders, a few pupils told me that sometimes their non-school friends asked to turn the voice-recorder off, they did not wish to be recorded. I took it as a proof that no candid recordings were made and that the interlocutors had always the right to refuse to participate in the project.

What is specific with the self-recordings is that they provide a record of the informants' every day interactions which otherwise would leave no record (Schoning & Møller 2009: 248). It is worth noting that the audio self-recording provides not solely linguistic material. Even though the primary objective for inclusion of the self-recordings was to collect speech patterns, but I have got to know not only what and how my informants were discussing with their friends, but also what they were doing while they were recording and where the recording took place. My corpus of pupils' self-recordings encompasses different topics, practices, and locations: pupils spending time with their friends at home and in shopping malls, playing in the yard, buying alcohol, running away from home etc. It is needless to say that the practices, locations, topics, and wording are incorporated in construction of different adolescent social categories.

In total, I have collected approximately 52,5 hours of self-recordings. Besides the streetwise adolescents – boys and girls, the corpus of self-recordings includes conversations, recorded by cool girls, cool boys, active pro-school girls, and good girls. In the study, the extracts from the spontaneous conversations were used for the analysis of adolescent swearing practices. Besides, self-recordings supplemented the ethnographic observations.

3.2.7. Posters

Towards the end of the fieldwork and towards the end of the school year I had asked 18 pupils, 8 boys and 10 girls, divided into 5 different groups – 2 boy groups and 3 girl groups – to make a poster which should represent their last message to the school. (After the eighth grade all pupils had to switch school.) I provided pupils with all the necessary means to make a poster: a piece of paper, paint (gouache), pencils, felt-tips, scissors, and glue. After given the instructions to the pupils about what they would have to do, I also noted that I would leave a turned-on voice-recorder which I placed on the desk. I explained to the pupils that I needed to record their drawing of a poster in order to know what actions and decisions they made during the process of fulfilling of the task. After that I left the class.

Language, recorded during the completion of a given task, most probably does not resemble the language, used to communicate with the peers. Even though they were left alone in the class (unlike during the interview when we were sitting in front of or next to a familiar adult), they were still in school, completing the task and the voice-recorder was placed visibly on the desk (unlike the self-recordings when the voice-recorder was put in the clothes pocket or a bag and just a little microphone was visibly hanging out of a shirt or a bag which resulted in as many pupils reported, they had totally forgotten that they were recording), all of which might have influenced their language use. Besides, at times pupils were so engaged in making the poster that they did not talk much. A group of girls decided to listen to music halfway through the creation of the poster. They placed the mobile phone quite close to the recorder which made it almost impossible to hear their conversations. In my previous study, which is briefly reported in Čekuolytė (2012), I have recorded pupils playing the table game “Monopoly”. There was more interaction between the pupils during the game than during the course of making of a poster, because the game itself involves quite a lot of talking. However, the advantage of asking pupils to make the poster is the outcome – a poster which can also be included in the analysis of the style construction, especially when different groups of pupils draw different posters which also represent different last messages to school, thus, posters reify pupils’ perception of the school as institution (cf. Wenger 2007 [1998]: 69–70). The two posters, which adorn the cover of the thesis, have been produced by two different groups of pupils. The picture on the left which depicts pupils leaving happily school for summer holidays has been drawn by the active schoolwise girls. One of the key practices in constructing such a style is engagement in school activities – active participation during lessons and extracurricular school plays. Thus, it is no surprise that they are leaving a positive last message to school. The poster on the right was produced by the group of adolescents whom I based on their practices, labelled as streetwise. Those practices include little interest in class activities, truancy, smoking etc. (though one cool boy also participated, but he hardly contributed to the making of the poster). They were the only

group of pupils who participated in this part of the study, who made a poster with no visible reference to school – the others either painted school building or wrote the first letters of their school in graffiti style. Instead, these adolescents drew signs which prohibit smoking and drinking, but allow taking of weed. Their last message to school was of a clear anti-establishment manner (see also section 4.5.).

3.2.8. Online questionnaire

In the last month of my fieldwork I carried out the online questionnaire (see the appendices 2 and 3 for respectively the Lithuanian and the English versions) with 79 informants about their language use and attitudes to youth language. The main focus of the questionnaire was to gain insight into Vilnius adolescents' swearing tendencies and attitudes to and evaluations of different types of swearing. Pupils were asked to list their most frequently used swearwords and the strongest swearwords as well as to give their attitudes about the utterances, heavily loaded with swearwords. I had chosen to prepare the online questionnaire which the pupils completed during the IT class, assuming that it would be more fun and comfortable for the pupils.

I present the design of the questionnaire and discuss the results of the study on reported swearing practices and attitudes to swearing in chapter 6. In this section, I will just briefly report about the procedure of data collection and pupils' reactions to the survey. To perform the survey about swearwords in the school environment is a sensitive and challenging matter. Even in the school where I have been conducting fieldwork for months, the deputy principal was a little hesitant to give me permission to carry out such a survey after having read the questions. However, adults' concern does not necessarily reflect adolescents' attitudes. The majority of the pupils did not have any problem with the questionnaire, just a few pupils felt a little uneasily in the beginning and asked me a few times if they really could write a swearword. In fact, the pupils did not give a prominence to the survey as it was presumed by the school authorities. When I after two days represented the survey to another class, no pupil had made a remark that she or he already had known about it which meant that the word about the questionnaire did not spread among the pupils, most probably, they forgot about it the minute they completed it. Hence, sensitive and challenging linguistic practices for adults are no big deal for most adolescents.

3.3. RELATIONS WITH THE INFORMANTS. A FLY ON THE WALL – IS IT POSSIBLE?

It is responsibility of anthropologists to explain ourselves, who we are and where we come from, often with what read like embarrassing or distracting results, drawing accusations that we seek attention for ourselves unnecessarily, when the “real” subjects

of the study are the people among whom we worked. And yet there is not only a responsibility but an obligation.

<...>

As you read this, you deserve to know that I was not a neutral instrument in this project. What I present as a text was filtered through my sensibility, my interpretation as well as my equivocation. Even what I considered as “data points” were selected in my perception according to the sum of my prior experiences and my take of the situations encountered (Mendoza-Denton 2008: 43–44).

Every ethnography is a cooperation between the informants and the researcher and the success of the final product depends on the both parts, involved in this project. Researcher has to be able to gain access to the community and its trust. Informants have to be willing to participate and share their stories. And these processes – gaining access and trust as well willingness to share some period of their life (both in reality and in story-telling) – are subjective. In this section, I present myself, my place in the community (the school), and my relations with the informants, my successes and my pitfalls in the field. Here I also touch upon the informants’ relations with me. This section, which may seem too long and unnecessary (cf. the quote above), is actual a very important part of the thesis. As my informants had to figure me out, my readers also have to know about me because it will affect how they will be reading these pages (cf. Mendoza-Denton 2008: 44).

3.3.1. Aurytè – the teacher? The aunt? The who???

I was twenty-seven years old when I conducted the study which means I was almost double the age of my informants. However, I do not look my age and could easily pass as a graduating class pupil (in fact, even at the age of 27, I get asked for an id in shops when buying alcohol), but nonetheless, I definitely do not look like an eighth-grader. Although there is a general agreement that age, gender, and race of the researcher has influence on the informants, there is no reliable evidence to what extent (for a discussion see Cukor-Avila and Bailey 2001). As regards to the age of the researcher in doing an ethnography about youth, some claim that young researchers may not be the best candidates for the research as they may act as a threat to the informants and may judge based on their youth experience which is too fresh to leave behind (Eckert 1989: 29). Others, on the contrary, recruit graduate students to carry out the study about adolescents (Heller 2006: 19). I do believe that age matters in working with adolescents and younger researchers are better candidates for the fieldwork in school because they simply slide better in the community. Besides, younger researchers are better candidates not only for the sake of pupils, but also for the sake of teachers. A pupil-like researcher in a class should be less intrusive to the teachers than an adult-looking. For instance, once History teacher confused me with a pupil

and accidentally gave a test sheet to me. Having said that, one must not underestimate researcher's social skills and experience. Communicative skills, openness, and ability to conform to the rules of the community are the keys to the successful fieldwork relations. "Ethnography is not practical for everyone" (Eckert 2000: 74).

Despite my pretty young age and look and despite my presence in school every single day from the first lesson till the last approx. 6 hours a day (except the last one and a half month of the fieldwork, when due to the practical matters I had to reduce my time in the field to 2 – 3 hours a day), I was not a full member of the pupil's community. First of all, I did not belong to any class. My plan was to devote my fieldwork time equally between the three classes, so every school day I spent with a different class, for instance, Monday with class 8x, Tuesday with class 8y, Wednesday with class 8z, and then the circle repeats. And I did my best to work according to this schedule. Secondly, the pupils were always at least to some extent aware of my status as a researcher. They never took me as a friend, though the girls occasionally claimed that I could look as one of them to the other people. And that is an important distinction they made here: Outsiders may think that I am their (older) friend but they (insiders) knew my real status. When one of the boys, Laurynas, started a rather friendly fight with Liepa and Eglė at the bus stop right in front of the school, an old lady began to scold him. Laurynas replied quite harshly that she should not interfere in other people's matters. Despite Laurynas' impolite remark, the woman did not cease to scold him and even threaten report him to the principal's office and to call the police, but she never asked for my help, for instance, to take him to the principal's office, although I was standing very close to them. My guess is that she thought I was not an adult, in her eyes I belonged to their group.

My status as an adult researcher was also palpable from the way the pupils addressed me. The vast majority of the informants called me *Jūs* (*You*) throughout the entire fieldwork. *Jūs* is a polite formal address form (plural form of second-person personal pronoun), used for formal interactions and with interlocutors with higher status. In Lithuania, it is an established tradition for adolescents to address most adults, especially, the ones in a clearly superior position, such as teachers, social workers, principals, in a polite formal form – *Jūs*. Pupils also called me a teacher. At the beginning of the fieldwork I used to correct them that I was not a teacher and tried to encourage them to call me by my name, and actually, as the time went by, quite a few, both girls and boys, started calling me Aurytė, but some kept on addressing me as a teacher during the whole study. However, I do not believe that they thought of me as a teacher. Most probably the title "teacher" got attached out of necessity somehow to label me – an adult who spent every single day with pupils in school. Out of all adults, it is usually teachers who spend time together with pupils in school, so, consequently I was labelled a teacher. Occasionally, a few girls, whom I have called active school girls, addressed me *tu* (*you*), an informal address form (a singular second-

person personal pronoun). A circle of boys, however, invented a special nickname for me – *teta Aurytė* (*aunt Aurytė*), or simply *teta* (*aunt*). (“Aunt” is a common address used by children to any female adult.)

Laurynas: Can I call you aunt Vera?

Me: Why?

Laurynas: Cos You look very youthful.

Me: Do you have aunt Vera?

Laurynas: No.

<...>

Laurynas: So how can I call you?

Me: Call me Aurytė, that’s my name, or aunt Aurytė, if you wish.

(My diary, episode from the nearby supermarket on the 16th of October, after school)

It was not the first time certain boys called me aunt, but it was the point when the nickname was finally attached to me. Laurynas, and especially Benas and Arnas, always called me aunt Aurytė. And once Benas called the trainee student in geography an aunt, Arnas corrected him immediately: *Čia ne tetą, tetą čia (parodo į mane)* (*This is not the aunt; the aunt is (points at me)* (from the fieldnotes).

3.3.2. The young female researcher among adolescents

Researcher’s gender also influences the relations with the informants (Madsen 2008, Mendoza-Denton 2008). Mendoza-Denton admits that she was not able to gather the same quality empirical data from Latino boys as she did from Latino girls due to her age, gender, and ethnicity (Mendoza-Denton 2008: 221). It is most probably not a coincidence that Stæhr chose to follow the daily activities of a group of boys (Stæhr 2010) while Ag focused on a group of girls (Ag 2010). I would not go that far and claim that I managed to establish a lot closer relations with the girls than with the boys. Girls would invite to the play rehearsal and to have lunch together with them in the canteen or would keep me a company on my way to the supermarket after school whereas boys would call me for an arm wrestling or ask if I would like to watch the school sport events. But at the same time, I cannot neglect the fact that my relations with boys and girls was different. Being a female researcher I found it more natural to join unnoticed the girls’ conversation than the boys’, hence, I spent more time with the girls than with the boys. All of this was a natural outcome of formation of adolescent friendship groups – pupils based their friendship groups on gender (see sections 4.1. and 4.2.). Besides, the female informants also approached me a lot more than their male peers. The girls asked for various advice – ranging from how to cope the period pain to how to solve their internal conflicts.

As I was a young female researcher, a few boys would start flirting with me: *Ar turite telefoną?* (*Do you have a phone*), *Taigi, ką veikiate vakare?* (*So, what are you doing in the evening*), *Gal norėtumėte masažo prieš sunkią darbo dieną?* (*Would you fancy a massage before a hard working-day?*). Every flirting session I tried to cut off gently by emphasizing the age difference and that there were beautiful smart girls of their age around. (For a discussion about sexuality in fieldwork with adolescents, see Pascoe 2007).

The closest relationship I established among the boys was with the boy category which I called streetwise boys, though it is actually probably them who established close relation with me. Even at the beginning of my fieldwork, they did not feel unease if I sat at their desk as other boys did. Of course, such a close relation did not emerge on the first day. I was tested a couple of times what I would do if I caught them smoking and alike. I reassured them that nothing they say or do would reach the teachers and school administration. Throughout the whole fieldwork, I felt that in me they found an adult who would not judge them and whom they could trust.

3.3.3. Never rush a field relation

It has never been my intention to become close or real friends with the pupils. Likewise, I knew from the start that it would be impossible to establish close relationships with all the informants. I was prepared that a few pupils might even avoid me. Therefore, before starting the fieldwork I have decided to establish and maintain such relations (friendships) as pupils wanted them to be. The majority of pupils accepted me as a legitimate member of their class. However, some pupils, though very few, kept their distance from me, though luckily, no pupil expressed a complaint with my presence in school. And some pupils, mostly girls, established quite a close relation with me. They exercised the same greeting and farewell rituals as they did with their real friends and in general they tried to involve me in their activities whenever I was in their class. This meant of course that I spent a lot more time with those pupils, but I truly benefited from these close relations as it turned out to be a perfect way to get some inside information which otherwise would be hard to get.

I knew from the start that the acceptance in classes would not occur in the first weeks of the fieldwork. Therefore, in the beginning I was most of the time observing the pupils unless they themselves invited me to join their activities. In the first weeks, I even avoided entering the girls' changing room as I considered it to be quite a private space. The trespass of adolescents' space might have severe consequences for the project.

It turned out the English class for one group is cancelled because the teacher was still on the sick leave. I heard that a group of girls were going to the nearby supermarket.

I thought that Miglė, a girl who was quite friendly and open with me, would also be

going. I intended to use this gap lesson to get to know her better. On my way to the supermarket I noticed a group of girls – Renata, Asta and Goda. Miglè was not with them. Nonetheless, I decided to join them. However, soon I began to feel that the girls didn't feel comfortable with my presence. And eventually, Renata voiced it out loud: "Are You going to be there with us in the supermarket? You know, the other group has English lesson." Soon after I left the shop.

(The shortened version from my diary, the 3rd of October)

It was just the third day of the fieldwork and I definitely crossed the comfort zone of those girls. It takes more than three days to accept a new member. I was fortunate that it did not affect my relations with those girls, except Renata, who seemed to maintain a distance from me throughout the whole fieldwork. Luckily, Renata agreed both to be interviewed (besides, her interview turned out to be the most successful of all her circle of friends) and to carry out the self-recording.

3.3.4. The inner rules of the pupils' community

Search for an acceptance in a community entails following the prevailing rules. As I was conducting a project about adolescents' social relations and language, it also entailed avoidance of a contact with the school authorities – teachers and administration. For this reason, I only used school facilities intended for pupils – cloakroom, pupil tables in the canteen etc. If I needed to contact the deputy principal or a teacher, I did that not in the presence of the pupils. Especially in the first weeks of the fieldwork, even the slightest encounter with a teacher could be judged by certain pupils. In the first week, the deputy principal greeted me on the hall and inquired about the progress of the project. This short inquiry was enough for Vilma, the practitioner of the streetwise girls style, to report to her friends: *Ei, ji kalbasi su mokytoja* (Look, she is talking to the teacher).

Nothing I saw pupils doing – be it cheating in a test, making a mess in the classroom, teasing a teacher – was ever reported to the school authorities. Even more, I never tried to deter from doing that, except when the misbehavior could have harsh consequences for the pupils, for instance, as in the second diary excerpt when I advised Laurynas not to smoke in the front of the school because he might be caught. It was harder for me as an adult to accept teasing sessions, addressed to a few pupils. (Luckily, I had never observed a serious bullying.) Even though I understood that teasing is a part of pupils' social activities (and even the pupils whom were teased might accept them as well (cf. Maegaard and Quist 2005: 56), at times I found it hard not to comment on it, though I always tried to say my remarks in a joking manner. Most of the times, pupils would not pay attention to my comments, but once they did and the outcome was not what I intended it to be.

Once during the Mathematics class, Arnas and Benas started teasing Sandra who was sitting in front of them. I was sitting at the same desk with Sandra. Sandra was a Polish girl and pupils in her class tended to emphasize her nationality and made fun of her Polish roots. "Go back to Poland" was a common remark, even though Sandra was born and raised in Lithuania. And this teasing session was no exception. Benas and Arnas kept on telling harsh things to Sandra. At one point, I simply couldn't restrain myself and had to make a remark to boys: "Maybe it's enough?" One of them replied: "Oh aunt, please, don't start". Burst of laughter. When I looked back to Sandra, I noticed that the tears were running down her cheeks. She began to cry not because Arnas and Benas were teasing her but because I acknowledged their teasing as such.

(My diary, the 14th of November)

I also followed the inner rules of the community in regard to smoking. In respect that I was a non-smoking adult, I never entered the locations behind the nearby supermarket or behind a block of flats a little further where the smoking pupils would go to take a whiff during the breaks. Although both locations were well-known smoking lots among the pupils and teachers, they were still meant to be undercover where smoking adolescents could act uninhibitedly, i.e. without adult control. However, both secret smoking lots would be from time to time inspected by the school social worker (once also jointly with the local inspector for juvenile affairs). Hence, the arrival of an adult from any institution would be immediately associated with threat and a possible punishment: Pupils knew very well that they were infringing school rules and were subject to sanction, although they were smoking beyond the school territory. On the one part, I did not play any role in the power structure of the school, which I made very clear through my actions, on the other part, I was still an adult and this role I could not escape in any way. Besides, I did not smoke myself, and the mentioned places are for the smokers only, non-smoking pupils avoided the smoking lots. I was under impression that the presence of me – an adult non-smoker would make smoking pupils feel awkward and uncomfortable. Therefore, I decided early on in the fieldwork that I would only visit the smoking lots unless I were invited to them. However, this never happened.

3.3.5. The risk of going native

I would like to end this section about my fieldwork experience with the opening topic: Is it really an advantage to recruit young researchers for the study with adolescents (provided they have the required social skills)? Or are we running the risk of going native, i.e. a researcher might lose the distance which is needed to maintain to be able to analyse the situation (Bryman 2001: 300).

“I would like to smoke”, Albertas said as we finished the interview. As it was second part of the interview, we only used a third of a lesson, so there was 30 minutes till the break. I told him that he couldn’t go smoking outside now. “I have to return the keys to the watchers and they would get suspicious if you were not going back to the class.” Then, he came up with the idea to smoke here in the museum. I told him that it was a bad idea cause someone might notice that it was smoked in here and I didn’t want to have any problems. So Albertas offered the third option: “We can also smoke here in school. I can show you our secret place.” Obviously, this caught my attention. Albertas told me that he and Edgaras managed to break the door in the hall which was never used. It turned out it was a staircase behind the door, so he and Edgaras would go down down down to have a smoke. No one knew about this place, not even their classmates. At this point, it came to me why he and Edgaras would sometimes show up very late in the class. They went smoking at the beginning of a lesson when all the pupils were in classes and the halls were clear.

And off we went to that secret smoking place. On our way, we spotted the social worker coming towards us. The social worker didn’t notice us but Albertas reacted immediately: “We have to go back”. So we changed our direction, we climbed down the stairs, walked through the hall and started going up another pair of stairs. I asked him why we had to change the direction. After all, he was not on his own, he was with me. He didn’t reply, just shrugged.

Here we are in front of the door that leads to the smoking place. It is a regular door that I have passed million times in the hall, though I haven’t seen anybody opening it. Albertas opens the door and we start going down. On the way down, my heart starts beating faster and faster – I realize that what I am doing is a violation of school rules. In my mind, I try to think of an explanation which I would stay to the school authorities if we got caught.

So here we are – in the place that resembles a cellar or a heat capacity. Albertas lights a cigarette: “Should I leave for You?” “I don’t smoke”, is my short reply. While he is smoking, he tells me that Edgaras and he are going to investigate where this cellar leads to. Albertas talks in a calm tone, he seems relaxed, though I am still very anxious.

(From the fieldwork diary, the 4th of April)

This extract from my diary sums up perfectly the relations with the adolescents that I managed to establish during the fieldwork. Once I gained Albertas’ complete confidence, he was willing to open up and even show the secret place which he hid from the classmates as well as to exercise activities which should not be observed by adults, that is – smoking. However, he was aware of that he was revealing the secret to an adult, which was clear from Albertas’ address toward me: *Jums palikti?* (*Should I leave for You?*) He did not treat me as “being native” or as “being one of them”. When Albertas spotted the social worker, despite the fact that he was with me, he

decided to change the route, though I doubted that she would have said anything to him as he was accompanied by me. In this case, we were both in the same situation – we were violating school norms, thus, he acted in the same way as he would have acted if he were with his friends. Or maybe he was extra cautious and simply wanted to avoid any contact with the school authorities on his way to that smoking place.

I, as a researcher, benefited from this episode in several ways. Firstly, I got to see how the streetwise kids transform school facilities to suit their needs. Secondly, I could directly experience what it felt like to violate school norms without losing the ability to reflect upon it as a researcher.

Complete participation, when possible and ethically appropriate, gives researchers a great opportunity to directly experience the very processes they are trying to document. Though it is by no means equivalent to entering the mind and body of a native speaker, performing gives a researcher important insights into what it means to be a participant in a given situation and suggests hypotheses and further questions (Duranti 1997: 100).

I would not argue that my experience of this episode equaled to Albertas'. But at least it was a hint of what streetwise kids undergo in school: anxiety, tension, and readiness to react in various situations (cf. Mendoza-Denton's experience, how she was treated in the supermarket when she was there together with the *homegirls* and dressed as one of them (Mendoza-Denton 2008: 56–57)).

The role that I ascribed to myself and at the same time the role which was ascribed to me by others was three-dimensional: atypical pupil, atypical adult and researcher. The analysis and interpretation that you are going to read in the following pages, has gone through this prism.

4. THE SOCIAL LIFE IN THE COMMUNITY: GROUP RELATIONS, SOCIAL CATEGORIES, AND PRACTICES

In the previous chapter, I have presented an extract from my fieldwork diary of my very first day in school. Back then I did not know any of the pupils and in general the social life among eighth graders looked chaotic. However, during the course of the fieldwork I found out that there is an order in what can look like a chaos for an outsider. I did not only learn the names of the pupils, I also figured out that certain pupils spent more time together, they interacted more frequently with each other than with other pupils. I also discovered that certain pupils engaged intensively in certain practices, while others hardly engaged in them or even distanced themselves from these practices.

The quotes of Virginija, Urtè, and Albertas in the beginning of the thesis hint that these three adolescents construct very different styles. One might easily guess that Virginija and Urtè were not the type of friends Albertas hung out with in his free time. But still, he had to spend quite some time together with these two girls because they were not only attending the same school as Albertas, they were also his classmates. One can quite freely choose friends one wants to spend the leisure time with, classmates are harder to choose. In the vast majority of cases, parents choose a school for their daughter or son. From the sociolinguistic and anthropological point of view, adults bring their children into a highly diverse environment – a hothouse for social development (Eckert 2000: 5) – and the children have to make that diversity work for themselves. Of course, there are school rules, such as respect your teacher, do not smoke, do not swear, which should help to govern such a big and diverse community of practice as the school. But the school rules are too monocentric for such a polycentric environment as a pupil community to be entirely reliable on. Besides, school is not just lessons; school is also a place to socialize with other pupils. Hence, inner rules and hierarchical distribution of authority, based on difference within adolescent body (Eckert 1997: 11), come to force. Adolescent social categories, such as ‘popular crowd’ emerge not only on a basis of school regulations, but also as a result of the hierarchical distribution of the inner authority and of the mutual relations among adolescents. And as far as popularity is concerned, the latter matters the most. Popular pupil is not necessarily the one who studies very hard. Popularity in the first place involves making oneself visible in the community of practice and evolving a persona whose friendship will be valued – other pupils should be willing to attribute power to you.

In this chapter, I analyse the social dynamics of social order among the eighth graders in the Owl School. Special emphasis is given to exploration of heterogeneity and power relations in the studied community of practice (see 2.4.). Following Mae-gaard (2007) and Quist (2012), I firstly scrutinize the group relations in every class

separately and briefly introduce the practices and stances which I evolve in depth in the next sections of the chapter. This part of the analysis should also help the reader to get better acquainted with the informants. Then I undertake an analysis of social practices and stances that give rise to adolescent social categories. I conclude the chapter with a concise review of the local social categories and affiliated styles where I also label the styles. Though, of course, most of the labels will be introduced and used in the analysis as well. Thus, during the chapter I move from the concrete to the more abstract, i.e. from the group relations and cliques to categories, and eventually to styles (cf. Maegaard 2007: 100, Quist: 2012: 147, see also Eckert 1989: 18–19.). In the section 4.9., I also place the detailed analysis of the social life in school within the theoretical framework, presented in the preceding chapters (in particular, 2.3.3.).

4.1. SOCIAL GROUPS AND RELATIONS

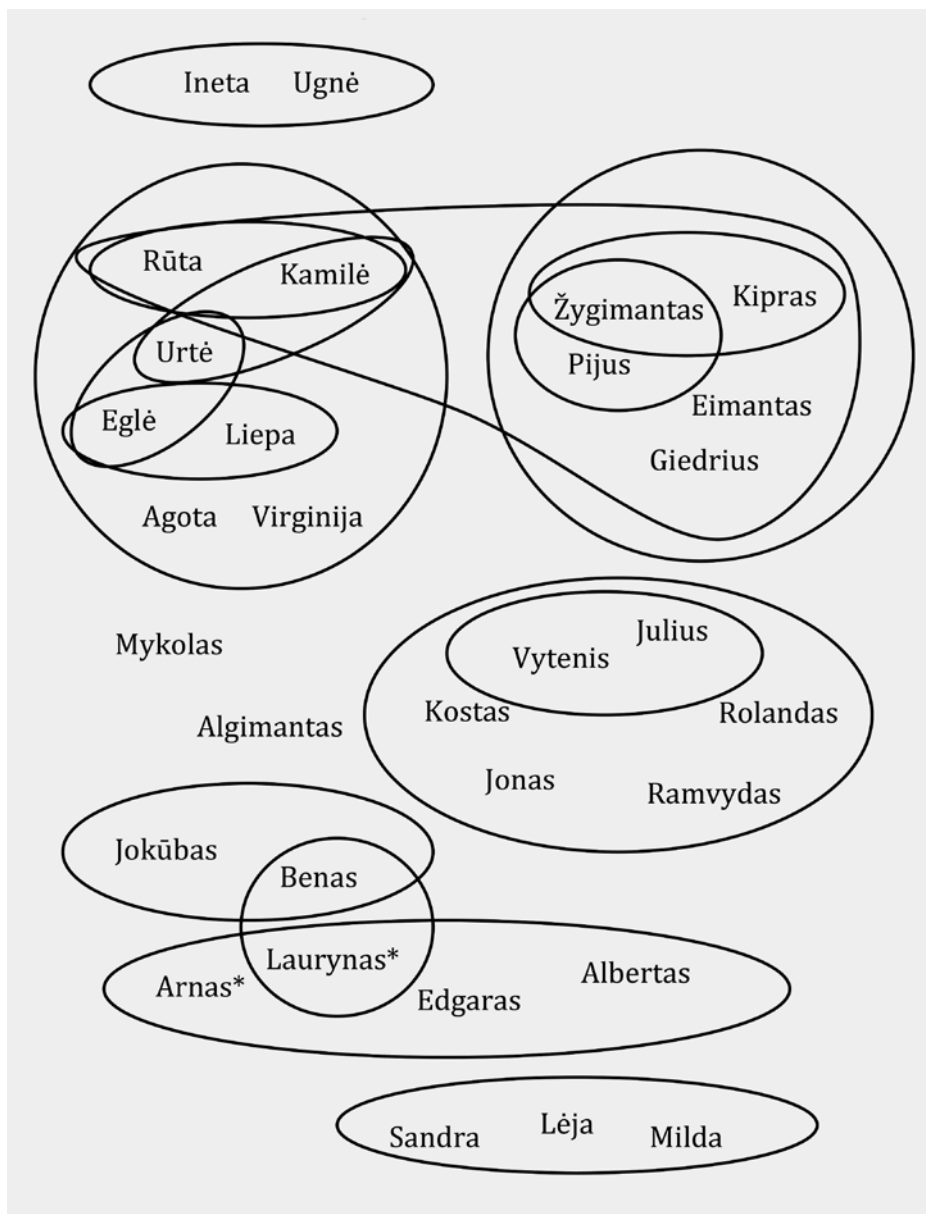
In the individual interviews, all pupils were asked to describe their class: what groups there were in the class according to them. On the basis of pupils' descriptions and my own observations I have worked out sociograms which are representations of the social groups and relations in the class. Of course, it does not mean that pupils who belong to a certain group do not interact with other pupils, even though it is not reflected in a sociogram. This also explains why the data in the sociogram does not always correspond to the extracts from the interviews with the pupils. Circles simply indicate that these pupils spend more time together than with the rest of the class.

As a final note before moving on to the analysis of group relations, I would like to give brief background information regarding the division of pupils into classes. Originally there had to be four eighth grade classes, however, by the end of the previous school year due to the small number of pupils, one seventh grade, which I will refer to as 7g, was split up into other classes.

4.1.1. Social groups and relations in 8x

Broadly speaking, pupils in 8x can be divided into 3 girl groups and 3 – 4 boy groups and 2 pupils – Mykolas and Algimantas – who did not belong to any group. However, it did not mean they were outsiders, so to speak loners (see 4.8.). They both talked a lot with other boys in the class, but they did not spend enough time with any group in order to be legitimate members of that particular group. Algimantas spent quite a lot of time with Rūta, Kamilė, Urtė, Žygimantas, Pijus, Eimantas, and Giedrius outside of school, however, strangely enough, he did not interact with them a lot in school. In the interview, Eimantas also mentions that Algimantas belonged to their group outside of school: *jisai va taip (.) mokykloj ne bet išorėj jau prie mūsų jisai (he well (.) in school is not in our group but outside he is with us).*

Social groups and relations in 8x



* pupils who were expelled from the school

The central girl group consists of Rūta, Kamilė, Urtė, Eglė, Liepa, Agota, and Virginija. However, if we zoom in the group, as it can be seen from the sociogram, it is further divided into smaller groups. This inner division, i.e. groups within the group, can be partly explained by the history of the group formation. The extract below is taken from the interview with Eglė:

- Eglė: tada toliau jau čia sunkiau yra nes (.) taip dabar paskutiniu (.) šiaip anksčiau pas mus būdavo kad būdavau (.) būdavo (.) Kamilė (.) Rūta (.) Urtė (.) ir aš
- Aurytė: hm
- Eglė: Liepa labiau bendraudavo su Lėja ir jinai prie jų prieidavo (.) paskui nu na mes buvom buvo toks etapas kai (.) aš su Urte buvau geriausios draugės (.) ir na mes būdavom kartu ten dar Kamilė būdavo jinai irgi prie Urtės (.) tai va mes keturios būdavom
- <...>
- Eglė: ir Agota atėjo ir inai (.) šiaip inai būdavo labiausiai su Kamile mes tada dar būdavom su Urte geriausios draugės tai buvau (.) buvo aš Urtė ir Rūta
- Aurytė: hm
- Eglė: tada atėjo Agota ir jinai nieko nepažinojo išskyrus Kamilę nes jinai gyveno tam pačiam name su ja (.) ir jinai būdavo su Kamile (.) ir šiaip net jeigu ne Kamilė nemanau kad Agota būtų (.) e prie prie šitos prie šitos nu (.) prie šitos tos grupės (.) nes tiesiog inai jeigu ne Kamilė tai manau kad jinai būtų labiau prie Mildos (.) nes nu jos kažkaip ten rad rado bendrą kalbą bet vien dėl Kamilės kad jinai pažįsta Kamilę tai jinai (.) kažkaip susibendravo ir tada su (.) ten su ta Rūta ir panašiai
- <...>
- Eglė: ir paskui (.) gavosi taip kad nu ten kai Urtė labai susidraugavo su Kamile tai jos pradėjo sėdėt kartu (.) o aš kažkaip (.) nu aš labiau (.) nu tarp manęs ten ir Rūtos buvo tokių pykčių
- <...>
- Eglė: ir tada aš kažkaip su Liepa pradėjau labiau bendrauti ir jinai (.) ir tada vat jinai irgi prie mūsų tada tos (.) visos tai gaunas tokia kaip viena (.) e viena tokia kaip didelė grupė tai kur Kamilė Agota Rūta Urtė aš ir Liepa

Translation:

- Eglė: well here it starts to be difficult (.) well now currently (.) previously it used to be that I used to be (.) it used to (.) Kamilė (.) Rūta (.) Urtė (.) and me
- Aurytė: hm
- Eglė: Liepa used to be more friends with Lėja and she used to walk with them (.) then well we were there was such a stage when (.) me and Urtė were the best friends (.) and well we used to be together Kamilė like also used to hang with Urtė (.) so we used to be four
- <...>
- Eglė: and Agota came and she (.) well mostly she used to hang out with Kamilė me and Urtė used to be best friends then (.) it was me Urtė and Rūta
- Aurytė: hm
- Eglė: then Agota came and she didn't know anybody except Kamilė because she lived in the same house as Kamilė (.) and she used to be with Kamilė (.) well if it weren't Kamilė I don't think that Agote would be (.) eh in this in this

well (.) in this group (.) because simply she if it weren't Kamilė so I think she would be more with Milda (.) because well they somehow had something to talk about but because of Kamilė because she knew Kamilė so she (.) somehow got friends with (.) like with Rūta and so on

<...>

Eglė: and then (.) it turned out so that well like when Urtė and Kamilė became close friends so they started to sit together (.) and I somehow (.) well I was more with (.) well there were disagreements between me and Rūta

<...>

Eglė: and then I somehow started to talk more with Liepa and she (.) and then well she also was with us (.) so it becomes like one (.) eh like one big group with Kamilė Agota Rūta Urtė me and Liepa

Rūta, Kamilė, Urtė, and Eglė were older members of the group which can explain Agota's and Liepa's slightly marginal positions. Later in the interview, Eglė told me that Liepa was not well-liked among the older members of the group, because they found her quite annoying. Thus, Liepa's connection to this girl group was established through her friendship with Eglė. I have also noticed that Kamilė, Urtė, and Rūta did not spend a lot of time with Liepa and occasionally gossiped negatively about her. However, despite other girls' opinion, Eglė was friends with Liepa and spent most of her breaks together with her. Even though Virginija was not mentioned in Eglė's story of the group formation, she was member of their group – during the breaks she usually talked with them, especially with Agota, Liepa, and Eglė.

In the beginning of the fieldwork, Kamilė and Urtė were the best inseparable friends. At one point, they even asked me to plait their hair together, so they could be like twin sisters. However, after some time, Kamilė and Urtė drifted a bit away. As Kamilė explained it to me: It was very hard to have the best friend because she envied Urtė's time spent with other friends and she was also unhappy when she herself mingled with other kids. Kamilė started spending more time with Rūta whereas Urtė started talking more with Eglė. However, despite this slight re-formation and inner disagreements, the majority of pupils, also in other classes, conceived Kamilė, Rūta, and Urtė as a solid trio. Although by the end of the school year the three girls were not as close as they used to be, the practices that they engaged in and the stances that they took, bound them into a single unit and at the same time distinguished them from the rest of the group. The special position, these girls had in their class, was also apparent from Lėja's perception of the trio:

Lėja: tos kurios jau kaip (.) e mūsų klasėj tokios kaip lyderės jos ir vakarėlius rengia visur vadovauja (.) tai ee (.) nu tos e (.) Urtė Kamilė Rūta tai jos irgi savo grupelę turi kurios <..> ta prasme vadovės nu nes jos ir seniūnės kiekviena ten savaip ten viena vakarėliam priklauso kita ten (.) ir šiaip mokytojom padedinėja tai va

Translation:

Lēja: those who are like (.) eh in our class like leaders they also organize parties they lead everywhere (.) so eh (.) well those eh (.) Urtė Kamilė Rūta so they have their own little group those who <...> in a way they are leaders well because there are class representatives everyone in her own way like one is responsible for parties the other like (.) and in general they help teachers so yeah

Lēja associates the trio with leadership and extracurricular activities, the social practices which I elaborate more on in the subsection 4.4.2.

Another girl group consisted of Ineta and Ugnė. They joined the 8x this year after the split of the 7g, where they also were the best friends. During the breaks, especially the longer ‘lunch’ breaks, they went to the cafeteria where they met with their former classmates Asta and Goda from in 8z. Occasionally, they also joined the aforementioned main girl group.

Sandra, Lēja, and Milda constituted another girl group. The key feature of this group was its remoteness from the class, which was pointed out in a majority of interviews with their classmates. These girls hardly ever spent the breaks together with the other classmates. As Lēja told me in the interview, they knew pupils from the seventh grades, so they hung out with them instead. In general, Lēja found it strange to spend the breaks and the lessons with the same people. In the interviews, the classmates consistently evaluated this girl group negatively, which could also explain the girls’ unwillingness to spend more time with the class.

There were three big boy groups in 8x. Julius, Vytenis, Kostas, Rolandas, Jonas, and partly Ramvydas comprised one of them. This group was not as united as the aforementioned girl groups. Nor there is a history how the group was formed, or I at least I was not told about it. Notwithstanding that, according to my observations, they spent more time together than with the other boys. My observations were backed by the pupils’ reports. Many of them perceived those boys as belonging together, for instance, Žygimantas:

Žygimantas: berniukai tie kurie krepšinį lanko pastoviai (.) ratu būna sustoję=

Aurytė: =o tai kas čia yra tada gal gali vardais paminėti?

Žygimantas: ee Vytenis Kostas Giedrius (.) nu Giedrius dabar jau net nelabai sportuoja

Aurytė: hm

Žygimantas: e Rolandas va tokie va visokie

Translation:

Žygimantas: boys who go to basketball they stand (.) all the time in a circle=

Aurytė: =who that would be could mention the names?

Žygimantas: eh Vytenis Kostas Giedrius (.) well Giedrius doesn’t go in for sports that much now

Aurytė: hm

Žygimantas: eh Rolandas well and alike

Many of their classmates associated this group with sport. Julius, Vytenis, Kostas and Rolandas went to basketball. They were also members of the class basketball team. Julius was a captain of the team. Of course, there were more boys in the class who played basketball, Žygimantas mentioned Giedrius who was also a member of the class basketball team. Besides, Giedrius and Julius belonged to the same basketball club. However, in the interview Giedrius distanced himself a little bit from this group:

Giedrius: man įdomu žaist bet aš pavyzdžiui krepšinio varžybų jokių nežiūriu nei NBA kaip kiti žiūri

Aurytė: hm

Giedrius: ar Lietuvos ryto nežiūriu varžybų (.) nieko nežiūriu aš

Translation:

Giedrius: I like to play but for instance unlike the others I do not watch any basketball matches neither NBA

Aurytė: hm

Giedrius: nor do I watch matches of Lietuvos rytas (Vilnius basketball club) (.) I don't watch any matches

Giedrius' interest in basketball was limited to playing, basketball was not a topic he would like to discuss outside the sport court, whereas the other boys enjoyed discussing the latest matches in school.

Unlike the other boys in their group, Jonas, Ramvydas did not attend any sport club, though, in the interview, Jonas mentioned that in the former grades he used to keep the score during the school tournaments. In this school year, Ramvydas played once in the school volleyball team. However, none of the classmates associated these two boys with the sport. But there was another practice which bound the group together. Jonas and Ramvydas as well as Julius and Vytenis were often depicted as pupils who took studying seriously:

Jokūbas: nu aš nežinau aš kiek žiūrėjau tai kaip (.) iš dalies tai kaip mokslui tai ten nu ten koks Vytenis Julius ten koks Jonas Ramvydas tai (.) kiek mačiau atskirai visados būna

Translation:

Jokūbas: well I don't know as far as I observed so it is like (.) partly like nerds so like well it would be Vytenis Julius like Jonas Ramvydas so (.) as far as I was watching them they are always apart

Julius and Vytenis were the brightest pupils among the boys. Jonas and Ramvydas might not do academically as well as Julius and Vytenis, however they hardly ever disturbed a lesson with an off-topic remark or made fun of the teachers, and therefore they were also classified as nerds by their classmates. (I will get back to the definition of a nerd and the positioning of the category in the eighth-grader community of

practice in 4.4.1.) Besides, a few pupils noticed that this school year Ramvydas spent more time alone than with his friends. In the interview, he confirmed that he decided to distance himself a bit from a class and concentrate more on the studies.

Another boy group consists of Žygimantas, Pijus, Eimantas, Giedrius, and partly Kipras. Kipras was connected to the group through his friendship with Žygimantas. The group was only formed in the eighth grade as Pijus, Žygimantas, and Kipras previously studied in 7g. Both Kipras and Žygimantas went to wrestling, besides, they were also good friends in the seventh grade before their class got dispersed to different classes. Kipras had a marginal position in the group and this was apparent from other group members' descriptions: None of them, not even Žygimantas, listed him as belonging to the group.

The boys in the group had very different hobbies, therefore their group did not have any special label attached to it. As it was previously mentioned, Žygimantas and Kipras went to wrestling. Giedrius went to basketball. Pijus also used to play to basketball before he got seriously injured. Eimantas started to play volleyball in February, though it was probable that the rest of the group was not aware of Eimantas' new activity (see 6.10.2.). But it was not the sport that bound the group together, unlike Julius and Vytenis, the boys in this group were not talking a lot about sport. As it can be seen from the sociogram, the core members of the group – Žygimantas, Pijus, Eimantas, and Giedrius, were in contact with the main girl group. I will go back to this cross-gender friendship group at the end of the subsection. For now, the group could be best described in Eimantas' words as: *tai ta mūsų geriausių draugų grupelė* (*this is our best friends little group*).

In the interviews, the classmates very often depicted Žygimantas and Pijus as the childhood best friends. Indeed, I hardly ever spotted them spending time apart in school. When Pijus got a sport trauma and had to stay at home for a few weeks, it was Žygimantas who brought him homework. However, they became such close friends only in the eighth grade. In 7g, Pijus hung out more with Albertas and Rokas (Rokas was in 8z now). However, in the second term of the previous school year, Albertas began to change himself. The change affected the boys' friendship:

Pijus: aš nežinau jis ten biškį prisidirbo ten (.) kažkaip ten su mama gal susipyko vėliau ten ale (.) nu visiškai jam jau buvo ten totaliai (.) ne ne nebeįdomūs tie tie mokslo kažkaip šiaip aš net nežinau kaip čia (.) vėliau aš pradėjau su juo nebebendraut su Žygimantu va bendraut

Translation:

Pijus: I don't know like he got a little into trouble like (.) somehow like he maybe later á la got angry with his mother (.) well he was absolutely like totally (.) not intereted in studies somehow I even don't know how it happened (.) then I started not to talk to him anymore I started talking to Žygimantas

Žygimantas also told me a similar story: He remembered the times when he and Albertas used to do homework together, but now Albertas changed a lot. He admitted, though, that he still sometimes talked with Albertas, although his parents were not very happy about his friendship because they had heard bad rumors about Albertas. In the eighth grade, neither Pijus nor Žygimantas were close friends to Albertas or with their other classmates from the former 7g – Edgaras and Laurynas.

The story about the shift in Albertas' behavior and attitude to school brings us to the two last boy groups: Arnas, Laurynas, Edgaras, Albertas as well as Jokūbas and Benas. These groups were labelled by other classmates as *klasės žvaigždės* (class stars), *rūkalių ir gėmelių grupelė* (group of smokers and drinkers), *blogiausi* (the worst ones). However, the majority of pupils usually described the group by listing the practices, which the boys pursued. Those practices were smoking, drinking, skipping classes, disturbing lessons etc. As all those six boys were known smokers, many of the classmates viewed them as comprising the same group. However, this did not entirely reflect the actual relations between the boys.

Jokūbas, who used to spend the breaks together with Benas, hardly ever talked with the other smoking boys. As a matter of fact, of the six boys, Jokūbas smoked the least while in school and hardly ever skipped classes or teased a teacher. During the lessons, Benas was sitting quite often with Laurynas, which allowed establishing a friendship of some kind. Arnas was his old classmate, so he also talked a bit with him (Laurynas, Edgaras, and Albertas previously were in 7g). However, I did not notice Benas talking much with either Edgaras or Albertas. In the interview, I asked Benas if he was good friends with Arnas, Edgaras and Albertas (at the time, Laurynas was already expelled from the school). It may look as a rather irrelevant question because I already knew that these boys were not interacting a lot in school, hence, they most probably were not close friends, however, many of the classmates viewed them as constituting the same group, so I was interested in getting to know Benas' perception of his relations to the other boy group.

Benas: Arnas Edgaras Albertas jie ten (.) man tai jie kažkokie net (.) net neverti mano dėmesio yra <...> ta prasme aš jeigu rūkau tai (.) jeigu aš noriu ta prasme jeigu aš rūkau ane (.) tai aš rūkau iš savo pinigų aš ta prasme perkuosi pats o jie ten eina karočia ten (.) kažkokius ten (.) uosto ten tuos klįjus ten kažką ten darosi **blet** man tai vapšė jie (.) kažkokie adegradai nežinau
<...>

Benas: su jais ten jie (.) kiekvieną dieną po naujieną cirkus ten jie krečia ir tiek nežinau

Translation:

Benas: Arnas Edgaras Albertas they like (.) to me they are sort of even (.) even not worth my attention <...> in a way if I smoke so (.) if I want in a way if I smoke you know (.) so I smoke on my own money in that sense I buy ((cig-

arettes)) myself and they like go karočia like (.) they sniff some sort of like (.) glue like they are doing something like **blet** to me they are vapšė (.) some sort of adegrades I don't know

<...>

Benas: with them like (.) every day there's something new they make like nonsenses and that's it I don't know

Benas considered himself more mature and superior than Arnas, Edgaras, and Albertas, as a result, he deliberately distanced himself from the other smoker group. When Benas wanted to smoke, he bought a pack of cigarettes with his own money whereas the other smoking boys quite often did not have their own cigarettes and therefore they 'borrowed' cigarettes from the other pupils. Indeed, I noticed quite a few times Edgaras and Albertas wandering back and forth in school looking for someone who could give them cigarettes. However, the main reason for Benas' disassociation with Arnas, Edgaras, and Albertas was their reputation for troublemaking. According to Benas, these boys sniffed glue and made nonsenses or got into trouble every single day (*kiekvieną dieną po naujieną* (*every day there's something new*)), and this was unacceptable for him. So even though both groups – Jokūbas and Benas and Arnas, Laurynas, Edgaras, and Albertas were bound together by smoking, here the similarity between the groups ended. The latter four boys intensively engaged in many other streetwise practices, like heavy drinking, weed, harsh sneers of teachers, in which Jokūbas and Benas never engaged or engaged only occasionally. Although every class had their group of smokers, the smoking pupils in 8x were slightly more remote from their class than smokers in 8y and 8z, i.e. smoking 8x'ers were interacting a little bit less with their non-smoking classmates in comparison to smoking 8y'ers and 8z'ers. On one hand, 8x had the largest group of smoking pupils of all the eighth grades, and as the same boys were also involved in various streetwise practices outside of school, conceivably it reduced the need to talk to other classmates. On the other hand, the non-smoking pupils in 8x might be less keen on establishing close relations to the smokers due to the hierarchical social order of the class (see 4.6.). We will meet Arnas, Laurynas, Edgaras, and Albertas again in sections 4.5, 4.6, and 4.7. where I analyse at length the streetwise category, style, and practices.

Lastly, there was a group consisting of Rūta, Kamilė, Žygimantas, Pijus, Eimantas, Giedrius, and partly Kipras. This group was a merge of two previously mentioned groups. It distinguished from the other pupil groups due to its cross-gender relations. In fact, it was the only stable group of this kind among the eighth graders in the Owl School (see also 4.1.3. for the analysis of pupil groups in 8z). When asked to describe the groups in their class, pupils usually began their description by stating that boys talked with boys and girls talked with girls. However, as the school year rolled on, a few pupils in 8x realized that such division was not so valid in their class. Therefore, it was no uncommon for the eighth z'ers to begin their description of their class in the following way:

Kostas: berniukai dažniausiai su berniukais bet yra ir tokių kai kurių mergaičių (.)
nu pavyzdžiui Kamilė (.) dažniausiai su berniukais bendrauja (.) ir Rūta (.)
jos dvi taip prie berniukų taip dažniau

Aurytė: hm

Kostas: kitos mergaitės taip su mergaitėm labiau (.) ir berniukai su mergaitėm ta
prasme su mergaitėm (.) prie mergaičių taip lenda (giggles)

Translation:

Kostas: boys usually talk with the boys but there are such girls (.) well for instance
Kamilė (.) who talk more often with the boys (.) and Rūta (.) they both like
are more with the boys

Aurytė: hm

Kostas: other girls are like more with the girls (.) and there are boys who are with
the girls in a way (.) they tease girls (giggles)

or

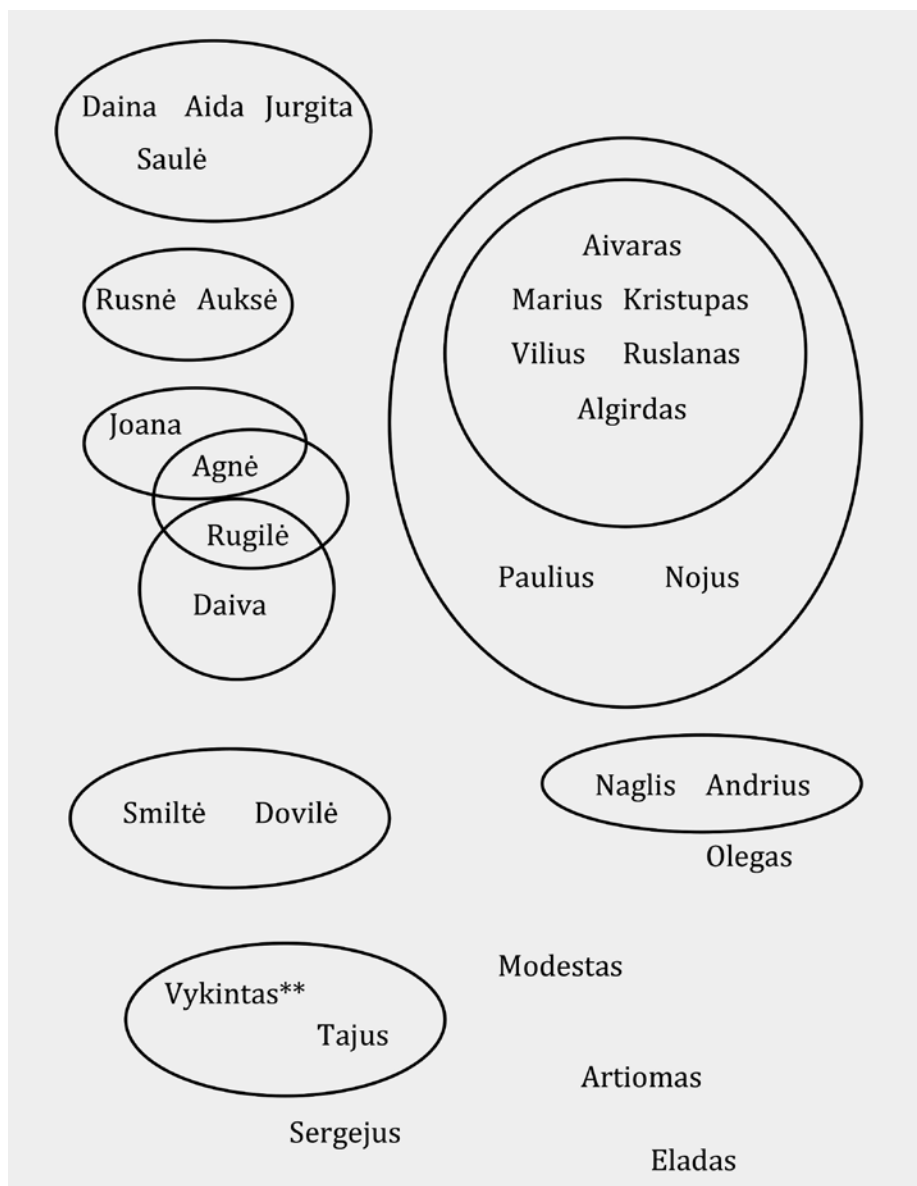
Vytenis: apie berniukus galiu pasakyt tada (.) nu susiskirstę yra tarkim ten Rolandas-
ss eee Rolandas Giedrius koks (.) e Eimantas ten ee Žygimantas (.) nu ten
Kipras kaip kada Kostas kaip kada (.) yra eee labiau ta prasme prie mergaičių
labiau ten kalba su tokiom eee tokiom temom (.) nu prie mergaičių labiau
būna ten lenda dažniau ten

Translation:

Vytenis: about the boys I can say that (.) well they are divided into let's say like Ro-
landasss eeh Rolandas Giedrius (.) eh Eimantas like eeh Žygimantas (.) well
like sometimes Kipras sometimes Kostas (.) they are more in a way with the
girls they discuss more topics like (.) well they are more with the girls they
more often like tease girls

In principle, it was not uncommon for the boys to have contact with the girls and vice versa. In kindergarten and elementary school both boys and girls are chasing or playfully punching each other (more about the pupil relations and gender in the elementary school see Thorne (1993)). In the eighth grade, boys and girls very seldom chased each other. The spontaneous teasing of the kindergarten was replaced with spending quality time with a person of a different gender than yours, for instance, inviting a group of girls and boys to your home after school. However, as it is apparent of the sociograms (see also sociograms of the group relations in 8y and 8z below), only certain pupils formed cross-gender friend groups and in that way acted against the well-established social order “boys talk with boys and girls talk with girls”. I will elaborate more on the significance of the cross-gender relations in the adolescent community of practice in the sections about the heterosexual market and popular crowd in school in 4.2. and 4.3. respectively.

Social groups and relations in 8y



** pupils who repeat the course of the eighth grade

4.1.2. Social groups and relations in 8y

The boys in 8y had divided themselves into one big group and two smaller groups. Four boys – Modestas, Artiomas, Sergejus, and Eladas – did not belong to any group. Eladas was a true loner (see 4.8.). He hardly talked with anybody; actually, I had

never noticed him initiating a conversation. In the interviews, many of the eighth y'ers admitted that they hardly ever talked with Eladas and that he was all by himself. The pupils, who interacted with him the most during my fieldwork, were Modestas and Nojus. Eladas was a bright pupil; hence, a few of his classmates perceived him as a nerd. He and Sergejus were the only boys in their class whom I never saw going to the nearby supermarket during the long breaks. During the breaks, Eladas usually stood alone in the hall by the classroom door or sat at his desk in the classroom.

Another boy without a group – Sergejus previously studied in 7g and this year, together with Daiva and Paulius, was transferred to 8y. He often spent the breaks together with his best friend and former classmate Titas and his friend Valentinas from 8z. If not with them, then Sergejus joined any other boy group or waited for a class alone. However, unlike Eladas, Sergejus was not shy and calm. From time to time he made jokes in a class, even though most of them were not well-received among his classmates, and therefore the classmates found Sergejus quite irritating.

Artiomas was not that often in school. But when he was in school, he hung usually together with Modestas. They knew each other really well because they both went to wrestling. Sometimes Artiomas was also talking to other boy groups, mainly the biggest boy group (see below) or with Vykintas and Tajus.

Modestas was a trickster. The term 'trickster' refers to people who do not belong to any particular group, therefore, they do not have fixed friendship ties in a community and interact with everybody (Maegaard 2007: 102, 112 – 113, Quist 2012: 176 – 178). And indeed, Modestas was very outgoing, as mentioned, he was also one of the very few pupils who occasionally talked with Eladas. Modestas' trickster position was also foregrounded in the pupils' depictions of their class. Quite a few classmates described Modestas as the one who is talking with everybody.

The central boy group in 8y consisted of Aivaras, Marius, Kristupas, Vilius, Ruslanas, Algirdas, Paulius, and Nojus. The five first-mentioned boys constituted the core of the group. The latter two boys – Paulius and Nojus – took a peripheral position in the group because firstly, it was uncommon for Paulius and Nojus to spend more time in school with the other classmates than with Aivaras, Marius, Kristupas, Vilius, Ruslanas, and Algirdas, and secondly, they did not hang out a lot with these boys outside of school. Algirdas took a middle position in the group. From the rest of the group he distinguished himself by explicitly taking studies more seriously. Algirdas' going in for studies contrasted with the more laid-back attitude of the rest of the group who either did not study a lot and got rather poor grades (Vilnius and Ruslanas) or made remarks in the class and teased the others (all the boys, especially Aivaras), but more importantly, Algirdas' going in for studies contrasted with classmates' general perception of the group.

This boy group, especially its core members, was associated with computer games and was often described as “nolifers’ group”. (*Nolifer* in the current Lithuanian youth slang refers to a person who spends a lot of time on a computer, especially playing computer games.)

Nojus: vieniems gal priskirčiau tie kurie labiau (.) nolifieriai kurie sėdi prie kompo dažnai apibendrina savo (.) dienos pasiektus žaidimo rezultatus
<...>

Nojus: tai tuos visus Ruslanas Marius Aivaras Vilius Kristupas ten tie visi kurie žaidžia ten (.) kiaurias dienas prie kompo (.) praleidžia

Translation:

Nojus: as the one group I would class the ones who are more (.) nolifers who sit by the computer often and sum up their (.) game results achieved that day
<...>

Nojus: it would be those Ruslanas Marius Aivaras Vilius Kristupas like all those who play like (.) all day long they spend on (.) a computer

It was typically the boys who attached the label ‘nolifer’ to the group. The girls in the class usually pointed to the inner jokes that bound the group together:

Joana: Aivaras ten Kristupas ir visi ten kiti jie ten kažkokius savo juokelius susigalvoję kaip Kazlauskas²⁴ ir panašiai

Aurytė: hm

Joana: (laughs) jie ten kažkaip bendrauja taip keistai

Translation:

Joana: Aivaras like Kristupas and all the others like they like made up some sort of own jokes like Kazlauskas and all that

Aurytė: hm

Joana: (laughs) they like somewhat socialize rather weirdly

In their descriptions of the main boy group, boys and girls seemed to take different vantage points. The boys’ point of departure was activities outside of school – playing computer games, whereas girls referred usually to the boys’ interactions in school. Personally, I had not noticed the boys in this group would talk that much about the computer games as a few of their classmates claimed the boys did. I, like the girls, paid more attention to the various jokes and tricks that the boys in the group came up with. Of course, it did not mean that the boys did not play computer games

²⁴ The boys in the group made up a specific nickname, by which they addressed certain boys in the group. The nickname resembled a surname. Aivaras was the most zealous user of a nickname, however, the nickname itself was hardly ever applied to Aivaras.

or that they did not discuss their achievements in the school. In the interviews, all the boys of the main group admitted that computer games were one of the key ways how they spent their leisure time. They also enumerated the other boys in the group as their team players. However, it was very probable that the game-related topics were reserved for the internal discussions among the male classmates, from which the girls were excluded due to their lack of interest in this practice. Among all the interviewed girls, Agnė was the only who was playing the same computer games like the boys. Other girls either discarded computer games as a time-wasting activity or played different computer games than the boys. A typical girl computer game would be a life simulation game the Sims (though, it was actually the game which the girls used to play in the past, none of the girls was playing the Sims constantly in the eighth grade), whereas the vast majority of boys played a battle game League of Legends and a shooter game Counterstrike. Thus, the difference in boys' and girls' depiction of the main boy group might also be related to the fact that playing computer games was a predominantly boy social practice (cf. Vyšniauskienė 2014: 15, 24), to which girls did not assign any particular significance. In any case, playing computer games seemed to be an important part of group's style. Of all the eighth grader boys, this boy group was associated with this practice the strongest as no other boy group was labelled as 'nolifers' so regularly.

Aivaras was the key figure in the group.

Rugilė: bent jau kiek skiriasi tai toksai yra Aivaras tai jis tipu kiečiausias čia klasėje ir jau su savo būriu eina nu man š man jisai tarkim nepatinka nes jisai labai jau pasipūtęs yra (.) šiaip tokius vat keikiasi ten ant kitų visų jeigu tarkim pasakai jam kad tarkim kad užsičiaupt jis labai mano kad jisai toks lyderis yra

Translation:

Rugilė: the one who somewhat distinguishes himself there is such Aivaras so he is purportedly the coolest here in the class and he goes with his crowd well I sh I let's say don't like him because he is very arrogant (.) well he swears like at the others if you let's say tell him that let's say that he should shup up he thinks a lot that he is a such leader

There were also other classmates who, like Rugilė, viewed the group as Aivaras' crowd. Other pupils mentioned that Aivaras had the leader position in the class since the elementary school. Aivaras' positioning as the key figure not just in the main boy group, but also in the entire class, was reflected in the classmates' reports of who was popular in their class. Aivaras was mentioned as the most popular pupil far more frequently than any other boy in the class (see 4.3. for an in-depth discussion about the popular pupils). My own observations only confirmed classmates' depictions of Aivaras. He was the one who would initiate various tricks, for instance, to hide some-

one's school bag, or who would address other classmates by nicknames which sometimes were quite harsh, for instance, *kiaulius* ((male) pig).

Naglis, Andrius, and partly Olegas constituted another boy group in 8y. Naglis and Andrius were good friends also outside of school. During the breaks, they sometimes joined the so-called nolifers' group, however, in the individual and group interviews, both Naglis and Andrius distanced themselves from the nolifers and even slightly mocked them. In school, Andrius sometimes talked with Olegas who was otherwise a bit of a loner. They were neighbors and had known each other since kindergarten. In the interview, Andrius told me that he liked to keep Olegas a company because he felt bad that pupils sometimes made fun of Olegas.

The last boy group in 8y consisted of Vykintas and Tajus. Vykintas was a newcomer in 8y. Originally, he had to be in the first gymnasium class, however, due to the poor academic results, he had to repeat the course of the eighth grade. Vykintas and Tajus were the only pupils in 8y who smoked during the breaks. They were also the biggest class skippers in their class. As they were the only pupils in 8y who breached the school rules so visibly, many of their classmates regarded them automatically as best friends. But it was only smoking that bound the two boys together. They were not even friends. In the interview, Vykintas indirectly hinted that he did not enjoy Tajus' company: *jeigu jis manęs nesekiotų tada nebūčiau su juo kartu* (if he were not following me then I would not be with him). Indeed, in school during the breaks if he was not outside having a cigarette with Tajus and other smoking eighth graders, Vykintas talked with the other boys in his class. Tajus was then standing somewhere nearby, but he hardly ever joined the conversations. Outside of school, Vykintas was good friends with Rokas and Tadas from 8z. Vykintas and Rokas often cut classes together. Tajus was not interviewed, therefore I cannot present his own perspective of his relations to Vykintas.

The main girl group in 8y involved Daina, Aida, Jurgita, and Saulė. In the previous grade, Aukšė was also in the group, but by the end of the seventh grade, the girls decided to exclude her from their circle. Aukšė used to be quite authoritative and give orders to the other girls. Eventually, Daina, Aida, Jurgita, and Saulė could not stand Aukšė's orders any longer and decided to end their friendship with her. When I started my fieldwork in October, the disagreements between Aukšė and the rest of the group were still noticeable. The girls would even scold the boys for talking with Aukšė. Although the fierceness gradually disappeared and the girls started communicating with each other again, Aukšė did not become best friends with Daina, Aida, Jurgita, and Saulė. After Rusnė fell out with Joana, Agnė, and Rugilė, she and Aukšė started hanging out together and formed their own friendship group.

The special status that Daina, Aida, Jurgita, and Saulė as a group had in the class was evident from the classmates' accounts.

Rusnė: ten kur tarkim Daina Jurgita Aida ir (.) ir Saulė tai (.) jos tokios labai jau nu mėgsta ten pavadovaut tai jos maždaug jau geriausios tenai (.) ber berniukai dažniausiai kartu būna

Translation:

Rusnė: like where let's say Daina Jurgita Aida and (.) and Saulė so (.) they are such they well like to lead very much so they are kinda the best (.) b boys very often hang out with them

or

Agnė: pačios labai savo bendravimu e jos yra pasikėlusios (.) va kažkaip jos labai patinka bernams nežinau kodėl (.) nes jos tokios (.) prie kiekvieno lenda

Aurytė: mhm

Agnė: ir panašiai (.) tai (.) turbūt ten ir prisibučiuoja vakarėliuose ten geria kartu su jais tai

Translation:

Agnė: they are very eh arrogant in their communication (.) yea somewhat guys really like them I don't know why (.) because they are of the kind (.) who make a pass on every guy

Aurytė: mhm

Agnė: and all that (.) so (.) maybe like they all get kissed in the parties there they drink with them so

Many of the y'ers – both boys and girls – perceived these girls as cocky and bossy, the group was quite often depicted negatively. However, it would be understatement of the girls to say that they were unfriendly or unhelpful. When Rugilė unexpectedly had her period in school, Aida was the first to help her cover up the blood. The arrogance, with which classmates associated the group, to a great extent stemmed from the leisure practices in which Daina, Aida, Jurgita, and Saulė engaged. The girls' leisure involved partying, secret smoking, and spending time with the boys. I explore the association of the listed practices with arrogance and negativity and how this perception shaped the girls' positioning in their class and beyond in greater detail in 4.3.2.

Joana and Agnė were totally different girls than Daina, Aida, Jurgita, and Saulė. They neither went to the parties, other than class parties and friends' birthdays, they did not smoke and drink. As Rugilė commented in the interview, girls like Joana and Agnė and 'the arrogant four' would not have much to talk about due to their different interests which separated these girl groups:

Rugilė: nu jos neranda tarkim bendros kalbos tarkim su kokia Agnė Joana ten kur žinot nes nu jos (Daina Aida Jurgita ir Saulė) tarkim irgi rūko ir geria ir tie-siog nu neturi ką kalbėt su tokiom žmo žmonėm kaip tarkim Agnė ir Joana

Translation:

Rugilė: well let's say they don't find what to talk about with let's say Agnė Joana like that's you know because well let's say they (Daina Aida Jurgita and Saulė) also smoke and drink and simply well they don't have what to talk about with peo people like let's say Agnė and Joana

Rugilė used to hang out with Joana and Agnė in school, however, after the winter holidays she started to spend more time together with Daiva. Rugilė still claimed Agnė to be one of her best friends, even though they grew apart. In the interview, Aukšė told me that it was not the first time Rugilė alienated from Agnė and became good friends with Daiva:

Aukšė: nu Rugilė kiek pamenu tai pernai labai su Daiva šiaip ten į lauką eidavo bet nu ta prasme kai susipykus buvo su Agnė vėl (.) ta prasme (.) kažkaip tai (.) jos bendravo normaliai kaip ten geriausios draugės paskui (.) buvo taip pat kaip ir šiemet man atrodo kad ten jai pasiūlė (.) kažkokie seni draugai ten vėl išgerti ar kažką nu ir jinai tada Agnė paliko (.) ir taip kažkaip į tą (.) kompaniją kur Daiva ir va dabar vėl tas pats atsitiko

Aurytė: kas tas pats?

Aukšė: nu ta prasme (.) vasarą ir iki žiemo iki žiemos vidurio maždaug bendrauja su Agnė paskui jau (.) su tais kurie geria (.) tada vėl taisosi ir vėl taip

Translation:

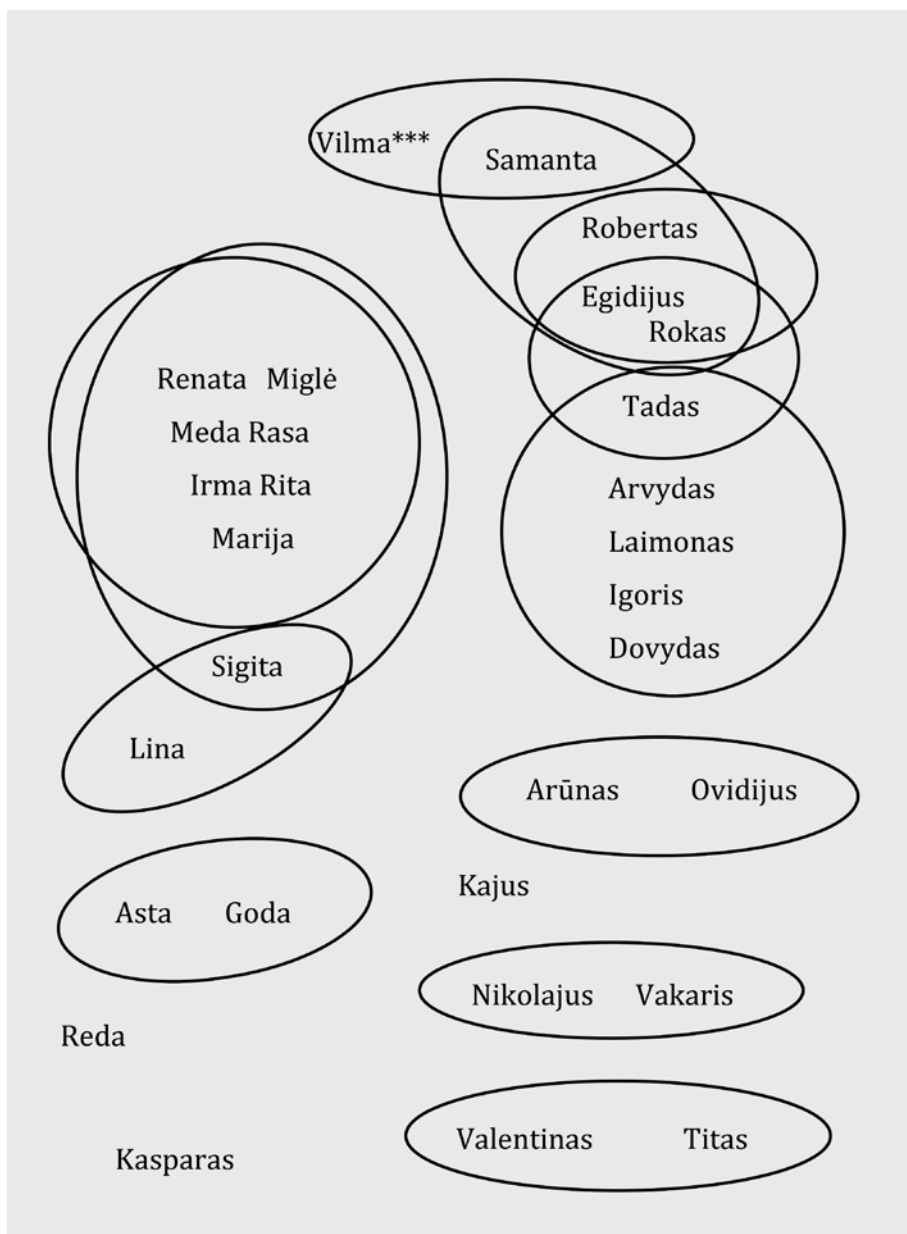
Aukšė: well as far as I remember last year Rugilė hung out with Daiva a lot well like they used to go to the courtyard but well in a way when she got angry with Agnė so she again (.) in a way (.) somehow (.) was with Agnė they got along well they were like best friends then (.) it happened the same as this year I think that like she got an offer (.) some kind of old friends like again offered to drink or so well and she then left Agnė (.) and so somehow she got into that (.) company where Daiva is and well now again the same happened

Aurytė: what the same?

Aukšė: well in a way (.) in the summer and in the winter till the middle of the winter she is friends with Agnė later (.) she is with those who drink (.) then she again mends herself and then again all that

Indeed, I had noticed myself that in the second school term Rugilė changed a bit. She started skipping classes which she did not do in the first term. She also started going to the wild parties and even got in trouble with the police. Through the group discussions with Rugilė and Daiva as well as Rugilė's self-recordings I got to know that both girls had connections to the core streetwise youth in the neighborhood (the construction of streetwise category and style is discussed in section 4.5.).

Social groups and relations in 8z



*** pupils who left the school voluntarily

Lastly, there was Smiltė and Dovilė's group which was the most remote and closed girl group. Smiltė and Dovilė rarely talked with their classmates, including the girls. They spent all their time in school together (see also 4.8.).

4.1.3. Social groups and relations in 8z

Broadly speaking, 8z consisted of two dominating boy groups and a big dominating girl group with a few smaller boy and girl groups. Two pupils – Reda and Kasparas did not belong to any group. Vilma, Asta, Goda, Kasparas, Valentinas, Titas, Arūnas, and Ovidijus came to 8z this school year, previously they studied in 7g.

Reda was hardly ever in school. Of all the eighth graders, she was a pupil with whom I talked the least. The classmates rarely talked about her in their accounts about the class. I got the impression that nobody, except Lina, actually knew her at all. The pupils would only mention that Reda was never in school and if she was, she usually was on her own alone. According to my observations, Lina would sometimes keep Reda company during the breaks.

Like Reda, Kasparas was also a loner (see 4.8.). Very often he muttered silently something to himself while he was waiting for a class by the classroom door. He very seldom addressed his classmates or participated in any conversations. But when he did, he always said something weird and unexpected, for instance: *Pone Egidijau, Jūs esate labai primityvus* (Mister Egidijus, You are very primitive) or *How to say in English Aš valgau akmenis per pusryčius. Is it I have rocks at breakfast? (How to say in English I eat stones for at breakfast. Is it I have rocks at breakfast?)* (from the fieldwork diary). Among the 8z'ers rumors were floating that Kasparas was weird because he was either previously severely ill or it was computer games which affected his behavior. Either way, all the classmates considered Kasparas to be a total stranger. Unfortunately, I do not have an interview with him, therefore, he remained a mystery to me as well.

One of the dominating boy groups in 8z involved Tadas, Arvydas, Laimonas, Igoris, and Dovydas. Dovydas had a marginal position in the group. These boys were not as close to each other as the boys in the central boy group in 8y who often met up after school. All five boys in 8z attended various sport clubs: Tadas, Arvydas, Dovydas, and Laimonas played basketball. However, Laimonas only started going to basketball in January, thus, he was not such a good player as his friends. Tadas and Dovydas even went to the same basketball school. Igoris was in the handball club. Although their classmate Rokas in the interview referred to the group as an athlete group (*sportininkai visi tarpusavyje bendrauja (.) kurie lanko krepšinį (athletes all talk among themselves (.) who go to basketball)*), according to my observations, it was not the interest in sport that kept the boys together. The best way to describe this group is through its relation to other boy groups in the class.

The boys in this group were not as calm and remote as Valentinas and Titas who had their own little group. Valentinas and Titas never talked with other classmates. During the breaks, Sergejus from 8y – their former classmate – sometimes joined them. As I have already mentioned, Sergejus and Titas were best friends.

Nikolajus and Vakaris were best friends and therefore they constituted their own group. Like Valentinas and Titas, they hardly ever mingled with other classmates,

unless Arūnas and Ovidijus would start teasing them. In the interview, Vakaris told me that he, unlike other boys, did not play computer games, instead, he spent time on computer creating a server. Besides, Vakaris was the only boy in the class, who had contributed to school plays. He was responsible for the technical service.

Kajus did not belong to any boy group, but he was not a loner like Kasparas. Like Mykolas in 8x, Kajus talked with quite a few boys in his class, but he did not spend enough time with any of them which would allow him to be part of a certain group. According to my observations, Kajus talked most regularly with Laimonas, Arūnas, Ovidijus, Nikolajus, and Vakaris. However, I also quite often spotted him alone waiting for a class by the classroom door.

Although Valentinas, Titas, Nikolajus, Vakaris, and Kajus belonged to different friendship groups, they could in a way be viewed as constituting a single group in 8z. They were all calm and silent boys who never disturbed a class. Such an approach to the boys is taken Tadas' account of social relations in his class:

Tadas: nu pavyzdžiui (.) aš čia taip nesakau ta prasme (.) vos ne daugiausia bendraujam tie kurie jaučiasi kietesni pavyzdžiui aš koks Egidijus (.) Arvydas ir Rokas pavyzdžiui mes ten tarpusavy bendraujam

Aurytė: hm

Tadas: toliau eina tie visokie Kajai ten su Titais visokiais Valentinais

Translation:

Tadas: well for instance (.) I like don't say so in a way (.) it's almost like the ones who feel they are cooler hang out with each other for instance me Egidijus (.) Arvydas and Rokas for instance we like talk among ourselves

Aurytė: hm

Tadas: then there are all those Kajuses like with Titases and Valentinas

Tadas considered himself and his friends in school to be cooler than Kajus, Titas, and Valentinas. Indeed, Tadas, Arvydas as well as Laimonas and Igoris could be regarded as cool: They drew more attention to themselves by telling jokes or making off-topic remarks during a lesson, whereas Valentinas, Titas, Nikolajus, Vakaris, and Kajus did not say a word, unless a teacher asked them a question.

However, Tadas, Arvydas, Laimonas, and Igoris did not have the reputation of a streetwiser and a smoker which boys in another boy group had. Egidijus, Rokas, and Robertas constituted another central group in 8z. They were the only boys in their class who smoked during the breaks which also meant that they spent a lot of time together. However, if they did not go outside for a smoke, they would stay in school and talk with the boys of the other central boy group, especially with Tadas. Rokas was even one of Tadas' best friends whom he often met after school. Robertas, though, would sometimes spend in school time with Samanta (see below).

Lastly, Arūnas and Ovidijus constituted another boy group. They were best friends, but they were not as separated from the class as the other small boy groups (Valentinas and Titas; Nikolajus and Vakaris). Arūnas and Ovidijus often talked with the boys of the central groups. Besides, very often they playfully teased Nikolajus.

The girls in 8z could be divided into one big group and three smaller groups. Reda, as it was already mentioned, was an outsider.

Asta and Goda were newcomers in the class. Previously, they studied in 7g. However, the girls did not unite with the rest of the class and remained a separate group through my fieldwork in school. They rather rarely talked with the other girls in their class, and when they did, it was usually school-related conversations. Most of their time in school they spent with each other or with their former classmates Ineta and Ugnė who now studied in 8x.

Vilma and Samanta also constituted their own closed group. They were the only girls among the eighth graders who smoked in school. Daiva from 8y also occasionally smoked during the breaks but Daiva's smoking was not as striking as Vilma's and Samanta's. The latter two girls were very strongly associated with smoking, drinking, and skipping classes:

Goda: Vilma su Samanta nes nu jos abi aišku rūkančios nu tai irrr ir eina visada kartu (.) visada ir bėgioja ir viską

Translation:

Goda: Vilma with Samanta because well they both are obviously smoking well that aaand they walk always together (.) and always cut classes and all that

The two girls did not spend a lot of time with the rest of the girls not only because of the different interests, but also because Vilma and Samanta very often were absent from school. They must have been in the top 5 of class skippers among the eighth graders. By the end of January, Vilma got into a big trouble outside of school. That event also involved a few other pupils in the Owl School, as a result, Vilma voluntarily decided to leave the school²⁵. After Vilma's leave, Samanta started hanging out more with Robertas, Egidijus, and Rokas. I noticed them very often together as a group going to the smoking place behind the supermarket. Because of smoking Samanta was most probably the only girl among the eighth graders who spent more time with the boys than the girls. However, a couple of months after Vilma had left school, Samanta stopped cutting classes and began to talk more with the other girls in her class, even though she found them rather dull:

Samanta: nu mergaitės tos kurios dabar šoka (mokyklos spektaklyje) (.) jos kaip ir nu nežinau užsidariusios tik viena Renata normaliai bendrauja su visom

²⁵ The pupils, involved in the event, informed me about that what happened in the neighborhood. However, due to ethical reasons, I decided not to disclose any details of the event in the dissertation.

Aurytė: hm

Samanta: nes Renata nu kaip ir (.) kaip ir aš judri (.) o kitos tokios (.) nu (.) nejudė
beveik

Translation:

Samanta: well the girls those who now dance (in the school play) (.) they are like well
I don't know reserved only one Renata normally talks with everybody

Aurytė: hm

Samanta: because Renata well is also like (.) also like me active (.) and the other girls
(.) well (.) they almost don't move

The girls, whom Samanta described as passive and boring, constituted the dominating girl group in 8z. The core members of the group were Renata, Miglė, Meda, Rasa, Irma, Rita, and Marija. Sigita had a peripheral position in the group. As Samanta's depiction of the group pointed at, the girls in the group were not all the same. Indeed, Renata distinguished from the rest of group. Firstly, she did not study as hard as the other girls. In the interview, Renata told me that she could not understand how the other girls in her class could spend the whole day doing homework and did not engage in anything else. Studies might not always be at the top of Renata's agenda because she had so many friends and so much else to do. The number of pupils who greeted Renata in school hallways every single day was a good proof of her wide circle of friends and acquaintances. Renata's best friends were not her classmates but the central girl group in 8y, namely Daina, Jurgita, Aida, and Saulė. They saw each other every day after school and even went to the same scout club together. A lot of eighth graders knew about Renata's friendship with the girls from 8y. A few 8z'ers even clustered Renata with these girls in their reports about the relations in their class.

Contrary to such statements, Renata hardly ever talked to Daina, Jurgita, Aida or Saulė in school which seemed rather strange considering that these girls were her closest friends. Renata spent her whole time in school with her classmates who in many aspects differed from her best friend group. Her closest friends Daina, Jurgita, Aida, and Saulė were regarded as arrogant and cool, whereas Miglė, Meda, Rasa, Irma, Rita, and Marija were described as boring by their classmates. These girls were considerably less known than Renata and the girls from 8y. Through their participation in school plays, Miglė, Meda, Irma, Rita, and Marija got acquainted with the central girl group in 8x which they sometimes greeted in school. The girls were happy with participation in school performances because it allowed them to expand their friend network. Thus, while Renata was building her network completely on her own, other girls in her group were aided by the school resources.

As aforementioned, Sigita had a peripheral position in the group. She could be quite often seen talking to several girls of the main group, though most of the time she spent with Lina whose company she enjoyed the most. They were the best friends since the third grade. In the interview, Sigita told me that other girls in the class

thought of her as a nerd, as a 'scientist' whereas Lina treated her as an ordinary friend, although Lina was not a bright pupil herself. On those occasions when Sigita was hanging out with the girls from the main group, Lina would be alone, unless Reda was also in school. In that case, Lina would sometimes talk to her.

4.1.4. Concluding remarks: Social groups and relations

Extracts from the interviews with the pupils and my own observations as well as my participation revealed that there was definitely a well-established social order in the eighth graders' community of practice. It might not always be as neat and clear-cut as it is depicted in the sociograms, but there were undoubtedly groups, i.e. pupils who spent more time together. Usually the friends in the group were close friends outside of school. However, sometimes the pupils needed not to be best friends to spend a lot of time together in school. Pursuit of the same practice, for instance, smoking, bound them into a group (see 4.6.). Participation in certain practices could also divide adolescents into different groups. It was not uncommon that pupils distanced themselves from certain classmates due to different preferences, as the story of Žygimantas' and Pijus' ended friendship with Albertas illustrates it.

As it is evident from the sociograms and interviews, pupils also classified themselves and even more the others into different categories. There were girl groups and boy groups ("boys talk with boys and girls talk with girls"). A few groups, however, had more specific labels attached to them. Some groups were considered as cool and leading, while others were described as nerdy and boring. In the remaining of the chapter, I continue the analysis of the social life in school, but in this section, I operate on a more abstract level. The focus of the following sections will be on the local social categories: the popular, the nerd, the school active, the streetwise among others as well as on the local realizations of the bigger social categories such as girl and boy.

4.2. HETEROSEXUAL MARKET: BEING A GIRL AND BEING A BOY

If we yet again cast a glance at the sociograms, we see that the vast majority of pupils had grouped themselves into gender-segregated groups. It does by no means suggest that boys and girls did not interact with each other. In fact, there was a lot more contact between girls and boys than it is depicted in the sociograms. However, in adolescence, it is not only the contact between the sexes that is important. In childhood, "boys and girls may have seen themselves as simply different, and perhaps as incompatible", but as early as the end of the elementary school "boys and girls emerge as complementary and cooperating factions" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 26). Thus, in the teen years, the gender itself materializes as powerful and influential category.

Albertas: buvusioj klasėj ten kiekvieną dieną duris užkimšinėt prieš kiekvieną pamoką ir nieks neskųsdavo visi nieko nežinau (.) ir viskas
 Aurytė: šiaip pasiilgsti buvusios klasės?
 Albertas: nu (1.0) tai (.) čia (.) gal ir nelabai šiaip tai
 Aurytė: kodėl nelabai?
 Albertas: nes ten tos (.) ten pagrinde (.) berniukai buvo (.) nu mes aišku kartu tos (.) bet ten ne ne nebuvo taip kad ten labai ten (.) linksma ten tos nu mergaičių gražių nebuvo aišku

Translation:

Albertas: in the former class like you could every day plug the door up and nobody would inform everybody goes I do not know anything (.) and that's it
 Aurytė: in general do you miss the former class?
 Albertas: well (1.0) that (.) like (.) maybe not so much
 Aurytė: why not so much?
 Albertas: because there was (.) like mainly (.) boys there (.) well we were obviously together (.) but there was not not not like that very like (.) funny there well obviously there were no beautiful girls there

Albertas was not entirely happy with his current classmates because their informing to a teacher restricted his engagement in counter-school activities. However, when asked if he missed his former class where he could goof around all the time, he answered negatively. His new classmates were not only uptight pupils, they were also beautiful girls whom his former class lacked. Albertas held a very clear counter-position to school norms and authority (see also sections 4.5., 4.6., and 4.7. below), for this reason, he disfavored pupils who stuck to the school rules. However, he was also participant in the adolescent heterosexual market (see Eckert 2011, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003: 25–27, Thorne 1993). Heterosexual market, together with market of popularity (see 4.3. below), is “the beginning of the commodification of the self. For the first time, kids come to see their cohort as structured around social value – a social market – and to see themselves as commodities on that market. And the value of this commodity is based in what the kids view as elements of heterosexual attractiveness” (Eckert 2011: 89). As it was obvious from Albertas’ story, physical beauty had the greatest value in this market. In this particular case, female beauty which, as we will see later, was ratified, by the class and beyond, prevailed over the need to express anti-school position. It is also worth mentioning that the beautiful girls, whom Albertas was referring to, were constructing totally different styles than Albertas’ own – they were among teachers’ favorite pupils (see 4.4.2.). Albertas’ stance towards the pretty girls confirms the great value, attached to the female beauty and to gender in general.

As any other market, the heterosexual market also contributes to and in a way creates the inequality: Not everyone in the market is assigned to or has achieved a special value. Moreover, not everyone actually participates in the heterosexual market:

Some are true participants while the others take a role of nonparticipating observers (cf. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003: 26). But the very emergence of the heterosexual market affects everyone's being in school. In the interview, I did not ask Albertas to list the girls, he described as beautiful. As the interview took place in April, the seventh month of fieldwork, I was quite familiar with the inner social structure of his class, therefore, I was quite sure that what Albertas had in mind when he said "beautiful girls" was the trio – Rūta, Kamilė, and Urtė. There were quite a few pupils in all classes – both girls and boys – who acknowledged these girls' beauty. This general appreciation made Rūta, Kamilė, and Urtė the very center of the heterosexual and popularity market among the eighth graders (see also 4.3.). In the two following subsections, I examine different modes of both female and male participation and nonparticipation in the heterosexual market.

4.2.1. Girls in the heterosexual market

Bath in a snow after school, from my fieldwork diary, the 14th of December

I leave the school together with Eglė, Liepa, and Agota. A few meters away from the main stairs, on the path to the supermarket, there is a bunch of boys – Laurynas, Rokas, Vykintas, Robertas, Egidijus, Albertas, Edgaras, and possibly others. I have never seen so many boys right in front of the school. Today it was Laurynas' last day in school. Could it be they had already started celebrating it – all of them must have cut the last class because I didn't notice them in cloakroom taking their winter jackets. Besides, Laurynas was asked to leave the school already before the fifth lesson, and now it's the break after the sixth lesson. Anyway, me and the girls stare at the boys for a few seconds. Then we start walking in the directions of girls' home. The boys are just standing in our way. Liepa and Eglė cling tightly to my arms as if they knew what was about to happen. Agota is walking by herself. As we pass by the boys, they quickly pull Liepa out of my arms and start giving her a bath in snow. A minute later, Eglė is also in the snow. Boys formed a circle around them. They are pushing snow with their legs towards Liepa and Eglė who are sitting in the middle. The girls cannot stand up. Agota is observing the whole scene and does nothing. After a short while, I get myself into the circle and drag Liepa and Eglė out. I understand that this is a 'play', but sometimes enough is enough. After all, it is 7 – 10 boys against two girls. Liepa and Eglė are now safely standing behind me. They are shouting at the boys. All their clothes are soaking wet. Unfortunately, there's nothing more we can do, so we simply head towards the supermarket. As we start walking away, Vykintas grabs Agota's arm as if he was about to bathe her in the snow. However, Laurynas shouts to him: "Let her go, she's a good girl". And Vykintas lets Agota go – she is not being bathed in the snow.

In the winter months, boys usually, as pupils say, bathe girls in the snow. This social practice was usually more fun for the boys than for the girls. The boys occasionally bragged in school that they had given such a good bath to a girl that even her make-up had been removed, the girls, however, did not enjoy to get soaked in the snow, especially when it was not uncommon for two boys or more to bathe one girl. The girls would even get anxious before going home after the school day. If they spotted a group of boys outside, they usually made little alliances among themselves, so that no girl would be alone. If I was leaving the school at the same time, they tended to fasten to me with the hope that the boys would not touch them if they saw me in their company. However, this strategy hardly ever worked out because the boys were not afraid of me. Furthermore, the boys even jokingly threatened me that they would bathe me in a snow if I did not cease helping girls. A couple of times the girls even considered asking the class teacher or the social worker to follow them home. Notwithstanding the intentions, the girls never approached the school authorities to help them in this matter. Even though all the girls agreed that the boys did not know when to stop and when enough was enough, they did not condemn bathing in the snow, after all, it was a friendly play between boys and girls,: *nu gerai tas maudymas gal kartais ir linksma nu bet kai pradeda į veidą mėtyt į sniegą arba į galvą gniūžtes nu tada jau nelinksma (well ok that bathing maybe sometimes it's kinda fun but well when ((they)) start throwing snow to your face or throwing snowballs to your head well then it's not fun* (from the interview with Aida).

So far, I have been using the general category term “the girls” which might make the reader to assume that all the girls in the eighth grade were being bathed after school. However, this was not the case. Not all girls had to worry about getting soaked in the snow (see also the extract from the diary above). In the eighth grade, it did not suffice to be *a girl* to be qualified for a bath in the snow. It had to be worth bathing a girl in the snow. In the extract from the diary, there were three girls passing by the boys, however, only two of them – Liepa and Eglė – were bathed in the snow. There were rumors among the eighth graders that Liepa and Laurynas dated for a short while in the summer. Eglė was Liepa’s closest friend in school. And this alone qualified the two girls for bathing. Agota, on the contrary, was not bathed. Even more, when Vykin-tas tried to grab her, Laurynas told him to let her go because “*she’s a good girl*”. Being a good girl in this case equaled to not being qualified for bathing. Agota was no one’s girlfriend. Furthermore, neither the boys in her class ever teased her, nor she herself talked a lot to the boys. During my fieldwork in school, Agota even said to me a few times that the boys never teased her because they most probably did not find her beautiful or interesting enough. Boys’ lack of interest in Agota was in the first place especially salient to herself because she was in the same friend circle as the girls who constantly received a lot of boys’ attention, namely, Liepa, Eglė, Rūta, Kamilė, and Urtė. Agota’s inability to attract boys’ attention deemed her as a boring girl. A boring girl could be defined as a girl who did not interact with the boys and the boys in turn

also did not seek to have contact with that girl (cf. Maegaard 2007: 137–143). Thus, there is no worth in bathing her (see also 4.4.1.). Other girls, whom I never noticed being given a bath and who overall had very little interaction with the boys in their classes, were Ineta, Ugnė, Virginija, Sandra, Lėja, Milda from 8x, Rusnė, Auksė, Smiltė, Dovilė from 8y, Miglė, Meda, Rasa, Irma, Rita, Marija, Sigita, Lina, Asta, Goda, and Reda from 8z²⁶. All these girls could be labelled as good and boring.

The lack of contact with the boys also did not go unnoticed among the girls:

Aurytė: o kas į klasės vakarėlius ateina?

Eglė: beveik visi išskyrus (.) Virginiją jinai neina nežinau kodėl tiesiog (.) jinai sako kad jinai pastoviai negali (.) bet nu nežinau gal (.) gal jinai tiesiog nenori (.) nes man atrodo kad kažkaip (.) ją (.) mes panos ją priimam tiesiog su ja bendraujam ir taip (.) o bernai kažkaip nelabai su ja (.) sutaria ir gal jinai vien dėl to neina nes žino kad vis tiek vakarėlyje (.) mes ir su bernais kalbamės ne taip kaip mokykloje kad ten atskirai tiesiog ir nieko (.) o per vakarėlį mes vis tiek visi labiau susibendraujam ten vieni su kitais ir susidraugaujam labiau ir o ją bernai kažkaip kaip ir atstumia tai gal jinai dėl to ir neina

Translation:

Aurytė: and who goes to the class parties?

Eglė: almost everybody except (.) Virginija she doesn't go I simply don't know why (.) she says that she constantly can't (.) but well I don't know maybe (.) maybe she simply doesn't want to (.) because it seems to me that somehow (.) her (.) we girls accept her we simply talk to her and yea (.) and boys somehow don't get along (.) very well with her and maybe she just because of that doesn't go because she knows that during the party (.) we also talk with the boys not like in school when we like are simply apart and nothing (.) but during the party we all socialize more like with each other we get closer and but the boys somehow like reject her so maybe she doesn't go because of that

Eglė got suspicious about Virginija's constant absence in the class parties. Although Virginija always had a reason for why she cannot attend the party – either she was ill or had to go away with her family, this did not convince Eglė²⁷. She noticed that the boys did not pay a lot of attention to Virginija, which could signal that the male classmates did not like her. The party is a good opportunity for a class to spend more time together. This inevitably entails cross-gender interactions: If girls are mostly

²⁶ Daiva, Samanta, and Vilma were not bathed either, however, it did not mean that they were not friends with the boys. I will examine their relations with the boys and their construction of femininity at the end of the subsection.

²⁷ In her individual interview, Virginija listed the same reasons – illness or family arrangements, which prohibited her from attendance in class parties in the past.

talking with girls on an ordinary school day, during the party they are also talking a lot with the boys. But the boys are not interested in mingling with Virginija, hence, she might feel alienated during a party. According to Eglė, boys' disinterest in Virginija and the sequential consequences explain her unwillingness to participate in the class parties. However, Virginija did attend the class Christmas party which took place during my fieldwork. And indeed, as Eglė had predicted, male classmates did not show Virginija any attention. "Truth or dare" was one of the games, played at the party. One of dares that a few boys got to fulfil was to kiss all the girls. When it was the turn to kiss Virginija, boys would start pulling faces or in other ways signaling their reluctance to kiss her. However, it did not seem that Virginija herself was keen on establishing a relation with boys. Unlike other girls, she did not wear fashionable clothes and make-up or in any other way created heterosexual attractiveness (see also 4.4.1. where Virginija's stance towards youth culture is analysed). But despite her disinterest in the opposite sex and heterosexual attractiveness, Virginija's being in school was greatly affected by the regulations of the heterosexual market. As a result of her reluctance to fully participate in this market, Virginija took a role of a non-participating observer which also meant a lower status in the local social order.

As argued above, power in the heterosexual market is closely linked to heterosexual practice, i.e. the ability to establish cross-gender relations and physical attractiveness (cf. Eckert 2011). Even more, engagement in heterosexual practices grants true participants a high status in the local social order. Rūta, Kamilė, and Urtė from 8x emerged as the key creators and leaders of the heterosexual market. Their beauty was widely acknowledged by the entire cohort. No other pupil was so constantly labelled as nice, beautiful, gorgeous, stylish, or as Igoris topped it off with: *((jos)) visų bernų akį traukia (((they)) catch all guys' eye)* as this trio. Needless to say, that the boys at the party were dying to kiss these girls. Such evaluation of Rūta's, Kamilė's, and Urtė's appearance and bodies was not unexpected. All three girls devoted considerable amount of time to polish their look:

Rūta: buvau kelis kartus prisiauginus blakstienas (.) bet čia visiškai ne tai kad dėl grožio ne tai kad ten kažkiek kitiems bet pati sau (.) nes man labai tarkim asmeniškai patiko atsikeli kažkiek vėliau nereikia dažytis blakstienų taip jau viskas čia tik susišukuoji dar kažkas (.) buvau gal kokius aštuonis kartus jau prisiauginus nagus

Translation:

Rūta: I have had eyelash extensions done a couple of times (.) but it was totally not because of the beauty not like in a way for the others but for myself (.) because let's say I personally like it a lot you get up a little bit later you don't have to put mascara on the eyelashes everything is like kinda done you just do your hair maybe something else (.) I have already had maybe eight times nail extensions done

or

Kamilė: niekada negalėčiau eiti į mokyklą pavyzdžiui baisiai apsirengusi (.) tragiškom kelnėm ir baisiu megztiniu

<...>

Kamilė: aš jau iš vakaro susidedu ką apsirengsiu

Translation:

Kamilė: for instance I could never go to school in ugly clothes (.) tragic trousers and ugly sweater

<...>

Kamilė: already in the evening I pick ((the clothes)) which I will be wearing

But Kamilė, Urtė, and Rūta were not simply gorgeous bodies who gracefully floated in the school hallways. Their participation in the heterosexual market was not limited to the technology of beauty (Eckert 2011: 91): They, especially Kamilė and Rūta, also interacted a lot with the boys in their class in school and after school. It would be false to state that they were the only girls in the cohort who spent their time with the boys after school. Eglė and Liepa were constantly teased by Laurynas, Arnas, and Albertas. Agnė invited Modestas and Paulius to her birthday party. The friend circle of Renata, Daina, Aida, Jurgita, and Skaistė occasionally invited a few classmates and even older boys to their parties. All these girls could be defined as true participants of the heterosexual market. Nevertheless, the aforementioned girls did not spend a lot of their leisure time with boys, their closest friends were their girlfriends, with whom they walked in cliques in school. Kamilė and Rūta, however, unlike other eighth grade girls, did not continue in this friendship pattern, which was established since the childhood. Their best friend group involved both of girls and boys, i.e. Kamilė and Rūta entered “a new set of gender relations” (Eckert 2011: 88). Rūta distinguished both Kamilė and Žygimantas as her best friends, as the people whom she could trust the most. Thus, relations and activities which were previously limited to friends of the same sex (cf. Eglė’s informative story about the formation of the current girl group – most of the girls were very good friends since the elementary school in 4.1.1.), were now exercised in the mixed-sex groups. It is also of great importance that this new friendship pattern received appreciation among the classmates (see 4.1.1. about the social relations in 8x). To sum it up, heterosexual practice and sequential new friendship patterns carved Kamilė’s and Rūta’s way out to the highest status of the local social order (see also 4.3.). Albertas’ preference for them over his former class and Pijus’ disguise of the smoking (see section 4.6. below) only confirmed their almost unquestionable leading position.

However, girls’ active participation in the heterosexual market was not always evaluated positively. Too much of the physical contact with the opposite sex could be deemed as cheap.

Irma: nu nežinau jin (.) gal biškį lengvo būdo atrodo nu tai

Aurytė: o dėl ko tau atrodo Renata lengvo būdo?

Irma: nu ten būdavo visokių faktų kad čia net ne nesinori pasakoti bet (.) nu atrodo (.) vis tiek (.) ir visom matyti

Translation:

Irma: well I don't know she (.) maybe is a little of easy virtue it seems well so

Aurytė: and why does Renata seem to you as of easy virtue?

Irma: well like there were facts I like even don't want to tell but (.) well it seems (.) anyway (.) and everybody ((girls)) sees that

Irma did not feel comfortable mentioning on record the facts which, according to her, proved Renata to be a girl of easy virtue. After the interview, when I turned the voice-recorder off, I asked her again, what she meant by calling Renata cheap. Irma explained to me that Renata's frivolity was related to her behavior with the boys: She let the boys touch her. Irma was especially referring to the case which I also got to observe. It took place on the Valentine's Day, an occasion which was celebrated in the whole school. Renata was standing together with her classmates Miglė, Meda, Rasa, Irma, and Rita in the hall when Albertas from 8x passed by and hugged Renata from the back. He placed his arms around Renata's waist. It was just a momentary action – Albertas quickly went away, and yet, the hug did not go unnoticed among Renata's female classmates. Irma found it inappropriate that Renata did not do anything about Albertas' act, that she just chuckled a bit, which meant that she accepted and even enjoyed such a hug. However, it was very possible that Irma had misinterpreted Albertas' act and Renata's reaction. There might be nothing sexual about that hug. Albertas and Renata used to be close friends, they even hung out with the same friends in the neighborhood last winter. Although they did not spend a lot of time together in the courtyard anymore, I still spotted them chatting with each other now and then, especially if they had classes in the nearby classrooms. Unlike other girls in her class, (except Vilma and Samanta, see below), Renata had quite a few male friends. Hence, she must be used to friendly physical contact with a boy as part of the greeting ritual, therefore she might not give such a big prominence to the hug as other classmates did. For instance, on the same Valentine's Day, it was Renata who was the first one to welcome the boys in 8z with a hug. Irma followed her lead and also hugged a few boys, while the rest of the girls in the class, however, were just observing. Evaluation of Renata's physical contact with boys as cheap and frivolous arose from her classmates' lack of experience of cross-gender friendships.

To receive too much of boys' attention or to get into too close physical contact with them was sometimes regarded negatively. It seems that a statement that "a good girl" is still the one who "like a magnet exerts an attractive force on male objects; unlike a magnet, she must keep these objects rotating in a narrow orbit around her person without actual contact with them" (Cohen 1971: 146), is still valid among nowadays adolescents. Girls' initiative towards a physical contact with a boy was as a

rule regarded as improper, i.e. girls who teased the boys were generally considered cheaper than the ones who were teased by the boys (see also Agnė's quote in 4.1.2.).

Based on their relations with the boys, the girls could be labelled in the framework of the heterosexual market as perfect, cheap, and boring (cf. Staunæs 2004, quoted in Maegaard 2007: 142²⁸). However, the difference between the perfect and the cheap does not necessarily lie in the actual relations to the boys, but more in the perception of the relations (in this regard my definition of the perfect and the cheap differs from Staunæs's definition). However, there were girls whose interaction with the boys did not fit in any of the aforementioned categories. In the last part of the subsection, I examine the streetwise girls' relations to the boys and their construction of femininity (the particular focus will be on the main streetwise girls – Vilma and Samanta).

Streetwise girls spent a great deal of their time in school with the boys:

Egidijus: nu kas daugiau ten rūko dar kažką nu tai tie būna (.) kartu

<...>

Egidijus: Rokas (.) aaa (.) Robertas Samanta (.) aš

Translation:

Egidijus: well those more like smoke or something well so they are (.) together

<...>

Egidijus: Rokas (.) aaa (.) Robertas Samanta (.) me

If we had a look again at the sociogram of groups and relations in 8z, we would see that Samanta was friends with Vilma, Robertas, Egidijus, and Rokas. After Vilma left the school, Samanta usually spent the breaks in the company of those three boys. There were quite a few 8'zers who distinguished Samanta, Rokas, Robertas, and Egidijus as a group. Formally, this cross-gender group looked the same like the one in 8x (Rūta, Kamilė, Žygimantas, Pijus, Eimantas, Giedrius, and partly Kipras). However, in practice, these two cross-gender groups were of very different nature. Neither of the boys ever teased Samanta (or Vilma) in any way. It was smoking that tied the group together: Vilma and Samanta were the only girls in school who smoked openly, every eighth grader knew that they were smokers. During the breaks, they went to the 'secret' smoking spot behind the nearby supermarket where they had their cigarette together with other smoking pupils, the majority of whom happened to be boys. Their relations to the male classmates were based not on romance, sexuality, in some cases not even friendship, but on the streetwise practice – smoking (see also 4.6.). Nevertheless, it did not mean that streetwise girls did not have good male friends like Kamilė and Rūta. Of course, they did, in fact, Samanta and Robertas were quite close friends. But primarily it was the streetwise practices that they engaged in in and outside school – smoking, drinking and alike – that brought them into male-dominated groups.

²⁸ Staunæs, D. 2004. *Køn, etnicitet og skoleliv*. Frederiksberg: Forlaget Samfundslitteratur.

Streetwise girls' construction of femininity differed significantly from the other girls'. This was the most evident in Vilma's development of a streetwise style. Vilma was not like any other girl in the Owl School. She was the only girl in the school who wore nothing else than a T-shirt, sporty sweatshirt, jeans, and sneakers to school. At the beginning of my fieldwork, she got herself a new pair of sneakers. She was so happy with her purchase that she bragged about the sneakers the whole morning. Vilma's longish hair was always tied up in a rather messy ponytail. Her walk could be defined as manly. Vilma did not wear any make-up. Whenever the girls started discussing lip glosses or nail polishes, she would expressly walk away or would pull faces in order to show her disgust with a feminine topic. Vilma's tough look went hand in hand with her tough language. She swore a lot. Even when she was talking with her female classmates, she frequently used swearwords such as *bleť*, *nachui* or *čĩulpk bybjĩ* (*suck the dick*). In general, most of Vilma's practices pointedly departed from the norms, which are traditionally associated with femininity.

Vilma's reputation of a streetwise adolescent went also beyond the borders of the Owl School. It was common knowledge in school both among pupils and teachers that Vilma was hanging out with, as it was described to me, the worst guys in the neighborhood:

Goda: dēl ko šiaip jie ((Egidijus ir Vilma)) populiarūs (.) dēl to kad jie turi čia cheb-ras rajone (.) nu ir jeigu tu ant jų užsirausi ten ar dar kažką jie iš karto apims užpuls tave

Translation:

Goda: in general why are they ((Egidijus and Vilma)) popular (.) because that they have like crowds in the neighborhood (.) well if you get on their nerves like or something they will come at you straight away

Indeed, Vilma was very strong and physically fit. She was one of very few girls in the eighth grade who went to the gym. However, Vilma's reason for going to the gym might be of different nature than the other girls'. Other girls were working out because they wanted to lose weight. I did not interview Vilma²⁹, therefore I cannot present

²⁹ All streetwise adolescents, including Vilma, willingly got involved in the project and were extremely eager to be interviewed. The first interviewed streetwise pupil was Laurynas. The interview took place in December. Laurynas was very enthusiastic about the project and even asked me several times when it would be his turn to be interviewed. Despite his enthusiasm, the interview did not go as smoothly as both of us would have expected. During the interview, Laurynas mentioned a few times that he felt strange talking about his leisure time, which involved smoking, drinking, and partying, with me. Although I explained to the pupils that I was writing a book about Vilnius youth, all of my informants had a vague idea what the research interview would be about and that the majority of questions would actually be focused on them and their activities. However, to talk about their leisure was unproblematic for all the pupils, except streetwisers. Their leisure time and even time,

her viewpoint on the subject, but as Vilma showed me a few tricks of self-defense, it led me to think that Vilma was working out in order to be physically fit. She had to be strong because her engagement in the street culture went beyond smoking and drinking. She was also involved in fights and other street activities which I, due to the ethical reasons, will not discuss here. She also knew the right contacts in the neighborhood that sold cigarettes for her on the slate. All in all, Vilma was performing a conspicuous streetwise persona whose notoriety was highly acknowledged. Unfortunately, as I do not have an interview with Vilma, I cannot provide better insight into female experience of the street culture and of the stereotypically male dominance attached to it, all of which are highly under-researched areas.

Thus far, I have been analyzing the heterosexual market from the girls' perspective. In the next part of the chapter, the focus will be on boys and their relations to girls.

4.2.2. Boys in the heterosexual market

The emergence of the heterosexual market affects both girls and boys, "as they work to produce value as complementary commodities on the market" (Eckert 1996: 185). However, much of the scholarly work within the framework of the heterosexual market (Eckert 1996, 2011) focused on girls' pre-occupation with the technology of beauty and the construction of a female flamboyant style. Notwithstanding that, the heterosexual market has a significant impact on boys because it enables relations, which previously were dispreferred and less tolerated (cf. Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 23), i.e. if in childhood it was uncool to play with the girls on the playgroup, in adolescence it was uncool to be ignored by the girls:

Eimantas: vaikščiodavai (.) su mergaite (imitates the voice of sneer) o tu ten su mergaite koks tu ten atšytas išskirtinis (.) dabar visi vaikštai (.) dabar vaikštai su kokia pana (.) tai o šaunuolis ten vaikštai kad su pana o tie kurie (.) kažką ne taip pasako tai (.) jais išvadina tokiais va

spent in school, was filled with practices which were not condoned by adults and which were not for the adults to know. Thus, to discuss them with an adult-lookalike researcher was not easy. And most probably to lie about or to make up leisure activities was not an option either, as, for instance, a few girls did about their smoking habit. Hence after not entirely successful interview with Laurynas, I decided to postpone other interviews with the streetwise adolescents to the second half of my fieldwork. However, in January all of a sudden, the rumors started spreading that Vilma was leaving the school because of a few happenings in the neighborhood. I knew that it was difficult time for Vilma, therefore I did not dare to bother her with my project. Doing research on and with streetwise youth is a difficult business because you want establish a secure relation with them, which typically takes more time, but then again you risk that they might leave school or be expelled. And I was lucky to have the interview with Laurynas, because he was expelled from school a few days after our interview session.

Translation:

Eimantas: you used to walk (.) with a girl (imitates the voice of sneer) hi you there with a girl like what an exclusive outcast (.) now everybody walks (.) now you walk with some girl (.) so yea cool chap because like you walk with a girl and those who (.) say something inappropriate so (.) they are called their names

Eimantas had always had female friends and this alone gave rise to teasing in the former grades. However, in the eighth grade the situation changed: An outcast who hang around the girls, became a cool chap. Although Eimantas was not among the popular eighth graders (see 4.3.) – most probably one school year was too short of a timespan for ‘an outcast’ to reach the status of a popular pupil – no one was making fun of his friendships with the girls. And if the class was previously laughing at his romantic feelings for Kamilė, in the eighth grade no one was making harsh comments when Eimantas gave flowers to Kamilė on several occasions in school³⁰.

This brings us to the second part of the subsection, namely boys’ “sexually romantic” (Maegaard 2007: 137, my translation) relations to girls. It is claimed that “boys’ value on the market is tied to the kinds of accomplishment that they have been cultivating throughout childhood” (Eckert 1996: 2), i.e. strength, physical activities, and to some extent academic achievements (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 126). This might be true in the preadolescence, a life stage, where Eckert (1996, 2011) located her research. However, in adolescence, boys’ value is not entirely determined by their accomplishments in physical activities, including physical look. The attention, they show to and receive from the girls, plays a major role as well:

Kamilė: aš tai aš pavyzdžiui pagalvojau kad tiem kurie sakiau ten kur Jonas Julius Vytenis (.) jiems nelabai galbūt mes rūpime negu toj grupelėj kurie sakiau ten Giedrius Rolandas (.) nes jie labai prie mūsų eina nes jie nori gal (.) bendrauti gal jiems (.) kaip čia pasakius hormonų audros (laughs)

Translation:

Kamilė: I well I for instance thought that to those who as I said like Jonas Julius Vytenis (.) they maybe don’t really care for us than ((the boys)) in that group as I said with Giedrius Rolandas (.) because they approach us a lot because they want maybe (.) to interact maybe (.) how should I say that it’s raging hormones (laughs)

³⁰ It is also worth mentioning that the girls, who Eimantas had always been good friends with, namely Rūta and Kamilė, were widely acknowledged as beautiful and now had the most power in the community of practice. The girls’ leading positions in the local social order must have contributed to the change of Eimantas’ status in the eighth grade.

The boys could be easily divided into two categories: the ones who had no or very little interaction with girls and the ones who hung around with girls quite often (cf. the similar division among the girls above). Mykolas, Jonas, Julius, Vytenis, Kipras from 8x, Sergejus, Artiomas, Eladas, Tajus, Nojus, Naglis from 8y, Kasparas, Valentinas, Titas, Nikolajus, Vakaris, Arūnas, Ovidijus, Kajus, Igoris, Dovydas, Laimonas, Arvydas, and Tadas from 8z, according to my observations, did not talk to the girls a lot in school. A special mention has to be made about 8z. Of all the eighth-grade classes, 8z stood out as the class with a very rigid division into “girl groups” and “boy groups”. There was little communication between these groups, especially if we compare 8z to the other eighth-grade classes. The steady cross-gender interaction was only occurring in the smoker group, which involved Vilma, Samanta, Robertas, Egidijus, and Rokas. However, the lack of the actual communication with the girls did not mean that these boys were not thinking or caring for girls. On the Valentine’s Day, Dovydas screwed up all his courage and declared his love to Rūta (see also Igoris’ quote in 4.2.1. where he briefly summarized girls’ beauty).

Interaction with the girls can take shape in different forms. At one end, we find interactions which continue childhood patterns, for instance, to bathe girls in the snow, to tease girls by hiding their pencil-cases and other school-related things. At the other end, we have acts of communication which lay claim to adult prerogatives. At the beginning of this subsection, I claimed that “boys and girls emerge as complementary and cooperating factions” (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 26). However, by no means it signifies gender equality. Adolescence is a life-stage when boys and girls “enter into more focused gender opposition” (Eckert 2011: 90). It is in adolescence when boys begin to have thoughts that girls dress up and wear make-up to impress them and that in general girls are subjects and objects which should be taken care of and desired for. Desire can also take shape in various forms from day-dreaming to quite concrete acts of sexual desire. The latter was every evident in Laurynas’ behavior. He was the first boy who consistently showed various signs of sexual intercourse with his fingers or mouth. Laurynas’ manners were quickly picked up by his best friends in school – Arnas and Albertas. Laurynas also sought to get as much physical contact with the girls as possible, for instance, by slapping on his (ex-)girlfriends’ and their closest friends’ bums.

Other boys laid claims to adult prerogatives by taking care of the girls as men would take care of women. In Lithuania on the International Women’s Day men give flowers to women. Therefore, on the eighth of March a few boys – Pijus, Žygimantas, and Eimantas – came to school with flowers in their hands. Kostas showed up with two bars of chocolate. There were also rumors that Rolandas should bring flowers to school as well (although I did not see him with flowers). The girls who received the flowers and chocolate were Rūta and Kamilė. According to the morning gossip in school, Eglė and Urtė should have received flowers from Rolandas. In school, boys’

gifts to girls were generally perceived as a sign of being in love with that particular girl. However, the relation between 'flowers' and 'love' was not necessarily that straightforward, especially when a few boys, Pijus and Kostas, never showed any romantic interest in the class girls. In Lithuania men give flowers not only to their partners – wives and girlfriends – but also to their colleagues. Similarly, the boys in the eighth grade gave flowers not only because they were in love or liked those girls. An eight of March flower to a female classmate could also stand for stepping in a role of a man, and as a man you ought to give flowers to women on the International Women's Day. However, not every class girl got a flower. Only girls who laid claims to adult prerogatives by making friends with boys and by indulging in beautification processes, received special attention on Women's Day.

4.2.3. Concluding remarks

In this section of the chapter, I analysed different local gender categories within the framework of the heterosexual market. As any other market, the heterosexual market is a hierarchy-based one and different local categories have different positions in this hierarchy. It is especially evident in the development of local female categories (cf. Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 126). Girls who invest the most in the market – spend quite a lot of time on their looks, have a lot of male friends in school and maintain friendships with them also outside of school – are at the very top. The existence of the hierarchical structure among the pupils could be best summed up in a short utterance, which I overheard a flock of active girls – Kamilė, Urtė, and Rūta – saying on International Women's Day, the eighth of March: *Vargšė Liepa, negaus gėlių* (*Poor Liepa, she won't receive any flowers*) (from my fieldwork diary). And then, these girls started enumerating boys who would give flowers to them. To receive a flower is not merely an acknowledgment of a girl's beauty and a hint that a boy has feelings for a girl. This also means that certain girls have obtained more power, thus, they position themselves and are equally positioned by the others in the cohort as 'rich', i.e. popular. In the next section, I will continue with the inequality topic as I explore another social market, which is closely linked with the heterosexual market, namely, the market of popularity.

4.3. INVOLVEMENT IN THE SOCIAL LIFE OF SCHOOL: THE HIGH-PROFILE MEMBERS³¹ OF THE COMMUNITY

One of the focal points of departure of my study was social relations among adolescents: Who is interacting with whom, how, how often, and what for. At the very beginning of my fieldwork, I had noticed that some pupils were all alone, during the breaks, they silently walked along the classroom wall (see 4.8.), whereas other pupils seemed to have a lot of friends or acquaintances in school. They were constantly greeted by other pupils and equally greeted a lot of pupils themselves. Shortly I got to know that friendships with certain pupils were extremely valued and sought after as it is evident from a short dialogue between Virginija and Sandra:

Sandra: What did you do yesterday?

Virginija: I walked Kamilė's dog with her.

Sandra: Really??? Were you at Kamilė's?

Virginija: No, just outside. We walked the dog.

(extract from the fieldwork diary, translated from Lithuanian to English)

Walking a dog with a classmate after school at first glance looks like an ordinary activity, which should not provoke an amazement. However, Sandra's reaction "really?" and request for additional information "Were you at Kamilė's?" suggest that to hang out with Kamilė, and especially to get into her private space, was considered an exclusive social practice. The prestige of this dog-walking was stemmed from the status which Kamilė held in the community of practice. As subsection 4.2. concludes, Kamilė must be a popular girl whose company was always highly appreciated. In this subsection, I dwell upon the topic of popularity further.

From my own school experience and from the studies of fellow researchers in the field I was expecting popularity to be an important factor in the studied community of practice. In my research, popularity is defined as the ability to make oneself highly visible on the social landscape by gaining peer prestige, i.e. by attracting a lot of attention and interest to one's personality from other members of the community (see also Bucholtz 2011, Eckert 1989, 2000).

In order to obtain pupil's own viewpoint on popularity and its relevance to the school life, I included a few questions about it in the interview guide. I usually introduced the topic in the following way: "Have you noticed that certain pupils get more attention in school, we can say they are more visible or, in other words, popular. What do you have to do to be popular? To be known among other eighth graders?"

³¹ Wenger (2007 [1998]) uses terms *participant* and *member* more or less synonymously. However, in my case, the term *participant* can be easily understood as a participant in the research project. In order to avoid this confusion, I use the term *member* when I am referring to participation in the community of practice.

Can you name a few popular pupils in your own class and overall among all eighth graders?" If a pupil mentioned only popular pupils of his / her own gender, a supporting question was added: "Don't you think there are no respectively popular boys and girls?." Quite a few pupils touched open the subject of popularity when they were describing the groups in their class, others, however, started talking about it only after I had introduced the topic in the interview. Notwithstanding that, the vast majority of pupils agreed that indeed certain pupils were popular in the class and beyond. Most of my informants did not have difficulties discussing the topic which only affirms the social significance of popularity among nowadays adolescents.

No one was popular for no reason.

Algirdas: visų pirma turi norėt kad būti populiariesniu (.) o ne pavyzdžiui (.) stovėti ir nieko nedaryti (.) nne neateis įsiai (.) nu (.) pati neateis tas populiarius

Aurytė: [mhm]

Algirdas: [pats] neateis

Translation:

Algirdas: in the first place you have to want to be more popular (.) and not just for instance (.) to stand and do nothing (.) it wonnn't come (.) well (.) the popularity won't come

Aurytė: [mhm]

Algirdas: [it] won't come by itself

Algirdas' statement that one does not become popular by doing nothing is a valid one, however, not every pupil would agree with him that a simple wish to become popular would necessarily lead to the top position. Deliberate strategy to gain popularity may result in a total failure. In the interviews, the pupils talked about their classmates who tried to become leaders in their class, however, without success:

Renata: Miglės žiauriai visi nemėgsta labai ant jos varo ten žodžiu (.) ir tipo nu įinai xxx labai bando būt labai kaip Meda tenai (.) Meda įsivėrė į bambą auskarą jau po mėnesio Miglė ateina su bamboj auskaru tai ten gerai

Translation:

Renata: Everybody awfully dislikes Miglė ((everybody)) speaks ill of her like so (.) and you know well she xxx tried hard to look Meda like (.) Meda pierced her navel already after a month Miglė comes with piercing in her navel so like alright

Meda used to be one of the leading girls in her class, and, according to Renata, Miglė sought to achieve the same status. However, instead of gaining the top position in the class, Miglė was deemed as a copy-cat.

Miglė's case exemplifies that not everyone is entitled to the highest positions of the market of popularity and not every practice gives access to the high status. Popularity has not only to be achieved, it has also to be endorsed by other members of the community. Prominence on the social landscape of the community of practice is gained by general agreement, i.e. by the practices and resources which are approved by the community. Although, as we will see, certain ways to popularity are questioned, the very fact of questioning about their legitimacy paradoxically make them legitimate.

In the interview, the pupils were asked to name eighth graders, who, according to them, were popular. Table 4.1. visualizes the results.

Table 4.1. Top 15 of the most popular eighth graders in the Owl School

Number	Pupil's name	Number of pupils who mentioned the pupil in question
1	Rūta	34
2	Žygimantas	30
3	Egidijus	19
4	Giedrius	17
5	Renata	16
6	Urtė	16
7	Kamilė	16
8	Aida	14
9	Tadas	13
10	Aivaras	13
11	Pijus	10
12	Albertas	10
13	Daina	10
14	Saulė	10
15	Rokas	8

Eight boys and seven girls were distinguished as popular. Excluding streetwise adolescents, all other pupils in the list were also active participants in the heterosexual market, which only proves that “the popular crowd <...> are quite self-consciously social-developmental leaders and pioneers in heterosexual practice” (Eckert 2011: 88). All the popular girls in the top 15 constituted the main girl groups in their classes, that is, Urtė, Kamilė, Rūta in 8x, and Aida, Daina, and Saulė in 8y. Renata was also in the main group in 8z, besides, she was a close of friend to the main girl group in 8y. Such a result is not a surprise because pupils often listed as popular not

individual girls, but girl groups³². A few pupils claimed that it was easier for a group to maintain the leading positions:

Daiva: nes aišku sunku vienai kuriai nors parodyt kokia aš esu ir taip dažniausiai grupelė tokia ir susidaro

Translation:

Daiva: because obviously it's difficult for someone alone to show what I am and so most often such a group is formed

In the interviews, I also asked my informants to describe why this particular pupil was popular. Pupils' answers had guided me in distinguishing the legitimate ways to gain visibility and to achieve the high status in their community. Above all, a popular pupil has to be very social and had to have a wide range of contacts, for instance, she or he also has to have friends in other classes. According to my informants, physical appearance and beauty play a crucial role, especially in defining who is a popular girl and who is not, as evaluation of beauty was mostly applied to girls (cf. Maegaard 2007: 163, see also 4.2.). Academic achievements and participation in various extracurricular activities were also listed as a practice to gain high profile in the community. But only in very seldom instances academic achievements were proposed as the main access to popularity. Breaking of school norms, for instance, smoking, fooling around and alike, could also provide access to visibility. Although the listed practices could make one known in school, the evaluation of the status depended on the used practices.

Aurytė: o ką tavo galva reikėtų padaryti mokykloje kad (.) kad apie tave visi žinotų?
<...>

Rūta: jeigu čia geruoju tuo atžvilgiu ta prasme (.) manau kad turėtum (3.0) turėtum gerai mokytis pirmas dalykas <...> po to turėtų dalyvauti visur ir visada ta prasme <...> po to šiaip manau kad tiesiog turi būti bendraujantis
<...>

Rūta: o jeigu bloguoju tuo atžvilgiu tai (.) gerk rūkyk keikis per pamokas ten daug žyk langus vazonus ir (laughingly) išpopuliarėsi greitai

Translation:

Aurytė: what in your opinion you have to do in school that (.) that everybody would know about you?
<...>

³² Enumeration of girls in groups might be a consequence of girls' establishment of cliques – small groups of close friends who share interest and do everything always together. It is less typical for boys to organize their social life in cliques, most probably because close exclusively male groups might be associated with homosexuality (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003). One boy group in 8z was jokingly referred to as a gay group due to the close relation between the boys and, according to other male classmates, their weird behavior. The female classmates in 8z never commenting on the relationship between these two boys.

Rūta: if like it's in that good aspect in a way (.) I think you should (3.0) you should study well in the first place <...> then you should participate everywhere and always in a way <...> then in general I think you simply have to be social <...>

Rūta: and if in that bad aspect so (.) drink smoke swear during lessons like break the windows flowerpots and (laughingly) you will quickly become popular

It was not uncommon to perceive popularity as a twofold phenomenon. Prominence in school could be acquired either by doing something *good*, i.e. contacts, beauty, academic achievements, or, on the contrary, by doing something *bad*, i.e. cigarettes, alcohol and alike. Naturally, not every pupil distinguished two types of popularity as Rūta did. The majority of adolescents either talked about popularity, achieved by contacts, physical attractiveness etc., or about popularity which was gained through engagement in streetwise practices. The latter type of popularity was often described in negative terms (see 4.3.2.). Based on informants' perception of popularity, I divided this section into two smaller subsections where I discuss positively gained popularity (4.3.1.) and negatively gained popularity (4.3.2.). High status in the local social order, achieved through participation in extracurricular activities is analysed in another subsection – 4.4.2.

4.3.1. Positively gained popularity

Aida: iš tikrųjų tai daug ką pasako išvaizda

Aurytė: [hm]

Aida: [ta] prasme jeigu tu būsi ten graži stilinga ir visa kita ten tarkim kaip (.) tarp bernų tai turėsi didelę krūtinę ten

Translation

Aida: the appearance really tells a lot

Aurytė: [hm]

Aida: [in] a way if you are like beautiful and stylish and all that jazz like let's say like (.) ((in order to be popular among boys)) you have to have big breasts

Quite a few pupils, like Aida, claimed that beauty and physical attractiveness grant access to visibility and popularity. In subsection 4.2.1., I analysed the beauty of three 8x girls – Kamilė, Rūta, and Urtė, all of whom were universally regarded as beautiful and stylish. Hence, there is no surprise that they were also elected the popular pupils (see table 4.1.). Although the appearance of other girls in the top 15 of the most popular eighth graders was not so widely ratified, they were still regarded as the prettiest girls in their classes. Regardless of that, it would be false to assume that popular girls were the only beautiful eighth graders. Of course, beauty is a very subjective

matter, what is beautiful to one person, might be ugly to another. I had not asked my informants to define their perception of beauty, but based on the appearance of the girls who were named as beautiful, I can make an assumption that beauty should be related to fashionable clothes and make-up. Among the studied eighth grade community, there were quite a few girls who wore make-up, fashionable clothes, and whose physical attractiveness matched the image of beauty, which is still promoted by numerous style magazines. Nonetheless, only a handful of girls were acknowledged as gorgeous. These girls were acclaimed as beautiful not only due to lots of effort put into their looks, but also due to their wide network of contacts. As a result of their networks, quite a lot of pupils learned about them, their lifestyle, and their various qualities, for instance, about their beauty. In contrast to the girls, like Kamilė, Rūta, and Urtė, other pretty girls did not have many acquaintances in school. They usually had only one or two close friends with whom they spent all the breaks. Due to the limited network of contacts and marginal position, very few members of the community learned about their beauty. As a result, these girls were never labelled as pretty and popular.

To complicate the relation between beauty and popularity even further, it is worth mentioning that the acknowledgment of one's good looks does not mean that the person in question is thinking of herself the same way. Renata did not consider herself attractive. Indeed, compared to other popular girls, she was the least engaged in beautification practices. Her clothes hardly ever grabbed anyone's attention, Renata never wore make-up to school. In terms of fashion, Renata resembled her female classmates. Regardless of that, girls in her class considered Renata beautiful. Thus, based on the analysis of the relation between beauty and popularity in this adolescent community of practice, I can conclude that although beauty was listed as one of the resources which gives access to the high status, it is the cluster of resources – beauty and wide network of contacts, which grants a top position in the local social order. Moreover, members in the top positions are as a rule regarded as beautiful.

As the preceding discussion as well as pupils' answers revealed that a huge network provides access to the market of popularity, in other words, the greatest visibility and high position in the local social order.

Daiva: bendravimas labai didelis su kitais žmonėmis nesvarbu kokie jie iš kitos pusės grupės būtų (.) kad turėtum rast bendrą kalbą su viskuo (.) ar tenais su berniukais ar ten nežinia apie ką apie kamuolius visokiausius apie nežinia ką (.) su mergaitėm apie kažkokius manikiūrus ten nežinia (.) su tarkim su tais pačiais moksliais apie kokią matematikos kokią nors formulę (.) su tais su hmmm su tais kaip sakoma užmirštais atšytais kaip sakoma (.) tarkim turėtum irgi rasti kažką bendro ką jiems kas jiems sudomintų (.) o ne taip kad (.) nežinau ką sakyt nežinau ką daryt ir nežinau kaip kaip elgtis

Translation:

Daiva: lots of communication with other people it doesn't matter who they are if they would be from another group (.) you have to find what to talk about with everybody (.) like if it's boys or something ((you talk)) about what about balls of different kinds or something (.) with girls about some manicures or something (.) with let's say with them nerds about some math formula (.) with those hmmm with those so to speak forgotten outcasts so to speak (.) let's say you had to find something in common what should interest them (.) it's not like that (.) I don't know that to say I don't know what to do and I don't know how how to behave

Daiva defines a popular pupil as a social engineer who communicates across different social categories: A popular pupil should find something to talk about with everybody – with boys, girls, also those at the outskirts of the social market – nerds and outcasts. Rūta and Žygimantas who are safely in the lead of the market of popularity (roughly half of the interviewed pupils named Rūta and Žygimantas as the most prominent members of the community, respectively, 34 and 30 of the total 75), perfectly fulfilled requirements of a popular pupils, set by Daiva. Rūta and Žygimantas had an extremely wide circle of contacts, ranging from the eighth graders to the students in the senior classes, from the bright pro-school pupils to the main streetwise youth of the neighborhood, and from the popular pupils like them to the unpopular ones. Žygimantas was good friends with Kipras, although Kipras was not even close as popular as Žygimantas (no pupil mentioned Kipras as popular). And Rūta went shopping a few times on the weekend together with Sandra, who was immensely disliked girl in her class. As one of their good friends, Eimantas, said in the interview: *kaip tie du Rūta su Žygimantu tai turbūt niekas tiek nepažįsta ((žmonių)) (probably no one knows that many ((people)) like those two Rūta and Žygimantas).*

The high prominence on the social landscape of the community, that Rūta and Žygimantas were granted to, was not only a straightforward outcome of physical attractiveness and a huge network of contacts. They held top positions in their community of practice because they managed the resources which they had at their disposal, in the best possible way. Academically Žygimantas did well above the average, however, he was not the brightest pupil in his class. Nonetheless, he was a lot more visible in the classes than the bright boys due to his active participation – he usually did not hesitate at raising his hand up and answering the teacher's question. Of course, sometimes he simply joked and made loud off-topic remarks. Žygimantas was also famous for his achievements in sport: He was a well-known wrestler (wrestling and basketball were the main sports that the majority of boys attended). Besides, he also paid his tribute to the streetwise community outside of school: He participated in the neighborhood fights. However, his social skills, contacts with non-streetwise adolescents and athletic aspirations relations dwarfed the relations with the streetwise youth. Sim-

ilarly, Rūta did not talk openly about her connections and activities in the neighborhood, leaving this information to those, to whom it might concern. What she brought to the fore, was the image of a clean-cut pupil girl who took school-related stuff seriously. Rūta was one of the absolutely brightest eighth graders in school. However, her look was far from what we would stereotypically associate with girls who win Maths Olympiad or who play leading roles in school plays. Rūta wore a lot of make-up (see her quote in 4.2.1.). Her clothes were mostly tight and accentuated her perfect figure. Mini-skirts and see-through blouses were more rule than an exception. There were pupils, mostly girls, who thought that Rūta sometimes went over the top with her appearance. But still, she was never labelled as cheap or vulgar. It must have been Rūta's successful academic career that saved her from such associations. The majority of the girls looked up to Rūta as some kind of a role model:

Ineta: nežinau man tai šiaip jina¹i kažkaip asocijuojasi su tobula mergina nes jina¹i yra graži

Aurytė: hm

Ineta: ir protinga (.) su visais šiaip labai faina (.) ir nu į ją daugiau dėmesio labai kreipia visi (.) šiaip jina tokia (.) faina labai

Translation:

Ineta: I don't know to me in general she somewhat associates with a perfect girl because she is beautiful

Aurytė: hm

Ineta: and clever (.) in general she is very nice with everybody (.) and well everybody pays more attention to her (.) in general she is so (.) very friendly

The statements like Ineta's just prove that the styles, which Žygimantas and Rūta were creating, had the highest and the widest appeal among the eighth graders and most probably even beyond it.

4.3.2. Negatively gained popularity

In 4.3.1., I have analysed popularity which was achieved through a huge network of contacts, physical attractiveness, and partly academic and athletic achievements (for the analysis of the relation between the involvement in school culture and popularity, see 4.4.2.). But, as pupils' answers pointed to (see the introduction 4.3.), there were more ways to score top positions in the market of popularity. Violation of school norms, especially performance of various harsh tricks, could also grant great visibility on the social landscape of the community. However, my informants, who derived popularity from engagement in streetwise practices, also tended to describe this type of popularity in negative terms:

Vakaris: aš susidaręs tokią nuomonę kad visiems tai atrodo yra labai kieta (.) nes kiek aš pastebiu tai visi kurie išsidirbinėja rūko geria ir panašiai tai jie iš visų sulaukia dėmesio tokio kad atrodo kad vau čia kažkas (.) nu man tai čia atrodo tiesiog absurdas

Translation:

Vakaris: I have formed an opinion that it looks very cool to everybody (.) because as far I as notice so everybody who goofs around smokes drinks and alike so they get such attention from everybody that it looks like wow it is something (.) well to me it simply looks like absurdity

or

Aurytė: o ką vat reiktų padaryti mokykloje kad tave visi gerai žinotų?
(2.0)

Ugnė: ką aš žinau nežinau

Aurytė: (giggles)

Ugnė: nežinau (.) neišsivaizduoju (.) nu ką tu gali daryt (.) nu pavyzdžiui tikrai aš tai pavyzdžiui tikrai nesielgčiau kaip tie (coughs) atsiprašau (1.0) ehh xxx (1.0) nes ką aš žinau nu išsidirbinėjimas paskutinis kam čia taip maivyti (.) (thins out the voice) o ne (.) aš nuverčiau stalą (.) kaip juokinga (.) o žiūrėk mane mokytoja muša (.) o rėkia cha cha cha (.) davai einu (end of the thin voice) parūkyt už parduotuvės kaip kieta (.) nesąmonė nu

Translation

Aurytė: and what like you should do in school that everybody would know you well?
(2.0)

Ugnė: what do I know I don't know

Aurytė: (giggles)

Ugnė: I don't know (.) I have no idea (.) well what you can do (.) well for instance actually so I for instance actually wouldn't behave like those (coughs) excuse me (1.0) ehh xxx (1.0) because what do I know well the absolute fooling around why like do you need to make grimaces (.) (thins out the voice) oh no (.) I have flipped over a table (.) it's so funny (.) oh look the teacher beats me (.) oh ((the teacher)) is screaming ha ha ha (.) c'mon I go to (end of the thin voice) to have a smoke behind the shop this is so cool (.) well it's nonsense

As the two quotes point to, popularity, obtained by breaking the rules, was regarded as fake and wanton, as if adolescents who were popular because of it, had not earned it. This was a recurring attitude towards smoking, drinking, partying, and fooling around. And yet, despite several adolescents' negative evaluation of infringement of school (and society) norms, certain pupils were listed as popular because of this.

As mentioned in 4.1.2., pupils in 8y tended to describe the main girl group in their class as arrogant and pretentious. Such judgement was formed on the basis of the practices that the girls engaged in. Even though the following information was never openly disclosed, it was still known to the majority of the classmates that Daina, Aida, Jurgita, and Saulė secretly smoked, attended, and organized themselves parties where alcohol was consumed. These practices are commonly regarded as courageous and cool among adolescents (cf. Bucholtz 2011), therefore, the pursuit of them might position the practitioners as superior with regards to the ones who do not pursue them. But as the superiority is achieved through the practices which are forbidden for minors, it can be depicted negatively. And indeed, secret smoking and partying must have contributed to Aida's and Daina's popularity (see table 4.1.). However, smoking and parties were not the only practices which provided Aida and Daina high prominence. They also had many friends and were regarded as beautiful and stylish.

Unlike these two girls, there were pupils who entered the market of popularity almost exclusively because of their engagement in streetwise practices. Egidijus, Albertas, and Rokas stood out as the most notorious eighth graders in the Owl School (see table 4.1.), though Rokas' scope of engagement in street culture was considerably smaller than the other two boys'. There were pupils who described them as out-going and having a huge circle of friends, but the vast majority of my informants named streetwise practices as the main reason for their popularity. This proves that smoking, disturbance of lessons and alike is a legitimate resource towards popularity, especially with Egidijus ranked as high as number three among the most popular eighth graders.

Nonetheless, streetwise pupils were not named as popular as often as the ones who gained popularity in a positive way. Only three streetwise eighth graders made it into the top 15, although there were more of them in the Owl School. There are two reasons for such unequal distribution of the 'votes'. Firstly, streetwise adolescents engaged in activities which were unacceptable by a good share of pupils, and that, as a result, must have diminished their appeal to certain members of the community. Secondly, entrance to the market of popularity largely depended on the scope and intensity of engagement in streetwise practices and on the impact, which these practices had on the enterprise of the community. Smoking alone hardly ever grants a leading position in the local social order because its influence on the community is little. But a serious disturbance of a lesson, damage of school property, a harsh teasing of teachers, and bullying of other members of the community make a considerably bigger impact, provided these practices are pursued consistently. In short, a negatively popular pupil is the one who can cause a lot of trouble and who himself / herself is in a deep trouble, for instance, he / she is under social workers' constant watch. But there are usually very few pupils whose practices match the profile I have just sketched out. In the Owl School, one such adolescent was Egidijus.

Egidijus' rank as the third most popular eighth grader has two intertwined meanings – he was one of the most popular and also the *baddest* eighth grader. The ado-

lescents and the teachers told me that in the earlier grades Egidijus used to bully the pupils, for instance, once he peed in his classmate's shoes. When I was sitting with Egidijus at the same desk, he would sometimes mention to me which school property he had to repair because he had been accused of damaging it. A couple of eighth graders even slightly feared Egidijus. (For the analysis of other pupils' relations with streetwise adolescents, see in 5.5.2.) However, in the eighth grade, Egidijus significantly changed his behavior. He did not bully anyone. According to my observations, his disturbance of a lesson was never harsh. Nonetheless, due to his horrendous misbehavior in the past, he was still regarded as the biggest troublemaker among the eighth graders (table 4.1.). Even pupils in the younger classes would stop me during the breaks and ask to tell the tricks and jokes that Egidijus had made that day. Although I had never let any of fieldwork information out to any third party in school, it would not have actually been a lot to tell because Egidijus had not done anything worth-telling. Still his past activities coined him a name of the biggest troublemaker in school.

If I had carried out my research in the seventh grade, rankings of the popular pupils might have been different. Egidijus might have received a lot more votes because of the pursuit of the more outrageous streetwise practices. In the previous schoolyear, there was one more streetwise pupil, whom I simply will call pupil X. Because of, as I understood, the severe misbehavior, he was expelled directly from the Owl School to the Youth School in the seventh grade. However, even though this pupil was absent in the Owl School for about a year, pupils would still tell stories about him, for instance, how he threw flowerpots out of the window. Pupils were also referring to him as the main streetwise adolescent in the neighborhood. Judging from the pupils' stories and reactions, I came to conclusion that pupil X would be as popular as Rūta and Žygimantas, had he been studying in the Owl School during the time of my research. Because of their offensive behavior, seven graders Egidijus and pupil X might not have as the wide appeal in the community as Rūta and Žygimantas, however, the disturbance of the community enterprise should not go unnoticed.

4.3.3. Concluding remarks

This section of the chapter explored in great detail what resources and practices provide top positions in the market of popularity and how high profile members of the community emerged. No member obtained high status accidentally. All pupils became popular by consistently exploiting resources and pursuing practices which give access to top positions. This was also evident in the pupils' classifications of who was the most visible and known in their community, as there was a general agreement of who were the most popular members (see table 4.1.). However, the status of different high profile members was not necessarily evaluated the same. Depending on the resources and practices which granted the way to popularity, some popular pupils and their way to popularity were described in the positive or neutral terms while other

pupils were described in the negative terms. Hence, there are two main ways that lead to the high positions of the hierarchy of pupil social order – positively gained popularity and negatively gained popularity. Positively gained popularity involves physical attractiveness, academic as well as sport achievements and especially possession of the wide-ranging network of contacts, whereas negatively gained popularity is associated with streetwise practices and obnoxious behavior.

Pupils' perception of popularity attained through engagement in streetwise practices positions practitioners of these practices as "being 'in the wrong'" (Eckert 1989: 135). Such evaluation is triggered off by streetwise adolescents' regular violation of rules which one is supposed to follow. As I argued in 2.4., communities of practice are not autonomous units. They develop in larger social, cultural, and institutional contexts which inevitably put constraints and limitations on the capacity of a community of practice. Some of these constraints are more implicit, while others are more explicit (Wenger 2007 [1998]: 79). Naturally, everything, which I have discussed so far, is influenced by the social and cultural contexts, but in the next sections, I focus on the explicitly embodied sets of rules. The following chapters examine how different pupils interpret and make use of school regulations.

4.4. FULFILMENT OF SCHOOL EXPECTATIONS: FROM NERDS TO INSTITUTIONALLY POWERFUL PUPILS³³

Speaking in very broad terms, the entire pupil population in school could be divided into two big categories – streetwise pupils who reject school authority and orient themselves towards the street, and schoolwise pupils, who conform to school rules and hereby orient themselves towards the school, an adult-sanctioned institution for adolescents. In section 4.5., I will discuss streetwise adolescents' "being 'in the wrong'" (Eckert 1989: 135) and the tension between them and adult-sanctioned institution. This section will focus on the opposed category within pupil body – schoolwise pupils, or being "in control" in Eckert's terms (Eckert 1989: 135).

The absolute majority of pupils orient their practices towards the school and its expectations, thus, this adolescent category is a lot more varied than the streetwise category, which is both smaller and more uniform. Basically, any pupil who does not engage in street practices, i.e. does not smoke, drink, pull stunts on teachers or in other ways persistently and noticeably show rebel against school authorities, is a schoolwise pupil. To be a pro-school pupil does not mean that one has to conform to school rules all the time or has to be studying all the time. Everyone is entitled to have (a little bit of) fun in school. I observed even the brightest pupils fooling around from time to time. For instance, Julius once introduced himself as Žygimantas to a

³³ The label 'institutionally powerful pupils' is borrowed from Bucholtz's analysis on the construction of the preppy style in an American school (Bucholtz 2011).

new teacher in a religion class and kept using Žygimantas' name throughout the entire lesson. I had lost count of the times boys in 8y hid each other's school bags. Such fooling around was an expression of playfulness and juvenility. Hence, a schoolwise pupil does not necessarily have to be academically successful or very excited about school and homework as it is illustrated in the quote from the interview with Urtė:

Urtė: antradienį (.) vėl nenoriu į mokyklą (laughs) nes labai neišsimiegu
<...>

Urtė: trečiadienį (.) nenoriu į mokyklą nes yra rusų (.) nemėgstu rusų kalbos (.) nu nemoku tiksliau (.) tai šiaip yra septynios pamokos irgi nefaina
<...>

Urtė: ketvirtadieniais (.) pamokos man visai patinka (.) tai ketvirtadienį noriu eiti į mokyklą nes žinau kad kita diena bus penktadienis

Translation:

Urtė: on Tuesday (.) I again don't want to go to school (laughs) because I don't get enough sleep
<...>

Urtė: on Wednesday (.) I don't want to go to school because there is Russian (.) I don't like the Russian language (.) well I cannot speak it to be precise (.) and in general there are seven lessons this is not cool
<...>

Urtė: on Thursdays (.) I quite like the lessons (.) so on Thursday I like to go to school because I know that the next day will be Friday

Despite the lack of sleep and the disfavored schedule, Urtė was always present in school, she had never ever cut a class. In fact, she usually did not get enough of sleep because she was very often doing homework till late at night. Urtė, like few other pupils distinguished themselves as being particularly schoolwise. They were always well-prepared for a class, i.e. they always did their homework and participated actively in a class in accordance with school rules. They also had high academic aspirations, for instance, they aimed to enter the best gymnasiums in Vilnius. Their interests sometimes even exceeded the expectations which the school determined for this age group. Schoolwise pupils commonly did not limit their participation in the school culture to academic activities. They were also active participants in the extracurricular sphere³⁴. Besides, a couple of school-oriented pupils used school resources to gain power and to achieve the top positions in the local hierarchy of the community. The

³⁴ Pupils' engagement in the extracurricular activities, such as school plays, actually largely depended on the teacher. In the Owl School, there was a single teacher of the Lithuanian language and literature, who was in charge of school plays and therefore, it was her classes – 8x and 8z – who organized the plays and performed in them. 8y had a different teacher of the Lithuanian language and literature, who was not responsible for the school plays, and, as a result, none of the 8y pupils participated in them.

provided short report of different stances of school-wiseness is not only based on my own observations, but also on pupils' viewpoints of their classes and classmates. In the next two subsections, I dwell upon the construction of two local pupil categories, nerds and institutionally powerful pupils, which represent different ways of participation in the school culture.

4.4.1. Nerds

American sociocultural linguist Mary Bucholtz who wrote extensively on nerds in the US high schools, defines nerds as

Members of a stigmatized social category who are stereotypically cast as intellectual overachievers and social underachievers. <...> Nerds stand out for their resistance to current trends, and more generally for their rejection of coolness as a desirable social goal (Bucholtz 2001: 85, see also Bucholtz 2011: 63 for a similar definition).

Bucholtz definition is stereotype-driven, therefore, it naturally does not reflect the actual construction of the nerd category among the studied informants (in her research, Bucholtz refuted a few stereotypes, associated with this social category). However, as we will see, this stereotype aptly summarizes how adolescents perceive their nerdy classmates. For this reason, I will use the newly coined terms “intellectual overachiever” and especially “social underachiever” as my point of departure for the discussion about the nerds in my study.

However, one stereotype, which is so widely associated with nerds, should be disproved from the very beginning. In the school context, there is a risk to link intelligence directly to academic achievements, i.e. to think of nerds as the ones who perform the best in school assignments. Such assumption is not entirely accurate. Not every academically successful pupil is a nerd and equally not every nerd is a top scorer of grades (cf. Bucholtz 2011: 147). Based solely on the grades, two boys in my study, Ramvydas and Jonas, would not be among the brightest pupils in school. However, their remoteness from the current youth trends and engagement in nerdy practices after school made them even nerdier than their academically very successful nerdy classmates Julius and Vytenis.

From this short comparison that certain pupils can appear nerdier than the others, it is evident that as any other label, label ‘nerd’ was not unproblematic one. Even Bucholtz herself admits that “yet, like *popular*, the *nerd* label was problematic for many teenagers, even those who participated in nerdy practices” (Bucholtz 2011: 63, italics in the original). There are different ways to enter the market of popularity (4.3.), equally, there are different ways to express one’s orientation to nerdiness – nerdy set of practices (cf. Bucholtz 2001: 87). Unlike in the case of popularity, I have not asked my informants what it is involved to be a nerd. Regardless of that, the label ‘moksliau-

kas / moksluokė' (nerd) or the qualities, associated with this label, were still used in my informants' narratives about their classes. In distinguishing certain pupils as nerds, I took into consideration both my own observations and my informants comments.

In the previous subsection, I focused on the pupils whom we can call the social overachievers – the popular pupils who through their engagement in cool activities turn school, otherwise a serious academic institution, into a social hotspot, where contacts are established and maintained and the latest fashion trends are exhibited. I will definitely not go that far as to claim that to learn and to be prepared for school is not cool. As it was obvious from the analysis of pupils' perception of popularity, it can actually be uncool to be too rowdy (see also 4.3.2.). However, it was equally uncool to depart too much from the accepted rowdiness and fun of the community of practice. Pupils' inability to participate actively in the social sphere of the school made them appear boring and nerdy:

Pijus: bet vat (.) pavyzdžiui (.) nu ką aš žinau vat (.) mano vidurkis aštuoni kablis šeši aš gan gerai mokausi bet aš tai nesakau kad aš sėdžiu vien prie knygų

Aurytė: mhm

Pijus: aš praktiškai per dieną gal kokią valandą pasėdžiu

Aurytė: mhm

Pijus: ir viskas (.) tai vat ne taip kaip kokia tarkim Agota ji labai drovi yra (.) ir ji (.) vien sėdi prie knygų mokosi daug žino bet (.) bet nu kam to reikia jeigu tu (.) bendravimo neturi <...> šiaip mannn atrodo svarbiausia yra gerai mokytis bet ne per daug kad tu ir (.) kažkaip ryši palaikytum su kitais

Aurytė: mhm

Pijus: tai vat kad (.) kad nebūtum moksluokas

Translation:

Pijus: but yea (.) for instance (.) well what do I know yea (.) my GPA³⁵ is eight comma six I study rather well but I don't say that I'm only spending my time with the books ((i.e. studying))

Aurytė: mhm

Pijus: I study practically maybe for an hour a day

Aurytė: mhm

Pijus: and that's it (.) so yea it's not like let's say Agota who is very shy and (.) and she (.) spends all her time with the books studying she knows a lot but (.) but well why do you need that if you (.) don't have communication <...> in general for meee the most important is to study well but not too much so that you also (.) somehow would maintain the relation to the others

Aurytė: mhm

Pijus: so yea that (.) you wouldn't be a nerd

³⁵ Abbreviation of Grade Point Average. The best grade in the Lithuanian educational system is ten.

In the interview, Pijus, who was one of the popular eighth graders in the school, does not downplay the importance of doing academically well. He admits that it is important to study well as long as it is not visible that you put a lot of effort into studies and that books and homework fill in all your leisure time. Pijus is proud of his grade point average, which is eight comma six. However, he emphasizes that he does not need to study hard to gain such average – he does not spend more than an hour on his homework. In between the lines, it is stated that he is smart enough and that he has quite a few friends and that he finds the time to maintain friendships with them. Pijus contrasts his study practices to the ones of this classmate Agota. In Pijus' narrative, Agota is pictured as a pupil who studies a lot and does not have any friends, and therefore, she is definitely a nerd. To be or rather to be perceived as a nerd by the others is, of course, uncool. Moreover, Pijus does not get the point of studying hard if you are shy and do not have any communication skills. For him, the social life is of greater value than academic knowledge.

Agota was not such a reserved girl, as Pijus depicted her. She had her circle of friends and in school she was hardly ever alone during the breaks. However, compared to her closest girlfriends – Kamilė, Rūta, Urtė, Eglė, and Liepa – Agota had fewer friends. She was also very well aware of she differed from her circle of friends:

Agota: aš klasėje (.) pradin (.) pačioj pradžioj buvau gan nelabai mėgiama nes mėgdavau išsišokti (.) ta prasme (.) bet išsišokt ta blogąja prasme kad per pamokas jau aš čia pasakau kad buvo namų darbai o o kiti sako kad nebuvo (.) aš čia ta prasme (.) aš (.) nemeluojau ir visą laiką taip atvirai sakau ir (.) dėl to (.) daug kam nepatinka nes aš klasėje ten irgi ten visą laiką klasėje oi aš žinau aš žinau tokia būdavau gal dėl to tapau (.) gal dėl to į mane žiūri kaip į tą mokslukę (.) bet (.) ta prasme (.) Kamilė tarkim (.) taip nedaro (.) jai nepavadinčiau labai ten protinga bet jeigu ten tie pažymiai (.) bet jinau ta prasme bendrauja pas kiekvieną galėtų nueiti paklausti (.) dėl ko (.) ta prasme (.) kiek gavai iš matematikos gali man tą ir tą paaiškinti tarkim (.) eėė (.) kažko galėtų laisvai paklausti

Translation

Agota: in the class (.) in the primary school (.) in the beginning I wasn't very well-liked because I used to show off (.) in a way (.) but I used to show off in that bad sense during lessons it is me who says that there was homework and and the others say that there wasn't (.) I in a way (.) I don't lie and all the time I talk so plainly and (.) because of that (.) many don't like that because in the class I'm like also like all the time in the class oh I know I know I used to be like that maybe because of it I became (.) maybe because of it everybody treats me like a nerd (.) but eh (.) in a way (.) let's say Kamilė (.) doesn't do so (.) you wouldn't like call her very clever but if like those grades ((mattered)) (.) but she in a way communicates she could go and ask everyone eh (.) why (.) in a way (.) what grade did you get in Mathematics could you explain that and that to me for example (.) ehh (.) she could easily ask about something

Here Agota projects herself as a dutiful pupil who conforms to school norms: If a teacher asked what was given for homework, you should always tell the truth. However, such unresisting submission to school regulations was not well received among her classmates. Moreover, Agota describes herself as an active pupil who always knows the answer and does not hesitate to mark it by shouting *aš žinau aš žinau* (*I know I know*). Constant readiness for a class and willingness to answer all the questions gave her reputation of a nerd. Agota contrasts herself to Kamilė, one of her best friends. According to Agota, Kamilė is not such a bright and obedient pupil as her. But Kamilė is very social, she can talk with anyone about anything. So, although in Agota's account Kamilė's academic achievements are belittled, the social skills restore her image. Kamilė emerges as a well-liked pupil. Kamilė satisfies perfectly the criteria of a cool pupil, proposed by Pijus. She does not make her study efforts very obvious and finds time to manage her social relations (more about Kamilė see 4.2.1., 4.3.1., and 4.4.2.).

Despite the fact that Agota was not as communicative as her friend Kamilė, she was not a total social underachiever, as most probably her class might have thought of her. Later on in the interview, she told me that her sociability was simply less obvious:

Agota: kuo tu bandai labiau apsiribot tais keliais draugais tuo tu tampi labiau (.) ta prasme kiti su tavimi nebendrauja dėl to jie nežino koks tu esi (.) dėl to jis jie negali tavęs laikyt populiari- ta prasme negali daug su tavim bendraut nes (.) mano kad tu ju tiesiog neprisileidi

Translation:

Agota: the more you try to restrict yourself to a couple of friends the more you become (.) in a way the others don't talk with you because they don't know who you are (.) because of it he they cannot think of you as popular- in a way they cannot talk with you a lot (.) they think that you are simply keeping them off

In this excerpt, Agota aptly points to one of the key reasons why certain pupils are doomed to be unpopular: The others do not know who those pupils are and, as a result, the others make false preconceptions about them. Popular pupils' social life, on the contrary, is pretty much public. Putting the social life on display naturally means that the other members of the community know almost everything about the popular pupils, for instance, that Rūta was about to get a piercing, which her parents did not approve. Moreover, the leak of one's personal life not only gives an illusion that only certain pupils' agenda is filled with cool plans, such as dates, meetings with friends, tours to McDonald's and shopping centers and alike. Most importantly, publicity gives an illusion that only certain pupils have plans at all.

Naturally, it would be false to assume that only popular pupils had exciting plans after school. Nerds had plans too, though, not every adolescent would meet their after-school plans with excitement. Nerds' leisure time was centered on either school-related activities, such as homework, or on other types of knowledge-giving occupa-

tions. Nerds read for pleasure, sang in a church choir, wrote poems, visited art galleries and museums or simply took a stroll through the Old Town to explore its architecture. These practices were very much oriented to individuality (cf. Bucholtz 1999: 213), self-education, and the intention to become cleverer (from the interview with Ramvydas). Nerds pursued these intellectual enterprises, even though they did not have to: The books that they were reading and the art exhibitions they were visiting were not part of the school curriculum. Nerds engaged in those practices to appease their own interests.

As nerd pupils engage in intellectual pursuits in order to satisfy their own curiosity, they do not feel the need to put their social life and interests on display. I have never spotted Sigita discussing the book, she was currently reading, with her class girls, nor Jonas telling anyone about a newly opened exhibition which he visited on Saturday. Nerd pupils very seldom demonstrated their intelligence in school (Bucholtz 2011: 150 and Maegaard 2007: 150 report different behavior among the nerds in their studies). Jonas independently studied geography and religion, however, he never challenged the teacher with his knowledge or in any other way showed that he knew more about the subject than the rest of the class. It was mostly other pupils who made on- and off-topic comments in the class. However, it was not only nerdy pupils' orientation to individuality that prevented them from showing the knowledge that they accumulated through self-education. Lack of interest in such preoccupations as reading and art among the peers and most importantly the preconception of them as uncool, also played a crucial role. For instance, a group of friends in 8y – Aivaras, Marius, Kristupas, Vilius, and Ruslanas would sometimes joke that the biggest punishment for Algirdas, the brightest pupil in their class, would be to take his books away. (For more examples of how nerd pupils are mocked in Lithuanian schools, see Civinskas et al. 2006.)

Nerdy practices definitely did not constitute the core of contemporary youth practices. If we could map all youth practices out, nerdy practices would be at the total outskirts. These intellectual practices served also as the recourse for the nerd pupils to show their resistance to current youth trends and to signal the lesser involvement in the contemporary youth culture which they considered trivial.

Virginija: man labai nepatinka visos šitos (scornfully) veidaknygės

Aurytė: mhm

Virginija: labai (.) aš net (.) ten jau (.) aš iš pradžių buvau užsiregistravusi bet paskui (.) aš jau dabar gal visus metus ten nebuvau užėjusi (.) iš principo labai nemėgst-

<...>

Virginija: nepatinka šiuolaikinė muzika ten kur tas pats per tą patį keletą valandų

Aurytė: mhm

<...>

Virginija: man tai nepatinka eina kaip zombiai su ta muzika (.) nepatinka su ausinėm žmonėms

Translation:

Virginija: I dislike a lot all those (scornfully) facebook

Aurytė: mhm

Virginija: a lot (.) I even (.) there already (.) at first I had registered myself but then (.) now I haven't logged in there maybe even for the whole year (.) on principle I dislike it a lo-

<...>

Virginija: I don't like contemporary music there it's the same music for several hours

Aurytė: mhm

<...>

Virginija: I dislike when they go like zombies with that music (.) I don't like people with headphones

Whenever in the interview we touched upon the topic, related to the contemporary youth, Virginija consistently expressed her disfavor of the current youth trends. In the provided three very short excerpts, she mocks three major youth trends at the time of my fieldwork – spending time on social media platform Facebook, listening to popular hit songs, and walking around with the headphones on. Quite often Virginija drew a rather distinct line between herself and the nowadays youth: *tikrai nenorėčiau ten kažkur eit po kokių klubus ten žinot siaučias tas (.) jaunimas per tas šventes (I really wouldn't like to go there somewhere to some clubs You know that (.) youth is raging during the holidays there)*. Virginija's disapproval of youth trends was also reflected in her own practices as the excerpts about Facebook and parties already hint. If other girls pictured their ideal birthdays either as cozy pyjamas parties or going out with the closest friends, Virginija's ideal birthday was a theater and then a dinner at a café with her relatives and childhood friends. If other pupils listened to current hit songs, Virginija was listening to classical music and the 80s pop. If other pupils were buying bags of chips and sandwiches at the nearby supermarket, Virginija was buying dried fruits, though only after school. She even told me that she felt like a granny (*babė*) among her classmates. This feeling stemmed not only from Virginija's complete rejection of contemporary trends, but also from her perception of nowadays adolescents as kids who do not know what is the best for them.

Although not all nerd pupils held such hostile attitudes towards the contemporary youth culture and not all of them abandoned youth culture altogether, they all shared the assumption that investment in nerdy pursuits would benefit them greatly in the future, be it to get into the best gymnasium or to get a good job. Compared to nerdy practices, which are usually associated with long-term goals, cool practices, such as going to the movies and following the latest fashion, look very temporary. Temporality of the current youth trends makes them unattractive for academic pupils who prefer to have their future in solid hands.

It might seem strange that I analyse the nerd category through its positioning to the popular pupils. According to Bucholtz, one of nerds' key features is their "rejec-

tion of coolness as a desirable social goal” (2001: 85). Nonetheless, I have a strong presumption that intellectual practices did not remove female nerds of my study from the concerns of the contemporary youth, especially from the ones of the rigidly gendered market of popularity. Nerd girls in Bucholtz’s study (2011) formed their own unofficial club in school which was their way of showing a clear distance from the trendy youth. However, this was not the case in my study.

The nerdy girls were clearly aware of that one of the key entrees into the market of popularity was physical attractiveness, which in turn gave rise to heterosocial relations. However, their category construction and style was based on intellectual practices, so they did not demonstrate the efforts, they put into beautification procedures as the popular girls did: They did not wear make-up and fashionable clothes. Neither did they seek any relations with the boys. But as the market of popularity is structured around gendered norms, it puts more constraints on the girls than the boys (see also Bucholtz 2011: 150 and Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 88), therefore, it is harder for the girls to escape it.³⁶ Sigita told me that she got herself the first boyfriend in the seventh grade. He was very plump, but still she accepted his request to become a couple so that she would be able to flaunt against her female classmates and make them jealous. All nerd girls in my study, except Virginija³⁷, who, as it was discussed earlier, distanced herself altogether from the current trends of youth culture, were more or less preoccupied with their looks. They worried about pimples on their faces or if they would look good in miniskirts or dresses. As it was already discussed in 4.2.1., during my fieldwork, Agota straightforwardly told me that the boys did not have any interest in her because they did not find her beautiful. Here I am of course not claiming that nerd girls were not beautiful. This statement simply illustrates that nerd girls shared the same beauty concerns as the majority of the girls.

Although Bucholtz argues that nerdiness freed pupils in her study “from keeping up with the youth trends <...> and the pressure to engage in practices like drinking, drug use, and heterosexual activity” (Bucholtz 2011: 139), my research shows that nerdiness can also create obstacles. Apparently, there was so much power accumulated in the market of popularity that it was very hard for the girls to opt out of it, especially when they were aware of that the more they differed from the requirements of this social market the lower position they took up in the community of practice. Even though the nerd girls through their intellectual practices rejected the hegemonic rules of this community of practice, they knew nonetheless that they would be judged based on their commitment to those rules.

³⁶ Here I should also admit that I had established a lot closer relations with the nerd girls than the nerd boys which in turn means that it was harder for me to tell what effect the market of popularity had on the nerd boys in my study. However, based on participant observation, I can make an assumption that the boys largely had removed themselves from this social market.

³⁷ Virginija’s participation in the market of popularity was limited to the spread of rumors about the more popular girls in her class.

4.4.2. Institutionally powerful pupils

From the preceding discussion, it is obvious that nerds did not take up the top positions in the hierarchy of the local social order (cf. Eckert 1989, 2000, Bucholtz 2011, Maegaard 2007). Even though pupils themselves were also aware of this lower position, they still sometimes wondered why they were regarded as nerds, when there were other equally academically successful pupils:

Agota: aš nesuprantu mane kaip ir laiko moksluike nors (.) Urtės praeitų ir užpraeitų metų vidurkis buvo visiškai toks pats kaip mano

Translation:

Agota: I don't understand why ((everyone)) like regards me as a nerd although (.) Urtė's grade point average last year and year before last was absolutely the same as mine

As I mentioned earlier, academic success alone does not determine pupil's affiliation with the nerd category, the detachment from the contemporary youth culture does. In the analysis of the construction of popularity (4.3.), I briefly discussed that good grades can actually strengthen pupil's position in the local hierarchy if the entrance to the market of popularity is made through cool practices. In this case, academic achievements are associated not with nerdiness but with the clean-cut image. Another difference between nerds and other high-achieving pupils is that by concentrating on individual intellectual activities, nerds also largely opted out of the institutional power structure.

School's structure provides its pupils opportunities and resources to gain and to develop leadership skills in accordance to school regulations. The most common opportunities that school gives to its pupils are organization of class parties as well election and appointment of class representative (*seniūnas*, *seniūnė*). Class representative can be understood as the equivalent to a popular pupil in school terms. If the top position in the local adolescent social order is earned by engaging in certain practices, leadership in school youth culture is granted through the obvious acknowledgment of the authorities, in this case, a class teacher. However, quite often these two categories – popular pupil and 'a class leader' coincide, as Eckert notes: "Staff look for student leaders who interact easily but differentially with adults, who they feel can be "trusted", who are influential among students, and who display a satisfactory level of competence" (1989: 113). This subsection will mainly focus on institutionally powerful pupils who enjoy a great trust of school authorities and the peers.

In all three studied classes, class representatives were girls: Kamilė in 8x, Daina in 8y, and Rita in 8z. Thus, most probably it is not surprising that it was them and their closest girlfriends who were in charge of organization of class parties and class

tours³⁸. Although the girls constituted the main female groups in their classes and gained some influence through the involvement in the class matters, these girl groups positioned themselves differently with regards to the local hierarchy of power and teachers' trust and favor.

Compared to the main girl groups in other classes, the main girl group in 8z stood out in its unpopularity. The only popular girl in 8z Renata gained prominence among eighth graders through her wide friendship networks, beauty, and what could be called a cool attitude. According to my observations, she was less involved in class matters, other girls – Rita, Irma, Rasa, and Miglė, were more responsible for that, all of whom were regarded highly unpopular.

In 8y, Daina, Aida, Saulė, Jurgita as well as Rugilė, Joana, and Agnė were in charge of class parties and alike. The first four girls were popular in their class and beyond, but just as Renata, they were hardly ever linked to school activities. A few teachers were also aware of they were smoking, a fact that the girls were trying to hide. Although it did not seem to affect the girls' relations with the school staff, the main girl group in 8y was less favored by the teachers than the girls in two other classes.

The main girl group in 8x was particularly favored by the school authorities. The group was fronted by its leaders Kamilė, Rūta, and Urtė, though Eglė, Liepa, and Agota were also involved in arrangements of class parties. A few teachers who taught all eighth grades, very openly said to me that they wished the girls would be in the class, which they were in charge of³⁹. These girls in 8x were not only bright pupils, the teachers also admired how the girls treated their class teacher: "They are always by her side, they never leave their teacher alone" (from the field notes). Girls in 8z were also hanging around their class teacher, and, according to my observations, they were spending even more time with their class teacher than the girls in 8x. However, it should be taken into consideration that 8z class teacher would spend more time in her classroom, whereas 8x class teacher usually spent the breaks in the little office, close to her classroom. Anyway, although girls in both classes demonstrated the same pattern of obedience and care, only the commitment of girls in 8x got acknowledged. The girl leaders in 8x were among the most popular eighth graders (see table 4.1.). Bucholtz claims that school staff usually has limited understanding of pupils' local social order (2011: 43). I had not discussed with the teachers in the Owl School how they perceived different pupil groups and if they were aware of their existence. None-

³⁸ In the interviews, I sometimes would ask the boys if they wished to be more included in the extracurricular class activities, such as organization of parties, however, the majority of them either did not want to be more involved or preferred to be given very specific tasks, for instance, to decorate a class. Only two of the asked boys, Pijus and Žygimantas, were slightly unsatisfied with the girls' dominance in the class matters and wished to be more involved in its activities.

³⁹ In Lithuanian schools, every class has an assigned teacher who takes care of the class matters: organizes class parties and excursions, holds meetings with parents, and disseminates the necessary information to the pupils, for instance, about the changes in the schedule and alike.

theless, I doubt that it was a pure coincidence that the girl group which was so prominent on the social landscape, was also especially favored by the teachers. Besides, only Kamilė, Rūta, and Urtė played the main roles in every single class play. The three girls, Kamilė and Rūta in particular, emerged as the unequivocal pupil leaders, in other words, institutionally powerful pupils. Their leadership was recognized by the entire institution – the school authorities as well as the eighth-grader community of practice (see also their classmate Lėja's comment in 4.1.1.).

In the rest of the subsection, I will concentrate mostly on one of the girls, Kamilė, who was explicitly positioned by others as an institutionally powerful pupil and a teachers' favorite. Kamilė herself valued the opportunities which the school provided to her as it is evident from extract of the interview with her.

Aurytė: kas tave išrinko seniūne?

Kamilė: mokytoja (laughs)

Aurytė: mokytoja?

Kamilė: taip nes su mokytoja geriausiai bendrauju ir buvo siūlymas tarp dviejų pračiausių vaikinų tai aš kai pakėliau ranką (.) sakė gerai (.) tegu Kamilė ar visi sutinka kad Kamilė būtų (imitates how everybody agrees)

<...>

Aurytė: tau patinka būt seniūne?

Kamilė: taip aš jau labai seniai norėjau būt seniūne

Aurytė: a tai tu čia esi seniūnė tik tai nuo dabar vat nuo (.) šit (.) nuooo (.) aštuntos klasės?

Kamilė: taip nes niekada nespėdavau pakelt rankos (.) arba paprasčiausiai (.) eidavo v- (.) berniukas ir mergina kadangi pas mus berniukų yra <...> aštuoniolika o merginų trylika dėl to berniukai jeigu berniukas stovi tai visi berniukai kelią ranką o jeigu už merginos tai merginos nu nu pralaimi visiškai tai taip niekada niekada neišeidavo man būt tai seniūnei

<...>

Kamilė: taip dėl to kad jie (.) jau suprato kad manim galima pasitikėti jau net nesu žmogus kuris (.) pavyzdžiui (.) rinkdamas už vakarėlį pinigus juos pradangins ir (.) pragers (emphasizes the word) (laughs) nee (.) aš tokia nesu durna

Translation:

Aurytė: who has elected you as a class representative?

Kamilė: the teacher (laughs)

Aurytė: the teacher?

Kamilė: yes because I got along the best with the teacher and there was a proposal of two of the worst boys so when I raised my hand (.) ((the teacher)) said ok (.) let Kamilė be does everybody agree that Kamilė is (a class representative) (imitates how everybody agrees)

<...>

Aurytè: do you enjoy being a class representative?

Kamilè: yes I have wanted to be a class representative for a very long time

Aurytè: so you are like a class representative just since from now on so from (.) this
(.) from (.) the eighth grade?

Kamilè: yes because I never managed to raise my hand quick enough (.) or merely (.)
it went together (.) a boy and a girl since there are <...> eighteen boys and
thirteen girls so the boys if a boy is suggested then all the boys raise their
hands ((for him)) so the girls well well completely lose so that's why I never
never succeeded in becoming a class representative
<...>

Kamilè: yes because they (.) have understood that I can be trusted I'm not a person who
(.) for example (.) will collect money for a party and then will lose it and (.) will
drink it away (emphasizes the word) (laughs) noo (.) I'm not that stupid

Kamilè's established position as the class leader is apparent in my astonishment that she actually was a newly elected class representative. I assumed that she held this title for years. (The election took place in September, prior to commencement of my fieldwork.) Even though Kamilè got elected only this school year, to be a class representative was her dream for a very long time. In the interview, Kamilè told me that it was not easy for her to obtain this position due to her gender: There were more boys in her class, who would as a rule support the male candidate, which made it harder for a girl to be elected. In her report, Kamilè projects herself as a democratically elected class representative. She finally managed to secure the majority's support, she gained the trust of her class and therefore the class voted for her. However, when we started talking about this topic and I asked Kamilè who had elected her as a class representative, she answered very briefly: *Mokytoja* (*The teacher*). She explains her appointment to this position by referring to her perfect relations with the class teacher. Besides, the other two candidates were not suitable to this position because of their bad reputation. Kamilè's narrative suggests that as soon as she raised her hand up, she was appointed as a class representative by the teacher. The teacher, of course, immediately asked the class if they supported her decision. I did not point to Kamilè that there was an inconsistency in her account. The important here, though, is that Kamilè positions herself as having support of both parts – the teacher and the classmates. The difference lies in the difficulty to gain the trust of these two parts. To attain classmates' trust required a lot more effort and time.

Unlike elections of a class representative, other extracurricular activities, such as school plays, are a bit different types of opportunities that school provides its pupils as school plays usually are more closely linked to the normal curriculum and here pupils follow the teachers' lead, still participation in them is more or less voluntary⁴⁰.

⁴⁰ In this subsection, I only discuss school events which were performed by the eighth-graders only.

As aforementioned, main roles in all eight-grader plays and events were solely performed by the leader girls in 8x – Rūta, Kamilė, and Urtė. However, there was one event which was abandoned by these girls. It was celebration of a traditional Lithuanian winter holiday, Užgavėnės⁴¹. In the Owl School, there was a tradition that a music teacher and a group of pupils, dressed in costumes, went from classroom to classroom singing traditional Užgavėnės songs. The festivities would end in the inner school courtyard where Morė, the symbol of winter, was burnt. Judging by the celebration of Užgavėnės, which took place during my fieldwork, I can conclude that Užgavėnės had a very low prestige among the pupil body. The group of pupils who was singing traditional tunes, was openly laughed at. The burning of Morė in the inner courtyard very quickly turned into a snowball fight. Snowballs were directed not only to Morė, but also to the singing pupils. A few pranksters even tried to hit the teacher. Although it was a school celebration which took place during the break before the last lesson, apart from the music teacher, there were no other teachers present in the courtyard. Hence, the pranksters could act almost unstoppably.

During the interview, I asked Rūta why she did not participate in the celebration of Užgavėnės. She explained to me that she did not fancy dressing up as a gypsy. However, I doubt that it was the costumes which deterred Rūta and other popular girls in her class to take part in Užgavėnės festivities. The girls had to dress up in Lithuanian folk costumes for the main roles in school plays. Once Rūta had to play a mother which involved wearing a specific head garment that covered her whole hair and chest. A few times, when Rūta was talking about the play with her classmates, she jokingly emphasized that she was running a risk of being mocked at because of her head garment. However, even though national costumes do not resemble nowadays fashion trends, no one was laughing at the performing girls. All the plays took place in the school's assembly room which naturally sets a certain pattern of conduct. As a rule, performances were dedicated to celebrate the important events in the Lithuanian history, for instance, Restoration of the Independence, therefore, quite a few teachers, including deputy principals, would come to see them. The presence of teachers in the audience meant that any inappropriate remark or action would be immediately silenced. Hence, school plays took place under very different circumstances than Užgavėnės. School performances in the assembly room had a very visible institutional support which in turn guaranteed that performers would be treated with dignity and respect. Besides, role-playing puts a pupil in a higher position of the institutional structure. Institutionally powerful pupils' unwill-

⁴¹ Užgavėnės is a Lithuanian holiday which usually takes place in February (seven weeks prior to Easter). The aim of the holiday is to banish winter. Therefore, participants of the holidays dress up as various frightening characters, such as witches, gypsies, devils, goats and alike. The highlight of Užgavėnės celebration is burning of a big doll, called Morė which symbolizes winter and its hardships. On this day, children, dressed in their costumes, go from house to house, asking for treats, such as sweets and pancakes, the traditional food of the festival.

ingness to act in celebrations as Užgavėnės is directly related to its low institutional rank. Pupils cannot gain any power from participation in such events, even more, there is a risk of losing a portion of the accumulated power.

The only highly popular pupil who took a minor role in the Užgavėnės celebration, was Kamilė. Although Užgavėnės procession involved a music teacher, it was Kamilė who had a list of all the classrooms that the procession had to visit. Thus, she acted somewhat as a director of the procession. She would follow teacher and the pupils to the classroom and then would take pictures of them. Kamilė was not dressed in any costume. And as everyone's attention was directed towards the singing pupils, hardly anyone noticed that she was also there. In the courtyard, however, Kamilė was absent. She did not come down to watch the burning of Morė, although a few other popular pupils from her class, Urtė, Pijus, and Žygimantas, were in the audience. Kamilė's role in Užgavėnės celebration reflected her positioning as an institutionally and socially powerful pupil: She was willing to participate in school events as long as they did not make any harm to her public image.

4.4.3. Concluding remarks

This section of the chapter delved into the construction of two adolescent social categories which hierarchically are positioned very differently, but which at the same time are related to one other through their commitment to school norms and fulfillment of school expectations. Nerds' intellectual ability and institutionally powerful pupils' devotion of their time and effort to various extracurricular activities were practices that the school could take a pride in. In the following three sections, I shift the focus from one polar extreme of the community of practice, i.e. pupils who support the institutional structure of the school, to another polar extreme – the streetwise adolescents who reject and rebel against school regulations.

4.5. REJECTION OF SCHOOL AS AN INSTITUTION: THE STREETWISE PUPILS

The 6th of November, Geography with 8x, from my fieldwork diary

Laurynas asks the teacher "Which page in the atlas should we open?" It's the first time I see him interested in the class activities.

It was my fifth week of the fieldwork in the Owl School when I for the first time observed Laurynas engaging in a lesson which might hint that previously Laurynas occupied himself with something else. In this section of the chapter, I will discuss adolescents who "do not participate in what the school defines as the school culture, but [who] are a structurally equivalent force within the age cohort, and the entire cohort <...>

recognizes them as such” (Eckert 1989: 15). The recognition of these adolescents as a structurally equivalent force was evident from pupils’ definitions of popularity (see 4.3.2.). One way of being popular in school was associated with violations of school norms, i.e. smoking, drinking, truancy, teasing of teachers, and damaging school facilities (see Rūta’s quote in 4.3.). In this section I, of course, will focus not only on the streetwise adolescents who gained very high status in the community like Egidijus in 4.3.2., but on all pupils who distinguished themselves from the others through the rejection of school-related activities and the engagement in the prohibited practices, especially smoking and drinking. As my point of departure in discussing these adolescents is their relation to school and its regulations, I run the risk to define them in negative terms (cf. also negatively gained popularity in 4.3.2.)⁴². However, in the school context, “negativity is an important component of the effect of the school” on streetwise adolescents (Eckert 1989: 136, see also Eckert 2000: 52). Even streetwise adolescents would describe themselves in negative terms, for instance, in explaining why certain classmates were avoiding their friendship, they referred to themselves as *a bad company*.

4.5.1. Streetwise adolescents’ relations to school as an institution

In this particular subsection, I delve into the topic of the mutual alienation or “being “in the wrong”” (Eckert 1989: 135) which is most probably the best way to describe streetwise adolescents’ relation to school as an institution. In the other subsection, I discuss streetwise adolescents’ relations to their non-streetwise peers (and vice versa) and school extracurricular activities, such as school tours.

In the individual interviews, all streetwise adolescents stated that they devoted little to no time to homework:

Aurytė: o šiaip kaip tau sekasi mokytis?

(.)

Albertas: nelabai aš ir mokausi (laughs) tiesą pasakius

Aurytė: daug iš skiri namų darbams dėmesio?

Albertas: tai aš jų išvis nedarau

Aurytė: iš viso nedarai namų darbų?

Albertas: (shakes head)

Aurytė: net net neprisėdi neatsiverti vadovėlių?

Albertas: nu nebent ten kai reikia atsiskaitinėti kažką ten (.) nu sakė mokytoja arba atsiskaitai arba vienetą parašau tai tada jau išmokstu

⁴² Another difficulty in dealing with streetwise adolescents, as it is emphasized in the editors’ preface to “Urban Youth and Schooling”, “is that in the desire to avoid pathologising or stigmatising these young people as ‘problems’ or ‘failures’ there can sometimes be a temptation to romanticise aspects of their situations and sideline the structural and material realities that shape their ‘choice-making’ (Archer, Hollingworth & Mendick 2010: vi).

Aurytė: mhm
 Albertas: o taip tai
 Aurytė: negraūžia taip sąžinė kad?
 Albertas: ne nu tai ateini jeigu jau žinai kad vienetą gausi jeigu neatneši namų darbų
 paprašai nuo ko nors nusirašai (.) ir viskas
 <...>
 Albertas: nu tai kad ten užduoda po (.) trisdešimt puslapių mokytis tai ką aš ten sėsiu
 ir mokysiuos tipo (laughs)

Translation:

Aurytė: and in general how are doing with your studies?
 (.)
 Albertas: I don't learn much (laughs) to tell the truth
 Aurytė: do you give lots of attention to the homework?
 Albertas: well I don't do it at all
 Aurytė: you don't homework at all?
 Albertas: (shakes head)
 Aurytė: you don't even open your textbooks?
 Albertas: well unless like when you have to prepare for an assessment like (.) well if
 a teacher says either you bring homework or I will give one (the lowest
 grade) so then I do homework
 Aurytė: mhm
 Albertas: but in general no
 Aurytė: isn't it on your conscience that?⁴³
 Albertas: well no so you come to school if you know that you will get one if you don't
 bring homework you copy somebody's work (.) and that's it
 <...>
 Albertas: well so that they tell us to read (.) thirty pages so what I like should sit and
 learn you know (laughs)

Streetwise adolescents' lack of interest in school activities was striking⁴⁴. It was not uncommon for the streetwise pupils to show up in a class completely unprepared, i.e.

⁴³ It was only in the analysis part of the study I have realized that a few of my questions, asked in the interview, were reinforcing school values and contrasting streetwise adolescents' values with the school norms. Luckily, these questions did not seem to have an influence on the interview and my relations with the streetwise adolescents.

⁴⁴ The lack of interest should not be confused with the lack of ability. A few streetwise adolescents were hard-working pro-school pupils in the previous grades. Besides, on those rare occasions when they decided to open the books and to do exercises, the outcome was usually very good, for instance, Egidijus and Vilma, one of the core streetwise adolescents in the Owl School, voluntarily recited the topic for that day in front of a class without looking at their notes. And they nailed it!

without textbooks, notebooks and pens. A couple of times I observed them digging into their school bags in order to find any piece of paper, on which they could write. Homework was at the very bottom of their agenda which was filled with other activities, like, hanging around with friends in the courtyard, playing computer games or a casual booze. Needless to say, streetwise adolescents very often skipped classes. Vilma, Samanta, Vykintas, and Rokas were leaders in absences from school. These pupils did not participate in any extracurricular activities, not even sport events. Actually, the lesson where streetwise adolescents hardly ever showed up was the Physical Education which was rather strange because all of them were physically strong and attended or used to attend various sport clubs outside of school. But everything that had to do with school seemingly had lost its charm.

Streetwise adolescents' low academic achievements, disturbance of a lesson, and particularly smoking (see section 4.6. below) put them at extreme odds with the school authorities. The pupil image, which they were constructing, was the direct opposite of the image of a desired pupil. Their practices drag the reputation of the school down. Indeed, schools, which were known for housing a lot of streetwise adolescents, were generally dispreferred by other pupils, especially, academically successful ones.

The practices, that rowdy pupils engage in, are not only unwanted in the school and beyond, they are also punishable. If a pupil is caught smoking or if a teacher finds out that he or she skipped a class, such a pupil might end up at the principal's or social worker's office, and, consequently, his or her parents might be invited to school to discuss their child's misbehavior. If misbehavior and infringement of school norms persists, a pupil might be expelled from school. The purpose of punishment is to prevent pupils from violation of school rules. Such an approach is effective on the pupils who acknowledge school authority and less effective on the ones who do not (for a successful effect of the school policy, see Laimonas' case in the section 4.7. about drinking). However, it does not mean that streetwise adolescents neglect school rules altogether. They are aware of that school regulations are valid for the entire community of practice. And it is mainly them who experience the consequences of violations of school rules. But, in the case of streetwise adolescents, punishment does not reinforce obedience to school norms, it rather reinforces finding the ways to avoid punishment while still pursuing illicit practices.

Rokas: nu nes (.) amžinai yra taip kad man ką nors padarau jau grasina kad eisiu pas socialinę (.) tada maždaug pabūnu biškį geresnis kol pradeda ant kito mokinio rėkti ir tada vėl galiu pabėgti

Translation:

Rokas: well because (.) it is always so that I do something ((they)) threaten that I will go to the social worker (.) then I become somewhat a little better until ((they)) start yelling at another pupil and then I can cut classes again

Arnas: man tai irgi teko pačiam ateiti apsirūkusiam į mokyklą

Aurytė: į mokyklą? (.) kas nors pastebėjo?

Arnas: aš labai ramiai elgiausi

Translation:

Arnas: it happened also to me to come high to school

Aurytė: to school? (.) has anybody noticed?

Arnas: I acted very calmly

Streetwise adolescents were aware of that their behavior attracted adult notice and sanction. They were also aware of that of all the pupils in the school they were thought to be the most prone to infringe the school rules⁴⁵. During the eight months in the Owl School, I learnt how much effort was put into concealing the prohibited practices which streetwise pupils nonetheless exercised all the time. To meet social worker's or teacher's eye as little as possible, in any case, not more than they already did was a high priority among streetwise pupils (see Rokas' quote above). In case they had done something wrong, there was always a chance that they might have been taken to the social worker's office. In order to avoid a possible punishment, they had to find a way to be out of school as soon as possible. To skip the rest of a school day was not an option because it would only enhance the trouble they were already in. They had to find a way to leave the school legally, or what could look like a legal action. One of the smartest ways was to borrow a pencil from a classmate and to eat the pencil lead. Pencil lead would make one's body temperature rise to a fake fever. Consequently, a streetwise adolescent would be reported as sick by a school nurse and, eventually, he or she would be officially sent home. The streetwise boys in 8x established their own smoking site inside the school. The secret smoking site enabled them to have a smoke without leaving the school building. To stay inside was essential for the streetwise adolescents because every time they left the school building during the breaks, they were judged to be going to smoke.

Although disguise of the street practices in school may seem like an innocent and playful mocking of school authorities, it actually conceals a much more complicated issue. Eckert brilliantly notices that streetwise adolescents' "needs are related to activities not condoned by adults, and many of the problems that they face stem from these activities" (Eckert 1989: 151). The problems range from getting poor grades in school to being monitored by the police. However, as it was already noted, engagement in these practices is punishable by adults. The threat of a sanction prevents

⁴⁵ In the interview, Albertas even told me that he very rarely went to the city center. According to his experience, there were many cameras there, consequently, he could not relax and constantly felt being observed and followed.

streetwise adolescents to fully trust adults and talk openly with them about their issues, thus, as a result, streetwise adolescents get isolated from the adult aid which they in fact need (Eckert 1989: 161). Of course, it does not mean that streetwise pupils do not come in contact with adults. During their adolescence, they meet plenty of adults – parents, school teachers, social workers, and inspectors for juvenile affairs. However, all these encounters are marked by the same hierarchical relationship: adults take up a position of a judge and adolescent takes up a position of a delinquent⁴⁶. Repeated experience of such encounters makes any adult a part of the authority structure, which quite often acted in streetwise adolescents' disfavor.

Alienation from the adult help means that streetwise adolescents rely on their peers, many of who are in the same troubles as they are (cf. quote “those guys, they’re messed up like I am, you know. We talk about the same thing but it don’t go nowhere, you know” in Eckert (1989: 161)). All of the streetwise pupils told me that their closest friends also drank and smoked a lot. A few streetwise adolescents had friends who were likewise them monitored by the police. Notwithstanding the friendship networks, where street practices were pursued intensively every single day (here I should also mention that a few streetwise adolescents came from what could be labelled as ‘at-risk’ families), all streetwise pupils were willing to quit their addictions and to reduce the troubles they were in (and I would believe that many of their friends had the same intentions as well).

Egidijus: nu įskaitą įrašo metai turi praeiti kad tu nebuvai nieko su policija susidėjęs
ir tada išrašo

Aurytė: hm

Egidijus: man vienos dienos pritrūko

Aurytė: ir tą antrą įskaitą gavai?

Egidijus: nu vėl įrašė

Translation:

Egidijus: well ((they)) put you in police records a year has to pass that you haven't
had problems with police and then ((they)) expunge ((you))

Aurytė: hm

Egidijus: I was short of one day

Aurytė: and you got a second record?

Egidijus: well ((they)) put me again ((in the police records))

⁴⁶ The complicated relationship between streetwise adolescents and the adults, who are expected to work with them, was evident from the inspector's for juvenile affairs arrival to the Owl School. The new inspector in the neighborhood gave a general lecture about minors' rights and obligations. All the streetwise adolescents were absent at that class. None of them wished to meet a person who had the power to punish them.

Streetwise adolescents might seem daring and dangerous to the people who do not share their ideology, but in the face-to-face interviews I was struck by the sadness – they were unhappy and sad adolescents. Firstly, the individual interviews were by far the hardest to the streetwise adolescents because in order to give a full account to my questions they had to talk about the practices which were usually kept out of adult's sight. Secondly, adolescents were aware of that those practices were stigmatized in school and in the society at large. To be listed in the police records and to be monitored by the police is not something an adolescent can be proud of, not even among adolescents themselves (for the discussion about streetwise adolescents' relations to their class, see the subsection below).

Although Becker claims that deviants “are regarded as outsiders by the rest of the society and <...> they themselves tend to regard the rest of the society as outsiders” (1963: 168), I was informed rather differently by my fieldwork experience. Cohen argues as well that delinquent youth's and working-class children's response to middle-class and school values is not “[a] simple, uncomplicated, honest indifference” (Cohen 1971: 124). The streetwise adolescents were aware of that they were not living up to the majority's expectations and that their street lifestyle was judged to be leading to failure. The association of their practices with failure was expressed, for instance, in threats to expel these pupils from their school to a specialized school (eventually, Laurynas and Arnas were expelled from the Owl School to the Youth School) or in their parents' frustration when they were called in to come to school or a police station. Hence, it is plausible to assume that the aim to change was inevitably inscribed in some of streetwise adolescents' actions and desires: The joy of being expunged from the police monitoring (or the regret that you were so close to being expunged, but failed), a rare occasion when they were seriously engaged in class activities, and willingness to quit smoking. All the interviewed streetwise adolescents expressed the wish to drop smoking. Most of them had quitted a few times, however, unsuccessfully. Those, who tried to quit, unanimously stated, that it was actually very hard for them to give up smoking. As ironic as it may seem, both parts of a conflict – school institution and streetwise adolescents – in principle target at the same aim – at least with regards to smoking. This notwithstanding, it is still impossible to establish a solid dialogue between the two parts not only due to the ineffective policies and lack of trust, but mostly due to the grounds on which the aim will be realized – the abandonment of one's social identity (see also Cohen 1971: 116–117). Streetwise adolescents did not (try to) quit smoking in order to fit in in the school culture and to acknowledge the power of school authorities, no, they wanted to quit solely for their own benefit: Smoking is a health-damaging costly practice, thus, if they got rid of it, they would have a better health condition and more money.

4.5.2. Streetwise and non-streetwise adolescents: Friendships and hardships

Streetwise adolescents' entry to the market of popularity and to the overall visibility was by and large through the constant violations of school rules. Egidijus, one of the most popular eighth grader (see table 4.1.), was aware of his special status in the school:

Egidijus: ką aš žinau (.) mane daug kas žino mokykloje

Aurytė: dėl ko tavo nuomone tave daug kas žino?

Egidijus: nežinau (.) mokytojos ten apipasakojo apie mane viską

Translation:

Egidijus: what do I know (.) many know me in school

Aurytė: why in your opinion many know you in school?

Egidijus: I don't know (.) the teachers like told everything about me

Both the most popular boys, Žygimantas and Egidijus, listed themselves in the interview as the popular pupils in school. However, whereas Žygimantas explained his popularity by giving examples of how everyone greeted him in school and regarded him as a good friend, Egidijus provided an absolutely different account for his popularity. According to him, he was known in the school because the teachers told many stories about him and his misbehavior. Unlike Žygimantas, he was not proud of his reputation in the school, as I could interpret it from his voice. Egidijus was not the only streetwise adolescent who was aware of his popularity in the school and at the same time did not take any pride in it. As one of the ways to gain visibility in the community was engagement in street practices, I asked a few streetwise pupils, how they perceived themselves in regards to popularity. All of them rather unwillingly answered that most probably they were known figures in the school, but they could not care less what the others were thinking about them, and, in general, they did not care if their classmates were thinking anything about them at all. However, such a reaction to my question is not as straightforward as it may seem. Firstly, streetwise adolescents could be simply annoyed by the question itself. It is very likely that they perceived the notion of popularity as part of the school culture, in which they participated in their own special way (see Eckert's quote above). Hence, my inquiry to explain their relations to popularity could be understood as the placement of them in the local hierarchy, which was part of the school culture, to which they held counter position. Secondly, they were acutely aware of that what they could be famous for in school was their being in the wrong – smoking, poor grades, in some cases also bullying, none of which would be ratified as a noble act in the school context. Thirdly, as it was already mentioned, streetwise adolescents put a lot of effort to pass by in the school unnoticed, therefore, it is very understandable that they did not wish to be known for activities which they otherwise tried to disguise.

In 2.4., quoting Quist, I argued that joined enterprise in the school community of practice can be defined as different ways of being young. Streetwise adolescents' being

young distinguished them greatly from the rest of the pupils. The special status that streetwise adolescents took up in the community was also evident in pupils' reports about their classes: No other social group was described so uniformly as the streetwise group (cf. 4.1.1., 4.1.2, 4.1.3.). Pupils would always refer to the violation of the rules (most commonly smoking) in their depictions of the group. Such streetwise adolescents' engagement in the community was sometimes unacceptable to the other pupils. As it has already been stated in 4.3.2., there were pupils in school who avoided streetwise adolescents' company because of their reputation or because of the fear that streetwise classmates might make a bad influence on them. For instance, Sergejus from 8y was very happy that after the split of his former class he was not transferred to 8z. He did not want to be in the same class as Egidijus, who was regarded as the one of the biggest troublemakers in the school. In the previous grade, pupils in the current 8z collected signatures for Egidijus to be thrown away from their class because they could not put up with his disturbance during the classes. Streetwise pupils were not always welcome in the class parties, because their participation in the parties could cause some trouble, for instance, if they invited their other friends from 'the hood' or if they showed up drunk. The salient misbehavior in a party might result in cancellation of the next one. For instance, the Valentine's Day party had to be called off because of the inappropriate behavior during the Christmas party. And yet, as far as it was known to me, none of the classmates had ever asked streetwise pupils not to come to a party.

Streetwise pupils also expressed dissatisfaction with their classmates, whom they in many cases could not trust.

Edgaras: šiaip iš pirmo galvojau gera klasė viskas gerai o dabar visi viską tiesiog auklėtojai sako (.) kažką pamato iš karto auklėtojai (.) čia tokia klasė

Translation:

Edgaras: in general at first I thought it was a good class everything is ok and now everybody simply tells everything to the class teacher (.) they see something and immediately tell the class teacher (.) this is such a class

or

Vykintas: pavyzdžiui kaip pasiaiškinimus visa klasė rašo nė vienas visi išduoda viską (.) ne tai kad nors ten apgint nemačiau dar ką nors

Aurytė: hm

Vykintas: ne tai iškart skundžia iškart viską parašo

Translation:

Vykintas: for instance how the whole class writes explanations not one everyone reveals everything (.) not like that somehow to defend I didn't see or something

Aurytė: hm

Vykintas: no they at once inform they at once write everything

In the quotes above, Edgaras and Vykintas expressed their disappointment at the lack of solidarity among the peers in school. As all the pupils are bound by the same inferior position with regards to the school authorities, streetwise adolescents would expect them to support each other at all times. However, non-streetwise pupils' involvement in the conventional school culture reinforces acknowledgment of the superiority of the authorities and obedience to school norms. This puts another hardship on the streetwise adolescents. They cannot freely engage in their practices because they are being watched not only by the school authorities, but also by their classmates, who might inform the authorities about violation of the rules (cf. Cohen 1971: 118). Thus, although streetwise adolescents might be regarded as superior in the adolescent social order because of their physical prowess and former instances of bullying (4.3.2.), they can also easily find themselves in the very inferior status of the school culture. Their inferiority might as well be supported by the peers.

Streetwise adolescents' counter-position to the school culture explains their reluctance to participate in the school social events, aimed at bringing all pupils together for a joyful occasion, for instance, a class excursion or a graduation party out of town.

Rokas: tenais nuvažiuosi tai ką tu ten darysi su draugais kokiais pabūsi ten ir tai tie va kurie (.) normalūs yra su kuriais normaliai bendrauju nevažiuoja niekas (.) tuo labiau ten bus mokytoja dar tėvai kažkokie (.) tai butelio vežtis nelabai tenais

Aurytė: hm

Rokas: cigarečių irgi (.) tai dvi dienas neišgyvensiu be cigarečių ir va be butelio (.) tai reikės pasilikti

Aurytė: hm

Rokas: čia

Translation:

Rokas: you go there so what you are going to do there are you gonna be with your friends there and well the ones (.) who are normal with whom I normally talk none is going (.) the more especially as there will be the teacher and also some parents (.) so you can hardly take a bottle there

Aurytė: hm

Rokas: or cigarettes (.) I won't survive two days without cigarettes and well without a bottle (.) so I have to stay

Aurytė: hm

Rokas: here

Pupils usually are waiting for school trips. This is a good possibility to spend some time with the classmates in a different environment and have fun. However, 'the fun' in the school tours is defined according to school regulations. Albeit pupils do not sit in desks, do not read textbooks, it does not mean that pupils can escape adult control. Teachers' and parents' presence points to that the change of the setting does

not entail the change of the rules, which is primarily no alcohol and cigarettes. However, hardly any street party can be organized without alcohol and cigarettes (see also 4.7.). Thus, streetwise adolescents preferred to spend those 'free' days with their friends in the neighborhood and to occupy themselves with their usual practices instead of going on a school trip together with their classmates. The streetwise adolescents also noted that the majority of their classmates did not smoke and drink, which disqualified them as proper party organizers and goers. The only exception in this regard was class parties which were well-attended by the streetwise adolescents. As they explained to me, there was more freedom in a class party than in an excursion: During a party, they could come and go as they wished, they could leave whenever they wanted or they could take a break and go outside for a secret smoke or booze. But most importantly, a party, which usually lasted till late evening, justified hanging around in the courtyard in the dark hours.

In 4.5.1., I argued that the tension between the streetwise adolescents and the school could be described in terms of the mutual alienation. Due to streetwise pupils' way of being young, the similar tension sometimes arose also between them and the rest of their classmates, especially the ones who acknowledged the superiority of the school authorities.

4.5.3. Concluding remarks

This section discussed the streetwise adolescents. However, the main focus of the discussion was not on the prohibited practices which these adolescents engage in, but how pursuit of these practices shape their positioning in the community and overall, how they affect streetwise adolescents' relations to adults. (For a similar approach to streetwise youth, see Mendoza-Denton 2008.) Streetwise adolescents misleadingly can be perceived as a rowdy crowd which breaks the rules because it does not know them. My analysis, based on interviews with the streetwise adolescents, revealed that it was not the case. However, knowing of the rules and probable punishment for breaking them do not necessarily entail following them. The punishment was principally only effective in that regard that it made streetwise adolescents conceal the illicit practices. Nonetheless, the punishment affected immensely their relations to adults. Here adults take up two roles – of the punisher and of the rescuer (Justickaja et al. 2015). This ambiguity prevents adults from establishing a dialogue between them and the streetwise adolescents, even though they are very often in need of a professional adult help.

At the onset of the thesis, I argued that schools are mono-centered institutions, which promote and reward only those lifestyles which live up to the institutional expectations. The monocentricity puts at a disadvantage every pupil who does not aim at these expectations. And this involves not only streetwise adolescents with their marked orientation towards the street. In the Owl School, there were a few pupils

who were neither particularly streetwise nor very schoolwise. Academically they would do rather poorly, but they would not smoke or tease teachers. Mykolas in 8x corresponds to the sketched image of such a pupil. Although he was very often poorly prepared for a lesson, he rarely attracted teacher's attention due to his otherwise obedient behavior. After the eighth grade, he intended to go to the sport school where it would be possible for him to study and at the same time to pursue a career in sports (wrestling) which was the crucial point for Mokylas. Sports and handcrafting (or technologies (technologijos) in the current Lithuanian educational terminology) were the only school subjects Mykolas was extremely good at. He dreamed of starting practicing together with the Lithuanian national team. In the case, his career in professional wrestling would not succeed, Mykolas planned to engage himself in something "physical", i.e. manual labor. As Mykolas was not successful in Mathematics, English, Lithuanian, and other subjects, which provide admission to university, he was turned into underachiever. As a result, he could not wait to graduate from his current school and to start the sport school where his skills and achievements would receive a proper appreciation. Mykolas was a perfect example of a pupil who formally belonged to and participated in the school culture but whose needs school's monocentric culture could not satisfy (cf. Eckert 1989).

So far, the analysis focused on different adolescent social categories. However, social categories are constituted of and foregrounded by practices. In the next two sections of the chapter, I explore in greater detail two social practices – smoking and drinking among adolescents. These practices were not chosen randomly. Adolescents themselves also distinguished them as the big issues. However, their opinions could be influenced by the popular discourse and the structure of the interview, which included questions about smoking and drinking (check the interview guide in 3.2.4.), and in this way, the interview might have elicited more talk about the phenomenon than it would have occurred otherwise.

4.6. SMOKING

Cigarettes and smoking are undoubtedly the pivotal force when it comes to categorizing adolescents, especially in school. As Eckert claims: "Drugs and alcohol have come and gone as symbols of rebellion for adolescents, but the one classic and enduring magical substance is tobacco" (Eckert 1989: 60). Of course, we can argue if drugs and alcohol have ever ceased to be symbols of rebellion for adolescents, but one thing is for sure – cigarettes are more visible than alcohol and drugs. During my eight months in the Owl School, there were very few instances when pupils would show up in school drunk or would carry bottles of liquor in their school bags. Smoking was, however, practiced in school every single day.

In the Owl School, smoking was strictly prohibited. If a teacher, a principal or a social worker caught a pupil smoking, he or she would be punished. And yet, there were a bunch of pupils in school who smoked every day. Smoking is not only “interpreted as a symbol of adulthood, but is also associated with rebellion, machismo, sophistication or “coolness”, independence, and vice” (Eckert 1989: 60). Smoking adolescents can indeed be labelled as rebellious and rowdy because they dare to break the school rules, even though, not every adolescent would agree that smoking is ‘cool’. A good deal of adolescents perceived smoking as a rather fake or wanton coolness (see the discussion in 4.3.2.).

And still, despite the potential punishment and classmates’ negative evaluation, there were a bunch of pupils who smoked in school daily, or as their classmates put it – *visa mokykla žino kad jie rūko* (*the whole school knows that they smoke*). Those pupils were Arnas, Laurynas, Edgaras, Albertas, Benas (8x), Vykintas and Tajus (8y), Vilma, Samanta, Robertas, Egidijus, and Rokas (8z). Jokūbas and Daiva were also smoking in school, but not as frequently as the aforementioned pupils. Smoking is not just a practice that divides the community into two categories – smokers and non-smokers. Smoking is an intrinsically social practice which brings certain adolescents together. It does not by any means imply that all adolescents, who smoked in school and therefore spent a considerable amount of break time together, were close friends. In fact, quite a few of these pupils pointed out that they were spending time with these smoking peers only in school or only during the breaks. Some had better friends outside of school, and some simply did not wish to hang around a lot with the pupils who were known for their notoriety. Nonetheless, smoking pupils had a quite stable cluster of friends for at least 15 minutes of their time in school, thus, smoking to some extent saved smoking pupils from the social isolation. This was particularly applicable for Tajus. Tajus had hardly any friends in school and hardly ever talked to anybody. But as he and Vykintas were the only pupils in 8y, who smoked in school, he got to spend some time in the company of Vykintas and other smoking adolescents.

The aforementioned adolescents were not the only pupils who smoked. Allegedly, the friend group, which involved Daina, Aida, Jurgita, Saulė, and Renata also smoked after school. Quite a few of their classmates reported that they had seen them smoking. I myself overheard once Daina boasting to Vykintas that there was a kiosk in the neighbourhood which sold cigarettes to her. However, in the part of the interview, where we touched upon a subject of smoking, most of the girls admitted that they had tried to smoke, but they all denied to be smoking presently:

Daina: ta prasme aš tai bandžius jau nu bet netraukia manęs ten vieną kartą taip įtraukiau (.) ta prasme (in a silent voice) nu ne vieną jau gal (.) ta prasme vieną kartą pirmą kai įtraukiau tai iš viso galva apsisuko ten buvo bloga maždaug po po pusę gal metų (.) vėl pabandžiau (.) bet taip kažkaip netraukia vat kad noriu baisiausiai

Translation:

Daina: in that way I have already tried ((to smoke)) well but it doesn't attract me like once I took such a puff (.) in a way (in a silent voice) well maybe not even a one puff (.) in a way once the first time when I took a puff so I started feeling dizzy I felt sick after after about maybe half a year (.) I tried again (.) but it somehow doesn't attract me like I would want it badly

Naturally, to admit to smoking – a punishable vice, even more, a practice which is generally associated with the image of an unwanted adolescent in school and society (cf. 4.5.) – in front of an adult and with a voice-recorder running on a desk, can be risky. The situation was especially difficult for the girls because there were so few girls who smoked publicly in school. Only pupils, including the girls, with the reputation “the whole school knows that they smoke” calmly confessed to be smoking. For them my question “do you smoke?” was not a subject for discussion, but a confirmation of a known fact. The other pupils, however, had to make a quick decision how they wanted to present themselves in front of an adult researcher.

Among the boys, Andrius, Naglis (though, in the group discussion he claimed to have quitted smoking), Tadas, Žygimantas and Pijus also smoked, though hardly ever in school. The possible punishment – report to the parents – deterred them from smoking in school. A few of them also stressed that they were not heavy smokers and did not feel the need to smoke during the breaks:

Tadas: kartais retkarčiais tenka užrūkyt bet tai kad taip kad (.) pavyzdžiui (.) į dieną ten penkiolika cigarečių tai ne <...> pavyzdžiui į savaitę kokios trys būna

Aurytė: o kas būna kai per progos kai vat kai tu užsirūkai?

Tadas: pavyzdžiui dažniausiai pavyzdžiui (.) rūkau vien dėl susinervinimo (.) vien dėl to kad taip susinervinu nežinau ką daryt (.) tiesiog tada užrūkau

Aurytė: mhm

Tadas: pavyzdžiui iš kokios lempos šiaip sau užsimanęs dažniausiai ne

Aurytė: mhm

Tadas: pavyzdžiui kaip kartais toks Rokas sako (.) einam parūkyt (.) aš sakau nu nenoriu (.) pavyzdžiui jam tai vos ne kaip įprotis o man tai tiesiog

Translation:

Tadas: sometimes occasionally I get to smoke but so that like that (.) for instance (.) like fifteen cigarettes a day so no <...> for instance in a week there are something like three ((cigarettes))

Aurytė: but it was those occasions when you well when you smoke?

Tadas: for instance most often for instance (.) I alone smoke because of nerves (.) alone because I get so nervous I don't know what to do (.) then I simply have a smoke

Aurytė: mhm

Tadas: for instance ((I don't smoke)) well if I want it for no reason out the blue most often it's not like that

Aurytė: mhm

Tadas: for instance sometimes Rokas says (.) let's have a smoke (.) I say well I don't want to (.) for instance for him it's like a habit and for me it's simply

Tadas contrasted his smoking manners with Rokas': For him smoking was a way to calm down whereas Rokas smoked for no reason. Tadas whiffed just a couple of times a week, while Rokas and the majority of pupils with the reputation "the whole school knows that they smoke" smoked as much as half pack of cigarettes a day (according to their own estimations). However, a few boys – Pijus and Žygimantas – hid their smoking habit not only from the school administration and teachers, but also from their classmates. If we look back at the sociogram of 8x, we will see that both boys were socializing quite a lot with Eimantas, Giedrius, Rūta, and Kamilė, none of whom were smoking. In Žygimantas' and Pijus' case, the cover-up of smoking was primarily linked with the fear of being excluded from their friend group:

Pijus: <...> pavyzdžiui ten (.) nu nes visą laiką (.) maždaug mes kai susitinkam mes stumiam ant to (.) o maždaug pasakyti kad xxx maždaug pusę vos ne metų meluojam

Aurytė: hm

Pijus: tai būtų tas nefaina (.) ir šiaip va pavyzdžiui pažiūrėjus tarkim į mūsų klasę nu vat kaip sluoksnius (.) tie kur vat rūkaliai nu tai su jais ne taip jau ir gerai bendrauja ten va pavyzdžiui ten kokio Rūta Kamilė ten nežinau (.) va taip va (.) nu nes kai pasižiūriu pavyzdžiui į kokį Beną (.) ten Albertą ten nežinau man (.) man tai nelabai kažkaip

Translation:

Pijus: <...> for instance like (.) well we always (.) kinda we when we meet up we speak ill of it (.) and kinda to tell that xxx about almost half a year we have been lying

Aurytė: hm

Pijus: that would not be cool (.) and in general well for instance if you let's say have a look at our class well like at strata (.) those who are smokers well so with them [classmates] don't socialize that much for instance like Rūta Kamilė like I don't know (.) well it's like that (.) well because when I have a look at for instance Benas (.) like at Albertas like I don't know (.) to me it doesn't look good somehow

Pijus noticed that not all classmates had the same status in his class, pupils were classified into different strata. According to him, smokers belonged to the lowest stratum, with them other classmates did not talk that much and, in general, classmates were not in good terms with the smoker group. Of all the classmates, Pijus distinguished two girls – Rūta and Kamilė, who, according to him, had very little contact

with the smokers. Kamilė and Rūta had a prominent status in the community as beautiful, popular, and schoolwise girls (4.3. and 4.4.2.), consequently a good share of eighth graders wanted to be friends with them. Pijus was one of these pupils. In order to become their close friend one had to adhere to their style and to distance oneself from the opposite style. As both girls held strong anti-smoking attitudes, it instituted the same attitude in their circle of friends. Violation of these local rules could result in exclusion from this powerful group and landing at the lowest stratum of the community. Earlier in the interview, Pijus frankly admitted that he disguised his smoking because of Kamilė, whom he even called a little angel.

At the onset of the section, I stated that smoking is associated with rebellion. Following this statement, non-smoking should be associated with obedience. However, the discussion revealed that association of smoking and non-smoking with the respective stances is not always a straightforward one. Management of smoking and non-smoking is designed to identify with and distinguish oneself from certain members of the community. In the interviews, I heard countless stories about the split-up of friendships because one part started smoking (and drinking) which only confirms the assumption that these two practices have a strong meaning among nowadays adolescents.

4.7. CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOL AND PARTIES

Quite a few the extracts from the interviews with pupils pointed to that consumption of alcohol often went together with smoking, i.e. pupils, who smoked, were also assumed to be drinking alcohol. But drinking, unlike smoking, by and large was exercised outside of school which made it harder for me to observe this social practice, thus, the interviews with the pupils became the main source of information.

In the section about smoking, I implicitly have divided the pupils into three categories: The ones, who smoked openly in school, the ones who smoked secretly outside of school, and the ones, who did not smoke at all. In the section about alcohol, I will operate with two very broad categories: Pupils, for whom drinking filled a great deal of their leisure time, and pupils whose leisure time did not include alcohol at all. Naturally, this categorization greatly simplifies the whole picture, but nonetheless these two categories represent two opposite ideologies which are variously employed by adolescents. However, one has to keep in mind that the majority of adolescents are located at various points between these two extremes.

We begin with Laimonas' story.

Laimonas: nu gerai prisipažinsiu buvo buvo vieną kartą aš išgėriau vieną (.) stikliuką

Aurytė: aha

Laimonas: bet jokio poveikio nebuvo (.) tada kai buvo klasės vakarėlis prieš klasės vakarėlį

<...>

Aurytė: o tai čia buvo Laimonai taip pirmas kartas kai tu va su draugais va [stikliuką]?
 Laimonas: [pirmas] pirmas ir turbūt kad paskutinis=
 Aurytė: =o dėl ko=
 Laimonas: =kol aštuoniolikos nesulauksiu
 Aurytė: dėl ko sakai kad paskutinis iš kur esi tuo tikras?
 Laimonas: nu mane biškį įbaugino kai auklėtoja dėl policijos (.) pakvie nu pagrasino
 nu nes aš vis tiek gėriau aš (.) policija būtų atvažiavusi tai gal aš vis tiek
 būčiau kiek nors įpūtęs
 Aurytė: [aha]
 Laimonas: [ten į tą] tai va todėl biškį įbaugino
 Aurytė: o dėl ko tu va tą kartą vis dėlto pasidavei ir va tą stikliuką išgėrei? dėl ko
 neatsilaikėi?
 Laimonas: (giggles) dėl to nes (.) s nu kaip nenorėjau pasirodyt boba prieš draugus
 Aurytė: aha
 Laimonas: bet dabar kai jie eina (.) gerti tai aš numetu kokią (.) atmaskę kad pamokas
 darau negaliu ten
 Aurytė: aha
 Laimonas: taip ar taip ten ką nors tokio
 Aurytė: o tai tave vis dar kviečia jie?
 Laimonas: nebekviečia jau ačiū Dievui

Translation:

Laimonas: ok well I admit it happened it happened once I had (.) a single shot
 Aurytė: aha
 Laimonas: there was no effect (.) then when there was a class party before the class
 party
 <...>
 Aurytė: Laimonas was it was it your first time when you well with the friends had
 a [shot]?
 Laimonas: [the first] the one and most probably the last one=
 Aurytė: =why=
 Laimonas: =until I turn eighteen
 Aurytė: why do you that it's your last one why are you so certain?
 Laimonas: well I got a little frightened when the class teacher because of the police
 (.) that she would call well she threatened well because I had drunk as well
 and I (.) if police had come so maybe I would have blown a little bit
 Aurytė: [aha]
 Laimonas: [to that] ((to the alcometer)) so yea it frightened a little
 Aurytė: but why that evening did you actually surrender yourself and well drink
 that glass? why didn't you resist?

Laimonas: (giggles) because of that (.) well I sorta didn't want to look like a girl in front of my friends

Aurytė: aha

Laimonas: but now when they go (.) to drink I tell some sort of (.) excuse that I do homework that like I can't

Aurytė: aha

Laimonas: (I tell) so and so like something like that

Aurytė: but do they still invite you?

Laimonas: they don't invite me anymore thank God

In the interview, Laimonas told me about his first glass of liquor. Before the class party, he together with his classmates Egidijus, Rokas, Tadas, and Arvydas had a small predrink. Unlike the other boys, Laimonas had never drunk alcohol before, but as he did not want to look like a girl, i.e. weak and not daring, he took a single shot. However, when the boys came to school, the class teacher immediately noticed that they had drunk. The teacher threatened to call the police⁴⁷. It scared Laimonas a lot. Even though he only took a single shot, the alcometer might nonetheless have shown that he drank which might put him into a big trouble. The threat to get into hot water deterred Laimonas from future drinks with the friends. He rejected every invitation to go out for a drink and felt relieved that finally the friends had ceased inviting him to the drinks.

Laimonas' story in many aspects is similar to a confession: *nu gerai prisipažinsiu buvo buvo vieną kartą aš išgėriau vieną (.) stikliuką (ok well I admit it happened it happened once I had (.) a single shot)*. The drinking, and especially the encounter with the teacher and the possible arrival of the police, made a huge impact on him. Telling of the story was like getting wrongdoing off his chest. Laimonas' experience of his first shot of liquor contrasted greatly to the stories of the streetwise adolescents, for whom drinks filled an important part of their leisure time. For Daiva, Vykintas, Samanta, Vilma, Egidijus, Rokas, Arnas, Laurynas, Edgaras, and Albertas drinking was a daily practice. (Vilma was not interviewed, but the self-recordings revealed that drinking was a practice, she engaged in quite often.)

Rokas: paskutinį kartą Centre buvau per Valentino dieną (.) buvau su Vykinu ir Egidijum (.) tai (.) turėjom nusipirkę po šampano butelį (.) tai išgėrem po Baltuoju tiltu pasivaikščiojom tenais (.) xxx Tadas atvažiavo (.) pasisėdėjom ten taip

Aurytė: ar tai buvo toks tipinis jūsų (.) kaip čia pasakyti (.) laisvalaikio Centre praleidimas ar jis kažkuo skyrėsi nuo kitų apsilankymų Centre?

Rokas: ne (.) tipinis

⁴⁷ I joined the party a little later, therefore I missed the teacher scolding the boys. But when I entered the classroom, I instantly could tell that Egidijus, Rokas, and especially Tadas were slightly dizzy. Arvydas and Laimonas looked normal to me.

Translation:

Rokas: the last time I was in the Center was on a Valentine's day (.) I was with Vykintas and Egidijus (.) so (.) we had a bottle of champagne (.) we drank under the White Bridge we had a walk there (.) xxx Tadas arrived (.) we were simply hanging around there

Aurytė: was it your typical (.) how should I say it (.) leisure time in the Center or did it differ somehow from other visits in the Center?

Rokas: yes (.) typical

The extract depicted how Rokas typically spent his time with the friends. Well, maybe he was not always in the City Center drinking champagne, but drinking alcohol with his friends was an important part of his leisure time (cf. also Rokas' quote in 4.5.2).

Alcohol and wild parties filled a good part of the interviews with the aforementioned adolescents, especially the streetwise boys: *dažnai lauke nēr kq veikti tai davai einam išgersim kq nors tokio (often there is nothing to do in the courtyard so let's go and have a drink something like that)* (from the interview with Albertas). A few of them had got a fine for drinking in public places. A couple of times the parties, the streetwise adolescents participated in, ended in the police station: The neighbors could not put with the noise anymore and called the police who took tipsy minors to the police station. Alcohol and wild parties seemed to fill such a great part of streetwise adolescents' time after school, that at one point in the interview, I even asked one of them – Albertas – if it happened that he would spend his weekend quietly, for instance, watching a movie with the friends. His answer was:

Albertas: būna (.) pasiėmi (.) žolės

(short laughter)

Albertas: (still laughs) ir žiūri filmą linksmi

Aurytė: be žolės neina žiūrėt?

Albertas: eina (.) eina ir taip

Translation:

Albertas: it happens (.) you take yourself (.) weed

(short laughter)

Albertas: (still laughs) and you watch film happily

Aurytė: can't you watch without weed?

Albertas: I can (.) it can also be like that ((i.e. without weed))

Albertas' answer only confirmed that smoking and drinking as well as other forms of intoxication, for instance, weed, was rooted in the daily practices of the streetwise adolescents, therefore, I argue that drinking was a norm for them. They were regular consumers of alcohol (see also Becker 1963: 61). The atypical meeting with the friends

on a weekend or a party would be the one which did not involve alcohol and cigarettes (cf. also the unwillingness to go on a class excursion in the subsection 4.5.2.).

However, for the majority pupils,⁴⁸ a weekend with liquor and cigarettes, let alone weed, would be an exceptional or an occasional evening. Compared to the streetwise adolescents' practices, their leisure time was marked by the absence of alcohol and smokes.

Urtė: paskui valgėm tortą (.) tada apsirengėm į pižamas (.) nuėjom pasidarėm kakavos su grietinele ant viršaus ten užtarkuota ir su šokoladu ten (.) super grynai kaip filmuose būna (.) e tada ėjom į viršų tiesiog labai kalbėjomės daug (.) nu labai linksma buvo

Translation:

Urtė: later we ate cake (.) then we changed into pajamas (.) we made cacao with cream on top like also with shredded chocolate like (.) super it was exactly like in the movies (.) eh then we walked upstairs we simply talked a lot (.) well it was very fun

The extract above summarizes Urtė's birthday. It was a cozy sleepover party with her closest friends. One of the highlights of the birthday was preparation of a movie-like hot chocolate. Urtė's birthday differs significantly from the wild party in which Rugilė and Daiva participated (see appendix 1 for a transcript from the discussion with the girls). That party was attended by a lot of people, some of who neither Rugilė nor Daiva knew. It was drunk a lot during the party, as Daiva stated, *paskui buvo piriboras* (later it was an overkill of alcohol). Nonetheless, the girls loved the party – they met new people, danced, and, in general, they enjoyed the freedom. The highlight of the party was the arrival of the police who took the drunken adolescents, among them also Rugilė and Daiva, to the police station. I cannot deny that such an ending of party most probably can also be turned into a blockbuster, but here are we talking about a totally different movie than the one Urtė is starring in. The three girls were orienting themselves to different norms within the adolescent culture.

⁴⁸ This includes:

- all the pupils in 8x, except Benas, Arnas, Laurynas, Edgaras, Albertas; Pijus and Žygimantas drank sometimes;
- all the pupils in 8y, except Vykintas, Daiva, and Rugilė, partly Naglis and Andrius; Daina, Aida, Jurgita, and Saulė drank sometimes;
- all the pupils in 8z, except Vilma, Samanta, Egidijus, Rokas, partly Robertas; Tadas, Arvydas, and Renata drank sometimes.

The pupils, whose names were not listed, either did not drink at all or drank very occasionally and consumed limited amount of alcohol, for instance, two bottles of champagne for eight friends (from the interview with Vytenis about the special tent party that he and his friends organized).

4.8. THE DETACHMENT FROM THE SOCIAL LIFE IN SCHOOL: THE LONERS

With the exception of nerds (4.4.1.), I have so far only discussed those adolescent categories which were located at the top positions in the eighth graders' community of practice. Now I would like to change the focus towards the pupils who were the other end of the hierarchy. These pupils were not only the ones who did not make it into the top 15 of the most popular eighth graders in school or who were not mentioned as popular by a single pupil. In this section, I will shortly concentrate on the pupils who were known for their remoteness and detachment from the social life in school, in short, loners, or *outcasts* (*atšytai* (male) and *atšytos* (female)) in the contemporary youth terminology. These and other similar labels were very often used to describe the following pupils: Tajus, Eladas, Smiltė, and Dovilė from 8y, Kasparas, Valentinas, and Titas from 8z⁴⁹.

Agnė: yra tokie kurie labiau ten vieniši

<...>

Aurytė: o va kas sakai tokie va vieniši tai kas čia tokie būtu?

Agnė: pas mus iš klasės tai Eladas jisai šiaip labai gerai mokosi šiais metais jau (.) bet jisai (.) nu nekalba jam jam pasakai kažką ir jisai taip (.) taip pasižiūri kreivai ir nueina kur nors (.) tai va labai jisai keistas

Translation:

Agnė: there are the ones who are like more lonely

<...>

Aurytė: and who you say such well lonely ones so who that would be?

Agnė: in our class so it would be Eladas he in general studies well this year (.) but he (.) well he doesn't talk you say something to him him and he just (.) just looks weirdly and goes away (.) so well he is very strange

In the extract, Agnė explained to me what a loner was. One of the most remarkable features of a loner was the silence – loners did not talk to anybody. Indeed, the lonely pupils were lonely because they very seldom talked to anybody, unless they had another friend, with whom he or she could be lonely together, for instance, Smiltė and Dovilė, Valentinas and Titas, (though Sergejus from 8y would sometimes join them during the breaks). Depiction “he or she doesn't talk” was also very often used as an excuse for not hanging around the lonely pupils. In school, pupils communicate a lot – they greet each other, they inquire their classmates about the homework, they tell each other about the previous or upcoming weekend etc. Pupils, who do not

⁴⁹ Reda from 8z was not included in the list because she was very rarely in school. One could even question if she was a member of the eighth graders' community of practice.

engage in the acts of communication, i.e. who do not initiate conversations or who do not reply when they are addressed, are eventually perceived as not interested in getting to know their classmates better. As a result, they themselves become uninteresting to the classmates. Hence, the detachment from the social life in school is a mutual process.

Loners' trajectory in school was from one classroom to another one and then silently waiting for a class to start. They were also absent in the class parties. Overall, their existence in school was marked by loneliness and social isolation. They did not aspire to popularity in any way. If an active school pupil is the opposite of a streetwise pupil, a loner is the opposite of both (cf. Eckert's definition of a nerd in 1989: 48). In the Owl School, both the institutionally powerful adolescents and streetwise adolescents constituted the popular crowd. If active school pupils were known for their clean-cut image, streetwise adolescent were notorious for smoking, the loners were known for their invisibility on the social landscape of the community.

4.9. LINKING THEORY WITH PRACTICE. THE DEFINITION OF STYLE

At the onset of the chapter, I promised to conclude it with a concise review of the pupil social categories and affiliated styles. Besides, I also pledged to link the analysis of the social dynamics of the studied community of practice with the theoretical framework of the thesis, particularly the underpinnings of the third wave of the linguistic variation studies. For this reason, I will briefly go through the main propositions of the third wave.

The third wave of linguistic variation studies puts emphasis on the local practice. Large-scale surveys were replaced with ethnographic small-scale studies. The inclusion of the ethnography – a research method which “entails the extended involvement of the researcher in the social life of those he or she studies” (Bryman 2001: 289) – enabled sociolinguists to zoom in the daily lives of their informants. It turned out that broad social categories, such as class, age, and gender, are in fact realized through a variety of local social categories. In the quantitative studies, all my informants would have been represented under the category ‘adolescents’ or ‘pupils’ or simply ‘youth’ and then possibly divided into other two broad categories – girls and boys. However, as the analysis of the social life in school revealed, categories, such as ‘adolescent’, ‘pupil’, ‘boy’, and ‘girl’, can be constructed in many different ways: There are popular girls, who have a lot contact with their male peers, there are girls who openly smoke, there are girls who are hardly seen on the social landscape.

As it was already mentioned, the main objectives of the third wave studies are to discover what it is socially meaningful in a studied community of practice. Thus, studies in the third wave depart from the dialectological approach, which was employed

in the two preceding waves (Eckert 2012). The main focus is not the linguistic change, but how and why speakers attribute social meaning to linguistic variation (see also Quist 2012: 378). At the same time, studies in the third wave break away from the traditional one-dimensional continuum of style – formal vs informal (3.2.3., see also Eckert 2001). The current body of sociolinguistic research revealed that speakers construct many various styles, and not all of them could be easily placed on a continuum ‘formal vs informal’. Job interview is still perceived by many as a more formal style. However, job interview in a private start-up company would most probably differ significantly from the job interview in a public institution. The driving force behind the style is not formality of a situation, but one’s wish to identify with or distinguish from a certain group of people (Eckert 2000, 2001).

Although in her study on linguistic variation and the most salient adolescent social categories in the American high school Eckert finds correlations between certain linguistic variables and non-verbal practices, such as cruising or participation in social extracurricular activities, she defines style in pure linguistic terms as ‘a clustering of linguistic resources, and an association of that clustering with social meaning’ (Eckert 2001: 123, see also Quist 2012: 93). Quist takes one step further and proposes the following definition of style: “Style, in this context, is a cluster of resources, including linguistic resources, which is made socially meaningful in relation to other cluster of resources” (Quist 2008: 51, see also Quist 2012⁵⁰: 93 in Danish). In her monograph, Quist argues even further that it was not her goal

to identify a certain linguistic usage, a certain linguistic style, but instead to place individual linguistic resources in a broader context of constructions of social meaning in the community of practice. <...> Linguistic resources do not get any social meaning if they are not put in connection to other signs – signs of taste, preferences, attitudes etc.” (Quist 2012: 94, my translation).

Very similar definitions of style are formulated in two other ethnography-based sociolinguistic studies, confer:

These linguistic components of styles are typically accompanied by other resources such as clothing and other aspects of bodily adornment; embodied actions like gesture, posture, and movement; the use of material culture and social space; sociocultural activities and the way in which they are carried out; and so on. Thus a style is an entire semiotic system, in which each element contributes to the production of social meaning (Bucholtz: 2011: 11).

and

⁵⁰ Just for clarification I would like to note that Quist’s 2012 monograph is based on her PhD thesis, submitted to the University of Copenhagen in 2005, thus, Quist’s cross-disciplinary definition of style was already proposed in 2005.

As meaning-making individuals, we utilize not only language but also symbolic elements at many different levels (gesture, historical references, dress, music, and other aspects of material culture) to craft our stylistic practice (Mendoza-Denton 2008: 216).

Compared to Eckert's definition, the other three definitions of style are more holistic ones, they encompass different types of resources – both verbal and non-verbal ones. “Linguistic variation, in other words, is a very broad-spectrum component of a broader semiotic system” (Eckert 2012: 97). Indeed, as we will see in the next chapters, certain linguistic resources are tied with specific signs – types of clothing, attitudes etc. And what is even of greater importance is that certain resources are perceived as belonging together, or clustered together according to Quist's terminology.

The definitions of style, proposed by Bucholtz, Mendoza-Denton, and Quist, are strongly rooted in the theoretical framework of the third wave. These definitions concern the process of meaning-making and put this process in a broader semiotic system. As the current research is placed within the theoretical framework of the third wave, the proposed definition(s) of style apply aptly to the analytical toolkit.

4.10. SUMMING-UP: ADOLESCENT LOCAL SOCIAL CATEGORIES AND STYLES

The majority of chapter 4 was dedicated to the analysis of the most salient pupil social categories as well as practices that constitute and foreground those categories. However, the process of category construction involves also the developing of style(s). Social categories “represent ideologies and cultural forms that are variously adhered to by individuals and groups” (Eckert 1989: 18–19). Style, which is a cluster of different resources, is the reification of a social category.

Unlike American pupils, Vilnius pupils do not have established and widely recognizable category and style labels, such as jocks and burnouts (Eckert 1989, 2000), preppies and hip hop fans (Bucholtz 2011). During the first interviews with pupils, I asked them if groups in their class had any “names” or “titles”, however, I was hardly ever provided with any labels. Besides, pupils were often rather confused by my inquiry, as if they did not understand what kind of information I wanted from them, therefore I eventually dropped this question from my interview guide. The only label which was used more or less consistently both in the interviews and in daily interactions was ‘moksliukas / moksliukė’ (‘nerd’). The label was assigned to the academically successful and unpopular pupils (see 4.4.1.). Pupils who smoked in school, were often referred to as ‘smokers’ and alike. However, the non-existence of category and style labels does not presuppose the non-existence of the styles themselves! While talking about the groups in their classes, pupils presented in fact a lot of hints to category denominations: Some pupils were called popular, others were described as silent and calm, some pupils were recognized as having lots of contact with the op-

posite sex, others as doing great or bad in school, and so forth. However, it was not surprising that pupils had difficulties in labelling the styles. On the one hand, those styles are so embedded into the social life of the community that it required specially developed skills to be able to reflect on them (cf. Coupland 2007: 1). On the other hand, the styles, that are being crafted by the adolescents, are not separate units. Stylistic practices, developed within this community of practice, could be understood as a continuum or even a net where every style is tangled with a few other styles.

My participation in this community of practice was of a special kind. I was an outsider. My role of an outsider was not the result of a social exclusion. I was an outsider because I never genuinely *lived* the social life of the community. The difference between pupils' and my participation in the pupils' community of practice can also be explained in the following manner: While pupils were preoccupied with utilizing various resources to craft their stylistic practices (Mendoza-Denton 2008: 216), I was preoccupied with exploring what resources were employed in stylistic crafting and what stylistic patterns emerged. Hence, my participation in pupils' community of practice was constantly accompanied by a thorough reflection of its social life.

In the process of observation of the social life and during the interviews with pupils, I had begun to see stylistic patterns – certain resources were clustered together. In the following, I give a brief outline of the distinguished style clusters and indicate the main resources, which were employed in the construction of that particular style. The labels of the style clusters have been given by me, based on the resources, which were involved in the construction of a style, except the label 'nerd' ('mokslukas / mokslukė') which was also used among the pupils themselves.

However, the reader must bear in mind that the sketched outline of style clusters is "the neatened end result of a fairly messy process of discovery" (Eckert 2000: 76), hence, the style clusters were not isolated rigid units as presented below. Besides, I also need to admit that as the main objective of the thesis is to analyse construction of styles among Vilnius adolescents, quite a few of the styles appear as more salient and precisely delineated in my analysis than they actually are (cf. Eckert 1989: 19).

In brackets, I have also indicated the place of a style in the local hierarchical social order (cf. 4.3.).

Style cluster (1): *Active pro-school girls*. Great interest in class activities; do not smoke and drink; harmonious relations with school staff; fashionable cloths; use of make-up; close friendships with boys (high visibility on the social landscape of the community).

Style cluster (2): *Good girls*. Great interest in class activities; do not smoke and drink; harmonious relations with school staff; ordinary 'out of fashion' clothes; minimal use of make-up; no close friendships with boys (low visibility on the social landscape of the community).

Style cluster (3): *Academic girls 'nerds'*. Great interest in class activities; read in the leisure time; do not smoke and drink; harmonious relations with school staff; ordinary

‘out of fashion’ clothes; no use of make-up; no connections with boys (low visibility on the social landscape of the community).

Style cluster (4): *Cool girls*. Medium to little interest in class activities; secretly smoke and drink; harmonious relations with school staff; use of make-up; close friendships with boys (high visibility on the social landscape of the community).

Style cluster (5): *Streetwise girls*. Little interest in class activities; do not participate in the extra-curriculum activities; skip classes; openly smoke and drink; problems with police; tense relations with school staff; close friendships with boys (medium to little visibility on the social landscape of the community).

Style cluster (6): *Academic boys ‘nerds’*. Great interest in class activities; participation in the extra-curriculum activities (sport or school plays); read in their leisure time, go to art galleries; harmonious relations with school staff; do not smoke and drink; no connections with girls (low visibility on the social landscape of the community).

Style cluster (7): *Ordinary urban boys*. Medium interest in class activities; high interest in computer games; participation in the extra-curriculum activities (sport); good relations with school staff; do not smoke and drink or rarely secretly smoke and drink; friendships with girls (medium to low visibility on the social landscape of the community).

Style cluster (8): *Cool boys*. Great interest in class activities; participation in the extra-curriculum activities (sport); attend sport school or club; good relations with school staff; secretly smoke and drink; close friendships with girls (high visibility on the social landscape of the community).

Style cluster (9): *Streetwise boys*. Little to no interest in class activities; do not participate in the extra-curriculum activities; skip classes; tense relations with school staff; openly smoke and drink; problems with police; close friendships with girls (high visibility on the social landscape of the community).

Style derives its meaning from its association with a particular social category, therefore, a few labels had already been introduced in the analysis of adolescent social categories. Style clusters, like categories, are not friendship groups which one can belong to. Style clusters do not have memberships by themselves, styles clusters have practitioners. As it was pointed out above, style clusters are not so finely delineated in their actual practice as presented here. It was not uncommon to mix resources from different style clusters (cf. Quist 2012: 254), which makes it sometimes difficult to associate a style cluster with its practitioners. Nonetheless, each style cluster has its iconic practitioners (see 2.5.). In the table 4.2. below, I present adolescents whom I identified as the iconic practitioners of a particular style cluster, i.e. who make use of all the resources of that style cluster. Adolescents, whose names appear in *italics*, use a great deal of the resources, hence, they can still be identified as practitioners of that style (cf. Quist 2012: 255–257, also Maegaard 2007: 185). I give a short explanation of the differences in stylistic practices between the iconic practitioners and the affiliated practitioners (adolescents in italics) in the text below.

Table 4.2. Style clusters and practitioners

Style cluster	Practitioners
(1) Active pro-school girls	Kamilė, Urtė, Rūta, <i>Eglė</i>
(2) Good girls	Rasa, Irma, Rita
(3) Academic girls ‘nerds’	Agota, Virginija, Sigita, <i>Auksė, Marija</i>
(4) Cool girls	Daina, Aida, Jurgita, Gintarė, Renata
(5) Streetwise girls	Vilma, Samanta, <i>Daiva, Rugilė</i>
(6) Academic boys ‘nerds’	Julius, Vytenis, Ramvydas, Jonas, <i>Algirdas</i>
(7) Ordinary urban boys	Marius, Kristupas, Vilius, Ruslanas, Rolandas
(8) Cool boys	Žygimantas, Pijus, Giedrius, Tadas, Aivaras
(9) Streetwise boys	Egidijus, Albertas, Arnas, Laurynas, Edgaras, Rokas, Vykintas, <i>Benas, Robertas</i>

Eglė, like practitioners of the style clusters (1), (2), and (3) showed great interest in class activities and did not smoke and drink. However, unlike practitioners of the style cluster (3), she did not read in her leisure time. She was also quite visible on the on the social landscape of the community mostly because of her close friendships with the boys, which distinguished her stylistic practice from the clusters (2) and (3). Her clothes were more fashionable than practitioners of (2) and (3), therefore, I identified her with the style cluster (1). A little note has also to be made about Rūta, who is presented an iconic practitioner of the style cluster (1) in this community of practice. However, based on the interviews with the other pupils, I suppose that outside of school her stylistic practice could be different, and Rūta’s relations with the main streetwise youth in the neighborhood confirmed this assumption. After all, to maintain a title of a popular girl she had to adjust her style in different situations (see also the discussion under the table 4.1.).

Auksė could be regarded as performing style (3), because she showed great interest in class activities and took studies very seriously – she is got the best grades in her class. Marija also took studies very seriously, and, as a result, she also got very good grades. In her leisure time, she went with her best friend (not a classmate) to the library. However, towards the end of the school year, Marija was more and more absent from school, she also started not to study as hard as she used to, which was also reflected in her poorer grades. This also meant that she no longer was the iconic practitioner of the style cluster (3). (I got to know from the class teacher that inner problems in the family caused Marija’s absence from school).

Daiva and Rugilė made use of all the resources in the style cluster (5), except both girls, especially Rugilė, showed greater interest in class activities than the iconic practitioners of this style – Vilma and Samanta. However, unlike the icons Vilma and Samanta, Daiva’s and Rugilė’s streetwise stylistic practice was mostly performed outside of school, in school both girls, Rugilė in particular, kept their styles as clean as

possible. Daiva did not smoke in school as often as Vilma and Samanta, and Rugilė hardly ever smoked during the breaks.

Unlike the iconic practitioners of the style cluster (6), Algirdas neither participated in the extracurricular activities, nor he read for pleasure or visited art galleries. He had also more interactions with the girls than the other academic boys. Nonetheless, he showed very high interest in class activities and took studies very seriously. He was the only boy in his class who went back to the class after the interview, although it was the last lesson and only around five minutes were left till the end of it. All the other boys were striving to be interviewed during the last lesson with a hope to be able to leave the school earlier. And it was not only me who noticed Algirdas' great involvement in academic activities at school. As mentioned in 4.4.1., practitioners of the style cluster (7) occasionally would jokingly mock Algirdas because of his interest in school-related topics. Thus, although Algirdas did not make use of certain resources in the style cluster (6), his classmates still perceived him as constructing this style. Consequently, I identified him with the style cluster (6).

Benas and Robertas could be identified as practitioners of the style cluster (9). They showed little interest in class activities and quite often showed up in school unprepared. But most importantly, they both smoked openly in school and every eighth grader knew about it. However, they hardly ever cut the class or fooled around in school. They did not have problems with police and, in general, their relations to school staff were rather good. Benas' and Robertas' affiliation with the street culture was expressed mainly through smoking, however, smoking alone did not suffice to gain the iconic status. A note needs also to be made about Rokas and Vykintas. These boys were less involved in the street practices than the other iconic streetwise adolescents, for instance, neither of them was monitored by the police. Rokas and Vykintas did not maintain close contact with the main streetwise youth in the neighborhood. They did not keep either close friendships with the majority of the iconic streetwise eighth graders, whom they a few times called *unpleasant people* (*nemalonūs žmonės*). Regardless of the aforementioned, I indicated Rokas and Vykintas as iconic practitioners of the style cluster (9). In the institutional context, the extent of their engagement in street practices – smoking, drinking, truancy, little interest in academic activities, tense relations with school authorities – fulfilled the criteria of an iconic streetwise pupil.

In Chapter 4, I have delved into the social dynamics and the hierarchical structure of the social order in the eighth graders' community of practice. I analysed in great detail the friendship groups in classes, the main social categories, and a few selected practices. Ultimately, I listed 9 most salient styles clusters which were developed in the process of category construction. In the next two chapters, I will study how selected linguistic resources are involved in the process of category and style construction.

5. LINGUISTIC VARIATION IN THE COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE: CONSTRUCTION AND RECOGNITION OF SOCIAL MEANING

In 3.2.3., I stated that ethnographic interviews, which I conducted with the pupils, were needed because of two purposes: (1) they provided access to the material which was otherwise inaccessible, for instance, pupils' practices after school, their opinions and attitudes, and (2) the interviews also provided the material for the linguistic analysis. When I was listening to the interviews, I had not been solely interested in, what pupils were talking about, but also how they were talking. In the primary analysis of data, the following linguistic variables caught my and the supervisor's attention: monophthongize the diphthong /ie/ (/ie/ ----> /e/, burring of /r/, distinctively guttural /n/, and lengthening of short front /i/ and short back /u/ in stressed syllables. The first three linguistic resources are characteristic of active pro-school girls style. Interestingly, in the experimental study of perception of pupil feminine styles, these linguistic resources were associated to social meanings 'beautiful', 'entertaining', and 'active' (Vaicekauskienė 2014). Burred /r/'s are also characteristic of cool girls style. Cool girls also tend to make a great use of various discourse markers, for instance, *ta prasme (in a way)*, *nežinau (I don't know)*, *ten (like)*⁵¹. Lengthening of short /i/ and /u/ were noticed in the speech of those adolescents who performed the streetwise style. Within the scope of the present study, I was not able to carry out the detailed analysis of the use of the four variables. As the lengthening of short /i/ tends to attract a few metalinguistic commentaries among the Vilnius dwellers (Čičirkaitė 2014: 6), it was decided to investigate the indexical field of this linguistic resource.

5.1. A FEW NOTES REGARDING LENGTHENING OF A SHORT STRESSED /i/

The previous studies have identified that lengthening of short vowels in stressed syllables is a salient, often stigmatized feature of Vilnius speech and of speech of Lithuanian Slavic minority (Grumadienė 1989, Čičirkaitė & Vaicekauskienė 2012, Čičirkaitė 2014). Besides, it has been noticed that Lithuanian men are more inclined to lengthen short vowels than women (cf. Čičirkaitė & Vaicekauskienė 2012: 10–11).

⁵¹ The literal translation of the discourse marker 'ten' would be 'there'. However, 'ten' functions in a similar way as the English discourse marker 'like', so in order to convey the same meaning in the English translation, 'ten' was translated as 'like'.

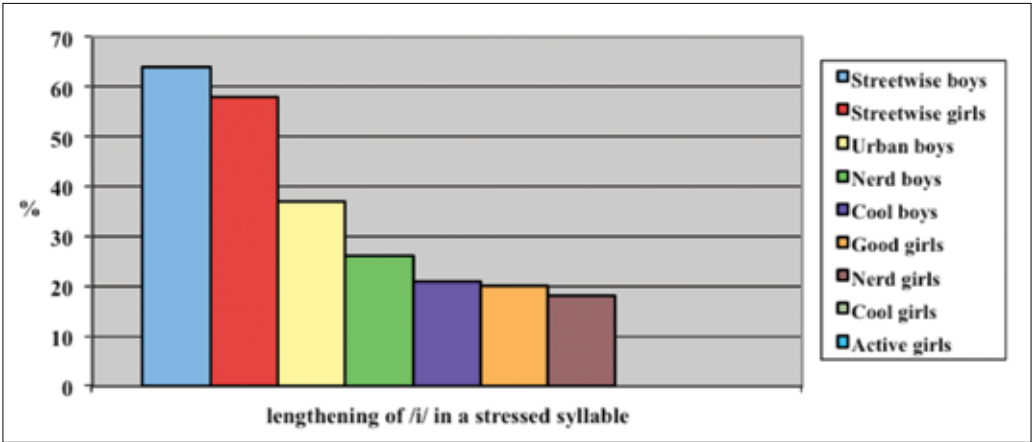
The results of verbal guise experiment, which was conducted in two schools in Vilnius, point to the conclusion that lengthening of short vowels in the speech of Vilnius dwellers indexes high social status and prestige when the speaker is of majority background (Lithuanian) and low status when the speaker is of minority background (Russian) (Čičirkaitė 2014). However, the previous research has not explored the local dynamics of the linguistic practice. Having the findings of the previous studies in the baggage, my study sets out to explore the indexical field of lengthening of short /i/ as a stylistic practice.

5.2. DISTRIBUTION OF LENGTHENING OF SHORT /i/ IN STRESSED SYLLABLES ACROSS THE STYLES

Material for the linguistic analysis was the ethnographic interviews with the practitioners of the distinguished styles (see Table 4.2.). As lengthening of /i/ is also characteristic of Lithuanian Slavic minority, the speech of the pupils who also speak Russian and Polish in the families or with the closest friends, was also analysed (N=18). Auditory analysis was performed of 20 occurrences of stressed /i/ in the stem syllable for each speaker. An auditory analysis of the linguistic data is not very reliable. However, verbal guise experiment was already planned, and during the experiment it will be respondents' ears which will listen and evaluate the speakers. In this case, the auditory analysis suited the aims of the study.

Distribution of lengthening of short /i/ in stressed syllables across the styles is presented in figure 1.

Figure 1. Distribution of lengthening of /i/ in stressed syllables across the styles (average % of lengthened variants in the style cluster)

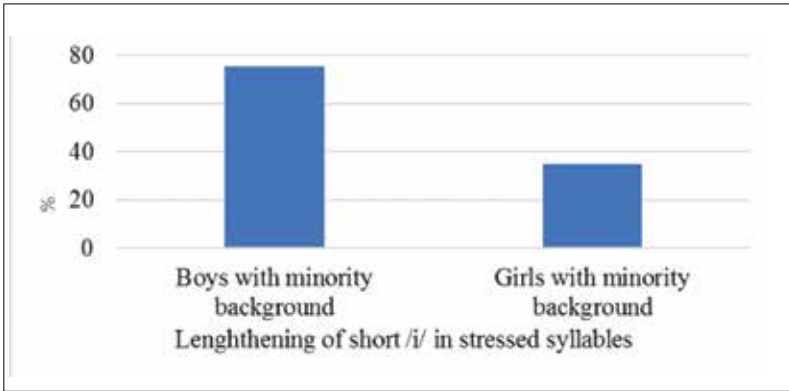


Male and female performers of the streetwise style are the most inclined to lengthen the short /i/ in stressed syllables (Figure 1). Egidijus, who is the iconic performer of the streetwise style, was also the greatest lengthener of /i/. He lengthened every single occurrence of /i/ in stressed syllable. Lengthening of /i/ was absolutely absent in the construction of styles of active girls and cool girls. If we take into consideration only performers of majority background, then it occurred only sporadically in the construction of the styles good girls and academic girls, in other words, it was predominantly performers of minority background who were inclined to lengthen the stressed /i/. Thus, ethnicity also played a role: Adolescents of minority background tended to lengthen more often than adolescents of majority background, however, girls of minority background lengthened significantly less than the boys of minority background (see figure 2.).

The ethnography-driven analysis of linguistic variation revealed that lengthening of /i/ among Vilnius adolescents, is clearly linked to the ideological schemes of ‘minority background’, ‘masculinity’ and in particular ‘street culture’. Streetwise adolescents through their engagement in street practices constructed this social meaning. The latter makes lengthening especially threatening to the performers of the neat female styles (cf. Eckert 2000: 169–170). Thus, all the girls who orient themselves towards the well-established notion of femininity stay away from lengthening like they stay away from any other streetwise practice. Streetwise girls do not conform to the traditional norms of femininity, through the use of the long short /i/’s in stressed syllables they express the rejection of these norms in the most delicate way.

Similar pattern of stylistic variation was also reported by Eckert (2000). Urban variables which are employed in the construction of burnout style, are more marked for the jock girls. As a result, they are less inclined to use them.

Figure 2. Adolescents’ of minority background use of lengthening of /i/ in stressed syllables



5.3. FROM LOCAL TO GLOBAL⁵²

The main objective of the ethnography was to define Vilnius adolescent social categories and styles: What resources adolescents employed in the construction of these categories and styles. The ethnographic method enables the researcher to perform the in-depth analysis of the category construction which is based on the directly observed interactions and practices, not the presupposed ones. However, the scope of the ethnographic inquiry is limited – in my case, it was three eighth grade classes, 90 pupils in total, in one secondary school. Hence, with the help of ethnography we can directly examine the local construction of the styles, however, we cannot be sure if the resources, employed in the creation of styles, will be recognized as having the same social meaning in other communities of practice. As I will point out later in this chapter, the recognition and perception part is essential in the style construction. Therefore, the main objectives of this chapter is (1) to account for the need to investigate not only the local, but also the global meaning of the resources, (2) to demonstrate how by inclusion of other methodologies, in this case, the verbal guise technique, we can investigate the global meaning of the ethnographically derived local meaning.

Instead of operating with the predetermined generalized social categories, such as gender, social class, ethnicity, in the current sociolinguistics researchers tend to carry out sustained ethnographies in various communities of practice in order to understand how people through their engagement in different practices and by taking different stances, give social meaning to linguistic variables (Eckert 2000, Maegaard 2007, Podesva 2008⁵³, Quist 2012, Rampton 2006, Zhang 2005, just to name a few studies). In other words, the current sociolinguistic enterprise is preoccupied with the local meaning-making: How different meanings, such as feminine, masculine, streetwise, gay, immigrant, become associated with particular variables. However, the process of the meaning-making is only partly dependent on the person who is performing it. The process of the meaning-making is not only performed, it is also perceived by the others. As Agha (2006: 234) states: “But even when one’s self-conception (or, rather, a given timebound version of it) becomes fixed or definite for a while, it is only relevant to social life insofar as it is perceivable by others”. So according to Agha, one’s social identity and the resources involved in the construction of that identity only become socially meaningful when they are recognized as such by the others.

⁵² This chapter draws heavily on my article, published in the ejournal *Taikomoji kalbotyra* (Čekuolytė 2014a).

⁵³ Podesva’s (2008) paper is not based on the research, conducted in one particular community of practice. The main focus of the article is to show how speakers are capable of shifting styles in different communities of practices. Podesva investigates how his respondent, a young gay man attending the medical school, constructs an identity of a professional doctor in clinic and a gay diva persona at a barbecue with his friends. The research, reported in the article, is taken from the larger project about style shifting among gay professionals in the USA.

As this chapter will set out to explore the recognition of adolescent streetwise style (among others), let me introduce one of the key features of the streetwise style in the Lithuanian context – *trys paloskės* (*three paloskės*⁵⁴). This specific clothing type is associated with a stereotype of street culture. There are many people who wear sportswear; it is by no means restricted to street culture, but only streetwise personas through their continuous and visible engagement in the street culture made that sportswear socially meaningful in the Lithuanian context. It suffices to say *A guy with three paloskės*, that the majority of Lithuanians would be able to draw an image of a guy who you do not wish to mess up with. (This just shows how much *three paloskės* are loaded with the stereotype.) What is especially interesting here that the meaning that was once created locally, is now recognized globally.

The ethnographic studies that I referred to so far, including my brief analysis of lengthening of /i/ in stressed syllables, have proved that linguistic variation is involved in the construction of style, and through involvement in the stylistic work, the linguistic variation acquires its social meaning. However, not all of the cited studies dealt with the recognition and perception part of the social meaning. Marie Maegaard, referring to Linell (1998, 2001⁵⁵), argues for the need to investigate the global ‘meaning potentials’ of the ethnographically derived variables in order to understand “stereotypes and their connection to language variation” (Maegaard: 2010⁵⁶: 189). But can such a small resource as certain linguistic variables be recognized as style markers globally?

The variation between one speaker and another, or between the same person’s speech in one situation as opposed to another, is often unnoticeable to a particular hearer. In order to become noticeable, a particular variant must be linked with an ideological scheme that can be used to evaluate it in contrast to another variant. <...> the scheme to which a hearer orients may be one that links variation with class, carefulness, correctness, place, or any other framework in terms of which people position one another socially, each associated with a set of stereotypical personas (Johnstone 2009: 160).

⁵⁴ According to *The Dictionary of the Lithuanian Slang and Non-Standard Vocabulary*, (*Lietuvių kalbos žargono ir nenorminės leksikos žodynas* 2012) the Russian word *paloskė* originally referred to different stripes which marked convict’s identity, for instance a brown stripe denoted tendency to injure oneself, a blue stripe denoted tendency to use drugs etc. (Kudirka 2012: 400). However, outside of the prison community, the word *paloskė* nowadays refers to the three white stripes on a sport jacket or trousers, an image derived from the brand “Adidas” signature clothes. Furthermore, the sport jacket with three white stripes is associated with the street culture and its practice because people, who perform street identity, are dressed in such clothes – it is their signature look.

⁵⁵ Linell, P. 1998. *Approaching Dialogue. Talk, Interaction and Contexts in Dialogical Perspectives*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Linell, P. 2001. Dynamics of discourse or stability of structure: Sociolinguistics and the legacy from linguistics. *Sociolinguistics and Social Theory*. N. Coupland, S. Sarangi, C. N. Chandlin (eds.). Harlow: Pearson. 107–126.

⁵⁶ As it was already mentioned in chapter 1, it was Marie Maegaard’s research that has inspired me to include the verbal guise technique in my own project.

Johnstone makes an important argument here: She presents the theoretical model for interpreting the linguistic variation from the hearer's point of view. Linguistic variant is only noticeable, i.e. recognized, when a hearer is able to place it on the social landscape (ways of talking characteristic for a particular social category), geographical landscape (dialect) or any other ideological scheme as Johnstone calls it. Even more, "a form that is enregistered (i.e. linked to a specific ideological scheme A.Č.) is one that is linked with a way of speaking or "register" associated with a personal or social identity" (Johnstone 2009: 160). In other words, the linguistic variable becomes noticeable when it invokes some kind of a stereotype. Stereotype is a way of social categorization. Stereotyping involves attribution of certain features such as various character traits, interests and occupations to different types of people (Garret 2010: 32).

There are plenty of methodologies developed for studying linguistic stereotypes – interviews, surveys, also ethnography⁵⁷. Just to pinpoint the critique towards the ethnographic studies, which I referred to earlier, I need to state that it is not impossible to study stereotypes and perception of stereotypes ethnographically, it is merely rarely done. However, most probably the most widely applied method in studying linguistic stereotypes is the so-called matched-guise technique and its various modifications (Garrett 2010).

5.4. INVESTIGATION OF LINGUISTIC STEREOTYPES. THE VERBAL GUISE TECHNIQUE

The matched-guise technique⁵⁸ is an indirect method to investigate linguistic stereotypes, or in other words, the social values of linguistic variants or varieties. But how can we study linguistic attitudes indirectly, how is the matched-guise technique designed? The matched-guise technique is a speaker evaluation experiment. It is assumed that 'listener's attitude toward members of a particular group should generalize to the language they use' (Lambert et al. 1960: 44). In the matched-guise experiment, respondents (or judges / listeners as respondents usually are referred to in the research on language attitudes) listen to a number, usually five, audiotaped recordings of speakers. After they had listened to a recording, respondents are asked to evaluate the speaker – to fill in the attitude-rating scales, i.e. to evaluate how friendly, interesting, clever, etc. they thought the speaker was. What the respondents are not aware of is

⁵⁷ In addition to the main study, Penelope Eckert also conducted short-termed ethnographic studies in order to find out if the similar resources were employed in the construction of American high school categories Jocks and Burnouts in several other schools in the suburbs of Detroit (Eckert 2000).

⁵⁸ The matched-guise technique for the first time was applied by Wallace E. Lambert and his colleagues in the 60s. They studied linguistic attitudes to French Canadian and French English in Montreal, Canada (Lambert et al. 1960).

that one speaker appears twice hidden under two different ‘masks’ (hence the term the matched-guise) during the experiment session, i.e. there are only four actual speakers, not five, as the respondents are deceptively imposed to believe. The guises usually differ in just one feature, for instance, one is in standard variety, the other is in local variety (for an overview for such studies see Garret 2010) or one is purely national, the other contains a few words in English (Kristiansen 2006, Čekuolytė 2010a, 2010b). It is only the evaluations of that ‘guised’ speaker, or rather the differences of evaluations of different guises, that researchers investigate in their reports, the rest are just filler voices.

Although respondents are aware of that they are taking part in an attitude ranking study – they are after all asked to evaluate a speaker, however, the study is designed and carried out in such a way that respondents would not know the real objective of a study, i.e. that what researchers are really interested in is respondents’ attitudes to particular linguistic variants or varieties (cf. Garrett 2010: 41). Consequently, the matched-guise technique is called the indirect approach to studying language attitudes. An indirect approach implies that respondents are not informed about the actual objective of a study and that respondents are made to think that objective of a study is something else⁵⁹ (Kristiansen 2009).

Indirect methods were constructed to tackle the problems that might arise in application of the direct methods in the language research such as interviews and surveys. In the case of a direct method, respondents are openly asked questions about different languages and speakers who use them and this may result in social desirability bias, i.e. when respondents instead of giving their genuine attitudes, provide attitudes which they believe to be ‘socially appropriate’ (Garret, Coupland, Williams 2003: 8, Garrett 2010: 44). Respondents who hold negative attitudes to a particular group of people, for instance, the Black Americans, newly-arrived immigrants, can conceal such information from the researcher. In the case of an indirect method, i.e. when respondents are not aware of the real aim of the study, it is believed it is possible to arrive at the attitudes which should represent respondents’ privately held linguistic attitudes (Giles 1976: 294).

The possibility to elicit privately held attitudes and a possibility to compare one’s results to the results of other studies, conducted both nationally and internationally (Garret, Coupland and Williams 2003: 57, Garret 2010: 57) made the matched-guise

⁵⁹ In order to disguise the actual aim of a study, researchers sometimes even tell respondents a fictitious purpose of a study, for instance, which speaker is most suitable for a job as radio journalist when the real objective of the research was to investigate language attitudes to English in seven Nordic communities (Kristiansen 2006) or that researcher would like to test adolescents’ ability to evaluate people when the real objective was to study adolescents’ attitudes to English in adult speech (Čekuolytė 2010a). However, after the experiment, researchers normally ask respondents if they knew what it was the real object of the investigation. This is done to check if any of the respondents was aware of the real purpose of the experiment; in that case, it might influence his or her answers.

technique a leading method in language attitude research. However, as any other method, the matched-guise technique is not unproblematic and has its own limitations with regards to the accent-authenticity, the mimicking-authenticity, and the style-authenticity (Garret, Coupland and Williams 2003: 57 – 61, Garret 2010: 57–59). In order to keep other features (such as intonation, speech rate) constant, the same speaker presents both guises, so that evaluation of the speaker, i.e. a certain variety, would be solely based on the linguistic features. However, certain intonations and speech rate may co-vary with certain linguistic varieties. If these features are eliminated, the variety, presented in the guise, does not represent the one that could be heard in real life. In some cases, for instance, if the objective of the study is to analyse language attitudes to five or more varieties, it is hardly possible to find a speaker who would be able to provide authentic recordings of five or more different varieties. In the original design of the matched-guise experiment, speakers were asked to read a prepared written text. However, reading style is usually more formal and less spontaneous than conversation. Therefore, it could be assumed that the same variety provided in a more formal and in a more casual style, would be evaluated differently (based on Garret, Coupland and Williams 2003: 57 – 61, Garret 2010: 57–59).

In order to tackle the before-mentioned limitations, the matched-guise technique has changed a lot since its first application in Montreal. Nowadays researchers tend to use spontaneous speech rather than the prepared texts in their guises in order to present authentic linguistic styles which their respondents (listeners) hear every day. As the objectives of the linguistic attitude inquiry became more complex and detailed, researchers use different speakers for different guises. As pointed above, it would be a difficult task (even if possible at all) to find a speaker who could provide authentic recording of five or more different varieties. Therefore in the current language attitude research the method is usually called verbal guise (technique) and is applied to study attitudes not only to different languages, but also to different dialects and sociolects (for an overview of such studies see Garrett 2010), to different linguistic variants (Pharao et al. (2014) studied perception of [s+] in Copenhagen youth speech, Campbell-Kibler (2008) studied the complexity of perception of /ing/ vs /in/ in American speech) and even to linguistic landscapes (Čekuolytė 2008, see also Garret 2010). Furthermore, the advances in technology made it easier to alter and manipulate variants for the guises. Thus, researchers do not necessarily have to ask speakers to provide different versions of the same utterance, which also can be impossible to attain if researchers are working with spontaneous speech (Campbell-Kibler 2008: 641). Plichta & Preston (2005), Campbell-Kibler (2008) and Pharao et al. (2014) are a few examples of studies where guises for a speaker evaluation test were altered technologically.

In the following, I provide the version of the verbal guise, used in this study: choice of speakers, respondents, questionnaire design, and performance of the experiment.

5.5. ETHNOGRAPHY AND VERBAL GUISE COMBINED

At the beginning of the chapter, I stated that linguistic resources are also involved in the production of adolescent styles. Active pro-school girls tend to monophthongize the diphthong /ie/ (/ie/ ----> /e/). Some of their /n/'s are distinctly guttural. Active pro-school girls and cool girls are inclined to burr their /r/'s. Cool girls tend to use a lot of discourse markers. I have also looked into the linguistic construction of cool boys style. Cool boys make use of the same linguistic resources as active pro-school and cool girls. Lengthening of short /i/ and /u/ is characteristic of streetwise style. But will this stylistic practice be recognized in other communities of practice? How local is the social meaning of these linguistic resources?

With an inspiration in Maegaard's study (2007, 2010) I decided to perform a verbal guise experiment in the nearby dormitory neighborhoods in order to investigate the global meaning potentials of ethnographically-derived local meanings. Maegaard herself conducted her experiment in the same school where she carried out her ethnographic fieldwork (the verbal guise took place two years after the completion of the fieldwork in school) and in another school which was located in a very different Copenhagen neighborhood. Her aim was to test if the social meanings of certain linguistic variables have a global recognition: Will they be identified equally in economically richer and poorer neighborhoods of Copenhagen? Instead of carrying out the experiment in different parts of Vilnius, I, however, decided to focus on the dormitory neighborhoods. The verbal guise experiment was performed in the dormitory neighborhoods which are very similar to the neighborhood where the ethnographic research was carried out. My assumption was that as the sociodemographic characteristics of these neighborhoods are similar, thus, there should be the same (or very similar) adolescents' social categories and styles, which entails that the construction of them should involve similar resources. Thus, the results of my study reveal not the global meaning of the linguistic variation, i.e. the meaning, which should be characteristic to all Vilnius adolescents' stylistic practice, but the extended local meaning, i.e. the meaning which should be characteristic to stylistic practice among adolescents in the dormitory neighborhoods of Vilnius.

5.6. DESIGN OF THE VERBAL GUISE IN MY STUDY

5.6.1. Stimuli (guises)

Performers of the highly visible styles were chosen for the verbal guise experiment: active pro-school girls (4 performers), cool girls (2), cool boys (2), streetwise girls (2), and streetwise boys (4). Stimuli were prepared from the individual interviews with the pupils. In order to make the content of the stimuli more or less similar, parts of the

interviews, where pupils were talking about their friends and time off school, were used for the stimuli. However, it was sometimes hard to find a place in the interview where pupils do not mention information which could easily give away their style. Therefore, I had to take different pieces from different parts of the interview and assemble them as if they were a natural spontaneous talk. Unfortunately, a few times ‘cut-and-paste’ resulted in a tiny pause, luckily, most of them occurred in such point of the talk where they would have occurred naturally. Such pauses are marked grey in the transcriptions of the stimuli (.). Stimuli vary from 8 to 22 seconds.

In the table 5.1. all stimuli are presented in the order they were played in the experiment. The style is noted in brackets. “**I**” and “**U**” marks lengthening of respectively short front vowel /i/ and short back vowel /u/ in stressed syllables. Monophthongization of the diphthong /ie/ (/ie/ ----> /e/) is marked as “**IE**”. “**N**” and “**R**” marks respectively guttural /n/ and burred /r/. Discourse markers are in **bold**.

Table 5.1. Stimuli

No	Name (style)	Stimulus	Translation
1	Pijus (cool boy)	kartais susitinku ten su kitais klasiokais bet va jie trejetas mano pagrindinis yra (.) ką veikiam? susiti N kam (.) ten pagalvojam nu nueinam pas vieną pas kitą ten tennn dažnai va važinėjam į kokius akropolisius ten	sometimes I meet like with other classmates but yea they this three is my core one (.) what do we do? we meet up (.) like we think well we go to one friend to another like liiike often so we go to akropolises like
2	Daiva (streetwise girl)	dažniausiai tai būna kaip susit I nkam ir tada jau galvojam ką daryt ar einam kur nors pasivaikščioti ar tIEsiog vienoj vietoj (.) ar einam kur nors užsiiminėti taip (.) tai būna taip kad susit I nkam ir tada viskas labai spontaniškai	normally it is like how we meet up and then we think what to do or we go somewhere for a walk or we simply in one place (.) or we go somewhere to occupy ourselves like (.) it happens that we meet up and then everything happens very spontaneously
3	Daina (cool girl)	nežinau labai gerai vienas kitą pažinom ten buvom geriausi vos ne draugai (.) šiaip labai gerai ta prasme visada sutariam (.) ten šiaip nežinau nu į kavinę einam po parduotuves vaikštom jau į koki prekybos centrą nuvažiuojam nu ten nežinau (.) filmus žiūrim	I don't know we knew each other very well like we were almost best friends (masculine) (.) anyhow we in a way always get together very well (.) like anyhow I don't know nuh we go to a cafe we go shopping we go to some shopping center nuh like I don't know (.) we watch films

No	Name (style)	Stimulus	Translation
4	Rokas (streetwise boy)	tai per pažįstamus ten susipa- žInom (.) birželio septIntą (.) mes geri draugai mes ta pras- me taip daug bendraujam labai [(.)] ten taip būna susitInkam ten kokį (.) savaitgalį	so we got acquainted like through friends (.) on the seventh of June (.) we are good friends we in a way communicate so a lot (.) like it happens we meet up like some (.) weekend
5	Rūta (active girl)	mes nuo galima sakyti nuo nuo smėlio dėžės kartu (.) e tokia šalia manęs netgi kaimyNė (.) ne iš mano mokyklos (.) tai su ja vat kai grįžtu (.) namo susi- tinkam arba jinai kartais pas mane užėina nes jinai metais jaunesnė yra↑ (.) ir dažnai la- bai susitinkam beveik kiekvie- ną dieną pasiliecam po pamo- kų↑ (.) tiEsiog va pabūnam pasėdim	we you can say since since sand- box times are together (.) e she's such even my neighbor she lives nearby (.) not from my school (.) so yea when I come back (.) home I meet with her or she sometimes comes by me because she's one year younger↑ (.) and we very often meet up almost every day we spend time after school ↑ (.) simply yea we hang out together
6	Egidijus (streetwise boy)	aš kart U tiesiog su jais būnu gerai s Utariu (.) ne kaip kit I ten dar kažką būnam susitIn- kam (.) sssėdim taip būnam tiesiog lauke valandą su p Use tai (.) tr Is su p Use valandos (.) man patInka	I am simply together with them I get along well with them (.) not like the others or something we hang out together we meet up (.) we sssit so we stay outside for one hour and a half so (.) three and a half hour (.) I like that
7	Renata (cool girl)	gal mes tu Rim ta pRasme daugiausia bend Rų p tų pomė- gių (.) ir šiaip taRkim mes buvom da Ržely vienoj grupėj ir mes jau iš anksčiau pažįsta- mos (.) bet kažkaip nebend Ra - vom nebend Ravom (.) paskui čianai mokykloj kokioj septin- tojų klasės p Radžioj ar šeštos pabaigoj [(ikvėpia)] vėl tenai pabend Ravom ir taRkim sa- vaitgaliais ten (.) nakvojam vienas pas kitas	maybe we have in a way the most alike those h hobbies (.) and so let's say we were in the same group in the kindergarten and we knew each other from before (.) but somehow we didn't talk didn't talk (.) later here in school something like at the be- ginning of the seventh grade or the end of the sixth grade [(breathes in)] we like talked again and let's say in the week- ends like (.) we sleep at each other

No	Name (style)	Stimulus	Translation
8	Urtė (active girl)	klasiokės pažįstu nuo pi R mos klasės tai kaip i R aštuoni metai tai čia y R a (.) gana ilgas laiko ta R pas i R t iEsiog tu sssusipažįsti šu su žmonėm (.) taip žinai kad tau jeigu reikės tave visada palaikys (.) ir tai yra tik Ri d R augai ir t iEsiog aš nenoriu tikrai nenoriu daryti kitaip (.) ir (.) t iEsiog aš su tokiais bendrauju	I know the classmates since the first grade so it is like eight years so this is (.) a rather long period of time and you simply get familiar with the people (.) yes you know that if you need they gonna support you (.) and so this real friends (masculine) and I simply don't I really don't want to do otherwise (.) and (.) I simply communicate with such (friends)
9	Arnas (streetwise boy)	su jais geriausiai susibendravau (.) nuo penktos klasės (.) manim pas I tiki ir aš jais pas I tikiu linksmiau man su jais nu nieko sėdim kalbam (.) nu kaip ir v I skas čia	I got along the best with them (.) since the fifth grade (.) they trust me and I trust them it's more fun for me with them nuh nothing we hang out we talk (.) nuh like that is it
10	Kamilė (active girl)	nuo pat mažumės visi d R augai tai dar vis d R augaujam tos darželio laikų (.) tada mokykliniai d R augai kiemo d R augai (.) mes su jais susiti N kam nes kažkaip mes tu R im dažnai visą laiką apie ką pakalbėti mum visiems yra linksma nes mūsų cha R akteriai visų y R a beveik vienodi	(I have) all friends (masculine) since infancy and we are still friends since the kindergarten times (.) then school friends courtyard friends (.) we meet up with them because somehow we have often always something to talk about we all have fun together because characters of all of us are almost the same
11	Albertas (streetwise boy)	susipaž I nom kieme (.) nu susit I kom vis I ten (.) šiaip vaikščiojom kieme nuėjom pas kit U s draug U s ten (.) pakalbėjom pab U vom (.) nu ir taip buvom iki vakaro maždaug (.) nieko ypatingo neveikėm	we got to know each other on the courtyard (.) well we met up all there (.) you know we walked in the courtyard we went to other friends like (.) we talked we hang out (.) and well yea we hung out until like evening (.) we didn't do anything in particular
12	Tadas (cool boy)	laisvalaikiu būnu su draugaiss varau į prekybos centrą (.) stengiuosi (.) pabūt linksmi (.) geriausi draugai (.) su jais aš neturiu varžytis pavydžiui aš su jais laisvai laisvai galiu kalbėti (.) t iEsiog yra geriausi draugai kurie niekada neišduos patars visada	in my leisure time I hang out with friendsss I go to a shopping center (.) I try (.) to spend time merrily (.) best friends (.) with them I don't have to feel cheap for example I can easily easily talk with them (.) Simply best friends are those who will never betray always will give advice

No	Name (style)	Stimulus	Translation
13	Eglė (active girl)	nu mes nuo pi R mos klasės kai bend R aujam (.) e bet labiau susibend R avom maždaug nuo t R ečios ketvi R tos (.) i R RRR mes abi dažnai būnam ka R tu nu mum t I Esiog pan panašūs panašūs pomėgiaiii (.) i R da- ba R labai ge R ai suta R iam ir t I Esiog	well since the first grade we are friends (.) e but we became bet- ter friend since about the third fourth grade (.) aaand we both hang out often together well we simply sim similar hobbieees (.) and now we get along very well and simply
14	Samanta (streetwise girl)	mes su draugais m U zikos daž- nai klausom ir dar žaid I mus žaidžiam (.) draugų būry (.) v I skas labai l I nsma buvo (.) draugai man padėdavo ir nie- kad nepal I kdavo bėdoje	we often listen to the music with friends and we also play games (.) in the group of the friends (.) everything was so fun (.) friends used to help and always stuck by me

5.6.2. Questionnaire

In the matched-guise experiment, respondents are usually asked to fill in the attitude-rating scales – semantic differential scales, i.e. how friendly, educated, energetic, they found the speaker to be. The speech evaluation instrument, based on Zahn and Hopper's studies (Zahn & Hopper 1985) is comprised of three dimensions: superiority (traits such as *educated* / *uneducated*), attractiveness (traits such as *friendly* / *unfriendly*) and dynamism (traits such as *confident* / *hesitant*). Even though semantic differential scales are very easy to handle statistically, they put constraints on respondents' evaluations: Respondents are forced to use the prepared scales. It raises a few methodological questions: (1) Would respondents use the same adjectives if they were asked to evaluate speakers freely, (2) How important are the dimensions presented on the scales for the respondents, for instance, the speaker might be evaluated very positively on a superiority dimension, but this dimension might be irrelevant for a respondent. To avoid these limitations, the main question of the questionnaire was an open-ended one: *Briefly describe the speaker*. However, the main question was supplemented by three closed ranking questions: *Do you think that this adolescent is popular / unpopular*; *Do you think that this adolescent has addiction*; and *Do you think that this adolescent plays in a school sport team / performs in school plays?* (see the appendices 4 and 5 for respectively the Lithuanian and the English version of the questionnaire). The main purpose for the inclusion of these closed questions was to help respondents to understand the task better, i.e. that they were asked to place the speakers in the adolescents' or school's social order (see also 5.6.4. Procedure).

The closed question about popularity was included to investigate if the resources, employed in the construction of power, will be recognized in other adolescent communities of practice. The question about inclination to smoking and drinking should have helped to explore if the resources, involved in the construction of streetwiseness in the Owl School, will have the same social meaning in other schools. The last closed question should have measured all the presented styles on the 'involvement in the school culture' scale. Instead of asking more straightforwardly 'how is this adolescent doing in school' I placed a subtler question about participation in the extracurricular activities – sport teams (in the questions about the boys) and school plays (in the questions about the girls). On the one hand, participation in extracurricular activities could be linked with a strong involvement in school culture, an adolescent is willing to devote more time to school-related activities. On the other hand, extracurricular activities give pupils opportunity and facilities to pursue their interests, for instance, sport. With regard to sport I was interested to see if adolescents who perform street-wise style and, hence, are typically physically strong, will be perceived as players in the school sport team or will they be perceived as adolescents who reject the school culture altogether, which is the case in the Owl School.

5.6.3. Respondents

Respondents of the verbal guise experiment were eighth grade pupils in the same dormitory neighborhood where the ethnographic fieldwork was conducted and in two other dormitory neighborhoods which share similar characteristics with that neighborhood. However, I performed the experiment not in the same school where the ethnographic fieldwork was carried out. The experiment was conducted a few months after the completion of the fieldwork and I was running a risk that current eighth graders, who were seventh graders by the time I did research in school, might recognize a few of the pupils' voices which would result in bias, so I had use the other school in that neighborhood.

5.6.4. Performance of the experiment

The pupils were told that they were going to listen to 14 adolescents, the same age as them, whom they had to describe. The pupils were also asked if possible to indicate the *type* of the adolescent, what kind of image of him or her they create in their minds. I deliberately avoided the term *category* or *style* because it might sound too scientific to adolescents. I have also made it clear that they should not provide the retelling of the story. So as much as possible the emphasis was put on the depiction of the speaker.

At first, adolescents listened to all 14 recordings at once, so they could get the impression of speakers and the task itself. During the second listening I paused after each recording. During the pause, the respondents were asked to fill in the question allocated to that speaker.

5.7. RESULTS OF THE VERBAL GUISE EXPERIMENT

In total, 274 pupils participated in the experiment. 3 pupils did not fill in questionnaires properly. I have noticed that they had started filling in the questionnaires before I played a recording to a class. Thus, the analysis, is based on 271 questionnaires.

It turned out that to carry out the research where adolescents are asked to evaluate their peers can be a quite tricky enterprise. Quite a few respondents provided negative and even derogatory evaluations of the speakers. Researcher group (Garret, Coupland, Williams 2003, 2004) who conducted a similar verbal guise experiment in Wales, was also confronted with negativity in adolescents' responses. Adolescence is a period when individuals are 'exploring a range of available identities, this may require an equivalent range of differentiating evaluative descriptors. And positioning themselves in this relation to this range of identities is likely to mean rejecting more than they find acceptable, and so lead to more negative than favorable reactions' (Garret, Coupland, Williams 2003: 180, Garret, Coupland, Williams 2004: 203). From the analysis of the open-ended data were excluded the completed questionnaires where at least 12 of 14 speakers were evaluated extremely negatively or where the same trait has been applied to the majority of speakers, for instance, some respondent described speakers from number 1 to number 8 as *noob*⁶⁰ (this description was given in English), the rest of the questions were left blank, thus, this respondent's answer was not included in the analysis of the open-data.

Firstly, I present the analysis of the open-ended data, or keyword comments (Garret, Coupland, Williams 2003), because it helps to understand the responses of the closed questions better.

5.7.1. Keyword comments of the verbal guise experiment

The answers to open-ended questions are very rich and diverse. In principle, respondents could write whatever they felt like writing. In the analysis phase, the researcher has to bring structure to that diversity, i.e. to code the data without losing its richness. In my analysis, each response was divided into different parts based on the semantic content. Below I present a few examples of the coding.

⁶⁰ According to the Urban Dictionary, *noob* denotes an experienced and unskilled person. The category derives from the computer slang.

Tai žalingų įpročių turintis paauglys – keistuolis (This is an adolescent who has addiction – weirdo). *an adolescent who has addiction* – coded under the label ‘addiction’; *weirdo* – coded under the label ‘weird’.

Draugiška, maloni, turi tik kelis ištikimus draugus. (Friendly, nice, has only a few loyal friends). *Friendly* – coded as ‘friendly’; *nice* – coded as ‘nice’, *has only a few loyal friends* – coded as the retelling of the content of the stimulus.

pasikėlus, atstumianti “ne savo lygio” bendraamžius. (she’s arrogant, who rejects the peers who are not “on her level”). The whole description was coded under the label ‘arrogant’.

rajoniskas (slang term to depict streetwise boys and men of the dormitory neighborhoods) was coded under the label ‘street culture’.

Only those labels (personality traits and categories) which have been mentioned at least by 10 respondents, were included in the analysis. However, if a certain label has been mainly applied to a certain speaker, I included it in the analysis, even though it was mentioned in fewer than 10 responses. Table 5.2 presents results of the keyword comments.

Table 5.2. Keyword comments about the individual speakers

Speaker (style)	Keyword comment (frequency)
Kamilė (active)	Friendly (41), social, likes to socialize (33), fun, cheerful (17), has many friends (14), ordinary (13), boring, not interesting (12), nice, good (12), weird (10), kid, childish (8)
Urtė (active)	Friendly (34), social, likes to socialize (21), shy, modest, quiet (19), good, nice (18), ordinary (16), loyal, supporting, trustworthy (13), boring, not interesting (11), “nerd” (10), clever (9)
Rūta (active)	Friendly (40), nice, sincere, loyal (20), ordinary (17), social, likes to socialize (17), shy, modest (16), reserved (11), good girl (kid) (11), “scholar” (10)
Eglė (active)	Friendly (31), ordinary (22), social, likes to socialize (15), shy, modest, quiet (14), boring, not interesting (13), good, nice girl (10), “nerd” (9)
Tadas (cool)	Fun, cheerful (31), friendly (28), social, likes to socialize (17), ordinary (14), popular (14), “nolifer” (13), nice, sincere (13), addiction (9)
Pijus (cool)	Ordinary (53), shy, modest, quiet (28), social, likes to socialize (19), friendly (14)
Daina (cool)	Friendly (25), social, likes to socialize (25), fun, cheerful (24), chatty, talkative (20), ordinary (16), active, energetic (14), popular (13), arrogant (13)
Renata (cool)	Friendly (30), social, likes to socialize (29), ordinary (23), shy, silent, quiet (14), arrogant, unfriendly (13), boring, uninteresting (12), fun, cheerful (12), popular (11)

Daiva (streetwise)	Friendly (32), ordinary (31), social, likes to socialize (27), good nice girl (15), modest, shy, quiet (13), has many friends (10), “nerd” (9)
Samanta (streetwise)	Friendly (19), boring, uninteresting (16), ordinary (14), shy, silent, quiet (13), weird (12), addiction (8), accent (1)
Arnas (streetwise)	Addiction (23), friendly (20), fun, cheerful (20), street culture (13), accent (3)
Rokas (streetwise)	Shy, modest, quiet (32), addiction (24), street culture (22), boring, uninteresting (18), reserved (16), social, likes to socialize (14), ordinary (11), incorrect Lithuanian (1)
Egidijus (streetwise)	Addiction (18), boring, uninteresting (16), quiet, silent, shy (15), weird (14), street culture (13), ordinary (12), accent (9)
Albertas (streetwise)	Addiction (28), boring, uninteresting (25), street culture (16), negative comments (13), shy, modest, quiet (13), ordinary (12), accent (3)

Strikingly, all styles were recognized with a quite great accuracy which entails that the resources which are involved in construction of these styles have the extended local meaning. Instead of going into a detail analysis of the perception of each speaker, I would rather put emphasis on the difference of the perception of different groups.

The pro-school active style was partly recognized in other schools. The practitioners of this style – Rūta, Urtė, Eglė, and Kamilė were described as performers of the good girls style. Kamilė was also depicted as childish, which could be caused by her rather child-like voice. Rūta, Urtė, and Eglė were also associated with the nerd category. Hence, the girls were recognized as the ones who devote a lot of their time to studies and who are particularly involved in the school culture. All of this can be applied to these girls – they were all bright pupils, who were very involved in the school culture. However, the girls were not recognized as popular girls, which is an essential aspect of their style. The results of the experiment point to that the pro-school active popular girls style might be peculiar to the Owl School and that different resources are employed in the construction of power in other schools.

Daina's and Renata's style was recognized very accurately. They were the only girls who got described as 'popular' and 'arrogant'. Of all the girls, they were placed the highest in the social order. Hence, these same resources must be employed to construct power in other school. Besides, it seems that in order to be popular one has to be arrogant: *pasikėlus, atstumianti “ne savo lygio” bendraamžius (she's arrogant, who rejects the peers who are not “on her level”)*. Interestingly enough, Daina's and Renata's classmates also tended to depict these two girls as arrogant.

Of all the girls, Samanta received the most responses of the 'addiction' type which might indicate that she was perceived as a streetwise persona. Compared to the perception of the streetwise boys, Samanta's link to the street culture is not very strong

but this could be caused by a general societal bias that street culture is dominated by men. One respondent also paid attention to Samanta's speech. She noted that the speaker lengthened the /i/ in the word *linksma* (*fun*) and the speaker could be Polish: *lynksma*⁶¹ *viskas buvo. lenkų nereikia.* (*everything was funny. we do not need Poles*).

Pijus and Tadas, who construct the cool boy style in their school, were evaluated quite differently. This is not surprising because their stimuli were also different: Pijus made great use of various discourse markers which were absent in Tadas' stimulus. Tadas' stimulus contained an instance of monophthongization of the diphthong /ie/ in the discourse marker 'tIEsiog' (*simply*) which is particularly characteristic to the active school girls. Pijus was described as an ordinary guy who likes to socialize. No specific category was associated with Pijus' linguistic practice. Tadas attracted quite a few responses of the 'nolifer' type. *Nolifer* is an adolescent who spends most of his or her free time playing computer games. However, Tadas, does not construct a *nolifer* style. Of course, he plays computer games as any other adolescent nowadays but he is not labelled as such by his friends. *Nolifer* style and cool style are somewhat different styles: Playing computer games all day long would not be treated as cool even by nowadays adolescents. However, Tadas was ranked as the most popular speaker on the popularity scale. It seems that Tadas was perceived as constructing the cool version of the *nolifer* style. What is also very important in the perception of Tadas' style is that he was perceived as creator of the modern style – *nolifer*. This style emerged relatively recently whereas the streetwise style which is being constructed by the other boys of the study, is a well-established adolescent style.

All streetwise boys – Rokas, Arnas, Egidijus, and Albertas – were perceived as creators of the streetwise style with a great accuracy which means that lengthening of short /i/ and /u/ is associated with street culture in the dormitory neighborhoods of Vilnius. Labels of the 'addiction' type were the most frequent in the pupils' answers about these boys. These boys also received the most concrete descriptions of all the speakers, which is not surprising. Being a well-established social category, streetwise-ness has quite a few globally recognizable and acknowledged features (cf. the mention of *paloskės* in 5.3). Respondents tended to mention in their answers the concrete social category, such as *forsas*, *marozas*, *rajoniskas* (slang terms for streetwise boys and men of the dormitory neighborhoods), *chuliganas* (*hooligan*), or one of the most iconic features of this social category – their look: *Nešioja Adidas, matosi iš balso* (*He wears Adidas. I can see it from his voice*), *Bernelis su 3 paloskėmis* (*A youngster with three stripes*), *treninginis* (slang term for boys and men who usually wear sport clothes). A few respondents of the verbal guise study also paid attention to the streetwise adolescents' speech. I will get back to that in the final section of the chapter.

The only speaker whose style was not recognized was Daiva. She was perceived as performing a completely different style than she actually does. Daiva is a streetwise

⁶¹ /y/ indicates the lengthening of /i/ in *linksma*.

girl, she smokes, drinks alcohol, and cuts classes. However, in keyword responses she appeared to be a nice active girl, the one who is doing very well academically in school – ‘a scholar’. The incongruity of the persona, which Daiva performs through her daily practices, and perception of that persona could be caused by the linguistic variation, presented in the stimulus. She lengthened the least (twice) of all the streetwise adolescents. Besides, her stimulus also contained the monophthongization of the diphthong /ie/ in the discourse marker ‘tIEsiog’ (*simply*) which is characteristic to the active girls’ style. The evaluation of Daiva’s stimulus reveals that in order to be perceived as constructing a specific style one has to continuously make use of the resources, associated with that style.

5.8.2. Semantic differential scales

Respondents were also asked to evaluate speakers’ popularity, tendency to addiction, and engagement in school activities. Statistical differences between individual speakers are either very small or insignificant, therefore in this section of the chapter, I will discuss speakers in groups according to their style rather than individually (see Table 5.3).

Table 5.3. Ranking of adolescents’ styles across the differential scales⁶²

Popular – unpopular	Cool boys	>	Cool girls	>	Streetwise girls	>	Active girls	>	Streetwise boys	n=269
	2,25	/	2,53	***	3,07	***	3,56	/	3,59	
Addiction – no addiction	Streetwise boys	>	Cool boys	>	Streetwise girls	>	Cool girls	>	Active girls	n=271
	1,7	***	2,53	***	3,33	/	3,49	***	3,95	
Active – passive	Active girls	>	Cool girls	>	Cool boys	>	Streetwise girls	>	Streetwise boys	n=269
	2,49	/	2,79	/	2,83	*	3,26	/	3,63	

Cool boys and cool girls were evaluated as popular. The difference between these two groups is statistically insignificant. Active girls were judged as unpopular, even

⁶² Significance test: Friedman. The lower number indicated the greatest engagement in practice – popularity, addiction, school activities. Differences between groups tested with Dunn-Bonferroni pairwise comparisons test: *** = $p < 0,001$, ** = $p < 0,01$, * = $p < 0,05$, / = statistically no significant. n = number of respondents.

though in their school they are actually very popular. However, it is not surprising that the active girls were perceived as unpopular. The keyword responses revealed that their stylistic practice is tied to school. Loyalty to school appears to be a negative factor in the attitudinal experiment which is a rather predictable result. Stereotypically, pupils with great engagement in school activities i.e. nerds, cannot be popular. It is also not surprising that the streetwise boys were deemed to be unpopular. Although they are very visible on the social landscape of the school, their popularity is of specific 'negative' character (see 4.3.2)

There is no surprise that the streetwise boys were categorized as the most addicted to smoking and drinking among all the speakers. The next style which is prone to smoking and drinking, according to the survey results, is cool boys, not streetwise girls, what would be expected. There are two possible explanations for such perception. Firstly, Daiva was not perceived as a streetwise girl. Secondly, it could be possible that respondents were influenced by a stereotype that smoking and drinking is a masculine practice.

Rankings of adolescents' styles across the differential scale of engagement in school divide speakers into two groups: pupils who hold pro-school attitudes or, at least, quite minor anti-establishment attitudes (active girls, cool girls, and cool boys) and pupils who hold very strong anti-establishment attitudes and whose engagement in school is very passive – streetwise adolescents. This division reflects the social order of the school where the ethnographic research took place.

5.8. FINAL REMARKS AND PERSPECTIVES FOR FUTURE STUDIES

Most of the adolescents' linguistic styles which they construct in employing different linguistic resources, were recognized by the adolescents in the verbal guise experiment. This implies that the social meaning of the linguistic variation, revealed through the sustained ethnographic research, is not locally bound. The social meaning is also recognized in other Vilnius dormitory neighborhoods, which in turn might suggest that the meaning of the active pro-school (with the aspect of popularity), the cool, and the streetwise is being created using the same linguistic resources throughout the dormitory neighborhoods of Vilnius. The study also revealed that in order to be perceived as constructing a specific style, the speaker has continuously to employ a necessary linguistic variation in the stylistic work.

However, the most interesting result of the verbal guise experiment was most probably Vilnius adolescents' perception of the lengthening of the short vowels /i/ and /u/ in stressed syllables. Adolescents in the verbal guise experiment linked lengthening of the short vowels to the ideological scheme of 'street culture'. What is remarkable is that only stimuli of the streetwise adolescents attracted metalinguistic comments which might imply that lengthening is a salient feature among Vilnius adolescents. Respon-

dents, who paid attention to speech, would write down the words where the lengthening occurred, for instance, *lynksma* (*fun*), *susytikom* (*we met*), and would note that the speaker speaks with an accent (*su akentu*) or is Russian / Polish⁶³. However, a few respondents provided more elaborative answers: *Turi tokį akcentuką forsų* (*He has such a little accent of forsai*) and *Ne lietuvis, su akentu arba specialiai padaro tokį balsa* (*Non-Lithuanian, with an accent or (he) deliberately makes such a voice*). These explicit comments about the speech point to the complexity of the social meaning of lengthening among Vilnius adolescents: Lengthening is associated with two social categories: Lithuanian Russians and street culture⁶⁴. But are these categories interrelated?

To exemplify this complexity let's return to Egidijus, stimulus no. 6, whose speech attracted the most comments. One of colleagues, who only listened to the prepared stimuli, judged Egidijus as Lithuanian Russian because of his lengthening and his pronunciation of the word 'sėdim' (*we sit*). Egidijus is not Russian, he is Lithuanian and his competence in Russian is very limited. However, Egidijus, as well as Arnas and Albertas, spends a lot of his leisure time together with the core streetwise youth of the neighborhood who happen to be Lithuanian Russians (this information was gathered through the individual interviews and self-recordings). It should also be noted that Russian resources, especially Russian swearwords, are involved in the construction of the street style (see chapter 6). But could it be that in order to claim his membership to the streetwise community of the neighborhood Egidijus imitates the Russian accent? Is *forsai* accent actually based on the Russian accent? At this point, these are only hypothetical questions which call for the analysis of the development of the street culture in Vilnius and the in-depth ethnographic study of the street culture, its language and distribution of its resources, i.e. we need to return to the local meaning making of the resources.

⁶³ Samanta was the only speaker described as Polish. Of all the speakers, only Albertas is Lithuanian Russian, his father is Russian and there can be heard a slight accent in his speech.

⁶⁴ Lengthening is in general characteristic to Lithuanian Russians (see Čičirkaitė 2014).

6. SWEARING PRACTICES AND ATTITUDES TO SWEARING AMONG VILNIUS ADOLESCENTS⁶⁵

During the course of the fieldwork, I constantly overheard the pupils swearing. I was not the only one who paid attention to the use of swearwords. The pupils did as well. Occasionally, they would make remarks about use of the swearwords, for instance, they would jokingly discipline their classmate who swore. But there were cases when the adolescents wondered why certain pupils were not punished for swearing. Once I was standing by the classroom door together with Edgaras, Laurynas, and Arnas. A group of girls passed us by and one girl uttered a Russian swearword. Edgaras, who, as his class teacher reported to me, cussed teachers a few times during a lesson, immediately jumped out of his place and brought their language use to my notice: “Look, they are also swearing.” However, during the course of the fieldwork, I also paid attention to adolescents whom I never heard swearing. I did not undertake any systematic fieldnotes with regard to which pupils was swearing how many times. But these small observations urged me to delve into the topic of swearing among Vilnius adolescents, especially when this field is very under-researched.

6.1. INTRODUCTION

Swearing is bad language. This is one of the first social lessons about language that parents (and teachers) give to small children. It is fascinating that small children, as they grow up, simultaneously are undergoing two contradictory processes: They learn both how to swear and that swearing is bad. However, one must admit that acquisition of these two processes is essential in any modern Western society. But why is swearing bad language, why is it regarded as offensive and obscene? There are two main overlapping reasons for such attitude to swearing.

Firstly, swearing is a violation of taboos, prevailing in a society (Hughes 1993 [1991]: 5, Ljung 2011: 5). In other words, swearing utterances contain certain taboo words, which one is not supposed to utter in public. These words refer to taboo themes such as (including but not restricted to)⁶⁶: the scatological theme (*ass*, *crap*); the sexual intercourse theme (*fuck you*, *bugger*); sex organ theme (*cunt*, *suck my dick*); prostitution theme (*whore*); the mental illness and disabilities theme, including the stupidity theme

⁶⁵ Sections 6.1., 6.2., 6.3., 6.4., 6.8, 6.9., and 6.11. draw heavily on my article, published in the electronic journal *Taikomoji kalbotyra* (Čekuolytė 2014b).

⁶⁶ Classification of taboo themes is based on Ljung (Ljung 2011: 35–44). Since Ljung’s classification was adopted to suit the object of this study, I only list the relevant themes, besides, I have added an extra theme which is not mentioned in Ljung’s classification – the mental illness and disabilities theme.

(*twonk, retard*). In Lithuania, the violation of taboo is not only related to the aforementioned themes, but also to the linguistic choice. It is generally regarded that swearing in Russian is worse than swearing in Lithuanian, which makes Russian swearwords the worst language (this was also briefly mentioned in Tamaševičius 2014: 85). As swearing violates certain taboos, one might expect that swearing, especially in public, can put a strain on a swearer. Swearing in the Middle Ages, i.e. blasphemous language, as it is proposed in historical documents, was punishable by death (Ljung 2011: 59). The name of God, Holy Spirit, Jesus, also his death, his body parts, the cross, the crucifixion etc. were considered strictly sacred and incorrect use of the sacred notions was interpreted as heresy. In the United Kingdom, the offence was punishable by burning at the stake up to 1677 (Hughes 1993 [1991]: 247). In modern and late modern times, the swearers are fortunately not sentenced to death; however, minor punishments and campaigns against swearing are still in practice. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Russia saw a couple of campaigns, initiated to discourage usage of vulgar vocabulary and to improve the Russian language (Smith 1998). As of the 1st of July 2014, it is forbidden to use swearing utterances in Russian arts – film, theatre, music, and books (The CNN online article⁶⁷). Swearing at the public workplace can cost an employee the job position. Around a decade ago, a famous Lithuanian news presenter was fired after she accidentally⁶⁸ had uttered the Russian swearword during the live broadcast. Swearing in school can result in report to the principal's office or a teacher's call to one's parents.

Secondly, swearing is traditionally associated with people from the lower social classes (Andersson & Trudgill 1990: 7, Ljung 2011: 7). This view is also expressed in utterances such as *swear like a trooper / sailor, keikies kaip vėžikas (swear like a coachman)*. If the first reason for calling swearing a bad language holds true – swearing really involves taboo words, the second reason is anything but true. Swearing practices are by no means restricted to the lower social classes. The historical study of swearing shows that at least in the English society the swearing practices dominated in the lower and upper classes while the middle class – the bourgeoisie – distanced from them altogether (Hughes 1993 [1991]: 251, Hughes 2006: 80). In fact, “several medieval writers comment on swearing as being a feature of upper-class speech” (Hughes 1993 [1991]: 251). Besides, Queen Elizabeth I as well as American presidents Richard Nixon, Harry Truman⁶⁹, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson were known

⁶⁷ The link to the online article: <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/05/06/world/europe/russia-swearing-law/> (last accessed on the 23rd of December, 2016).

⁶⁸ She thought the microphone was already turned off when she uttered a phrase which contained the Russian swearword.

⁶⁹ One of the most quoted Truman's swearing practices is his explanation for firing the general Douglas MacArthur: “I fired [General Douglas] MacArthur because he wouldn't respect the authority of the President. I didn't fire him because he was dumb son of a bitch, although he was” (Flexner 1976:233, quoted in Hughes 1993 [1991]: 33–34, Hughes 2006: 83). (Flexner, Stuart Berg, 1976. *I Hear America Talking*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.)

as great swearers. During the eighth months of fieldwork in school, I witnessed quite a few times the brightest minds of the cohort swearing (see also 6.10.4). Of course, streetwise pupils swore as well, there is no need to worry about that.

However, there must be something fascinating and irreplaceable about swearing that people still do it despite its negative evaluation (imagine that people also swore in the times when this practice could bring down a death sentence!). People usually swear because of anger, frustration, pain, surprise. People also swear to gain power and to scare others. And as surprisingly as it may seem, people swear to be liked, to be popular. Hughes (Hughes 1993 [1991]: 33, Hughes 2006: 83) notices that American presidents who have a good command of the so-called “low-register language” usually enjoy the greater popularity among their populace. The same can be applied to the celebrities and the hosts of the TV shows. Vytautas Šapranauskas, one of the leading personalities in Lithuanian TV entertainment branch, also attained his superstar status through the brilliant competence of colloquial and foul language (see Tamaševičius 2012 for the analysis of Šapranauskas’ linguistic repertoire). Consequently, swearing is not merely an expression of certain emotions; swearing can also index certain social styles and stances – a person who you do not wish to mess with, a popular person, a celebrity, etc. Therefore, one of the objectives of the reported study is to analyse how adolescents employ swearing practices in construction of a certain style and how this construction is perceived by their peers. But before moving on to my own research, I would like to present briefly other Lithuanian studies that dealt with swearing.

6.2. STUDIES ON SWEARING IN LITHUANIA

In the previous paragraph, I claimed that swearing is a natural linguistic practice which people of all social classes and occupations make use of. Despite this fact, this every-day linguistic practice received a scant attention in Lithuanian linguistics. The few studies on swearing in Lithuanian linguistics covered such topics as swearwords in Lithuanian dialects (mostly Samogitian dialect) (Grigas 1968⁷⁰, Jasiūnaitė 1995, Jasiūnaitė 2007a, 2007b) and swearing practices on Lithuanian TV and radio in the past and present (Tamaševičius 2014). The social meanings of swearing among Vilnius adolescents is discussed briefly by Vyšniauskienė (Vaicekauskienė & Vyšniauskienė, under review). Lėgaudaitė and Užutaitė wrote a short article about functions of swearwords in adolescent speech in London and Kaunas (Lėgaudaitė & Užutaitė 1999). Vyšniauskienė in her PhD thesis which is being prepared at Vilnius university, analyses Vilnius adolescents’ swearing practices both from the corpus perspective and qualitatively. But currently, there is no bigger or comprehensive research reported about swearing practices of the contemporary Lithuanian youth.

⁷⁰ Grigas (1968) is a collection of Lithuanian folklore games and dances and traditional Lithuanian swearwords are listed among them.

The dialectological and folklore studies, which aim to investigate swearwords, hardly ever give examples from the spontaneous conversations. Examples of swearing in Lithuanian dialects were collected from dictionaries, various collections of texts, fiction literature, and mostly elderly informants⁷¹ during the fieldwork conducted in rural parts of the country. The main purpose of the research in swearing practices in Lithuanian dialects, it seems, was to document swearwords, to compile the comprehensive lists of swearwords rather than analyzing swearwords in interaction.

The point of departure of the present study is not only to fill in the gap in the research on swearing practices in Lithuania, but also to investigate if different swearing practices are associated with different styles as well as how swearing practices are involved in development of different styles. The main objective of the study is thus three-fold: to analyse *reported*, *attitudinal*, and *interactional (actual)* use of the swearing practices among Vilnius adolescents. The guiding research questions for the study of reported practices are: What words and utterances do adolescents count as swearing? What swearword are the most frequently used? Which swearwords are considered the strongest? Naturally, analysis of reported swearing practices give rise to the epistemological problem if reported practices match the actual practices. However, in this regard I share Thomas Murray's approach that "my goals here have more to do with charting general tendencies than recording specific percentages, and also that what my respondents *believe* they do with regard to swearing (or what they are to *tell* me they do) may well be as interesting and important as what they *actually* do" (Murray 2007: 201, italics in the original).

The objective, concerning the attitudinal aspect of the study, can be broken into the following research questions: How Vilnius adolescents perceive their peers who use a huge amount of Russian swearwords and their peers who use English swearword *fuck*, i.e. to examine if there are differences in attitudes towards the well-established and generally regarded as very obscene Russian swearwords and the recently appeared English swearwords. And lastly, this study seeks to explain, how different adolescent styles are made relevant in interaction through the employment of swearing practices.

6.3. DEFINITION OF SWEARING

So far into the chapter I have successfully managed not to define the main object of it – swearing. Most of the people will not have any problems giving a few examples of swearing, and yet, researchers struggle to find a valid definition of swearing. Rathje even notices that sometimes researchers in their studies on swearing do not give any

⁷¹ Fieldwork methodology is barely described in the articles, but it seems that the data was gathered from interviews with mostly elderly informants whom were asked to enumerate all the swearing practices that they knew / heard of.

definition of this daily linguistic practice (Rathje 2011: 82). Andersson & Trudgill (1990: 53) define swearing as

a type of language use in which the expression

- (a) refers to something that is taboo and / or stigmatized in the culture;
- (b) should not be interpreted literally;
- (c) can be used to express strong emotions and attitudes.

Ljung (2011) gives a similar definition of swearing. Swearing contains taboo words which are used with non-literal meaning and whose main function is to reflect the speaker's feelings (swearing is an emotive language); though Ljung also adds to his definition that swearing is a formulaic language (Ljung 2011: 4). In Lithuanian linguistics, swearing is primarily defined as the expression of feelings – anger, disappointment, pain: “Suddenly arisen spite or moods of disappointment sometimes are expressed through curses. <...> When a person curses, he normally conveys his malicious wishes to another person, a person abuses and disdains another person. However, sometimes people curse without having another person in mind, for instance, if they experienced a failure or something unpleasant (Grigas 1968: 65, my translation; see also Zabarskaitė 2009: 93). The theme of taboo, which is the core of the definition of swearing in Western linguistics and the aspect that separates swearing from slang (Andersson & Trudgill 1990: 74), is excluded from the Lithuanian definition of swearing. It is hard to find a plausible explanation for the exclusion of taboo in the Lithuanian definition of swearing. Most probably it has to do with the fact that the Lithuanian research in swearing is rooted in dialectology and folklore studies, i.e. the objective of research was to collect the traditional Lithuanian utterances used to express anger, disappointment, insult etc.

It is not always easy to define if the utterance is a swearing or not. Ljung (2011), as mentioned above, claims that the taboo word in swearing should not be used metaphorically, even though sometimes it is hard to evaluate if the taboo word is used metaphorically or not (Ljung 2011: 14–18). Rathje, unlike the other studies presented so far in this chapter, does not count as swearwords the pejorative (abusive) terms: “Swearwords are words and phrases that refer to something that is taboo in the culture of the language used (e.g. faeces, sex and use of religious denominations), the words should not be taken literally <...>, the words are used to expressed feelings and attitudes, but they are *not* used for people (Rathje 2014: 46, emphasis in the original, see also Rathje 2011: 87). The main difference between the Rathje's definition and the ones mentioned above is that according to Rathje, swearwords cannot be used for people, including the swearer himself / herself. There is no good reason for excluding the pejorative terms from the definition. If we look at the history of swearing, we can see that there was a major shift in swearing: People used mainly to swear *by* or *to* (do something), but nowadays people swear mostly *at* (somebody or something), which explains the increase and great variety of personal abuse (Hughes 1993 [1991]: 4, 237). So, there is

no surprise that quite a few young informants in Rathje's studies (2009, 2014) listed abusive terms when they were asked to give examples of swearing. Rathje herself admits this might be "the beginning of an attitude development where the abusive terms are beginning to replace swearwords" (Rathje 2014: 47, see also Rathje 2014: 58).

So should researchers take into account lay people's opinion of what it is a swearword and what it is not? I think they should. In the analysis of the utterance *I swear to God*, Ljung draws a conclusion that it corresponds to the definition of swearing and therefore should be considered swearing. At the same time, he notes that it is unclear if *I swear to God* would be regarded as swearing by the native speakers of English (Ljung 2011: 99). And most probably we could find more examples of swearing which satisfy the academic criteria of swearing, but would not be considered swearing in actual use. As one of the main objectives of my study is to analyse Vilnius adolescents' swearing practices as they are, including what they themselves regard as swearing, I have taken all the examples of swearing more or less for granted as long as they were indicated at least by two pupils. However, it should be noted that in listing the swearwords adolescents subconsciously must have followed the criteria of swearing, as their enumerated swearwords matched the academic criteria of swearing.

6.4. QUESTIONNAIRE ABOUT SWEARING PRACTICES

In the last paragraph of section 2 I have formulated the main objectives of my study, which are: To find out what swearwords Vilnius adolescents use (also what they count as a swearword), what swearwords they consider the strongest, and how they perceive their peer who uses a huge amount of Russian swearwords and their peer who uses the English swearword *fuck*. In order to find answers to these questions, I have compiled an online questionnaire, which the pupils completed during the IT class (see also 3.2.8.).

The inspiration for my study was Rathje's 2009 pilot research on the Danish adolescents' perception of swearwords (Rathje 2009), therefore I have used two questions from her research, namely "What swearwords do you use most frequently?" and "Write down 5 swearwords which are, in your opinion, the strongest". However, in my study both these questions are open-ended, while in Rathje's research the second question was closed-ended: Rathje's informants were given 5 swearwords which the informants had to rate (Rathje 2009). I did not give my informants any swearwords to rate, because, firstly, I did not know what they would count as a swearword, and, secondly, the intention of my study was to show adolescents' perception of swearing, so I reduced my own input as much as possible. Furthermore, I have added a comment to the question about the most frequently used swearwords: "If you do not use any swearwords, then just write that you do not swear", so, the informants who do not (think that they) swear, were not forced to write down any swearwords.

Besides these two open-ended questions, I also asked my informants to evaluate two expressions: ***Blet** tu jam skambink, dalbajobas nachui. Jis blet visas užsigrūzins sėdi blet, nachui rašinėja blet nachui* (***Blet** you call him, moron nachui. He **blet** sits all itchy (nervous), nachui he is writing (sms) blet nachui*) and *What a fuck, kas ten darosi? (What a fuck, what's going on?)*. The first utterance was taken from the self-recordings, carried out by the male streetwise adolescents. The second utterance, which was said by a good girl, was taken from my fieldnotes. The informants had to describe briefly the adolescent who could talk like that, besides, they were also asked to indicate the gender of the speaker: girl, boy or both. An additional question was asked in relation to the utterance, heavily loaded with swearing in Russian: “How would you describe such a language. Does this type of language have any name among the youth?”. As the Russian swearwords are well-established in the Lithuanian speech and this way of talking, i.e. great usage of Russian swearwords, are stereotypically associated with the street style and lower social status, I wanted to know if this way of talking has any specific label among Vilnius adolescents.

In total, 79 pupils (46 boys, 32 girls and 1 pupil who did not indicate the name, so I do not know the gender) fulfilled the questionnaire. These are the same eighth-graders who also participated in the ethnographic research. By the time I carried this online questionnaire (it was May, 2013), there had been established a relatively solid and secure research-based relationship between me and the pupils – we all had known each other quite well, therefore I had also asked my informants to indicate their names (or nicknames) (the first question in the questionnaire). I hoped to be able to make a few relations between their reported swearing practices (answers in this questionnaire) and the other material gathered through ethnographic fieldwork in the school (interviews, observation of pupils in school, self-recordings etc.). Of course, request to indicate a name in research on a taboo-laden topic – swearing – is quite risky and this could be the reason why 34 pupils did not fill in the question “What swearwords do you use most frequently?” or answered this question without naming any specific swearwords.

6.5. A FEW NOTES REGARDING THE FUZZINESS OF THE LINGUISTIC RESOURCES IN VILNIUS ADOLESCENTS' SPEECH

The utterances which I presented to adolescents for evaluation could be regarded as a polylingual behavior (Jørgensen 2008, Møller 2009, see also Vyšniauskienė 2014). Polylingualism is a theoretical framework which focuses on linguistic features (resources) rather than separate languages (Jørgensen 2008: 145). Linguistic resources, which are easily available to Vilnius adolescents, are Lithuanian, Russian, and English. However, labelling certain linguistic resources as Lithuanian, Russian, or English is

not as straightforward as it may seem. English resources are a rather recent phenomenon, therefore their connection to the English language and culture still can be easily traced. Besides, as far as the slang in English is concerned, adolescents' contribution to the expansion of English resources cannot be underestimated. It is adolescents who through their engagement in the popular culture bring some English resources to the Lithuanian context. In regard to the resources, which can be identified as English, adolescents act both as users and creators, thus, they can easily identify them as English.

Russian resources, however, existed in Lithuania for a very long time, which could imply that their connection to the Russian language could be rather fuzzy. Let us take one example – a discourse marker *tipo* (so, like, you know). While discussing the findings of my research with my colleague Inga Vyšniauskienė, I realized that we attributed *tipo* to different linguistic resources. Inga considered this word as belonging to Russian resources (personal communication). I, however, never thought of *tipo* as Russian, even more, I did not consider *tipo* as belonging to any national language. The reason why my colleague and I treated this word as belonging to different resources could rely on our different competence in Russian. However, it is not only the linguistic competence that plays a role in labelling linguistic resources. What is also very important is how these resources which can be associated with Russian, are acquired by contemporary adolescents. The answer is – mainly through the daily interaction, through the conversations with their friends and siblings, who do not necessarily have to be fluent speakers of Russian. Hence, while English resources can be easily acquired through the direct connection to the English-saturated contemporary pop culture (songs, computer games, Internet), Russian resources are mostly acquired indirectly. Therefore, we cannot be sure how Russian resources are being perceived by adolescents in the acquirement process – as of Russian origin, slang words or both?

The discussion so far raises the question, if we should still operate with such labels as Russian, Lithuanian, and English? As we will see from adolescents' responses, they do indeed use labels Russian and English in the evaluation of adolescents' swearing practices. However, we cannot be sure what these labels denote. A great deal of swearwords, used by Lithuanians, are of Russian origin. Pupils of my study also reported as swearing mostly in Russian, Russian swearwords are also regarded as the strongest. Hence, could it be that in order for a linguistic resource to be perceived as Russian, it has to have the meaning of 'obscene, crude, and vulgar', in other words, Russian most probably denotes obscenity and vulgarity. The swearword *pizda* (to be busted) exemplifies this fuzziness just perfectly. Dictionary (Kudirka 2012: 438) presents *pizda* (to be busted) as a Lithuanian swearword. However, in its form, the swearword resembles the swearwords *pyzda* (cunt, bitch) and *pyzdiec* (to be busted), which are both denoted as Russian swearwords (Kudirka 2012: 441 and 443 respectively). But speakers do not learn meanings of the words from dictionaries. Besides, meanings of the linguistic

resources in the daily interactions are not as fixed as they are presented in the dictionaries (cf. Blommaert 2010: 12). Even more, my perception of social meaning of the linguistic resources might not match the perception of my informants. As Vyšniauskienė argues in a similar fashion, “pre-given category labels like Russian or English cannot be applied unless they reveal participant perspective” (Vyšniauskienė 2014: 4). However, within the scope of the current study, I cannot solve the problem of ‘participant perspective’ in a satisfactory manner, therefore, the readers should take labelling of swearing resources as Lithuanian or Russian, with a grain of salt. As the perception of these resources is a highly under-researched area, defining these resources *de facto* as Russian and Lithuanian could act as invention (Makoni and Pennycook (2007)) and imaginification (Anderson 2006 [1983]) of Russian and Lithuanian resources.

6.6. SWEARWORDS, REPORTED AS THE MOST FREQUENTLY USED, BY VILNIUS ADOLESCENTS

45 adolescents (27 boys and 18 girls) out of 79 listed different 51 swearwords (in total, 191 swearwords) as the swearwords they use most frequently. As mentioned previously, the quite a big number of adolescents who did not list the swearwords they use, could be explained by the fact that they had to give their name (nickname) in the questionnaire. On average, my informants gave over 4 swearwords each. 38 different swearwords (in total 94 swearwords) were given by the boys. The girls indicated 30 different the most frequently used swearwords (in total 56 swearwords)⁷². The remaining 34 pupils either indicated that they did not swear (17 informants) or they did not specify their swearwords, for instance, *kaip kada, dažniausiai rusiškus* (*it depends, mostly Russian, rusiškus, lietuviškus* (*Russian, Lithuanian*) or they simply confirmed that they do swear and sometimes they added how much (little) they swear: *Keikiuos* (*I swear*), *biski keikiuosi* (*I swear a little*) etc. It was particularly cool girls who were reluctant to list the specific swearwords, they either stated that they did not swear or they simply wrote that they swear without listing the swearwords. Note that cool girls were also reluctant to report about their smoking and drinking habits in the interviews. What is interesting, though, is that out of three streetwise girls, who participated in this study on swearing, only Daiva indicated her most frequently used swearwords. Rugilė wrote that she swears in Lithuanian, whereas Samanta did not want to list the swearwords because they are not nice.

As I have already pointed out above, I have taken all adolescents’ examples of swearing for granted, but with some minor exceptions. For the swearword to be included in the analysis, it had to be mentioned at least by two informants. In this way,

⁷² I would like to point out that there were fewer female participants in my study, which can explain the smaller number of frequently used swearwords.

I tried to single out the swearwords of possibly individual choice, for instance *čiulpk dešrq* (suck the sausage).

The swearwords, which are most frequently used by Vilnius adolescents, are presented in Table 6.1. **Bold** denotes Russian, Polish is underlined, English is double-underlined, Lithuanian is not marked in any special way. I also give the translation-explanation of the swearword.

Table 6.1. The most frequently used swearwords by Vilnius adolescents:

Swearword 'translation, explanation'	Number of pupils who reported using the swearword
blet , blee . Its literal meaning in Russian is <i>whore</i> , however, in Lithuania blet functions solely as a swearword with no literal meaning attached to it.)	37
nachui . Its literal meaning is (go) to the dick what actually means <i>fuck yourself</i> . <i>Eina nachui</i> (it goes nachui) which means <i>it goes to hell (or any nasty place)</i> , <i>eik tu nachui</i> (go to hell (or any nasty place)), <i>pisk nachui</i> (fuck nachui)	27
<i>kurva</i> (whore, prostitute)	13
dūchas ⁷³ (jerk)	10
pochui (no matter, I'm not worried, I don't care)	8
<u>fuck</u> , <u>wth</u> , <u>what a fuck</u>	7
pydaras , pedikas , pyderastas (bugger)	8
lochas , lopas (nitwit)	7
sūka (bitch)	7
<i>pisti</i> (to fuck) ⁷⁴ : <i>užsipisk</i> (fuck yourself), <i>užpisa</i> (it annoys, bores (me)), <i>užpissai</i> ((you) annoy, bore me), <i>užsipisimas</i> , (fuckingness)	6
<i>daunas</i> (literal meaning <i>person with Down syndrome; retarded person, asshole</i>)	5
<i>bybis</i> ⁷⁵ (dick). <i>Čiulpk....D</i> (suck....D), <i>čiulpk bybį</i> (suck (my) dick), <i>bybį dėjau</i> (I put (my) dick) which means <i>I don't care</i> .	4

⁷³ The swearwords are listed in masculine form because this form was the most dominating in adolescents' answers. However, a few girls noted both gender forms in their answers, for instance *debilas/ė*. None of the boys did that.

⁷⁴ *Pisti* (to fuck) in this form, i.e. without prefixes and suffixes, has never been mentioned in adolescents' answers.

⁷⁵ The word *bybis* (dick) never appeared alone in pupils' answers. It was always part of the utterances *suck (my) dick* and *I put (my) dick* meaning *I don't care*.

Swearword 'translation, explanation'	Number of pupils who reported using the swearword
<i>debilas</i> (retarded person, asshole), <i>dzibilas</i> – the Slavic pronunciation of the word <i>debilas</i>)	4
<i>jobnutas</i> (muffed (person)), <i>jobanutas</i> (muffed (person)), <i>jobanas vaik</i> (muffed kid)	3
<i>jobtvaimat</i> (literal meaning (somebody) fucked your mother, among Lithuanian youth <i>jobtvaimat</i> functions solely as a swearword with no literal meaning attached to it.)	3
<i>pyzda</i> , <i>pize</i> (cunt)	3
<i>blemba</i> (euphemistic replacement of <i>blet</i>)	2
<i>blynas</i> (euphemistic replacement of <i>blet</i>)	2
<i>dalbajobas</i> (moron)	2
<i>eina šikt</i> (it goes to shit), <i>eik šikt</i> ((you) go to shit)	2
<i>nafik</i> , <i>nafig</i> (euphemistic replacement of <i>nachui</i>)	2
<i>šūdas</i> (shit)	2

Out of 51 provided swearwords, 22 swearwords were mentioned by at least two adolescents. Reported as the most frequently used are the Russian **blet** and **nachui** (and the utterances which involve **nachui**). In general, the top 5 of the most popular swearwords, as reported by my informants, comprise Slavic swearwords **blet**, **nachui**, *kurva* (whore, prostitute), **dūchas** (jerk), and **pochui** (no matter, I'm not worried, I don't care). The most popular Lithuanian swearwords among my informants are: various forms of *pisti* (to fuck), *daunas* (person with Down syndrome) and various expressions with *bybis* (dick), but they even do not come close to the frequency of the Russian **blet** and **nachui**. Only 7 pupils listed the English fuck and expressions (abbreviations), containing fuck, in their answers. Besides, fuck, is the only English swearword, mentioned by my informants.

Findings of the small-scale questionnaire confirm that the most dominant swearing language among Vilnius adolescents is Russian. Lithuanian swearwords are not very popular, but they are not as unpopular as the English ones. Informants' reported swearing practices should correspond to their actual swearing practices. As I was listening to my corpus of approximately 52,5 hours of self-recordings of adolescents' conversations with their peers, I encountered very few occurrences of swearing in English. The findings of my questionnaire study have also been evidenced by the corpus study of Vilnius adolescent speech (Vyšniauskienė 2014)).

6.7. WHICH SWEARWORDS ARE PERCEIVED AS THE STRONGEST BY VILNIUS ADOLESCENTS?

In the questionnaire, I asked the pupils to write down 5 swearwords which are, in their opinion, the strongest: The first written swearword should be the strongest, the second – second strongest etc. In the analysis of the data, I gave 5 points to the swearword in the top position; 4 points to swearword in the second position etc. 65 pupils answered this question, i.e. they provided at least one swearword. The findings are presented in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2. The strongest swearwords among Vilnius adolescents

Position	Swearword	Rating
1.	nachui and the expressions containing nachui	189
2.	blet	157
3.	<i>kurva</i> (whore, prostitute)	59
4.	dūchas (jerk)	54
5.	pydaras, pedikas, pyderastas (bugger)	45
6.	<i>debilas</i> (retarded person)	36
7.	expressions with <i>bybis</i> (dick)	31
8.	sūka (bitch)	23
9.	lochas, lopas (nitwit)	23
10.	pochui (no matter, I'm not worried, I don't care)	21

The most frequently used swearwords are actually also the ones that Vilnius adolescents consider to be the strongest. The Top 4 looks the same (see Table 6.1.), only **nachui** and **blet** switched their places. Russian swearwords **nachui** and **blet** are the clear leaders, the Polish *kurva* (whore, prostitute), which landed on the third place, did not even score half the points **blet** got. There is no surprise that the Russian swearwords are the strongest because there is a tendency to regard the most frequently used swearwords as the harshest (Fägersten 2012: 95). This attitude is reflected in an answer, given by the nerd Virginija. She did not provide her top 5 (she also indicated that she did not swear at all), she wrote instead: *Manau, kad stipriausi ir bjauriausi keiksmazodžiai yra rusiški* (I think, the strongest and the ugliest swearwords are Russian). The only Lithuanian swearwords, which made it in the top 10, are the expressions with *bybis* (dick) – *čiulpk bybį* (suck (my) dick), *bybį dėjau* (I put (my) dick) which means *I don't care*. English *fuck* which got 15 points did not enter the top 10 which means that my informants do not consider this four-letter English swearword as strong and obscene.

6.8. ADOLESCENTS' ATTITUDES TO SWEARING

Linguistic practice, as any other “act of semiosis is an act of identity in which we ‘give off’ information about ourselves” (Blommaert 2005: 203–204). Swearing is definitely a way of “giving off” information about us to the others. Though swearing is usually associated with the lower class, poorer education, however, a few examples I provided in the first section of this chapter lead to assumption that swearing practices might be associated with various social categories and styles. One of the objectives of this research was to examine Vilnius adolescents’ attitudes towards the great use of Russian swearing and the use of English swearing and what social categories and styles the informants of my study combine these two swearing practices with.

6.8.1. Adolescents’ attitudes to swearing: The great use of Russian swearing

In the questionnaire, I asked the pupils to describe an adolescent who talks like that: ***Blet** tu jam skambink, **dalbajobas nachui**. Jis **blet** visas užsigrūžinęs sėdi **blet**, **nachui** rašinėja **blet nachui** (**Blet** you call him, **moron nachui**. He **blet** sits all itchy (*nervous*), **nachui** he is writing (sms) **blet nachui**)*. The informants had also to indicate the gender of the speaker. Additionally, they had to describe this type of language use and to provide a name if they thought such a language had one.

The overall attitude towards adolescents, who use a lot of Russian swearing in their speech, is negative (see table 6.3.). Extracts from adolescents’ answers are quoted exactly the same as they were written in the questionnaire, i.e. the spelling and grammar was not corrected.

Table 6.3. The description of an adolescent who swears in Russian

Street culture	Impolite, rude	Negative evaluation	Tough	Everybody talks like that	Positive evaluation	Too many swearwords	Other
18 ⁷⁶	16	13	8	7	5	14	11

Out of 79 responses only in 5, all of them given by the boys, there was a positive description of such adolescents. Those 5 boys stated that adolescents who talk like that are *maladiec* (*cool chaps*) and that their speech is cool: *Visi taip kalbantys yra mldc* (*Everybody who talks like are cool*). The rest of the informants gave negative, or better said, what could be interpreted as negative, descriptions. The pupils described ado-

⁷⁶ The number indicates how many informants mentioned that aspect in their descriptions.

lescents who use so much Russian swearing as impolite and rude. My informants also noticed that such adolescents use too many swearwords in the same utterance and a few added that this might mean that they have a poor vocabulary and *are not able to talk without these interjections* (*nemokantys kalbeti be siu istiktuku*).

Quite a few of my informants, especially the girls, gave a very concrete picture of an adolescent who swears in Russian: *manau taip kalba tik forsai, kurie trainiojasi po rajona be priezasties girti ir prisiruke* (*I think that only forsai talk like that, the ones who mooch around in the neighbourhood with no reason, who smoke and are high*), *Marozai, zmones kurie vaiksto su treningais, nelanko mokyklos, rukoi, vartoja alkoholi, nepilnameciai* (*Marozai, people who go in sportswear, who don't go to school, who smoke and drink, minors*), *tikriausiai bus chuliganai, nelankantys mokyklosi ir nemokantys normaliai kalbėti* (*Most probably it will be hooligans, who don't go to school and who aren't able to talk normally*), *banditai blogai mokantys vakai* (*thugs, kids who study badly*). The latter answer was given by Egidijus, the iconic practitioner of street style. These answers clearly link the great usage of Russian swearing with the street culture and its social categories – *forsai* and *marozai*, the categories which were repeated in a number of answers. However, despite the relation of Russian swearwords with the street culture, a few of the informants also stated that many adolescents nowadays talk like this, which might imply that swearing in Russian is not restricted to the streetwise youth.

A lot of Russian swearwords in an utterance seems also to indicate coolness, toughness, and power: *Manau jie tiesiog nori pasirodyti kieti, kad ju visi bijotu su tokiais žodžiais* (*I think they simply want to look cool, that everybody would be afraid of them with such words*). However, a few of my informants consider the coolness, constructed in such a way as fake and ridiculous: *bando primesti tipo kad jis toks "krūtas"* (*He tries to pretend that he you know is so "cool"*).

I stated earlier that the male informants were the only ones who expressed positive attitudes to a great use of Russian swearing. It was also mainly the boys who gave the harshest descriptions. They called adolescents, who use a lot of Russian swearing pejoratively: *vaikai* (*kids*), *kvailiai* (*fools*), *dūchai* (*jerks*), *lochai* (*losers*), and *degradai* (*down-and-outs*). Here I should note that almost all of those boys also used similar abusive terms while describing an adolescent who uses an English swearword which can indicate that they express negative attitude to any swearing and maybe the contemporary youth as a whole.

Although adolescents have quite a clear a picture of adolescents who use many Russian swearwords in their speech, the majority of the informants did not indicate any specific denomination of such a speech. The description of the speech coincides with the description of the speaker: Speech, heavily loaded with Russian swearing is considered bad, ugly, impolite, vulgar, used by the rude adolescents and *marozai* / *forsai*. However, a few adolescents listed a couple of denominations of such speech: youth jargon, jail jargon.

The pupils were also asked to indicate the gender of the speaker of the given excerpt. The results are presented in table 6.4.

Table 6.4. The great usage of Russian swearing and gender of a speaker who uses it

Boy	Girl	Both
56	4	19

The majority of the informants thought that the utterance could be said by a boy, and only 4 indicated that it could be said by a girl. Of them only one streetwise girl – Rugilė – noted that the speaker is female. The distribution of the results is not unexpected. The streetwise style – drinking, smoking, fights as well as features like toughness and impoliteness – is associated with masculinity.

6.8.2. Adolescents' attitudes to swearing: The English fuck

I have also asked my informants to evaluate the adolescent who uses the English swearword fuck (the utterance *What a fuck, kas ten darosi?* (*What a fuck, what's going on?*)) and to indicate the gender of that adolescent.

The descriptions of an adolescent, who respectively uses many Russian swearwords and an English swearword, differ rather significantly (see table 6.5.).

Table 6.5. The description of an adolescent who swears in English

Everybody talks like that, ordinary adolescent	Positive evaluation	Negative evaluation	Russian vs English	English	Translation	Other
14 ⁷⁷	15	12	10	12	5	11

None of my informants described an adolescent who swears in English as a representative of the street culture. No one thought of this adolescent as the one who could drink alcohol, smoke, skip classes, in general, who performs the previously mentioned *marozas* or *forsas* style. The minority of the informants (just 4 girls and 7 boys) expressed negative or very negative attitudes to an adolescent who uses fuck. They called this adolescent impolite, rude, **dūchas** (*jerk*), arrogant **lochas** (*loser*), **lašara** (*asshole*) and alike. (But, as noted above, most of the boys, who expressed negative attitudes towards an adolescent who swears in English, also used similar derogatory terms about an adolescent who swears in Russian). 2 girls (one of them nerd Virginija) evaluated the use of an English swearword as disrespect to the Lithuanian language and that adolescents who talk like that should learn Lithuanian better.

⁷⁷ The number indicates how many informants mentioned that aspect in their descriptions. 4 pupils have not answered this question.

The rest of the informants were inclined to evaluate both the adolescent and the speech positively. A number of the pupils indicated that everybody talks like that and that fuck is frequently used word. Such perception of fuck could indicate that fuck indexes a neutral style.

Quite a few informants described adolescents who use fuck as *normal teenagers: normalus nieko su jais nera blogo* ((He is) normal, there's nothing wrong with them). A couple informants also added that these adolescents are self-confident, maladiēc (nice chap), and better educated because they do not swear so strongly. This latter aspect – that swearing in English is not so rude, has been repeated in a number of answers: *Manau, kad tai nėra blogai, nes šie keiksmazodžiai ne taip rėžia ausį* (I don't think it's bad, because these swearwords don't rash that much). A few adolescents compared English swearwords to the Russian ones and all of those informants drew the same conclusion: Swearing in English (or Lithuanian) is milder and more polite: *Taip dažniausiai kalba paaugliai, kurie nevar-toja rusiškų keiksmazodžių ir manau, kad angliški keiksmazodžiai skamba ne taip žiauriai kaip rusiški :D WTF – kas per šūdas ir panašiai, tikrai gražiau nei na*ui* (Adolescents who don't use Russian swearwords, usually talk like that and I think that English swearwords don't sound so harsh as Russian :D WTF – what a shit and alike is really nicer than na*ui), *Geriau jau sakyti taip nei rusiškai, taip tikriausiai sako daug kas, ir tai tikriausiai nėra jau didelis įžeidimas* (It's better to talk like that than in Russian, most probably many say so, and that's definitely not a big offense). However, I cannot deny that the comparative statements English vs Russian could have been provoked by the previous question where the informants had to depict an adolescent who uses a lot of swearing in Russian.

English in an utterance really caught the informants' attention. A couple of the pupils wrote that these adolescents should have a good command of English and they prefer to speak in English. None of the adolescents associated swearing in Russian with a proficiency in Russian. Swearing in English was also associated with the contemporary pop culture. Nerd Jonas treated swearing in English as the outcome of Hollywood films: *Dažniausiai žodžius sako amerikietiško kino prisižiūrėję paaugliai* (Adolescents, who watch a lot of American movies, usually say such words). A few of my informants even provided the translation of the utterance: *Paauglys nori sužinoti kas ten daros* (Adolescent wants to know what it is going on) or *Kas ten blet darosi išvertus iš anglų kalbos* (What is **blet** going on, if you translate from English). None of the pupils translated the utterance with Russian swearwords to Lithuanian (or English), because they are so established in Lithuanian that no translation was thought to be needed. I do not know if the translations from English were made for me, but a few informants wrote that older people might not be able to understand English slang: *angliskas žargonas kurio dėdės ir tetos nesupras: DD* (English slang which uncles and aunts won't understand :DD). All of this might point out that swearing in English is still a fresh and new mode of swearing.

Likewise, in the previous question, the informants also had to indicate the gender of a speaker. The results are presented in table 6.6.

Table 6.6. The English fuck and gender of a speaker who uses it

Boy	Girl	Both
9	40	30

The majority of the informants thought that it should be a girl. Also, almost half of the pupils indicated that it could be either a girl or a boy. Compared to the results presented in table 6.4., the distribution of the results in table 6.6. is completely different. But it is not surprising. The English swearword fuck is considered as a rather mild swearword by the adolescents, and therefore it might be associated with the female linguistic practice. Actually, one boy even indicated the gender of the speaker in the description of an adolescent: *galbut tai merginos nes vaikinai keikiasi isradingiau* (Maybe it's girls because boys swear more ingeniously). Such perception of fuck is not surprising. If the linguistic resource is more accepted in the society, there is a tendency to classify it as indexing female speech (Lakoff 1975: 10).

All in all, the English four-letter word, which is considered mild swearing among my informants, does not invoke any specific youth social category and style.

6.9. CONCLUSIONS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE STUDY

The questionnaire data point to the tendency that swearing in Russian is still actively used by the contemporary adolescents in Vilnius. Russian swearwords **blet** and **nachui** are both the most frequently used and considered the strongest by the adolescents in the study. As the scope of the study was very small – 79 pupils in one school, I cannot draw a conclusion that they are applicable to all Vilnius adolescents. Besides, the data comprises of the reported swearing practices, although there is evidence to suggest that the reported practices match the actual usage: my own not systematic examination of self-recordings and the quantitative studies of spontaneous speech (Vyšniauskienė 2014) reveal the same trends.

Russian swearwords have not vanished from usage because they fulfill every single criterion what a swearword must encompass: Russian swearwords are in themselves absolute taboo; they are used to express emotions and attitudes; they are not restricted to any syntactic rules (cf. criteria in Andersson & Trudgill 1990: 53, Ljung 2011: 4, see also the discussion in section 6.3.). The social stigma, which is associated with the Russian swearing, is also the resource which keeps this practice alive. Furthermore, heavy swearing in Russian is not only used to express strong feelings, but also to construct a streetwise style. Speech, heavily loaded with Russian and Slavic-based swearing, is associated with the street culture by my informants. The informants of this study depicted adolescent who uses a lot of Russian swearwords in one utterance, as an impolite and rude boy who drinks alcohol, smokes cigarettes and does not go to school, in short, as a representative of the street social category and practitioner of the streetwise style.

The swearing in Lithuanian has not vanished from the lips of my informants either. The most frequently used Lithuanian swearwords are various forms of *pisti* (*to fuck*), *daunas* (*person with Down syndrome*), and various expressions with *bybis* (*dick*), such as *čiulpk bybį* (*suck (my) dick*), *bybį dėjau* (*I put (my) dick*) which means *I don't care*. The popularity of these swearwords could be explained in terms of strength (they are considered to be strong by the adolescents) and reference to the contemporary taboo themes – the mental illness and disabilities theme and sex organ theme.

Swearing in English, which was introduced to the Lithuanian language rather recently, possibly through consumption of pop culture, is not that common among the contemporary youth (see also Vyšniauskienė 2014). The quite low popularity of the English swearwords among Vilnius adolescents could be due to the fact that swearing in English is considered as mild, which makes the English swearwords not that suitable for the *real* swearing. The English *fuck* is not surrounded by the same level of taboo as its Russian and Lithuanian counterparts, especially, when a part of the Lithuanian society (mostly elderly people) does not even understand it. Swearing in English is a new mode of swearing and therefore it has not attained a specific indexical value yet (as distinct from the swearing in Russian) among the contemporary youth, at least not in the dormitory Vilnius neighborhoods where the informants of this study come from.

6.10. SWEARING IN INTERACTION

The results of the quantitative analysis of adolescents' attitudes towards two different swearing practices and practitioners provided a rather neat picture: The speaker of the utterance, which involved an English swearword *fuck*, was not assigned any specific style cluster, whereas the speaker of the utterance, which contained a lot of Russian swearwords, was associated with the street culture and masculinity, in other words, with the male streetwise style cluster. However, the fact that swearing in Russian was grouped together with such practices as smoking, consumption of alcohol, non-attendance of school, is not brand-new to any Vilnius dweller. The reported study confirmed the well-established stereotype. But attitude research commonly deals with and evokes stereotypes (Garrett 2010). This is particularly true in the case of the direct approach to studying language attitudes as the study in question where the informants were overtly invited to articulate their attitudes towards two stereotypical swearing practices. The utterances, which I used in the questionnaire, were typical to respectively street culture (Russian) and contemporary youth in general (English)⁷⁸.

⁷⁸ Although the English swearword *fuck* is not as frequent as Russian and Slavic-based swearwords, it still one of the most used English resources among Vilnius adolescents (Vyšniauskienė 2014: 24). This means that *fuck* is the most frequent – typical – English swearword as distinct from other English swearing practices, see also 6.10.4.

Naturally, the actual practice of swearing is a lot more complex than it was presented in the questionnaire design and subsequently in the adolescents' evaluations. What is missing in the picture of the quantitative analysis of survey data is agency. In the second section of the chapter, I set out the main objectives of the study of swearing practices. One of them was to analyse swearing practices in interaction and to explain how they are included in the construction of adolescents styles. Section 6.10. is dedicated to explore this set of objectives. I will analyse the most typical examples of interactions by the practitioners of the distinguished styles.

6.10.1. The great use of Russian swearing and female streetwise style

Adolescents, who participated in my study, evaluated an utterance loaded with Russian swearing as streetwise and masculine. But street culture is not restricted only to the males; females are also part of it as it can be seen from the extract of the spontaneous youth speech below.

Extract 1. The mucous cigarettes

- 1 Rugilė: o ko tu ten pripylei pažiūrėk kaip atsuk
- 2 Vilma: kur
- 3 Rugilė: **blet** kažkokios **nachui** pelenai **nachui**
- 4 Gintarė: **blet** sukibusios vapše kažkokios
- 5 Rugilė: ką tu ten **blet** darei kurva
- 6 Vilma: kur
- 7 Gintarė: **blet** man saulė šviečia
- 8 Karina: xxx (silently in the background)
- 9 Gintarė: fū **nachui** [kefyras]
- 10 Rugilė: [Gintare ką tu ten] matei aš ten nesupratau [xxx]
- 11 Gintarė: [fū] **blet** ten kažkokie
- 12 vapše **nachui** [tepaluota **blet**]
- 13 Rugilė: [peleşiai **nachui**]
- 14 Gintarė: [aliejuota kažkokia] teşluota plėvėta **blet** gleivėta **nachui**
- 15 Rugilė: kurva **blet** kažkokie ten blynai gal
- 16 Vilma: kur? (.) pakeliuose tu durna ar kaip
- 17 Rugilė: aş tau rimtai şneku

Translation

- 1 Rugilè: what have you poured there look how turn
2 Vilma: where
3 Rugilè: **blet** sort of **nachui** ash **nachui**

- 4 Gintarè: **blet** ((they are)) stuck together sort of kinda
 5 Rugilè: what have you **blet** done whore
 6 Vilma: where
 7 Gintarè: **blet** the sun is shinning to me
 8 Karina: xxx (silently in the background)
 9 Gintarè: yuck **nachui** [kefir]
 10 Rugilè: [Gintare what did you] see there I didn't like understand [xxx]
 11 Gintarè: [fū] **blet**
 12 like something sort of **nachui** [unctuous **blet**]
 13 Rugilè: [must **nachui**]
 14 Gintarè: [oily sort of] pastryous viscous **blet** muco-
 us **nachui**
 15 Rugilè: kurva **blet** sort of like pancakes maybe
 16 Vilma: where? (.) in the packs you are dumb or what
 17 Rugilè: listen I'm serious

Participants of the conversation are four girls – my informants Rugilè and Vilma and their two friends Gintarè and Karina, all of whom are practitioners of streetwise style (all names are changed). The conversation is taken from the 32 minutes long recording, conducted by these girls in the supermarket, where they checked prices of the alcohol, and the remote place, where they came to have a smoke afterwards. The extract is taken from the second part of the recording where the girls are about to smoke. However, as soon as they open a pack of cigarettes which Vilma has brought, they notice that there is something wrong with them – they are stuck together. The conversation that follows is loaded with mostly Russian swearwords. Of course, one could argue that swearing in Russian is the expression of annoyance – the cigarettes have been damaged after all. Although I cannot deny that the girls are slightly disappointed, they are still talking relatively calmly with each other, they are not shouting. In this case, the swearing is not so much the expression of emotions, but of a certain social identity and style. When swearing occurs with such frequency – the girls swear in almost every sentence – it is used as a 'style-giver' (Andersson & Trudgill 1990: 54). (Besides, note that Gintarè in line 7 starts her statement about the sun in her eyes, which has nothing to do with the topic of the conversation, hence with the disappointment and annoyance, with **blet**). The style, which the girls make use of, is the street style. But they are not the passive users of this style. Through their engagement in different street practices, such as smoking and drinking, these girls give their speech, which is loaded with Russian swearing, a special social meaning, that of a street style. So even though perceived as an indication of masculinity (and street culture), in reality great usage of swearing in Russian is involved in the construction of streetwiseness and any adolescent – male or female – who performs a streetwise style, has to engage in such a practice (among other street practices).

6.10.2. The usage of Russian-based swearing and a non-streetwise style

Even though Russian swearing, or more precise, the great usage of Russian swearing, is both perceived as a marker of streetwiseness and is one of the practices incorporated in the construction of the streetwise adolescent style, it is by no means restricted to the streetwise adolescents and to the creation of the streetwise social category (as it has also been implied in a few adolescents' answers in the questionnaire – *Dauguma taip šneka* (*The majority talks like that*). Russian swearwords are undoubtedly the most popular swearwords among Vilnius adolescents (see 6.6. above) which entails that they are used by the majority of adolescents and are not limited to a certain youth group. Therefore, it is necessary to have a look how Russian-based swearwords are being used by non-streetwise adolescents.

Extract 2. I quit wrestling

- 1 Kipras: kodėl tu mesi
2 Žygiman: atsibodo **blet**
3 Kamilė: wi[iiiii] (shouts happily, high pitch)
4 Eimantas: [tai **blet**]
5 Žygiman: į Ožą neisiu gi sakė treneris į mane dėmesio nekreips jeigu aš į Ožą neisiu
6 Pijus: [**pyzda** jeigu tu visai]
7 Žygiman: [xxx]
8 Pijus: hmm tinki
9 Žygiman: ką
10 Pijus: visai tinka tie kažkoks swag atrodai toks moksluikas
11 Kipras: bet tai kodėl [xxx]
12 Žygiman: [nu]
13 Kipras: nekreips dėmesio ką jis čia kimba [prie xxx]
14 Žygiman: [nes trenerio pavardė] oi man Mykolas sakė
15 Pijus: ką maždaug nuo to kad tu nebeeisi į Ožą tu jau [būsi blogiausias]
16 Žygiman: [nes karočia kasdieną]
jeigu į ožą
17 neini ten **blet** dvi treniruotės būna
18 Kamilė: nu
19 Pijus: so nu tai tu vis tiek gali labiau labiau stengtis negu dabar būt vis tiek geresn
20 Žygiman: bet aš noriu gyvenimo laisvesnio **blet** man penkis kartus per savaitę treniruotė
21 Eimantas: [čia **pyzda** čia **blet**]
22 Kipras: [xxx]
23 Eimantas: **chuinia** ne treni tris kartai maksimum bent jau aš pripažįstu

- 20 Žygimantas: but I want the more relaxed life **blet** I have training session five times a week
- 21 Eimantas: [it's **pyzda** it's **blet**]
- 22 Kipras: [xxx]
- 23 Eimantas: **crap** it's not a train-⁸⁰ three times maximum at least it's what I accept
- 24 Žygimantas: [he *pisses* me *off*]
- 25 Kipras: [*kurva* you've got confused]
- 26 Žygimantas: I would like to work out for my own pleasure [I like to work out]
- 27 Eimantas: [yea at least when you want to]
- 28 Žygimantas: **blet** it *pisses* me *off*
- 29 Eimantas: when you want to how you want to how long you want to
- 30 Žygimantas: I will go to Impuls will any of you go with me to Impuls
- 31 Eimantas: how much **blet** so **nachui** (slightly stresses every word, a light singing tone)
- 32 Žygimantas: one hundred and twenty litas
- 33 Kamilė: xxx
- 34 Žygimantas: I can make a program for free if needed
- 36 Eimantas: [taigi va su Rūta]
- 36 Eimantas: [so yea with Rūta]
- 37 Kamilė: the last month the last two months yea we attended and that's it
- 38 Eimantas: eik su Rūta
- 38 Eimantas: go with Rūta

Extract 2 is taken from a conversation between five friends – Kamilė (active pro-school girl), Pijus (cool boy), Žygimantas (cool boy), Eimantas, and Kipras. They all gathered at Kamilė's to spend some time together after school.

The extract is taken from the part in the conversation where Žygimantas' announces that he is planning to quit wrestling. He is not planning to attend Ozas, the special school in Vilnius which has a special program for pupils who would like to train professionally – its ordinary curriculum program is combined with training sessions. Žygimantas understands that if he wants to pursue a professional career in wrestling, he has to go to that school. Kipras and Pijus are surprised by his decision and try to persuade him not to leave wrestling (lines 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15 and 19). Wrestling really suits him (line 10 *it fits you those you look kinda swag kinda little nerd*). They claim that he does not have to quit just because he is not going to sport school. Žygimantas, however, explains to them that his coach will interpret his not-going to the Ozas school as if he is not taking wrestling seriously, and hence, the coach will not pay any attention to him. Besides, Žygimantas also would like to have more free time, currently he is practicing five times a week. At this point in the conversation,

⁸⁰ The unfinished utterance of *treniruotė* (training session).

Eimantas, who was relatively silent until now, steps in. He agrees that training five times a week can be really constraining and time-consuming (lines 21 and 23), therefore he supports Žygimantas' intention to leave the professional sport career and only to engage with it in the leisure time. The sequence ends with Žygimantas' proposal to go to Impuls, a popular fitness center in Vilnius.

The sequence is interspersed with quite a few instances of swearing (the number in brackets indicates how many times a swearword occurred in the sequence): **blet** (7), **nachui** (1), **pyzda** (2), *užpiso* (*pissed off*) (2), **chuinia** (1), and *kurva* (1). Russian swearing is dominating, which confirms the statement that it not is confined to streetwise adolescents. Pijus produces only one swearing utterance – **pyzda** in line 6. Kipras swears also only once – *kurva* in line 25. So the greatest swearers in this sequence are Žygimantas and Eimantas who utter 6 swearwords each. However, Eimantas joins the conversation just in the middle – line 21, right after Žygimantas' explanation that he goes to wrestling five times, until then his only utterance was *so blet* in line 4. His remaining 5 swearwords are spread just between 10 lines – from line 21 to line 31, whereas Žygimantas' swearwords are spread between line 2 and line 28, which makes Eimantas even a greater swearer. Besides, he two times in the sequence uses a cluster of swearwords, – in line 23 *it's pyzda it's blet chuinia* and in line 31 *how much blet so nachui*. Such linguistic behavior would be stereotypically associated and practices by the streetwise adolescents. In the online questionnaire, Eimantas was one of the few informants who evaluated positively the adolescent who used a lot of Russian swearwords, Eimantas called the adolescent *maladieć* (*cool chap*) which hints that he appreciates such linguistic style. However, Eimantas is neither constructing a streetwise persona nor he is perceived by the others as such. But why then is he swearing a lot?

Unlike the other male participants in the conversation, Eimantas is not associated with the sport, despite the fact that he recently started going to volleyball, but hardly anyone knows it, not even his closest friends Žygimantas and Pijus⁸¹. This might also explain why he joins the conversation at the point where he could give support to Žygimantas' decision to leave the professional sport (line 21). Eimantas elaborates on the idea that sport should only be exercised *three times (a week) maximum* and only for one's pleasure: line 29: *when you want to how you want to how long you want to*. As it was mentioned in chapter 4, Žygimantas is very well known for his achievements in wrestling in the school cohort and beyond. Kipras, although he is an unpopular kid, is a good friend of Žygimantas and I assume that a lot of the 8th graders know that he and Žygimantas go to wrestling together. Pijus used to play basketball, but after he had got seriously injured, he had to quit. Unlike volleyball, basketball and combat sport (wrestling, boxing, karate and alike) are the key sport activities among the 8th grader boys in the Owl school. Participating in them and especially priding

⁸¹ Later on in the conversation when Kamilė suggests to meet tomorrow, Eimantas in a rather quiet voice answers that he will not be able to come tomorrow because he has a training session. Žygimantas reacts immediately to Eimantas' statement with a question: "What, are you exercising?"

(or being praised by the others) on the achievements helps to maintain one's masculinity. In the individual interview, Eimantas told me that he is not good at basketball. He is not even playing in the eighth graders' tournament in school. Even more, he used to spend more time with girls in school, and, as a result, other pupils used to tease him (see also 4.2.2.). Luckily, as he told me in the interview, in the 8th grade it is cool to be around with the girls: *o šaunuolis ten vaikštai kad su pana* (yea cool chap because like you walk with a girl). If we also add to this picture of Eimantas (non-association with sport, girl circles), his appearance – a tall slim boy with longish blonde hair, we get the construction of masculinity which is a bit remote from the stereotypical image of masculinity⁸². Hence, Eimantas' quite extensive swearing practices help him to restore and strengthen the masculinity of his style.

This extract also illustrates that swearing does not hinder communication, as it is sometimes stated in the metalinguistic discourse about adolescent speech. In line 31, Eimantas would like to ask Žygimantas, how much it costs a month to go to the gym center Impuls: *how much **blet** kinda **nachui***. However, his question is filled with Russian swearwords and only the initial 'how much' indicates that he inquires about the price. But the quite heavy loading of Russian swearwords does not impede Žygimantas to comprehend the question and to give the answer right away: *one hundred and twenty litas* (line 32).

6.10.3. The unconventional usage of fuck in interaction

In subsections 6.10.1. and 6.10.2. I have analysed the usage of Russian swearwords in interaction and how they contribute to the construction of female streetwise style and the reinforcement of the masculine style. Even though Russian swearwords are considered very strong among adolescents, they hardly ever make comments about these swearwords, especially about their linguistic meanings. One of the reasons could be that contemporary adolescents do not know the literal meanings of Russian swearwords. But as the example below illustrates, a playful swearing in English draws young speakers' attention.

Extract 3. What a fork

- 1 Pijus: žiūrėkit dabar mokat èè pakelkit vieną antakį dabar kitą pakelk (.) what
 a fork
 2 Pijus: what a fork
 3 (Eimantas supposedly raises eyebrows)
 (.)
 4 Eimantas: ką **blet** (.) kodėl tu sakei viena ne kas per šakutė sakei

⁸² It is also worth-mentioning that Eimantas did not lengthen /i/ in stressed syllables, 0/20.

- 5 Pijus: kaip tu kitą taip pakeli? (in a surprised tone)
 6 Eimantas: davai Kamile
 7 Pijus: davai tu padaryk taip (.) vieną pakelk (.) va ir man ir kitas taip

Translation

- 1 Pijus: look now can you eh raise one eyebrow now raise another
 (.)
 2 Pijus: what a fork
 3 (Eimantas supposedly raises eyebrows)
 (.)
 4 Eimantas: what **blet** (.) why have you said one no what a fork you've said
 5 Pijus: how do you raise another one? (in a surprised tone)
 6 Eimantas: c'mon Kamile
 7 Pijus: c'mon do so (.) raise one (.) oh and I and another yes

The extract is taken from the same conversation as in 6.10.2. Pijus introduces the new skill – to raise one's eyebrows. Eimantas must be the first one who raises his eyebrows. I do not have a video recording of the interaction, but I assume that the phrase in line 2 what a fork denotes Pijus' astonishment that Eimantas was able to raise one eyebrow at a time. However, instead of uttering a conventional what a fuck, Pijus decides to play with the swearing expression: He very clearly says what a fork. Eimantas is quite surprised by his choice of swearing. Instead of carrying on with the conversation as usual and the game of eyebrow rising, Eimantas in line 4 pays attention to Pijus swearing. He instantly translates the expression into Lithuanian and asks his friend why he has said what a fork as if he does not understand whether Pijus was swearing or referring to a piece of cutlery. Eimantas would not have commented Pijus' choice of swearing if he had sworn conventionally instead of a word play.

6.10.4. The construction of streetwise style through the use of English

The results of the research of adolescents' attitudes to swearing showed that the great usage of Russian invokes a stereotype of a streetwise persona whereas swearing in English is associated with a rather neutral social style. Naturally, we have to bear in mind that I arrived at such a conclusion based on adolescents' evaluations of two utterances, of which one was loaded with Russian swearwords and the other one contained just a single English swearword. Had I included an utterance, which involved more swearing in English, the results might have been different. As the extract 4 illustrates, English can be employed in the construction of the streetwise and anti-establishment style.

Extract 4. I put my cock in your pussy

- 1 Laurynas: I put my cock, I put my cock in your ass hole, I put my cock in vagina. (loudly)
- 2 Teacher: Viskas pabaik, nustok siautėti. (juokaudama)
English translation: All right stop it, stop raging. (jokingly)
- 3 Laurynas: I put my cock in your pussy. (loudly)
(Fieldnote, the 13th of December, 2012)

This extract is taken not from the self-recording, but from my fieldnotes / diary. Laurynas is a boy who performs a streetwise style. The utterance was said on the 13th of December which was Laurynas' last in the Owl School. He was expelled from school because of his misbehavior. The message that I present in extract 4 is Laurynas' last message to his teacher in Lithuanian. He shouted it out loud after the bell had rung and the other pupils started to pack their things. Even though there was some noise in the class, the teacher was able to hear him shouting from the back of the class. However, she did not understand the message; otherwise she would not have asked jokingly to calm down.

Laurynas produced a long swearing utterance entirely in English. It involved several words, related with the sex organ theme: cock (several times), ass hole, vagina, and pussy. I would argue that the listed words are loaded with the stronger taboo in the Lithuanian society than fuck. Danish sociolinguists noticed that fuck is more stigmatized and more taboo-laden expression in English than it is in Danish (Jørgensen & Quist 2008: 100 on the swearing in English among Danish youth, Christie 2013: 153 on the offensiveness of fuck in British English). The same can be applied to Lithuanian as well. The results of my study have pointed to adolescents' tendency to regard fuck as mild swearing, because (1) it is not associated with the street culture and style as distinct from the swearing in Russian, and (2) it indexes freshness and novelty (see also 6.8.2.). Besides, it can be assumed that the English swearword fuck was borrowed into the Lithuanian language as a swearword but not as a verb 'to fuck' (cf. similar borrowing patterns of fuck into the Danish language in Jørgensen & Quist 2008: 100), thus, the primary meaning of fuck in Lithuanian is 'modern new way of swearing'. Cock, pussy and alike also represent the new way of swearing among Vilnius adolescents. But unlike, fuck, the literal meanings of new additions to the Lithuanian swearing language are more apparent. Consequently, the utterance I put my cock, I put my cock in your ass hole, I put my cock in vagina has a clear sexual undertone to those who master English, which might have been important to Laurynas, because he was one of the boys who constantly made different sexual signs with his fingers and mouth (see 4.2.2.). Naturally, the utterance should not be understood literally, otherwise, it would not be a swearing, but the filth is very much palpable due to the inclusion of cock, ass hole, vagina, and pussy.

In 4.10., I described Laurynas as the iconic practitioner of streetwise style. In the paragraph above, I argued that his swearing utterance is very harsh, therefore, the swearing definitely enhances Laurynas' status as an iconic streetwiser. Besides, one must have enough courage to shout such words out loud in the classroom and direct them towards the teacher. Although the teacher clearly did not grasp the meaning of Laurynas' statements, his classmates surely did. However, it still seems that Laurynas' swearing practice, presented in extract 4, is divergent from the streetwise style cluster. It is not English, but Russian resources – from Russian-accented pronunciation (5.8.) to swearing practices (6.8.1. and 6.10.1.) – that are associated with and constitute an important part of the streetwise style cluster. Thus, Laurynas' swearing in extract 4 raises the question: Why English? The answer might lie in the linguistic resources that Laurynas has at his disposal. In the individual interview, Laurynas told me that he did not know Russian at all. I was under the same impression after I had observed his performance in the Russian classes. But his English was perfect, in fact, Laurynas was one of the most fluent speakers of English among the studied pupil cohort. Of course, one does not need to speak a language in order to be able to swear in that language. Contemporary adolescents might not be aware of the actual meanings of Russian and Slavic swearwords, but they do know that these words are swearwords and use them accordingly. Among Laurynas' linguistic resources there must be lots of Russian, Slavic, and Lithuanian swearwords. Actually, I also noted in my fieldwork diary that you can recognize Laurynas by his swearing – he was one of the most diligent swearers among the eighth graders. But due to the limited competence in Russian, his Russian and Slavic swearing was limited to formulaic and well-established utterances. The utterance in extract 4, though, demonstrates a creative but still harsh swearing, which was most probably designed on the spot for this particular occasion – to cuss the teacher out. Although streetwise style is based on the Russian and Slavic linguistic resources, it is further developed by the contemporary practitioners who employ new practices and resources, available to them, to the style construction. But as the streetwise style is both associated with and still constructed using the harshest swearwords – Russian *blet* and *nachui*, the style is being developed along the same lines, that is, by employing English resources, loaded with very strong taboo. Hence, the usage of well-established Russian and Slavic swearing practices as well as a good command of English, hereby also English swearwords, makes Laurynas' streetwise style modern.

6.10.5. Swearing and an active pro-school adolescent style

In section 6.10.2. of the chapter, I argued that Russian swearing is by no means restricted to the construction of a streetwise persona. Russian swearing can also be employed to construct masculinity and coolness as well as these linguistic resources can be used to gain a certain status in a peer conversation. Similar indexical meanings

of Russian resources in Vilnius adolescent speech are also analyzed in a corpus-based research (Vaicekauskienė & Vyšniauskienė, under review, see also Vyšniauskienė 2014). In section 6.10.4., I demonstrated how obscene English swearing can be employed in the construction of contemporary streetwise style. As far as the construction of the cool is concerned, it was already mentioned in the introductory section, people often swear to gain power (Hughes 1993 [1991], 2006, see also Tamaševičius 2012). But what about people whose access to power does not involve any obscenities and who often act like and thus are perceived by us as “cornerstones in the social structure [and thus] are expected to keep their appearance and language pure and clean” (Andersson & Trudgill 1990: 65). In this part, I will turn the spotlight on the adolescents who are least thought of to be using *bad language*: How do they weave together squeaky-clean image and otherwise repugnant linguistic practices?

This section will focus on the swearing practices of one of the most popular girls among the eighth graders in the Owl School – Kamilė who performs active pro-school style (see chapter 4, particularly section 4.1, and subsections 4.2.1, 4.3.1., 4.4.2). To analyse namely Kamilė’s swearing practices was not a random choice. Popularity entails that one’s private life is on display. It is hardly ever rumored about the loners. Popular pupils are, on the contrary, talked about a lot: Their appearance and behavior are at times judged extra hard, like one morning the flock of girls from the 8y were discussing the rumor of Kamilė drinking with her classmates the previous evening. The girls in the 8y could not believe that Kamilė could actually have been drinking. They were quite unsure if they should believe their source of information. It is not surprising that the news of Kamilė consuming alcohol came like a thunderbolt (the rumor though was never confirmed) – Kamilė had strong anti-smoking and drinking attitudes, besides, she was clearly a teacher’s favorite.

Kamilė herself must at least to some extent be aware of her special place in the eighth graders’ social order (note how she perceives the victory in the election for a class representative in 4.4.2.). Of all the pupils who were asked to record conversations with their friends (self-recordings), Kamilė was the only one who apologized for the speech of her friends. After delivering the voice-recorder, she told me that she had asked her friends to talk *nicely*, however, she was afraid of that a few *ugly* words might have slipped in anyway⁸³. Besides, in the study about adolescent swearing practices, answering the question about her most frequently used swearwords, Kamilė not only listed the swearwords, she also noted that she did not swear any longer. This statement was written in capital letters: *BET DABAR NEBESIKEIKIU!* (*But now I do not swear anymore!*). Thus, according to my observations, among the studied adolescent cohort Kamilė was put under the great pressure to keep her image clean-cut, and yet at the

⁸³ I do not have Kamilė’s instructions of speaking nicely ‘on tape’, in any case, they did not seem to have any impact on the actual recordings. The extracts 2 and 5 are taken from the recordings, carried out by Kamilė.

same time, appealing to the *masses* (a popular girl in school). For this reason, it is Kamilė's swearing practices that I'm going to scrutinize in this section. We begin with my fieldwork observations during the EP class.

The 9th of October, EP with 8x, from the fieldwork diary

Kamilė is doing a somersault, however, she accidentally bumps her bum, and she goes "**blet**". Immediately after the utterance of **blet**, Kamilė apologizes: "Excuse me for the swearword". It seems that she is apologizing not to me, I sit too far away on the bench at the edge of exercise court, so Kamilė couldn't be paying any attention to me. Besides, she is not even looking at my side. Most probably she is apologizing to her friends – Urtė, Rūta, and Eglė, who observed her doing a somersault.

There is nothing strange that Kamilė swore after she had hit her bum. It is not uncommon to relieve pain and failure (the ending of the somersault was after all not so elegant) with swearing (Ljung 2011). However, it was not very common to apologize for swearing, especially if swearing occurred amongst adolescents. It was only Kamilė's closest friends in school – Urtė, Rūta, and Eglė, who observed her attempt at somersault. Other adults – two EP coaches and myself were not that near the spot on the exercise court, where the girls had gathered. Well, I was actually sitting within the hearing distance, that's why I could overhear Kamilė swearing. However, Kamilė was not apologizing to me or to the EP coaches, which would make more sense because it is not allowed to swear in school, particularly during a lesson. Kamilė's apology was solely directed towards her closest girlfriends.

Blet is a very frequent and yet nonetheless considered as a harsh swearword among the informants of the study (and most probably among Vilnius adolescents in general) (see 6.6., 6.7., 6.8.1., see also Vyšniauskienė 2014). Thus, it is as a rule associated with the streetwise style. Kamilė also evaluated **blet** as a strong swearword. Kamilė's spontaneous exclamation of **blet** was clearly audible to all the girls in the group who were like Kamilė practitioners of the *active pro-school* style. Unlike the spontaneous **blet**, the *Atsiprašau už keiksmąžodį* (*Excuse me for the swearword*) should have been more or less deliberate. The purpose of the apology was not only to admit the inappropriateness of the preceding utterance. It served also a means to remedy Kamilė's image and to enhance the distance between her and the street culture. The apology was yet another performative action, like anti-smoking and anti-drinking attitudes, active participation in school culture, through which Kamilė was consistently disassociating herself from the street style. It is also worth-mentioning that although Kamilė's apology was very clear and audible like the swearword itself, it was uttered in rather playfully, but not too playfully which would make the apology to sound like a joke. The cheerful mode can in turn indicate Kamilė's intention not to make a big deal out of the swearing situation as well as not to appear as a very apprehensive pupil.

The way how a certain utterance has been said, can significantly change the utterance itself. This is very evident in Kamilė's swearing in extract 5.

Extract 5: How cute

- 1 Kamilė: lemūras
2 (4.0)
3 Pijus: (sighs loudly) kaip tai Džulijanas ane?
4 Kamilė: (very quietly) mhm
5 Eimantas: ei Julien
6 (9.0)
7 Kamilė: **pyzda** kaip miela
8 Eimantas: norėtum?
9 Kamilė: žiauriai

Translation

- 1 Kamilė: lemur
2 (4.0)
3 Pijus: (sighs loudly) who's he Julien isn't he?
4 Kamilė: (very quietly) mhm
5 Eimantas: hey Julien
6 (9.0)
7 Kamilė: **pyzda** how cute
8 Eimantas: would you want him?
9 Kamilė: terribly

Extract 5 is taken from the same self-recording as extract 2. It seems that Kamilė is flicking through a magazine and comes across the photo of lemur King Julien from the animated movie 'Madagascar 3: Europe's Most Wanted'. The source with King Julien in it was never mentioned, therefore it is very difficult to tell how and why this lemur got into the conversation. In any case, it looks like Kamilė is fond of these Madagascan animals and she would even like to have one herself (Kamilė's positive answer in 9 to Pijus' question in line 8). Kamilė's admiration for lemurs is expressed in line 7, which also contains a Russian swearword **pyzda**. This swearword Kamilė herself considers a very strong one according to the questionnaire-based survey (see 6.4., 6.6., and 6.7.). However, the whole utterance in line 7 is said in an extremely sweet voice, which totally weakens the strength and harshness of a swearword and decontaminates the swearing.

So far I have discussed Kamilė's swearing practices which were sterilized by either apology or a very sweet voice. Such sterilized swearing practices pertain perfectly to the active pro-school style. But is Kamilė always on the alert to keep her image squeaky-clean? The next example – extract 6 – presents a different type of Kamilė's swearing practices.

Extract 6: Age differences in relationships

- 1 Rūta: o tarkim Adelės vaikinui buvo panašu? panašu nu kažkas tokio
2 Kamilė: xxx
3 Rūta: dvidešimt vieneri
4 Kamilė: ir jie susituokė susižadėjo?
5 Rūta: jo
6 Kamilė: **pyzdiec** penkiolikmetė
7 Rūta: aš aš=
8 Kamilė: =*eik tu šikt*
9 Rūta: mano irgi tokia pati reakcija buvo
10 Kamilė: *debilė* [xxx]
11 Rūta: [taigi] jinai dar žiemą kieme draugavo su tokiu Simonu ten įisai
aikštelėj
12 būna (.) o tam Simonui yra (.) am (.) dvidešimt (.) ne trisdešimt
13 Kamilė: kaip jinai gali norėti tokio vyro?
14 Rūta: nu aš nežinau nu aš tarkim niekada nenorėčiau (.) man (.) dviem metais jau ir
15 taip kažkaip atrodo (.) o Dieve
16 Kamilė: ne kai užaugs kai tau bus penkiolika (.) oi tpfu **blyn** dvidešimt penkeri (.) tai
17 trisdešimt aštuoneri tau bachūras būtų idealus

Translation

- 1 Rūta: and let's say was it the same for Adelė's boyfriend? the same well something like that
2 Kamilė: xxx
3 Rūta: twenty-one
4 Kamilė: and they got married engaged?
5 Rūta: yea
6 Kamilė: **pyzdiec** fifteen-year-old
7 Rūta: I I=
8 Kamilė: =*go to shit*
9 Rūta: mine reaction was also exactly the same
10 Kamilė: *retard* [xxx]
11 Rūta: [so] last winter she was still dating such Simonas he often hangs
12 out at the playground (.) and that Simonas is (.) umh (.) twenty (.) no thirty
13 Kamilė: how can she want such a man?
14 Rūta: well I don't know well I let's say would never wish (.) for me (.) two years older
15 and that already looks like somehow (.) oh God
16 Kamilė: no when you will be grown-up when you will be fifteen (.) oh pthu **blyn** twenty-five (.) so
17 thirty-eight-year-old boyfriend would be ideal for you

The extract was recorded when Kamilė and her best friend Rūta were leaving the shopping center and heading towards a bus stop. Rūta has slightly sprained her ankle. The conversation begins with Rūta's question if something like that has happened to one of their mutual friend Adelė's boyfriend. However, instead of answering her friend's question, Kamilė asks how old Adelė's boyfriend is (Kamilė's question is in fact unintelligible, however, Rūta's answer suggests that she must have inquired about the age). The mention of Adelė's boyfriend, and especially his age, changes the topic of the conversation from the sprained ankle to age differences in relationships. Both Rūta and Kamilė are slandering bad behind their friend's back, how inappropriate it is for a fifteen-year-old girl to date – let alone to get engaged to – a markedly older guy. In line 10, Kamilė even calls Adelė *debilė* (*retard*). In fact, three successive lines feature Kamilė's continuous swearing: *pyzdiec* in line 6, *eik tu šikt* (*go to shit*) in line 8, and *debilė* (*retard*) in line 10. In my corpus of self-recordings, there are very few instances of Kamilė swearing continuously. Furthermore, swearword *debilė* (*retard*) is considered as strong by the majority of the informants of the swearword study (cf. table 6.2.), swearword *pyzdiec* is regarded by Kamilė herself as a harsh one. However, this time none of the swearwords was not neutralized in any way. All of this leads to the question: Why does Kamilė's linguistic practice in this extract is so divergent from her usual linguistic practices? The answer could lie Kamilė's attitude towards in the topic of the conversation. Obscene linguistic practices sum up perfectly Kamilė's disfavor of a fifteen-year old girl going out with a considerably older guy. Besides, Rūta evaluates Kamilė's attitude, hence, swearing as well, positively – it also reflects her own attitude (line 9). Thus, unlike Eimantas in extract 2, Kamilė does not employ swearing to gain a certain status of the cool in the conversation. She uses swearing to aptly enhance the repugnance of such dating practices among adolescents: *kaip jinai gali norėti tokio vyro?* (*how can she want such a man?*).

The next example of Kamilė's swearing practice – extract 7 – does not contain any Slavic-swearwords. Kamilė uses Lithuanian swearwords, which, according to the results of my questionnaire survey are neither very frequently used (6.6.) nor strong (6.7.). However, in this case, it is not the obscenity of swearwords that matters but when and how they are incorporated into the conversation. But let's read the extract first.

Extract 7. Shit

- 1 Kamilė: nu žinokit (.) *eina šikti*
- 2 (5.0) (strong wind, the sound of cars passing by)
- 3 Rūta: tu gali pasakot kas buvo
- 4 (7.0) (strong wind, the sound of cars passing by)
- 5 (a short conversation with the girlfriends, met on the way)
- 6 (10.0) (strong wind, the sound of cars passing by)
- 7 Kamilė: tai va žodžiu (.) mes pirkom maudymukus ir buvo *šūdas* (.) ir karočia neradom

- 8 maudymuko už tai susiparinom (.) ką tik pavogiau bandelę netyčia tai (.)
 ką aš
 9 žinau turėjom įrašinėti ee (.) dvi valandas bet įrašinėjom šešiolika minučių
 (.) ar
 10 keturias
 11 Rūta: nes mes netyčia išjungėm tiksliau mano tašėj išsijungė diktofonas

Translation

- 1 Kamilė: well You know (.) *it goes to shit*
 2 (5.0) (strong wind, the sound of cars passing by)
 3 Rūta: you can tell what happened
 4 (7.0) (strong wind, the sound of cars passing by)
 5 (a short conversation with the girlfriends, met on the way)
 6 (10.0) (strong wind, the sound of cars passing by)
 7 Kamilė: so well (.) we were buying swimsuits and it was *shit* (.) and you know we
 didn't
 8 find a swimsuit because of it we got nervous (.) I have just accidentally
 stolen a
 9 bread roll so (.) what do I know we had to record for eh (.) two hours but we
 10 were only recording for sixteen minutes (.) or four
 11 Rūta: because we accidentally turned off actually the voice-recorder itself turned
 off
 12 in my bag

Extract 7 is the very beginning of one of the self-recordings, conducted by Kamilė and Rūta. The first words, said directly into the voice-recorder, is Kamilė's utterance in line 1, where she addresses me: *nu žinokit (well You know)*. Kamilė's address is instantly followed by swearing in Lithuanian: *eina šikti (it goes to shit)*. After a short break, Rūta encourages her best friend to tell what happened earlier. However, Kamilė does not immediately answers Rūta's question, there is a 7-second pause in the conversation (line 4). Then the girls meet their girlfriends, so, only in line 7, Kamilė resumes the conversation and confesses what has happened: *tai va žodžiu (.) mes pirkom maudymukus ir buvo šūdas (so well (.) we were buying swimsuits and it was shit)*. The addressee of the conversation is still me, and yet, Kamilė utters another Lithuanian swearword – *šūdas (shit)*. Kamilė's linguistic practice, reported in extract 7, is divergent from her usual stance. In the third paragraph of the subsection, I mentioned that Kamilė was the only informant of the ones who carried out self-recordings, who apologized for the *ugly* words that her friends (!) might have said. In the questionnaire survey, she claimed to have stopped swearing. Extracts 5–7 prove Kamilė being wrong – she uses those *ugly* words as well. But unlike extracts 5 and 6, when Kamilė arguably was not aware of the recording situation, in extract 7, she is swearing directly to the voice-recording and being fully conscious of that I will be listening to it – after all, she is addressing me herself. Naturally, the swearwords that Kamilė uses in this indi-

rect interaction with me, are a lot milder than in the conversations with her friends (extract 5 and 6), nonetheless, I would assume, she knows that *eina šikti* (*it goes to shit*) and *šūdas* (*shit*) are swearwords, or at least, not-so-nice expressions. So why is she then using them in her speech, addressed to me? Kamilė's telling in lines 7–10 involves series of failures: (1) The girls did not manage to buy swimsuits for the class excursion, (2) Kamilė's theft of a bread roll by accident, and (3) realization that they had been recording for a lot less than they thought. She does not need to maintain her active pro-school style because it is already damaged. Her image of a popular stylish girl is on the line (1), she failed as a virtuous citizen (2), and a good participant in a research project (3). Hence, swearwords go hand in hand with Kamilė's failures.

In this section, I have analysed swearing practices in connection to the active pro-school style, which is not characteristic of obscene linguistic practices. Danish sociolinguist Lian Malai Madsen, for instance, analyses how Copenhagen late modern youth style, which is broadly associated with minority youth and hereby street culture, is actually employed in the construction of school-ambitious boy identities (Madsen 2008: 6.3). She concludes that “at least on a linguistic level, streetwise and schoolwise practices are successfully integrated in the interactional behaviour” (Madsen 2008: 226). Based on the analysis of Kamilė's swearing practices, I can draw a conclusion that swearing practices are aptly involved in the construction of pro-school style. Strong swearwords are either neutralized by either apology (extract from the field diary) or an exceptionally cute voice (extract 5). But swearing practices can also be used to emphasize disapproval of certain social behavior (extract 6) or enhance misery of the situation (extract 7).

However, unlike male informants in Madsen's study, all of whom were of minority ethnic background and therefore could all be stereotypically associated with Copenhagen late modern youth style, Kamilė and other practitioners of the active pro-school style cluster are neither regarded as nor are the big swearers. Actually, Kamilė's swearing practices, presented in this section, constitute more than a half of all recorded Kamilė's swearing practices. Based on the quantitative analysis of Kamilė's swearing practices, we could assume that this girl does not possess any power. Lithuanian psycholinguist Jolanta Lėgaudaitė draws a very similar conclusion in interpreting the frequency difference of slang in girls' and boys' speech (Lėgaudaitė 2002, also 1.2.1.). Based solely on the linguistic analysis of the data, such conclusion seems credible. But if we widen our scope and take into consideration the analysis of the social landscape and the life-worlds of the informants, we will get a very different picture. The active pro-school style, practiced by the protagonist of this subsection, is in fact the institutionally most powerful style. Kamilė positions herself as a popular, hence, powerful pupil in the eighth-grader cohort, who enjoys both great trust among the teachers and the other pupils. However, the power that Kamilė possesses, is exercised through the maintenance of squeaky-clean image. Consequently, little usage of swearwords and sterilization of the occurred swearing practices only strengthens Kamilė's positions as a powerful girl in school.

6.11. ARE THEY ABLE NOT TO SWEAR?

This chapter was dedicated to the analysis of reported, attitudinal and interactional swearing practices among adolescents from Vilnius dormitory neighborhoods. I formulated the objectives of the research on adolescents' swearing practices in 6.2., that is, to figure out if different swearing practices are associated with different styles and to investigate how swearing practices are involved in development of different styles. Still, the choice to dedicate the whole chapter to swearing in the thesis about youth language most probably is not unexpected. According to popular belief, youth language is filled with obscene swearwords. Besides, swearing is often regarded as one of the main features of youth language. However, popular belief is not entirely supported by academic studies. The results of the intergenerational research, carried out in Denmark, showed that young Danes do not swear more than other generations. The difference lies not in the frequency of swearwords, but in the types of swearwords that each generation is prone to choose – young Danes tend to swear in English and to use scatological, sexual intercourse and sex organ themes for swearing (Rathje 2008, 2011, see also Jørgensen & Quist 2008: 101–102). Rathje's (2008, 2011) intergenerational research has also proved the youth to be the most linguistically flexible of all the generations, which means that young people are more inclined to change their speech depending on the interlocutors of the interaction. Thereby, I would like to finish the chapter on Vilnius adolescents' swearing practices with the quick insight into the question, which is different of what has been discussed thus far, namely: Are nowadays adolescents capable of talking nicely and purely, i.e. without swearwords? Of course, they are. I have listened to dozens of hours of adolescents' conversations with their friends as well as I have observed their linguistic behavior in the classroom. Therefore, I can tell with a rather big certainty that none of the adolescents, who participated in this study, talk in the same way with their teachers and other adults as they talk with their peers. Adolescents' shift in style can also be explained within the framework of audience design: "Speakers design their style to accommodate their addressees" (Bell 1984: 147, see also Bell 2001 for the updated version). In the questionnaire (see appendices 2 and 3), I have also asked my informants if they change their language when they talk with older people. Out of 79 informants, only 12 responded that they do not change their language. However, among those 12 informants are also the ones who do not need to change their language as the language they use, is very close to the set standard in our society. The vast majority of those, who stated that they change their language, indicated the swearing as the practice they do not engage in, when they interact with older people. This reported evaluations of the linguistic behavior as well as my observations and self-recordings only confirm that nowadays adolescents are aware of the linguistic norms of the society.

But what about adolescents whose practices deviant considerably from the norm and who practice the streetwise style? As this chapter is about swearing, I would just

say a few final remarks about the swearing practices of the streetwise adolescents. First of all, heavy swearing in Russian, which is regarded as exceptionally harsh and repugnant in the Lithuanian society, is primarily used to address peers. Only under certain circumstances, they would use swearwords to address adults, and when they do that, they are very much aware of that they are breaking the rules. Likewise, they know that their language is perceived as bad by the others, even when they are talking with their friends. But that is exactly the point. They do not want to appear as good adolescents, teacher's favorites etc. They swear because they want to be tough, offensive, and rude. And whenever adults make a comment about their bad language, they just confirm that streetwise adolescents are on the right track.

7. CONCLUSION: THE FINAL ARGUMENT OF THE PROJECT

Vilnius Adolescents' Social Order: An Outsider's Look Inside is the first monograph-length study of the social dynamics of Vilnius youth. Although the point of departure for the dissertation was my interest in youth language, the project does not confine itself to the study of adolescent language, but rather explores social diversity and complexity of adolescence, part of which is also language. Thus, the present dissertation seeks not only to answer the question “how do Vilnius adolescents speak”, but also “what do Vilnius adolescents have to say?”. Originated in linguistic matters, dissertation has evolved to the analysis of adolescents' voice in very broad terms (Blommaert 2010). Based on a sustained ethnographic fieldwork in a secondary school in Vilnius, the project focuses on the key topics of pupils as those topics emerged in the everyday life of school – popularity, social isolation, participation in the school culture, and rejection of it, and, in general, how contemporary pupils organize their social life in school.

But why one should study adolescents' social life in school? Albeit the answer to this question was hidden between the lines and is the red thread that binds the dissertation together, in the last pages of the text I would like to straighten out the main argument (and hereby to convince the reader to read the preceding chapters, had she or he started flicking through the dissertation from the back). We all have been (some still are!) adolescents, however, in considering adolescence of today we very often utilize our own experiences which do not necessarily correspond to the experiences of contemporary adolescents. Rooted in the personal experience, our perception of nowadays adolescence does not encompass myriads of aspects of this transitive period of person's life, i.e. instead of exploring the whole picture, we are lingering in a little fragment of it. Hence, in order to understand the structure of the nowadays adolescent social order, we have no other choice than to study it.

The memories of our own adolescence are quite often suffused with the experiences, we gained as adults. As a result, we might trivialize adolescent social order – their social relations and practices (cf. Eckert 1989: 184). A fashionable dress or the latest edition of a smartphone could be regarded as meaningless in the adult society, however, these commodities might be of crucial importance in the adolescent society. As Eckert brilliantly notices:

We take it for granted that adults see themselves as having value in the employment market, or in the academic market: résumés, transcripts, and letters of recommendation are easily recognized as part of the construction of value. Personal style is also part of this construction. Children begin to recognize the need to produce themselves for the market as they approach adolescence – as they come to see themselves as commodities whose value is determined in a peer-controlled “marketplace of identities” (Eckert 2000: 14).

When we send our children to school, we do so primarily in the hope that our children will learn Mathematics, Lithuanian, English, etc., prepare themselves for the graduation exams, and maybe find new friends. However, acquisition of the curriculum is just one part of what pupils actually learn in school. Pupils are not only participants in the educational or academic market, they also participate in the heterosexual and popularity markets, where one's value depends on the network of contacts, physical attractiveness, various practices, for instance, smoking and teasing (and being teased), and, to some extent, academic achievements. Unlike the academic market, the heterosexual market and market of popularity are largely governed by adolescents themselves which means that it is adolescents who decide what is legitimate and what is not and who determine that disposal of certain resources give access to power and that shortage of these resources make one powerless. Style which encompasses one's contacts, personal characteristics, practices, and attitudes, equals to résumé in the adult employment markets. Linguistic practices are also included in the development and maintenance of a style.

7.1. HIERARCHICAL STRUCTURE OF THE LOCAL ADOLESCENT SOCIAL ORDER

Active participation in the heterosexual market and market of popularity gives access to the central positions in the hierarchy of adolescent social order. Hence, as any market in the adult society, these two markets of the adolescent social order also contribute to and in a way create inequality by producing winners and losers. Girls through the engagement in the heterosexual practice – take care of their looks and maintain close friendships with the boys – accumulate a lot of power. They are regarded as beautiful, stylish, and popular. As a result, the construction their styles – active pro-school girls and cool girls – is one of the means to gain the leading positions in the local social order. Good girls and nerd girls do not engage in heterosexual pursuits, as a rule they are regarded as boring and unpopular, hence, they end up at the bottom of the social order.

My research was based in school, which means that adolescents had the possibility to employ resources, provided by the institution, in the construction of their local categories and styles. In our society school actually plays a crucial role in determining a value of a certain pupil category or style. A value is dependent on adolescents' relations to school. "Society rewards people who stay in school and cooperate with its institutional arrangements. It stigmatizes and punishes those who marginalize themselves in school, who leave the school altogether" (Eckert 2012 [2004]: 363). Style clusters, which involve such practices as active participation in class and extracurricular activities, obedience to school rules, and acceptance of adult regulations for minors, that is – *active pro-school girls*, *good girls*, *nerd girls*, *nerd boys*, and to some extent, *ordinary boys*, cool

girls, and *cool boys* – are assessed positively in our society and enjoy full institutional support. However, too great engagement in academic practices – meticulous studying, visit of art galleries, reading for pleasure and alike – do not have peers' support. Nerd adolescents who value their investment in academic practices, accumulate a huge baggage of knowledge, but do not possess any power in the local social order.

Lack of interest in school-related activities, violation of school rules, rejection of school and adult authority, and engagement in the prohibited practices, such as smoking and drinking, give rise to two highly prominent social categories and styles of the adolescent social order – *streetwise girls* and *streetwise boys*. It is needless to say that school is a different place for practitioners of *active pro-school style* and practitioners of *streetwise style*. The practices and resources which are involved in the construction of the *streetwise style*, are largely located outside of school, and practitioners of this style orient themselves towards the street. Consequently, pursuit of such style in school leads to punishments. However, based on my observations, I conclude that punishments are ineffective in preventing streetwise adolescents from engaging in illegal practices. Ineffectiveness of punishment could be related to the fact that streetwise adolescents reject the school authority. Instead of quitting the prohibited practices, streetwise adolescents seek to find solutions how to pursue these practices without being punished. However, the possibility of being punished and especially the experienced execution of punishment creates tension between streetwise adolescents and the school. This tension lays the foundation for streetwise adolescents' alienation from school and marginalization within the school culture, which diminishes school's capacity to provide help to adolescents who are in fact the most in need of it. In the individual interviews, all streetwise pupils directly or indirectly expressed the wish to give up smoking and to reduce the problems they were in, for instance, monitoring by the police. However, alienated by the school, these adolescents rely on the support and help, provided by their friends, many of whom are the in the very same situation (cf. Eckert 1989). Thus, although the school and society often depict adolescents who do not obey to school rules as “‘dangerous children’ in need of correction and discipline”, the school and society fail to realize that the same adolescents are actually “‘children in danger’ in need of support and care” (Bengtsson 2012: 14).

I already mentioned here and discussed in more detailed in the chapters of the thesis that streetwise style is a prominent one in the adolescent social order. In consequence, the practitioners of the style, especially boys, are highly ranked in the local hierarchy. They are considered as popular by the other pupils. Although the construction of streetwise boys, cool boys and girls as well as active pro-school girls style leads to popularity, it does not mean that all the styles are judged equally among adolescent themselves. Streetwise adolescents might seem daring, rebellious and tough to some pupils, however, quite a few my informants described such adolescents in negative terms. They still described streetwise adolescents as popular, but they also noted that the practices that

streetwise adolescents pursue – smoking, drinking, cutting classes – is the unearned and easily accessible popularity. What is interesting here is that the evaluation of streetwise adolescent style among adolescent themselves, including the streetwise adolescents, is more or less as it is in the society at large. Quite a few pupils talked openly in the interviews that they did not wish to be around adolescents who smoke and drink, because relationships with them could cause troubles. Similarly, streetwise adolescents told me that a few of their friends drifted away from them and they could understand it, because they are after all ‘a bad company’. Obedience to the school and society regulations entails the negative evaluation of those who do not.

7.2. THE SOCIAL MEANING OF LINGUISTIC VARIATION: MAINTENANCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF A STYLE

Linguistic resources – from phonetic variation to lexical items – are also employed in the construction of a style. Study examined, how lengthening of short front /i/ in stressed syllables is employed in the stylistic work. Among the studied pupil body, streetwise adolescents distinguished themselves in their extensive use of this linguistic resource. Thus, lengthening of short front /i/ in stressed syllables is clustered together with such practices as smoking, drinking, skipping classes, tense relations with school. Through engagement in street practices, streetwise adolescents gave the social meaning of ‘street’ to lengthening of short front /i/ in stressed syllables. As this linguistic resource is loaded with this particular meaning, it becomes less suitable for the construction of non-streetwise styles. It was especially the performers of neat feminine styles – active pro-school girls, cool girls, good girls, and nerd girls, who stayed away from this practice like they used to stay away from any other streetwise practice. The most prominent poles of embodiment of the adolescent social order in the school context are orientation towards the school as institution and acceptance of its norms, and orientation towards the street way of life and rejection of these norms. One of the practices, which embodies orientation towards the street is lengthening of short front /i/ in stressed syllables.

But how global is this social meaning? Is it only in the Owl School that lengthening of /i/ in stressed syllables is employed in the construction of streetwise styles. In order to answer this question, verbal guise experiment was carried out in three other schools in dormitory neighborhoods of Vilnius. The linguistic construction of streetwise styles, particularly masculine streetwise style, was recognized by the respondents in the verbal guise experiment. The results of the experiment allow to conclude that ethnographically discovered social meaning of lengthening is not entirely local and that similar stylistic practices are employed in other adolescent communities of practice.

7.2.1. Swearing as stylistic practice

Due to the lack of research on swearing in the Lithuanian (socio)linguistics, a particular focus in this thesis has been paid to swearing practices among Vilnius adolescents. By applying attitudinal and interactional approaches, I analysed how swearing practices are employed in the development and maintenance of different adolescent styles. Analysis of the pupils' attitudes to heavy swearing in Russian reinforced the well-established assumption – heavy swearing in Russian was judged as practice which foreground the categories of masculinity and street culture. This adolescents' perception was not unexpected. Swearing in Russian is regarded as the obscenest swearing resource by the general society, including adolescents themselves. Within the local social order, streetwise style is based on the rule-breaking, therefore, adolescents in my research simply associated this linguistic practice with the style.

The interactional analysis of my informants' spontaneous conversations revealed that swearing in Russian is not only employed in the construction of masculine streetwise style. It can also acquire other social meanings. The street culture might be perceived as masculine, but there are also girls who intensively engage in the street practices, such as smoking, drinking, skipping classes etc. One of the girls in my study even abandoned the cloth and adornment style which is stereotypically linked to femininity. This category of girls express their orientation towards the street also through the heavy use of the strong swearwords, i.e. swearing in Russian. However, swearing in Russian is by no means restricted to the construction of the streetwise style. The same swearwords can be used by adolescents who have nothing to do with the street culture and who do not engage in any of the street practices. But unlike streetwise adolescents who swear in Russian to reinforce their anti-institutional style even further, non-streetwise adolescents might swear in order to alter their style. Swearing practices provide them resources to gain more power which they are not able to construct through other practices.

Swearing in English, which was represented by the swearword *fuck* in the attitude research, did not invoke any particular local adolescent category and style among my informants. *fuck* was described as a mild swearing practice. The mildness of *fuck* most probably derives from its newness in the Lithuanian context. Whereas the well-established Russian swearwords *nachui* and *blet* are highly stigmatized in the Lithuanian society which at the same time supports their positions as strong obscene swearwords – informants in my research also regard Russian swearwords as the harshest, the English *fuck* currently rather indexes freshness and modernity. Interactional analysis showed that my informants used English swearwords more creatively than the Russian ones which were restricted to the well-established formulaic expressions. This could point to nowadays adolescents' better fluency in English than Russian, but it could as well mean that they use Russian and Slavic resources, which is the heritage of the Soviet occupation, quite passively, i.e. nowadays adolescents mainly operate with the pre-established forms and social meanings which are actualized in a certain communicative act. As it was already

noted, English is relatively new resources on the Lithuanian linguistic landscape. Thus, it is the contemporary youth who contribute both to the expansion of English resources and to the construction and development of social meanings of these resources.

Swearing is usually associated with toughness or being cool. As I already mentioned, the use of harsh Russian swearwords can be employed to possess more power. As a result, linguistic behavior, which does not involve swearing, can be considered as powerless and soft. However, this is not necessarily the case. Active pro-school girls are preoccupied in keeping their style squeaky-clean, this naturally also involves avoidance of stigmatized practices, such as drinking, smoking, and swearing. The restraint of stigmatized practices comes together with the institutional support and more freedom in school. On the very practical level it means that it is only institutionally powerful pupils who can negotiate, let's say, conditions of the class party. Support of the cohort is secured through outgoingness, close relations with the boys as well as interest in beauty and fashion. Swearing practices can grant more power than one normally possesses, likewise, avoidance of swearing practices can be involved in the maintenance of a powerful position which was established through employment of other practices and resources.

7.3. DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE YOUTH STUDIES

The primary variationist analysis identified a few linguistic resources which are employed in the construction of adolescent styles. Only lengthening of short /i/ in stressed syllables was analysed in greater detail. But it would be also interesting to investigate the indexical field of monophthongization of the diphthong /ie/ (/ie/ ---> /e/), burred /r/'s, distinctly guttural /n/'s, and adolescents' use of discourse markers.

Another possible perspective for research is related to the community of practice. The study identifies nine adolescent styles within the school context. Had I chosen to investigate another community of practice, for instance, a courtyard, the study might not only have examined different styles, but also revealed a rather different hierarchical structure of the local social order. I did not discuss about the courtyard enough with my informants for this topic to be included in the thesis, however, one of my informants told me that Kamilė, a popular active pro-school girl, was hardly ever in the courtyard. It is very likely that adolescents who identify themselves with the school and society regulations have a marginalized position in the courtyard which can in turn easily be perceived as part of 'street'. Although there is a prevailing opinion in the public discourse that the courtyards are getting thinned, I still believe courtyard is an interesting and relevant object for the youth studies. A study which focuses on a courtyard, might not only provide a current picture of a courtyard⁸⁴ – who are the

⁸⁴ Of equal interest and relevance is naturally also courtyards from the past (Aleksandravičiūtė's study (in preparation), based on the informants' reminiscences, sheds some light on Vilnius courtyards in the 90's).

core members of a courtyard, what do they occupy themselves with, who abandons this space altogether, and why, how does courtyard look like in different seasons etc., such a study will also yield valuable knowledge about the youth culture outside of school. The majority of research on youth language within sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology was situated in various institutions, where adolescents are under adult control. This means that adolescent stylistic practices, analysed in such studies, inevitably involve adolescents' position and adherence towards the institution. This also means that adolescents' daily agenda has been largely predetermined institutionally. Courtyard is the opposite of the aforementioned.

In this technology times, where the majority of adolescents is equipped with a personal computer and a smartphone, it might seem old-fashioned to locate one's study in what is currently labelled as 'offline' space: courtyard, neighborhood and alike. Thus, there is a growing research body on youth online practices (Androutsopoulos 2007, Dovchin 2015, Leppänen 2008, Leppänen et al. 2009). It is also not uncommon to investigate the interplay between online and offline practices (Stæhr 2014). Although, to put it simply, online refers to mediated communication whereas offline refers to face-to-face interaction (for a critique of such straightforward approach see Stæhr 2014), online activities still have quite a few features in common with the courtyard and alike offline settings. Like in the courtyard, in the online setting adult control is less palpable and here adolescents have more freedom to decide what to do. In claiming this I'm not to deny the role of the school in adolescent lives, and indeed, as Eckert proposes, "teen culture" can be defined as "a response to the opportunities and constraints of the institution that houses it" (Eckert 2012 [2004]: 362). However, it is of equal importance to investigate how "teen culture" is being constructed outside of institution, how adolescents interpret and challenge societal norms, what other norms emerge when adolescents 'are caught totally off-guard'.

The considerable space in the thesis was dedicated to the discussion of streetwise adolescents and the challenges that they face in school. However, street culture is up to this date largely under-researched field in Lithuania. The lack of research leads to "the construction of faulty and inadequate theories" on deviance (Becker 1963: 167). In the same work, Becker argues for the need of ethnography in order to "become aware of the complex and manifold character of the deviant activity" (ibid: 168) and to be able "to tell <...> in detail what a juvenile delinquent does in his daily round of activity and what he thinks about himself, society, and his activities" (ibid: 166). My study was an attempt to provide more space for the streetwise adolescents in the discussion about youth. During the course of the fieldwork, I compiled quite many hours of self-recordings, conducted by streetwise adolescents. This material could also provide a better insight into the street life. However, in order to grasp streetwise adolescents' practices, choices, and experiences, we have to be right there where those practices are pursued. Only direct engaging observation of street culture can yield a solid understanding of its practitioners.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. The transcript from the discussion with Rugilė and Daiva about the party

- Daiva: tai va gavosi taip kad (.) kaip kiekvienas (.) paauglys mes buvom išgėrusios
Aurytė: mhh
Daiva: bet aišku savam (.) savam prote buvom
Aurytė: mhm
Daiva: paskui mes jau atsipalaidavom viską mes jau perdauginom bent jau aš tai tikrai
Aurytė: ką padarei?
Daiva: perdauginau
Aurytė: perdauginai
Daiva: jo daugiau gyvenime sakiau (.) niekada to nebus
Aurytė: mhm
Daiva: nes jau buvo jau bent jau paskui buvo (.) piriboras
<...>
Rugilė: nu šiaip viskas buvo super tikrai man patiko (.) [bet]
Daiva: [bet] išskyrus tą
Rugilė: policiją
Daiva: hm
[Rugilė coughs]
Aurytė: [o tai kas tam vakarėly buvo tokio super?]
Daiva: super [kas buvo?]
Aurytė: [kas buvo] tokio super tam [vakarėly ?]
Daiva: [kad buvom] be tėvų ir kad niekas tau atsiprašant tiesiogine to žodžio prasme *nepiso* smegenų ir ką tu darai kaip tu elgie[si]
Rugilė: [ta] prasme susipažinai [su naujais žmonėm]
Daiva: [xxx]
Rugilė: daug labai pralinksmai (.) llinksmai praleidai laiką (.) šokai dainavai [išsipasakojai visiems]
Daiva: [ten šne-
kėdavai su visais]
Rugilė: taip taip (.) nu valgai ten išgeri ten ką nors nu tikrai buvo labai faina (.) laisvai jautiesi visiškai nieks tavęs nevaržo

Translation

- Daiva: so well it turned out so that (.) like every (.) teenager we were drunk
Aurytė: mhh

Daiva: but certainly we were (.) we were in our minds
Aurytė: mhm
Daiva: then we got relaxed we overdrank at least I definitely did
Aurytė: what did you do?
Daiva: I overdrank
Aurytė: you overdrank
Daiva: yea I told ((myself)) that never ever in the life (.) will it happen
Aurytė: mhm
Daiva: nes jau buvo jau bent jau paskui buvo (.) piriboras
Daiva: because it was well later it was (.) an overkill of alcohol
<...>
Rugilė: well in general everything was super I liked it (.) [but]
Daiva: [but] except that
Rugilė: police
Daiva: hm
[Rugilė coughs]
Aurytė: [but what exactly was so super in that party?]
Daiva: what [was super?]
Aurytė: [what was] so super in that [party]
Daiva: [that we] were without parents and that
nobody excuse me in the very sende of a word *pissed* your mind and ((no-
body cares)) what you do and how you beha[ve]
Rugilė: [in] the sense you got to know
[new people]
Daiva: [xxx]
Rugilė: there was lots of fun (.) you had a fun time (.) you danced sang [you poured
your heart out to everybody]
Daiva: [like you tal-
ked with everybody]
Rugilė: yes yes (.) well you eat like you drink like something well really it was very
awesome (.) you feel totally free nobody is constricting you

APPENDIX 2. The original version of the questionnaire about the pupils' language use and attitudes to youth language

Mokinių apklausa apie jų pačių kalbą

Apklausos tikslas yra sužinoti mokinių nuomonę apie jų pačių ir jų bendraamžių kalbą. Apklausos rezultatai bus pateikiami apibendrintai ir naudojami tik moksliniams tikslams.

1. Vardas. _____

2. Ar tenka sulaukti pastabų iš aplinkinių dėl savo kalbos?

☐ Taip

☐ Ne

3. Iš kokių žmonių dažniausiai sulauki pastabų dėl kalbos? (Į šį klausimą reikia atsakyti, jei į prieš tai buvusį klausimą atsakei „taip“.)

4. Kokios tos pastabos? Pateik kelis pavyzdžius.

5. Ar kalbėdamas/kalbėdama su vyresniais žmonėmis keiti savo kalbą?

☐ Taip, labai keičiu savo kalbą.

☐ Taip, truputį keičiu savo kalbą.

☐ Nekeičiu kalbos.

6. Jei keiti kalbą kalbėdamas/kalbėdama su vyresniais, kaip ją keiti?

7. Kokius keiksmažodžius tu pats/tu pati dažniausiai vartoji? (Jei visai nevartoji keiksmažodžių savo kalboje, tada tiesiog atsakyk, kad nesikeiki.)

8. Parašyk 5, tavo manymu, stipriausius keiksmažodžius. Keiksmažodžius išvardink stulpeliu: pirmas keiksmažodis stipriausias, antras ne toks stiprus ir t.t.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

9. „Blet tu jam skambink, dalbajobas nachui. Jis blet visas užsigrūžinęs sėdi blet, nachui rašinėja blet nachui.“ Tai sakinyš iš jaunimo kalbos. Kaip apibūdintum tokią jaunimo kalbą? Ar jaunimo tarpe tokia kalba turi kokią nors pavadinimą?

10. „Blet tu jam skambink, dalbajobas nachui. Jis blet visas užsigrūžinęs sėdi blet, nachui rašinėja blet nachui.“ Trumpai apibūdink taip kalbančius paauglius.

11. Tavo nuomone, šitą sakinį greičiausiai pasakė (Galima pažymėti abu variantus.)

- ☐ Mergina
- ☐ Vaikinas

12. „What a fuck, kas ten darosi?“ Trumpai apibūdink taip kalbančius paauglius.

13. Tavo nuomone, šitą sakinį greičiausiai pasakė (Galima pažymėti abu variantus.)

- ☐ Mergina
- ☐ Vaikinas

14. „Tikiuosi, vėl nesusifeilinau kaip visada.“ Trumpai apibūdink taip kalbančius paauglius.

15. Tavo nuomone, šitą sakinį greičiausiai pasakė (Galima pažymėti abu variantus.)

- ☐ Mergina
- ☐ Vaikinas

Ačiū už išsakytą nuomonę. Gražios tau dienos ☺

APPENDIX 3. The translated English version of the online questionnaire about the pupils' language use and attitudes to youth language

Pupils' Survey about Their Language

The objective of the survey is to get to know pupils' attitude to their language and language of their peers.

The results of the survey will be generalized and used exclusively for the research.

1. Name. _____

2. Do you get to hear the comments about your language from other people?

☐ Yes

☐ No

3. From what people do you usually hear the comments about your language? (You have to answer this question, if you have answered „yes“ in the previous question.)

4. What kind of remarks do you hear? Give a few examples.

5. Do you change your language when you talk with the older people?

☐ Yes, I change my language a lot.

☐ Yes, I change my language a little bit.

☐ I do not change my language.

6. If you change your language when you talk with the older people, how do you change it?

7. What swearwords do you usually use? (If you do not use any swearwords, then just write that you do not swear.)

8. Write down 5 swearwords which are in your opinion, the strongest. Write down swearwords in a column where the first swearword is the strongest, the second one is less strong and so on.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

9. “**Blet** you call him, **asshole nachui**. He **blet** sits all itchy (nervous), **nachui** he is writing (sms) **blet nachui**.”⁸⁵ This is the sentence from the youth language. How would you describe such a language. Does this type of language have any name among the youth?

10. “**Blet** you call him, **asshole nachui**. He **blet** sits all itchy (nervous), **nachui** he is writing (sms) **blet nachui**.” Briefly describe adolescents who talk like that.

11. In your opinion, this sentence most probably has been said by (You can also choose both)

- ☐ a girl ☐ a boy

12. “*What a fuck*, what’s going on?”⁸⁶ Briefly describe adolescents who talk like that.

13. In your opinion, this sentence most probably has been said by (You can also choose both)

- ☐ a girl ☐ a boy

14. „I hope, *I haven’t failed* as always.”⁸⁷ Briefly describe adolescents who talk like that.

15. In your opinion, this sentence most probably has been said by (You can also choose both)

- ☐ a girl ☐ a boy

Thank you for your opinion. Have a nice day ☺

⁸⁵ Original phrase in Lithuanian: „**Blet** tu jam skambink, **dalbajobas nachui**. Jis **blet** visas užsigrūžinęs sėdi **blet, nachui** rašinėja **blet nachui**.”

⁸⁶ Original phrase in Lithuanian: „*What a fuck*, kas ten darosi?”

⁸⁷ Original phrase in Lithuanian: „Tikiuosi, vėl *nesusifeilinau* kaip visada.”

APPENDIX 4. The original version of the questionnaire of the verbal guise experiment (see below)

1. Kaip tau atrodo, ar šis paauglys: (pažymėk kryželiu)

populiarus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nepopuliarus
turi žalingų įpročių	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	neturi žalingų įpročių
žaidžia mokyklos rinktinėje	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nežaidžia mokyklos rinktinėje

Trumpai apibūdink (1) kalbėtoją. Kokio tipo tai paauglys?

2. Kaip tau atrodo, ar ši paauglė: (pažymėk kryželiu)

populiari	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nepopuliari
turi žalingų įpročių	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	neturi žalingų įpročių
vaidina mokyklos vaidinimuose	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nevaidina mokyklos vaidinimuose

Trumpai apibūdink (2) kalbėtoją. Kokio tipo tai paauglė?

3. Kaip tau atrodo, ar ši paauglė: (pažymėk kryželiu)

populiari	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nepopuliari
turi žalingų įpročių	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	neturi žalingų įpročių
vaidina mokyklos vaidinimuose	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nevaidina mokyklos vaidinimuose

Trumpai apibūdink (3) kalbėtoją. Kokio tipo tai paauglė?

4. Kaip tau atrodo, ar šis paauglys: (pažymėk kryželiu)

populiarus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nepopuliarus
turi žalingų įpročių	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	neturi žalingų įpročių
žaidžia mokyklos rinktinėje	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nežaidžia mokyklos rinktinėje

Trumpai apibūdink (4) kalbėtoją. Kokio tipo tai paauglys?

5. Kaip tau atrodo, ar ši paauglė: (pažymėk kryželiu)

populiari	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nepopuliari
turi žalingų įpročių	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	neturi žalingų įpročių
vaidina mokyklos vaidinimuose	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nevaidina mokyklos vaidinimuose

Trumpai apibūdink (5) kalbėtoją. Kokio tipo tai paauglė?

6. Kaip tau atrodo, ar šis paauglys: (pažymėk kryželiu)

populiarus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nepopuliarus
turi žalingų įpročių	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	neturi žalingų įpročių
žaidžia mokyklos rinktinėje	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nežaidžia mokyklos rinktinėje

Trumpai apibūdink (6) kalbėtoją. Kokio tipo tai paauglys?

7. Kaip tau atrodo, ar ši paauglė: (pažymėk kryželiu)

populiari	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nepopuliari
turi žalingų įpročių	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	neturi žalingų įpročių
vaidina mokyklos vaidinimuose	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nevaidina mokyklos vaidinimuose

Trumpai apibūdink (7) kalbėtoją. Kokia tipo tai paauglė?

8. Kaip tau atrodo, ar ši paauglė: (pažymėk kryželiu)

populiari	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nepopuliari
turi žalingų įpročių	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	neturi žalingų įpročių
vaidina mokyklos vaidinimuose	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nevaidina mokyklos vaidinimuose

Trumpai apibūdink (8) kalbėtoją. Kokia tipo tai paauglė?

9. Kaip tau atrodo, ar šis paauglys: (pažymėk kryželiu)

populiarus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nepopuliarus
turi žalingų įpročių	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	neturi žalingų įpročių
žaidžia mokyklos rinktinėje	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nežaidžia mokyklos rinktinėje

Trumpai apibūdink (9) kalbėtoją. Kokio tipo tai paauglys?

10. Kaip tau atrodo, ar ši paauglė: (pažymėk kryželiu)

populiari

--	--	--	--	--

 nepopuliari

turi žalingų įpročių

--	--	--	--	--

 neturi žalingų įpročių

vaidina mokyklos
vaidinimuose

--	--	--	--	--

 nevaidina mokyklos
vaidinimuose

Trumpai apibūdink (10) kalbėtoją. Kokia tipo tai paauglė?

11. Kaip tau atrodo, ar šis paauglys: (pažymėk kryželiu)

populiarus

--	--	--	--	--

 nepopuliarus

turi žalingų įpročių

--	--	--	--	--

 neturi žalingų įpročių

žaidžia mokyklos
rinktinėje

--	--	--	--	--

 nežaidžia mokyklos
rinktinėje

Trumpai apibūdink (11) kalbėtoją. Kokio tipo tai paauglys?

12. Kaip tau atrodo, ar šis paauglys: (pažymėk kryželiu)

populiarus

--	--	--	--	--

 nepopuliarus

turi žalingų įpročių

--	--	--	--	--

 neturi žalingų įpročių

žaidžia mokyklos
rinktinėje

--	--	--	--	--

 nežaidžia mokyklos
rinktinėje

Trumpai apibūdink (12) kalbėtoją. Kokio tipo tai paauglys?

13. Kaip tau atrodo, ar ši paauglė: (pažymėk kryželiu)

populiari

--	--	--	--	--

 nepopuliari

turi žalingų įpročių

--	--	--	--	--

 neturi žalingų įpročių

vaidina mokyklos
vaidinimuose

--	--	--	--	--

 nevaidina mokyklos
vaidinimuose

Trumpai apibūdink (13) kalbėtoją. Kokia tipo tai paauglė?

14. Kaip tau atrodo, ar ši paauglė: (pažymėk kryželiu)

populiari

--	--	--	--	--

 nepopuliari

turi žalingų įpročių

--	--	--	--	--

 neturi žalingų įpročių

vaidina mokyklos
vaidinimuose

--	--	--	--	--

 nevaidina mokyklos
vaidinimuose

Trumpai apibūdink (14) kalbėtoją. Kokia tipo tai paauglė?

15. Kaip manai, į kuri iš kalbėjusių paauglių esi panašiausias/panašiausia? Kodėl?

16. Pažymėk savo lytį:

☐ Vaikinas

☐ Mergina

APPENDIX 5. The translated English version of the questionnaire of the verbal guise experiment

1. Do you think that this adolescent (set ×)

is popular	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	is unpopular
has addiction	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	does not have addiction
plays in school sport team	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	does not play in school sport team

Briefly describe speaker (1). What kind of adolescent is he?

2. Do you think that this adolescent (set ×)

is popular	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	is unpopular
has addiction	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	does not have addiction
performs in school plays	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	does not perform in school plays

Briefly describe speaker (2). What kind of adolescent is she?

3. Do you think that this adolescent (set ×)

is popular	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	is unpopular
has addiction	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	does not have addiction
performs in school plays	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	does not perform in school plays

Briefly describe speaker (3). What kind of adolescent is she?

4. Do you think that this adolescent (set ×)

is popular	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	is unpopular
has addiction	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	does not have addiction
plays in school sport team	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	does not play in school sport team

Briefly describe speaker (4). What kind of adolescent is he?

5. Do you think that this adolescent (set ×)

is popular	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	is unpopular
has addiction	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	does not have addiction
performs in school plays	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	does not perform in school plays

Briefly describe speaker (5). What kind of adolescent is she?

6. Do you think that this adolescent (set ×)

is popular	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	is unpopular
has addiction	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	does not have addiction
plays in school sport team	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	does not play in school sport team

Briefly describe speaker (6). What kind of adolescent is he?

7. Do you think that this adolescent (set ×)

is popular	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	is unpopular
has addiction	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	does not have addiction
performs in school plays	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	does not perform in school plays

Briefly describe speaker (7). What kind of adolescent is she?

8. Do you think that this adolescent (set ×)

is popular	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	is unpopular
has addiction	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	does not have addiction
performs in school plays	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	does not perform in school plays

Briefly describe speaker (8). What kind of adolescent is she?

9. Do you think that this adolescent (set ×)

is popular	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	is unpopular
has addiction	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	does not have addiction
plays in school sport team	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	does not play in school sport team

Briefly describe speaker (9). What kind of adolescent is he?

10. Do you think that this adolescent (set ×)

is popular	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	is unpopular
has addiction	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	does not have addiction
performs in school plays	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	does not perform in school plays

Briefly describe speaker (10). What kind of adolescent is she?

11. Do you think that this adolescent (set ×)

is popular	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	is unpopular
has addiction	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	does not have addiction
plays in school sport team	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	does not play in school sport team

Briefly describe speaker (11). What kind of adolescent is he?

12. Do you think that this adolescent (set ×)

is popular	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	is unpopular
has addiction	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	does not have addiction
plays in school sport team	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	does not play in school sport team

Briefly describe speaker (12). What kind of adolescent is he?

13. Do you think that this adolescent (set ×)

is popular	<table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>						is unpopular
has addiction	<table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>						does not have addiction
performs in school plays	<table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>						does not perform in school plays

Briefly describe speaker (13). What kind of adolescent is she?

14. Do you think that this adolescent (set ×)

is popular	<table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>						is unpopular
has addiction	<table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>						does not have addiction
performs in school plays	<table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>						does not perform in school plays

Briefly describe speaker (14). What kind of adolescent is she?

15. Which of the adolescents you just listened to, resembles you the most? Why?

16. Gender:

- ☐ Boy
☐ Girl

Aurelija ČE KUOLYTĖ

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PhD Dissertation

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Nemokamai.