Age-gender peculiarities of drinks categorization

Половозрастные особенности категоризации напитков

Study of language categorization is deeply rooted in linguistics, psychology and interdisciplinary researches, and based on different methodological foundations1. But in spite of elaborate study case a range of issues remains debatable. It refers, inter alia, to the language categorization of artifacts causing some difficulties:

— necessity of taking into consideration functional features rather than perceptual ones2;
— category boundaries "blurring"3;
— possibility of labeling the same artifact as the representative of more than one category at a time4.

The object of the present research is the language categorization of drinks which are mostly man-made therefore inheriting in full all problems of artifacts categorization5.

Drinks are notable for some features deriving from their ontological and anthropological properties as a phenomenon of the social life.

On the one hand satisfying some basic physiological needs of humans drinks are supracultural universale. On the other hand being an integral part of national culture and an important element of ethnic self-identification they reflect national peculiarities distinctively; moreover, being a specific element of the system of social relations they can refer to some social group peculiarities6.

The problem of drinks categorization was examined by J. Poitou and D. Dubois7, France, who used the results of P. Scherfer's (Germany) survey of 105 German teenagers (13-14 years old). Few of their findings seemed us contradicting some results of our study8 so we decided to reproduce and elaborate on the mentioned experimental study.

The aim of the present paper is to reveal group-age-gender-features of drinks categorization by Russian youth. We surveyed two age groups:

1) age group A: senior pupils (13-15 years old), 36 female and 34 male respondents (subgroups Af and Am respectively); 
2) age group B: students (19-20 years old), 50 female and 50 male respondents (subgroups Bf and Bm respectively).

The main used empirical method was an open questionnaire survey; to specify certain points we had recourse to the method of free classification and interview.

The general experimental figures are represented in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey main figures</th>
<th>Age-gender subgroups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drink names</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokens</td>
<td>658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Names frequency rate</td>
<td>5,181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single names share, %</td>
<td>49,6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It is to be mentioned that the findings corroborate our earlier observation about more consolidate nature of female respondents' answers concerning "drinks" concept.

Undertaken semantic analysis and clusterization of collected data supported by the results of the free classification experiment allowed to reveal the pattern of categorizing drinks.

There are ten subcategories of drinks which are relevant for the linguistic consciousness of both male and female respondents of both examined age groups:
- "soda" (sweet fizzy drinks), "juice", "water" (including soda water), "tea", "coffee", "milk drinks";
- "cocktails" (both alcoholic and nonalcoholic);
- "spirits", "wine", "beer".

A considerable part of nonalcoholic drink names causes some impediments to their categorization. It is to be noted that the ascertained difficulties are common both for youth respondents and lexicographers. Alcoholic drinks are appreciably easier for categorization, but still remains a little share of difficult-to-classify ones.

For the graphic demonstration of received experimental data (distribution of drink names over revealed subcategories) see Fig. 1.

This diagram demonstrates several age-gender specific trends in an obvious manner:
1) "beer" subcategory is considerably more relevant for male respondents than for female ones, this divergence is age-increasing;
2) rather similar but not so obviously manifested trend is revealed in case of the heterogeneous group of other alcoholic drinks;
3) "spirits" are more significant in the eyes of male respondents (no age-dependent dynamics detected; the only fact to be emphasized is the tendency to detach "vodka" as a self-contained cluster manifested by older respondents of both sexes);
4) "wine" subcategory demonstrates a slow increment with age in female respondents' answers;
5) "cocktails" are more relevant for male respondents, but their significance decreases for both gender subgroups with age;
6) "juice" subcategory is more relevant for female respondents than for male ones, and such a divergence is age-increasing;
7) "water" and "tea" subcategories are more relevant for female respondents; their significance for this subgroup increases with age without changing in case of male respondents;
8) "soda" subcategory that is more relevant for female respondents loses its significance in the eyes of both gender subgroups with age;
9) "coffee" gains in significance among male respondents, but loses — in case of female ones;
10) significance of "milk drinks" is slightly age-increasing regardless of gender;
11) number of other — hard to classify — nonalcoholic drink names increases in female respondents' answers with age, in case of male ones the process is reverse.

It should be mentioned that the distribution of tokens over subcategories has a lot in common with the diagram above. It proves the consistency of results and corroborates the reliability of revealed trends (essentially for ones concerning "soda", "spirits", "cocktails", "wine", and "beer" subcategories indices ratio).

We are to emphasize that J. Poitou and D. Dubois revealed fewer subcategories in their research: "milk drinks", "hot drinks" (mostly nonalcoholic), "juices" (fruit and vegetable ones), "sodas", and "alcoholic drinks". Resulted figures can be tabulated as below (see Table 2).

![Fig. 1. Age-gender peculiarities of categorizing drinks](#)

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Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subcategory</th>
<th>Male respondents</th>
<th>Female respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soda</td>
<td>Af</td>
<td>Am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other nonalcoholic</td>
<td>Bf</td>
<td>Bm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Our research showed that the situation is similar concerning vertical hierarchical sequences in Russian respondents' answers but horizontal sequences are rather abundant there. The use of free classification method elicited the fact that hierarchism of "naive" Russian drink category is commonly limited to the first level of dichotomic branching: "alcoholic/nonalcoholic". Naive linguistic consciousness tends to ignore taxonomically correct hierarchical relationships equalizing taxons of different levels of generalization (e.g. "wine" subcategory and "champagne" or "martini" species).

Our experimental data also helped us to reveal some peculiarities of the modern Russian language categorization of drinks.

1) Occurrence of drinks names with undifferentiated semantics (which can represent both alcoholic and nonalcoholic drinks: 'пойло', 'энергетик', etc.).

2) Development of polysemy under the impact of extralinguistic factors. Thus, 'лимонад' originally referred to a still soft drink made with fresh lemon juice (and this meaning still persists in contemporary Russian dictionaries) whereas nowadays it is used mostly to denote heavily gas-cut sodas with different food additives and colors (as a supplementary interview showed contemporary youth consider the original meaning as old-fashioned).

3) Categorization "drift" conditional on extralinguistic environment changes and certain noncriticality of linguistic consciousness. Thus, the words 'кисель' and 'компот' denote food ('кисель'4). Due to the change of recipe, consumption behavior and serving features these substances turned out to be treated as drinks (liquid or semiliquid, served in glasses, at the end of the meal, commonly instead of tea). Somewhat similar processes can be noted in case of 'лимонад' and 'лимон' (here the drift is simplified by ellipse, namely omission of a specializing adjective 'питьевой').

4) Occurrence in respondents' answers of words denoting a) substances that are not drinks by their nature but that can be drunk due to their liquid ('солошона', 'брон', 'лом', 'въ') or semiliquid ('носад', 'суп') state.

In conclusion we are to emphasize the following:

1. There are not crucial age/gender-dependent differences in ways of categorizing drinks. This circumstance is conditioned by the universal character of drinks as a cultural reality.

However, the revealed patterning of the examined material is not free from several peculiarities, both age and gender dependent. They are resulted from behavior stereotypes, consumer behavior, and gender self-identity stereotypes in respect of drinks consumption (this concerns mostly alcoholic drinks). The most obvious distinctions are revealed in terms of figures concerning "spirits", "beer", "cocktails", and "juice" subcategories.

2. There are several gender-specific peculiarities: "beer" may be referred to as a sat generis gender — male — sub-dominant; "spirits" are more relevant for male subgroup linguistic consciousness, whereas "juice" — for female one.

3. Age-specific peculiarities can also be mentioned: "Cocktails" subcategory loses in significance stably with age. This trend tops out in adults' and seniors' answers. There is also an obvious tendency to detach "vodkas" as a self-contained subcategory with age.

4. Russian youth's pattern of drinks categorization can be visualized as a system of interpenetrating fuzzy fields with clearly defined kernels and additional nodes (see Fig. 2) represented by high frequency drink names.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subcategory</th>
<th>Names (Types)</th>
<th>Tokens</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>number</td>
<td>rank</td>
<td>number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alcoholic drinks</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juices</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sodas</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hot drinks</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milk drinks</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Small quantity of non-classified drinks and their very low frequency ratio attract attention being compared with the gathered Russian material where the share of such drinks occurrences (in all age-gender subgroups' answers) is stably higher (in types as well as in tokens).

The above-mentioned authors emphasize the fact that no-one of subcategories has the same rank in all three columns above at a time. We reveal a similar picture in the Russian youth pattern of categorizing drinks but it is not surprisingly in our opinion. We are far from absurdistizing such an index like the frequency ratio as the French scholars do. It is accounted for by the specific of the gathered material. Russian drinks subcategories are characterized by the following pattern of distribution of their representatives: one-harshly two-dominant that can be the denomination of the subcategory or its prototype and a number of rare or even sporadic occurrences. Under the circumstances it is normal for a subcategory to be high-rank in tokens and frequency and low-rank in types, thus the simultaneous equality in all three ranks is hardly achievable.

Here is to be mentioned another difference of the Russian youth's pattern of categorizing drinks. Russian respondents' answers are very rich in generic names of drinks of different hierarchical ranks up to denominations of "naive" classification subcategories and such names are commonly of very high frequency. On the contrary, specific names—essentially trademarks and collocations—dominate in answers of German respondents.

In their research the French scholars proceeded from F. Rastier thesis: "Une liste de mots ne constitue pas un paradigme, mais un syntagme parataxique, et ses membres sont naturellement en interaction contextuelle", interpreting completed questionnaires as specific texts. Such an approach lets them apply linguistic analysis procedures to the gathered material. Parsing of positional relationship of drink names in these "texts" revealed few vertical hierarchical sequences. Focusing on this J. Poitou and D. Dubois came to the conclusion that the category under study has non-hierarchical inner organization.

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Zur Methodologie der diskursiven Textanalyse (am Beispiel des Nachrichtendiskurses von Massenmedien)

In der modernen Textlinguistik ist ein aktiver Integrationsprozess mit verschiedenen Richtungen der Diskurs-Analyse zu verzeichnen, dessen kategorialer Apparat und Methodologie sich am Kreuzungspunkt von mehreren wissenschaftlichen Disziplinen herausbildet. Gleichzeitig erweitern sich die empirischen Grundlagen der Forschung, in deren Bereich neben den Texten der schönen Kunst auch zunehmend die Texte aus anderen Funktionsbereichen hineinbezogen werden, etwa aus Medien, Umgangssprache, Wissenschaft etc. All dies spricht für die Relevanz der Entwicklung einer Methodologie zur diskursiven Textanalyse, welche die Prinzipien der „rein“ linguistischen Untersuchung mit Forschungsergebnissen von anderen Wissenschaften in sich vereinigt.

Vor allem sei verdeutlicht, welche der mannigfaltigen Konzeptionen des Diskurses die Grundlage unseres Herangehens bildet. Es ist nämlich in der russischen Linguistik die Auffassung des Diskurses als „die in das Leben getauchte Rede“ („речи, погруженной в жизнь“) weit anerkannt. Vom Standpunkt eines solchen Herangehens aus, das die Faktoren des Kontextes der Redearzeugung hochstgradig berücksichtigt, erscheint der unmittelbare Forschungsgegenstand „Text“ als „Produkt“ des Diskurses, bzw. Projektion von diskursiven Parametern auf diesen oder jenen Bereich der Wirklichkeit. Nach dem Ausdruck von E. S. Kubjakova, wird der Text „im Diskurs geschaffen und ist also sein Geschöpf (детище)“, ebenso wie „Diskurs ist gleichzeitig sowohl der Prozess der sprachlichen Tatigkeit, als auch ihr Ergebnis (=Text)“.


Im Allgemeinen erfassen wir die Makrostruktur des Textes als Gesamtheit von Makro-Text-Positionen (MTP), deren Relevanz in verschiedenen, jedoch eng miteinander verbundenen Aspekten der Textbildung erscheint: dem diskursiven, kompositorischen und stilistischen. Dabei sind der kompositorische und der stilistische Aspekt vom diskursiven abgeleitet. MTP haben einen potentiellen Charakter und erhalten reale „Auffüllung“ in jedem konkreten Text. Der Bestand und die Kombination der Positionen werden vom jeweiligen Diskurs bestimmt, innerhalb dessen der Text produziert wird. So kann man, zum Beispiel, für den Nachrichtendiskurs drei grundlegende MTPs einschließlich der Subpositionen feststellen:

1. **Titel—Text** — die Beziehungen zwischen der semantischen Struktur des Titels und der Tatsachen-Information des Textes.
2. **Komposition:**
   a) kompositorisch-tatsachenbeschreibende Beziehungen — Wiedergabe in der Textkomposition der Struktur des Ereignisses: Teilnehmer, Handlungen, Zeit, Ort usw.