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ВОЗРАСТ АДРЕСАТА — ФАКТОР, ОПРЕДЕЛЯЮЩИЙ СТРУКТУРНЫЕ, ЯЗЫКОВЫЕ И ТЕМПОРАЛЬНЫЕ ОСОБЕННОСТИ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ НОВОСТНЫХ ГИПОТЕКСТОВ

АННОТАЦИЯ. Данное исследование посвящено изучению структурных, временных и лингвистических особенностей американских онлайн-новостей в зависимости от возраста целевой аудитории. Новостные гипотексты, ориентированные на взрослых, строятся по принципу «перевернутой» пирамиды и содержат все компоненты новостной схемы Т. А. ван Дейка. При этом структура новостных гипотекстов, рассчитанных на детскую аудиторию, имеет вид «усеченной» «перевернутой» пирамиды изза отсутствия одного из наиболее важных элементов структуры — заголовка. Проведенный анализ показал, что новостные гипотексты, ориентированные на детскую аудиторию, могут быть подразделены на три типа: 1) собственно новость, 2) новость + обширный фоновый план (чаще прошлого), 3) фоновый план (прошлого), преподносимый как новость. Существенные различин наблюдаются и в стилистико-языковом оформлении новостных гипотекстов. Тенденция к нейтральности и обезличенности, высокой степени клишированности, достоверности и фактологичности типичны для новостных гипотекстов, ориентированных на взрослых, в то время как для детских новостей характерны прямое обращение к адресату и экспрессивная лексика. В качестве основных методов исследования были использованы общенаучные методы анализа, синтеза и сравнения, а также лингвистические методы контент-анализа, дискурсивный и интерпретационный анализ, метод стилистического анализа.

КЛЮЧЕВЫЕ СЛОВА: средства массовой информации; СМИ; медиалингвистика; медиадискурс; онлайн-новости; новостные гипертексты; новостные гипотексты; целевая аудитория; лингвистические особенности; темпоральные особенности.

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The globalization of communication due to technological progress has made any news text of electronic media available to almost any user: an adult as well as a child who has the access to the Internet and who is able to understand the language in which news is written. Nowadays it is much easier to be in the know of everything happening worldwide than ever before. At the same time, regardless of all the opportunities which the media provide users with, there is a problem of low pupils' motivation to learn from this significant source of knowledge. Pupils know little about current domestic and foreign affairs as well as major historical events. How to make children learn from the media? How to make children learn from reading news? How to make children read news at all? What should there be in news to attract children's attention?

It is obvious that all texts are initially designed for a certain target audience, allocated for gender, race, social status, educational level, religious affiliations, and so on. In the context of electronic news texts, the orientation toward the addressee is even more significant, since the author must clearly understand the characteristics of the reader in order for the material to reach its goal. Among all social and anthropocentric parameters that predetermine linguistic features of news hypotext, the age of the target audience plays a very important role in news making. The pressure of the addressee leads to the situation that "it is not he (the author) who writes, but he is written" [Epstein 2001: 361.

For decades news has been in the center of scientific interest of researchers worldwide [Fowler 1991; McCombs 2004; Reah 1998]. The studies of content and structure of news are current issues of modern research of news hypertext. The subject was studied by such researchers as T. Dijk, J. Reis, C. Ihlstrom, P. Uotila [Dijk 1988; Ihlstrom 2004: Reis 2015; Uotila 2011] и and many others. The question of the functional potential of Internet news is also topical among modern research of news discourse. Despite the differences in terminology and the number of functions, the main functions of Internet news are informative [Crystal 2001: Nazarov 2002: Shemelina 2008] and influencing, or ideological [Dobrosklonskava 2005: Dobrosklonskava 20061.

Although different aspects of news have been studied so far, we can't but see a research gap in this field. A lot has been said about news media, but no reference has been made as to the age of a reader, and this factor, being a very important one, cannot be ignored. There are few works discussing questions of the relationship between news media and children and even fewer works devoted to news media produced for children.

We do not deny that there are works investigating these questions. Media as an educational service for children are examined by quite a number of researchers. With the time flow from an educational service for children news media have changed into a media market and children — into consumers in this market [York 2015; Mavoa 2017]. Recent research has suggested that, although standard news is often

considered as inappropriate for children, its consumption is important for children's social and political socialization [Alon-Tirosh 2017; Beaudoin 2014].

Another aspect of media — research on representations of children in the news — has recently become a focus of attention in media studies. For example, Emiljano Kaziaj [Kaziaj 2017] investigates the portrayal of children in Albanian news media and concludes that children are shown in limited roles as objects of emotional appeal, victims or performers. Cristina Ponte [Ponte 2007] as well as Frankie Asare-Donkoh [Asare-Donkoh 2017] shares the same point of view saying that media picture children as a powerful symbol of victimization and give little attention to children's issues hence a very low reportage.

Speaking about media produced for children, we cannot but mention M. Alon-Tirosh [Alon-Tirosh 2017] who investigates children's news programs in Israel. The researcher insists that to make such programs comprehensible and palatable creators should adapt them to children's cognitive and emotional abilities. Having examined opinions of 15 children's news program creators, the researcher concludes that news programs should "feature both standard news items and content pertaining to children's lives, achieving a balance between heavier and lighter content, and generating a youthful atmosphere".

Despite the sufficient number of works devoted to news media, there are still a lot of questions to be answered. To date, for example, there are no works describing how the age of readers may affect the form, content, and the way of news presentation. To fill this gap we compared two groups of online news texts, which are presented as the hypotexts linked to each other within the viewed hypertext of the US news site CNN (www.cnn.com) and CNN10 (www.cnn.com/cnn10) — aimed at adults (from 25 years and older) and children (middle and high school students).

We found out differences in content, structure, and the style of online news writing. Besides in the current research we discussed possible ways of representing online news to attract children. This work enhances the theory of news representation, improving awareness among journalists of the difference between adult and children online news presentation.

To achieve our goals, a number of tasks were accomplished. All the tasks we divided into two sets. Bearing in mind that news as a genre of media discourse is characterized by certain constitutive features that determine their structure and content, the first set of tasks was to investigate the structure of online news arti-

cles targeted at readers of different ages. By random sampling we chose English-language news articles addressed to adults and children posted on the US news site CNN and CNN10 in the period from January to September 2017. The articles, chosen for the analysis, are presented as the hypotexts linked to each other within the viewed hypertext of the US news site CNN and CNN10. The total number of the hypotexts — 100 units. The number of hypotexts analyzed in each group was 50 units, correspondingly.

Following Teun A. van Dijk [Dijk 1988], and applying discourse analysis as well as its part — structural analysis — we found all the structural categories of news proposed by him, such as Summary (introduced by Headline and Lead), Main Events, Backgrounds, and Comment (which consists of two major subcategories: Evaluation and Expectations) in the analyzed texts. First, we analyzed the structure of news hypotexts for adults, then the structure of news hypotexts for children, and then, sticking to qualitative descriptions of the details, we compared the previously obtained data with the results, received by us. In this first part of our investigation we found significant differences in the structures of the online news hypotexts of the two target groups.

At the second stage our aim was to investigate the content of online news. Initially, we identified topics covered in news reports for both target audiences, applying methods of observation and content analysis. Like the entire modern media discourse, the CNN media discourse is structured around specific thematic blocks or thematic dominants. Carrying out a comparative analysis of the topics, we found out what topics were relevant for adults and what topics were relevant for children.

As we know, "news" in the media discourse is defined as an information message about recent or current events that are of political, social or economic interest to the addressee with their freshness, and that are operatively distributed in the recipient's perceived form, mainly through the media [Busyguina 2016: 12]. A distinctive feature of news is its novelty, that is, the "primacy" of presentation and perception, the transition from the category of the unknown to the known [Negryshev 2014]. News is a source of "primary" latest information. In accordance with this definition we wanted to see how the presented online information correlates with the notion "news".

Applying the methods of analysis and synthesis, method of the content analysis, we revealed the temporal correlation of news messages with the reality for the two target groups by picking out adverbial modifiers of time (such

as today, yesterday, tomorrow, last Monday, and the like) and verbal tense forms used in the analyzed hypotexts to see if the event described in the news happened in the past, will happen in the future, or is taking place in the present. Comparing the obtained results, we found out significant differences in the two groups of online news texts.

Lastly, we compared the language of news hypotexts for the two target audiences. At this stage with the help of the content analysis we looked for passive structures, impersonal constructions, cliché, citations, numbers, spoken style features (e.g., expressive vocabulary, phraseology, rhetorical questions, emotional interjections, puns), and others. To achieve this goal, the method of stylistic analysis as well as the method of discursive analysis were used. We should mention that differences in stylistic representation of the two groups of online news texts were also registered. Besides in carrying out the research, the conceptual and terminological apparatuses of the theory of the text and the theory of Internet communication were used.

Having analyzed the selected online news texts addressed to the adult and children audiences, we found great differences in their **structure**.

Investigating news hypotexts for adults we noticed that in most cases the texts were built according to the principle of the "inverted" pyramid and contained all the components of the news scheme of T.A. van Dijk [Dijk 1988]. Unlike the texts of the political thematic block, where all the categories were usually presented, in hypotexts of such thematic blocks as "Technologies", "Travel", "Money", "Sport" there could be no category of Background or Commentary, which was connected with a certain communicative intent of the author of the message. However, the integral and most important component of any online news text, i.e. the headline, was found in all news texts targeting at adults

News hypotexts addressed to children are built on the same principle of "inverted" pyramid. However, here it is necessary to talk about the variability of the structure. Any news hypotext for children (called transcript by the journalists) consists of 3-5 news items. These news items, like T.A. van Dijk's categories, are arranged according to the principle of the "inverted" pyramid: in order of decreasing importance. Children's news hypotexts start with the news of significant international or local value (this can be compared to the category Main Events), for example: terrorist attack in the subway in Russia, the attack of chemical weapons in Syria, natural disasters in Colombia, changes in the US Senate, etc. The main news then is followed by minor news of such thematic blocks as medicine, science, information technology, sports (this can be compared to the category Backgrounds), for example: winter Olympians from Afghanistan, a new type of mask for firefighting, reports on the mission to Saturn, etc. Finally, any news hypotext for children is finished with a news item, which is more entertaining in nature and does not have important international or local significance, for example: home purchases in the USA, new application of thermochromic ink, bird drones that keep their natural counterparts away from airports, etc. Such news items often contain the presenter's comments, his point of view and his attitude to the reported information. Thus, this can be compared to the category Comment.

One more important detail is that the "inverted" pyramid of online news texts for children is "truncated". All children's news hypotexts lack one of the most important elements that make up the category Summary — a Headline (with the exception of the Lead, which is always presented and conveys the main content of the news text in 2-4 sentences). The headline is expressed with a large-formatted date in bold, for example, **CNN 10 — April 12, 2017**.

As for the **content** of online news texts, methods of observation and content analysis revealed that the thematic blocks covered on the main page of CNN (relevant for adults) include politics, economics, ecology, business, sports, culture. In addition to the mentioned thematic blocks, news on health and technical issues become topical for the young consumers of CNN10.

Applying the methods of analysis and synthesis, method of the content analysis, we revealed three types of the temporal correlation of online news texts with the reality.

The first type is about past events. Journalists of CNN try to present news as an actual, new event that has happened recently and more often that one which occurred in the past 24 hours. That is why they use the names of the days of the week (sometimes in the combination with the words last or this) as adverbial modifiers of time and either the Present Perfect or Past Simple verbal forms. Thus, in the news hypotext on July 26, 2017 (Wednesday), it is said about the event that took place the day before, i.e., on Tuesday, namely, about the bill which gives Congress the right to block any attempts of the White House to weaken sanctions against Russia, Syria and South Korea. The markers of the accomplished event are: the House of Representatives overwhelmingly passed a bill; the vote was 419-3; Bob Corker indicated; which was negotiated between the House and Senate; told reporters Tuesday; the three votes against the bill **came** from Republicans (*House overwhelmingly passes Russia sanctions bill.* July 26, 2017).

The second type of the temporal correlation of online news texts with the reality is about the events that occur in the present. So, in this case, the adverbial modifier of time (right) now and the verb forms of the Present Continuous Tense are found. For example, the news about the annual World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland: the meeting that's going on right now is looking at the uncertainty of the year ahead, like an investor or a skier might look at risk and then try to minimize it (CNN10 — January 19, 2017).

The third type of the temporal correlation of online news texts with the reality is about the events that will occur in the near future. So, we found messages describing upcoming events, for example: At 10:30 on the morning of Inauguration Day, President Obama will say goodbye to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. <...> He and President-elect Donald Trump will meet again before heading to the inaugural ceremony. As soon as they walk out the door, the White House chief usher and almost 100 staffers will swing into action (CNN10 — January 12, 2017). In this case, to maintain the future plan of the events in the text, the verbal forms of Future Simple, Present Simple in the subordinate clause to indicate the future action are used.

Applying the mentioned above methods, we found significant differences in online news texts content aimed at children. Unlike online news texts for adults, in most cases with news texts for children, it is not so much important when exactly an event occurs, but why it occurs, and what its consequences are. For this reason, in the news hypotexts for children there are very few references to the exact time of the event (day and month), but frequent such adverbial modifiers as over the weekend, this week, last year, more recently, until recently, in April, after Christmas, the recent warm spell, shortly afterwards, and the like.

Speaking about the temporal correlation of news texts with reality on CNN10, it is important to note that news hypotexts for children do not always refer to the events that occur here and now and, therefore, are not news as such.

We found out that all news hypotexts of the children channel can be divided into three types:

- (a) actual news, i.e. an event selected according to the criteria of "newsworthiness": relevance, objectivity, freshness, efficiency, reliability, concreteness, scale, and conflictness [Belenkaya 2015];
- (b) news + extensive background plan (often past);
- (c) background plan (of the past) presented as news.

The example of news hypotexts of the first type can be the following: police in Quebec, a province of Eastern Canada, are investigating a shooting that happened at a mosque on Sunday night. Six people were killed and five wounded victims were in the hospital last night. Police say there were 39 other people in the mosque who were not hurt.

Witnesses said they saw at least two gunmen opened fire at the Quebec Islamic Cultural Center and police have arrested one suspect. But there are still a lot of questions about the attack. Investigators say they're not sure yet what the motive might have been, though Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau called the shooting a terrorist attack on Muslims. Vigils were planned for last night, in Quebec City and nearby Montreal (CNN 10 — January 31, 2017).

This news message fully corresponds to the concept of "news", because meets the three basic requirements: subject, function and method. First, the subject of this message is an event that meets all of the above criteria of "newsworthiness". Secondly, the analyzed message performs the function of news, namely attracts public attention to the accented aspects of reality. Thirdly, the event is represented by a distinctive method: a brief immediate summary of an incident with minimum background information.

News hypotexts of the second type will include news reports that contain the news itself + an extensive background plan (often the past one). So, in the next news hypotext the subject of the news is the following: "it's a force of 4,000 U.S. troops, plus 2,400 pieces of military equipment, including tanks, artillery and armored trucks. It's all part of a deployment lasting nine months and it's moving throughout Eastern Europe on training exercises." Further in the text there is a rather extensive background plan with the reasons for these exercises. Then comes a historical summary of when NATO was created and for what purpose. Besides the text provides a view on the possible danger that Russia might pose to Eastern European countries (CNN 10 — January 18, 2017). As can be seen from the above example, news of the second type is a combination of the actual news and an extensive background plan that reveals the essence of the event being covered, the reasons for its occurrence, and possible consequences. However, this kind of news hypotexts, in our opinion, can also be considered as news, as it reflects changes or a fragment of reality, valuable and relevant for a large number of people.

As an example of the third type of news, which is a background fact (more often of the past), presented as news, we will cite the hypotext which refers to the Martin Luther King celebration

in the USA. Journalists used only one sentence to present this event: "For many people in America, yesterday was a day off school or work". It does not provide any details of the celebration of the day. But then follows historical background from which readers learn that the holiday is considered official since 1986 after President Ronald Reagan signed it into law. But in recent years, the U.S. government has pushed for the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday to be recognized not as a "day off" but as "day on", a day of service which would reflect the essence of one of Martin Luther King's major statements: life's most persistent and urgent question is, what are you doing for others? Martin Luther King advocated non-violent methods of protesting against racial discrimination, physical violence and segregation. Followed by boycott and strike, march on Washington had its goal the set of 10 demands. Though much has been accomplished since the march, at the time, opposition to change persisted, and so did violence. The Birmingham church bombing, Bloody Sunday, and the murder of the movement's leader set the country on fire (CNN 10 — January 17, 2017). Such news reports cannot be called "news", as they do not meet the three main requirements mentioned above: subject, function and method.

Quantitative portrayal of the analyzed hypotexts for adults and children is the following: out of 50 "main" adult news hypotexts the actual news count for 100%; out of 50 children news hypotexts the actual news count for 43%, news + extensive background plan count for 38%, and background plan presented as news count for 19%.

As for the **language** of news hypotexts for adults, the following features can be distinguished:

1. A tendency for neutrality and certain impersonality.

News hypotexts for adults do not contain a direct appeal to the addressee, the journalist does not impose his/her point of view, minimally uses the evaluation vocabulary. Impersonality and impartiality are normative accomplishments (Dijk, 1988). This explains the wide use of passive verbal forms (22 bodies were found, a building is damaged, a car is crushed, will remain closed, people were told not to return). The use of impersonal structures (it is thought that, it is said that) and the construction there is (there is no racial discrimination in Orania, there's been an apparent chemical weapons attack in the Middle Eastern nation of Syria, there are a lot of programs) also indicates the intentional distancing of the creators of the news hypotext from its content and recipients. Despite the fact that the personal attitude can be expressed in various ways — when choosing the topic of the article, developing this topic, using structural categories, choosing an appropriate vocabulary — the journalist still plays the role of an impartial observer, an intermediary in the transfer of facts.

2. High degree of cliché.

Thus, the total number of word combinations that in some way possess the property of cliché, according to T.G. Dobrosklonskaya, in English news texts can reach up to 30-40% of the total number of syntagmatic units [Dobrosklonskaya 2005]. The frequently used clichés are the following: according to the governor of the hard-hit state of Oaxaca, officials said, Dorothy Munoz told CNN, high concern over, to shake hands, to take place, to make a move, nuclear weapons program, a top level meeting, and others.

3. A large number of citations and references to various sources of information.

This is intended to give a news message greater certainty. For example: officials said, the Mexico City resident said, a fire department spokeswoman said, President Peña Nieto told citizens, according to the US Geological Survey, based on Judge Gorsuch's record at the Department of Justice, and so on.

4. A tendency for factuality. The use of a large number of numbers: that takes 60 votes, 100,000 nurses, a 12 percent reduced risk of early death.

Again, comparing the language of online news texts for children and for adults, we could not but notice significant differences.

Firstly, the journalists' priority of CNN10 is not just a statement of facts, but an explanation of the situation. They try to identify stories of international and local significance and then clearly describe why they're making news, who is affected, and how the events fit into a complex, international society. Thus, the most important thing here is the detailed consideration of the situation, the identification of its causes and possible ways of development. CNN10 journalists primarily try to explain, examine, and explore the essence of the covered event. Hence, there is a certain choice of lexical units: we explain, we're examining, we explore, we'll also show you, we take a historic look at, today's show gives you an in-depth look at, CNN 10 reports on, today's show begins by explaining, today's show explores, we're also covering, today's explanatory coverage centers on, etc.

Secondly, the addressee and addresser are not impersonal in online news texts for children. Each news hypotext starts with the greeting of the host (*Hi. I'm Carl Azuz. Thank you for watching CNN 10*) and ends with his witty farewell (*I'm Carl Azuz with enlightening and colorful puns on CNN 10*). Also the anchor acts on behalf of the

whole corporation CNN, using the pronoun "we": we're explaining how..., we're looking at the potential risk, we're introducing the people and so on. In addition, the hypotexts may contain a direct address to the reader, expressed by the pronoun "you": thank you for using CNN 10; we welcome you; hope to see you tomorrow.

Thirdly, unlike the adult news hypotexts, the style of children ones is also different. Here an impersonal interpretation of facts is skillfully combined with expressive vocabulary (Thursday's attack so horrible, enraged responses, sheer horror, incredibly expensive), phraseology (tenure on the bench, the cat in the hat, to do well in life), rhetorical questions (So, what happens now? What's the value in this?), emotional interjections (Yeah! Heh! oh my!), puns (to shroud a shroud, to cloak a cloak), and the like. Thus, we can conclude that in news hypotexts for children, styles are mixed: here there is a journalistic style, conversational (rhetorical questions and exclamations), and official business (extracts from official documents).

The analysis has shown that news hypotexts of the websites CNN and CNN10 are built on the principle of an "inverted" pyramid. At the same time, the structure of news hypotexts designed for children audience looks like a truncated "inverted" pyramid due to the absence of a headline as one of the most important elements of the structure. Dates of news releases which replace headlines are graphically marked.

The material presented by journalists fully corresponds to the definition of the concept "news" only in reference to adult news. These are promptly circulated information messages about the events that have happened recently or are taking place at the moment or will take place in the near future, representing political, social or economic interest for the addressee with their freshness. In news hypotexts for children it is very often reported not so much about the event itself, which is topical, fresh, and novel, as about some background information providing causes and possible consequences of the event. In this regard, we identified three types of news hypotexts for the children audience: (a) the actual news, (b) news + an extensive background plan (more often the past), and (c) the background plan (the past) presented as news.

A comparative analysis of the topics covered in news hypotexts for adults and children has shown that the thematic dominants of adult "main" news are politics, economics, ecology, sport. While for children news, in addition to the above mentioned, the topics of health and new technologies become also significant. According to the classification of news reports in terms of their content, adult news hypotexts (on political, economical, ecological topics) can be re-

ferred to as "hard news" [Dobroskolonskaya 2008]. "Hard news" is messages with a solid factual basis, answering questions what, where, when and focused first of all on informing.

Unlike the adult "hard news", children news is more likely to be classified as "soft news". Based on the factor of human interest, they are focused on causing sympathy, admiration, surprise, etc. Such reports supplement, "dilute" the facts by appealing to universal human values and emotions. In addition to the primary function of information, news hypotexts (and more for the children target audience) are focused on providing a certain impact on their addressee.

For the temporary correlation of news messages with the reality in the texts of both groups, the same adverbial modifiers and tense forms of verbs are used. However, we note that the concept of "news" in the case of a children target audience undergoes deconstruction, i.e.: the third type of news for children is not an event selected according to the criteria of "newsworthiness". This event is not relevant, fresh, immediate, large-scale, conflictual. Also, the above news report of this type does not have any serious impact on its readers and does not focus their attention as an event that is significant for a large number of people. The possible goal of such "news" is educational, consisting in expanding students' knowledge. As for the method of presenting the event, this message is not a brief immediate summary of the incident. The incident as such is absent here, and the entire message is the background information.

Significant differences are also observed in the language of news hypotexts for the age groups under analysis: in addition to neutrality, intentional distancing, cliché, certainty, factuality of the texts of both groups, a mixture of styles is observed in children news hypotexts which makes it possible to use expressive vocabulary, phraseology, rhetorical questions, emotional interjections, puns. The texts are written with elements of conversational style and are simple for children's understanding.

Although further work is required to gain a more complete understanding of the agerelated changes in news texts writing, our findings indicate that the age of the target audience plays a very important role. It is the orientation toward a specific addressee that determines the choice of the stylistic norm, lexical and grammatical linguistic units, and initially determines the content of the news hypotext.

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AGE OF ADDRESSEE AS A FACTOR DETERMINING STRUCTURAL, LINGUISTIC AND TEMPORAL FEATURES OF NEWS HYPOTEXTS

ABSTRACT. The paper focuses on the variability of structure, temporal and linguistic features of American online news depending on the age of the target audience. News hypotexts aimed at adults are built according to the principle of the "inverted" pyramid and contain all the components of the news scheme of T.A. van Dijk. The "inverted" pyramid of online news texts for children is "truncated". All children's news hypotexts don't have a Headline. The analysis has proven that all news hypotexts aimed at children can be divided into three types: actual news, news + extensive background plan and background plan of the past presented as news. The analysis has shown the difference in the language of news hypotexts for adults and children. A tendency for neutrality and certain impersonality, high degree of cliché, a large number of citations and references to various sources of information, a tendency for factuality are typical of news hypotexts aimed at adults. News hypotexts aimed at children contain a direct address to the reader and have expressive vocabulary. As main methods of research process general scientific methods of analysis, synthesis and comparison, as well as linguistic methods of content analysis, discursive and interpretative analyses, the method of stylistic analysis were used.

KEYWORDS: mass media; media; media linguistics; media discourse; on-line news; news hypertexts; news hypotexts; target audience; linguistic peculiarities; temporal features.

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