

News Headlines: Stating in brief what is relevant in today's world (al-Arabiya, al-Jazeera, al-Manar, BBC World)¹

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Within the endless stream of information available on the media market, television channels make choices which are transmitted through a selection of themes constituting, for them, “the news” of the day or of the hour. This news is presented in the form of various stories organized in a more or less complex sequence, mixing sounds, voices, images, and text. These stories are themselves introduced in different ways: at intervals during the unfolding of the sequence, or at the beginning of the broadcast in the form of a list of contents recapitulating “the main headlines” of the news. In addition, throughout the news program, embedding of various “back-ups” of the stories may be observed. Sometimes the narration comments on the image; sometimes the images illustrate the narration; sometimes, text appears as the heading of the story—sometimes with an explanatory value. The narration may also serve an intertextual function, bringing in various speakers who contribute to the production of a single narrative thread through editing in the studio. All of this production of the news is carried out not only through selection of themes, images and voices, but also through their treatment. Although the news items are presented as objective accounts of actual events of the day, they represent a selection of the news items available on the market (images, reports from correspondents, dispatches) according to criteria of relevance. The choice and the layout of these relevant items, as they are organized in the practical context of the production of television news, constitute the subject of this article.

A series of themes emerges from the observation and careful description of the

lead-in to news broadcasts through the presentation of the headlines. Apart from the linking of sounds and images--and even of multiple voices and written texts--in a sequential framework, we will note the process of selection and hierarchization of relevant information in a context of strong technical and procedural constraint. Furthermore, the news selected and hierarchized becomes the object of subtle lexical categorizations. This is accomplished over the background of a stock of images shared among channels, with the consequence that the identity of the broadcasting channel is communicated through its voice, the tone of the text that it produces, and, when the camera returns to the studio, the body language of the newscaster—but rarely through the image itself.

It should be noted that from now on we situate our description starting from what might be called the natural attitude of the television viewer. We do not take into account anything except what is directly available to the man or woman who turns on the TV in search of the news, or who simply comes upon it by chance while “channel-surfing” during the time that it is on. Specifically, on the evening of December 8, 2004, without any preconceived idea of what would constitute the news menu of that day, we looked at three Arab channels, al-Arabiya, al-Jazeera and al-Manar, and one British channel, BBC World. For the sake of the analysis, we make recordings, which allow us to return as often as necessary to various moments of the television production, but we never depart from the material and what it makes accessible. It is, then, the structure of

intelligibility of the televised text just as it is presented to us upon which we focus our attention. That intelligibility is obvious; it is self-evident, given that the very goal of such texts is to be understood by those whom they address. Following Lena Jayyusi (1998), we may speak of the scenic transparency of the televisual text, by which we mean that the production of the media document does not succeed through its opacity, but, on the contrary, through its immediate accessibility for competent viewers. In other words, we put ourselves in the position of viewers catching the news and analyzing it as a text whose reception and intelligibility are formed from a certain number of possibilities both logical and accessible to understanding.

The presentation of the news of the day is the outcome of an embedded operation of the production of facts. The very concept of a “production of facts” is suggestive of the manufactured character of the activity and its product. As Searle expresses it, we are confronted here with the production of an epistemic objectivity where, by “epistemic,” we mean that which is the result of a subjective activity of the production of meaning and, by “objectivity,” we are signifying that it is a question of “news” toward which viewers orient themselves as toward any factual truths. The very fact that the truth of certain televised news broadcasts becomes the subject of intense debate demonstrates that, in the absence of contradictory proof, the objective, factual character of the raw information is taken for granted by the person watching. To be sure, the interpretation of this information is often controversial; at the very least, it causes reactions, disagreements, affiliations, and disaffiliation. However, in the great majority of cases, it is not the primary factual source of the information (its denotative level) which is called into question, but simply the way of presenting it and drawing inferences from it. In other words, it is not the question of whether such an event has occurred or not that generates controversy, but the moral and normative character of its presentation (its connotative level). If, then, the viewer accepts the objective character of the raw information

conveyed to him, he generally does not fail to take it as a view of the world to which he either subscribes or not. Since he is not a “media idiot,” he thus accepts the stories as a presentation of the news which suits him (and it is, besides, for that reason that he often chooses to follow the news broadcasts on this or that channel). It is here that the channels reach their audiences, in the expression of a world view and the affirmation that it can provide. In considering the relevance of media as it emerges from the presentation of the news headlines, we will begin by describing the general sequence of the television news broadcasts into which they are inserted. We will then concentrate on the segment of that sequence extending from the lead-in announcement of the television news up to the presentation of the first news item. Next we will describe in detail the presentation of the news headlines on four channels, three Arab and one British, paying particular attention to the operations of selection, sequencing, hierarchization, and categorization of pertinent information. In the discussion of this description, we will aim to observe how sounds, voice, images, and text are organized in a sequential framework and to analyze the question of relevance insofar as it is the result of an activity of selection and interpretation inscribed in courses of action oriented toward specific goals.

The general sequence of news broadcasts

*Transcription*²

- al-Arabiya:

00”

{signature image: lead-in}
{signature music: lead-in}

11”

{close-up of newscaster}
{{voice of newscaster}}
ahlan bi-kum ilâ jawlatin jadîda fî al-sâ'a al-thâmina nunâqish fihâ 'adadan min al-qadâyâ fî jawlati al-layla nutâbi'

19”

{images of news headlines; flashing number “8”}
{{voice of newscaster}}
misr tuqâyid 'Azzâm 'Azzâm...

56”

{signature image: lead-in; “8 al- thâmina masâ'an”}
{{signature music; lead-in}}

1'00
 {close-up of the newscaster; "al-Arabiya";
 "Muhannid al-Khatîb"; "8 al- thâmina masâ'an"}
 {{voice of newscaster}}
ahlan bi-kum () lam taghib qadiyyat al-jasûs...

- BBC World:

00"
 {signature images: lead-in; "BBC World";
 "www.bbcworld.com"}
 {{signature music: lead-in}}

02"
 {close-up of newscaster; "BBC World";
 "bbcnews.com"}
 {{voice of newscaster}}
*This is BBC news from BBC world I'm Alistair
 Yates the latest international headlines ()*

08"
 {images of news headlines; "BBC World";
 "bbcnews.com"; "headlines"}
 {{voice of newscaster}}
gunmen kill at least seventeen Iraqi...

23"
 {image: lead-in; "Iraq violence"; "BBC News";
 "BBC World"}
 {{signature music: lead-in}}

36"
 {images of the studio; close-up of newscaster ;
 "BBC World"; "bbcnews.com"; "Alistair Yates"}
 {{voice of newscaster}}
*at least twenty one people have been killed in
 attacks in Iraq US military says seventeen...*

- al-Jazeera:

00"
 {Signature images: lead-in}
 {{signature music: lead-in}}

03"
 {images: news headlines}
 {{voice of newscaster}}
'Azzâm 'Azzâm yasilu Isrâ'îl ba'da...

26"
 {signatura images: lead-in ; logo "al-Jazeera"; "al-
 akhbâr"}
 {{signature music: lead-in}}

36"
 {close-up of newscaster; "al-akhbâr"; "Jamâl
 Rayyân"}
 {{voice of newscaster}}
*nashratu al-akhbâr min qanâti al-Jazîrati fî Qatar ()
 'arafa wazîru al-khârijyyati al-misrî...*

- al-Manar:

00"
 {signature images: lead-in; logo "al-Manar"; "al-
 akhbâr"}
 {{signature music: lead-in}}

14"
 {images of news headlines; logo "al-Manar"; "al-
 'anâwîn"}
 {{voice of newscaster; background music for news
 headlines}}
maktabu Sharon...

42"
 {close-up of newscaster; logo "al-Manar"; "al-
 akhbâr"}
 {{voice of newscaster}}
*al-salâmu 'alaykum wa ahlan bi-kum ilâ nashratin
 mufassala li-l-akhbâr*

47"
 {close-up of newscaster; "al-akhbâr"; "'Abbâs
 Shufayr"}
 {{voice of newscaster}}
*a'lana maktab ra'îs wuzarâ' al-'adû Ariel Sharon
 anna...*

The script

The scripts of the introductory segments of televised news broadcasts follow two schemes. In the first of these (al-Arabiya and BBC World), the lead-in is followed by a close-up of the newscaster which situates the program and then cuts to the presentation of the headlines before returning to the close-up of the newscaster which begins, properly speaking, the presentation of the news broadcast. In the second scheme (al-Jazeera and al-Manar), the headlines immediately follow the lead-in and it is not until the end of the headlines that we arrive at the close-up of the newscaster which situates the program and launches it into the presentation of the news.

The lead-in

The lead-in of the television news conforms to a similar pattern on each of the four channels. It consists of the juxtaposition of images of composition and synthesis--counting down, explicitly or not, the seconds separating it from the beginning of the news stories and of music evoking the mounting suspense which leads up to the broadcast itself.

al-Arabiya



BBC World



al-Jazeera



al-Manar



We note that all of these lead-in images represent the world, either in the form of a globe or planisphere, on which the logo of the channel is superimposed. This conventional use of a representation of the world unambiguously announces the imminence of the television news. It possibly communicates, besides, the intention of a global and complete coverage of news as the sum of facts whose objectivity is as well-established as that of the earth on which they are produced. It is notable that only lead-in on al-Jazeera singles out one part of the world (the Arab world and its African extension).

Presentation

The presentation of the program and its newscaster demands particular attention. Similarly to the lead-in, the presentation is largely standardized. The symbols, the flow of images and their organization, the newscaster's manner of speaking and moving, and the context of the studio are elements of presentation common to all the channels. However, variations on this theme may be observed. Apart from the fact that the presentation comes in at different junctures according to the channel, it is possible to discern various non-neutral details affirming a televisual identity. Such details include the décor of the studio where the newscaster is located, his physical appearance and gestures, as well as the choice of words with which he addresses the viewer.

- al-Arabiya:

On al-Arabiya, as we have seen, the news headlines appear after the lead-in and the newscaster's beginning to speak. In fact, once the visual lead-in is over and in the continuation of the musical lead-in, the camera zooms in, beginning with a shot of the entire studio (1-2) and ending with a close-up of the newscaster (4-5). He, who was absorbed in reading the documents placed in front of him (3), then looks at the camera and begins to speak (4). The modernized aesthetic of the studio (1-2) demands emphasis because, evidently, it is that which justifies the camera work which moves from the context of the studio to the journalist working in this context. This gives the impression of a complex activity at whose center one finds the newscaster, who addresses himself to the public with a double hook—that of the glance, which passes from the documents placed on the desk (3) to the viewer situated behind the screen (4), and that of beginning to speak, which breaks into the musical lead-in.

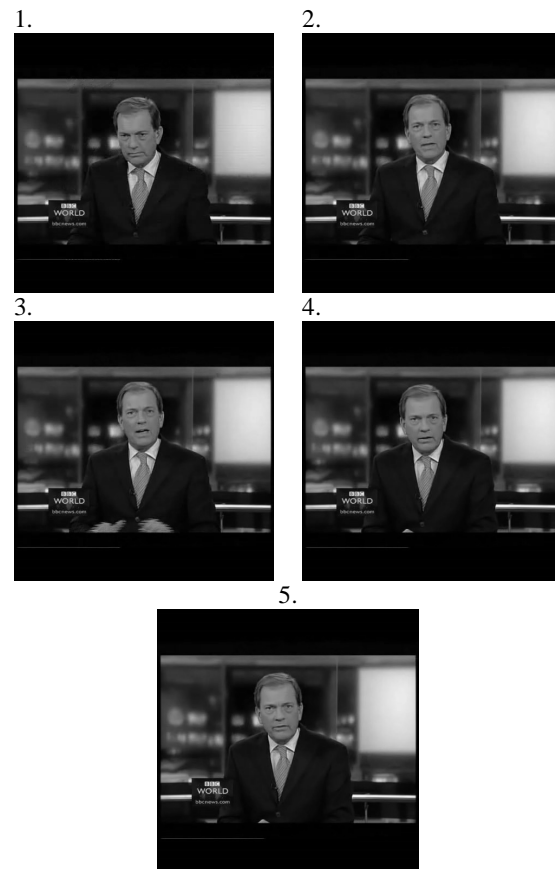


The newscaster, in suit and tie, proceeds in two stages. First of all, he produces a formula of welcome (“ahlan bi-kum ilâ jawlatin jadîda fî al-sâ‘a al-thâmina” - “we welcome you to the latest edition of the Eight o’clock. news”) which permits him to introduce the program as being, on the one hand, dedicated to guests that are surrounded with kindness (“welcome you”) and, on the other, that day’s installment of a continuing series (“latest edition of the 8 o’clock news”). Thus he explicitly inscribes the news broadcast in continuity, that of the channel and of its programs, and in fidelity, that of an audience familiar with both. The nature of the activity, at once professional and routine, is suggested by the very organization of the audiovisual sequence—with a newscaster engaged in the normal course of his work and whose appearance is taken for granted by the public. Without interruption, in a second segment, the newscaster introduces the sequence of news headlines, repeating a part of his preceding words (“fî jawlati al-layla” - “in the evening edition”), which is a practical means of conveying the transitional function of his words and opening the presentation of the menu (“nutâbi” - “we will follow”). At this moment, a brief pause in his narration, a return to his glance at the documents placed in front of him (5) and, following, a passage to images illustrating the main headlines, with the number eight flashing in the background, has an effect of punctuation similar to that of the colon in written text—namely, the opening of an enumerative list.

- BBC World

On BBC World, the news headlines also follow an introduction by the newscaster. After the visual lead-in, the camera goes immediately to a close-up of the newscaster. He is wearing a suit and tie. His glance passes from an object which he appears to be following attentively (since his glance travels to the front, obliquely to the right side and down, it is very likely a screen) to the camera. This attitude produces an impression of seriousness, precision and professionalism. The hook is threefold: first, through the glance, then through movement, and finally

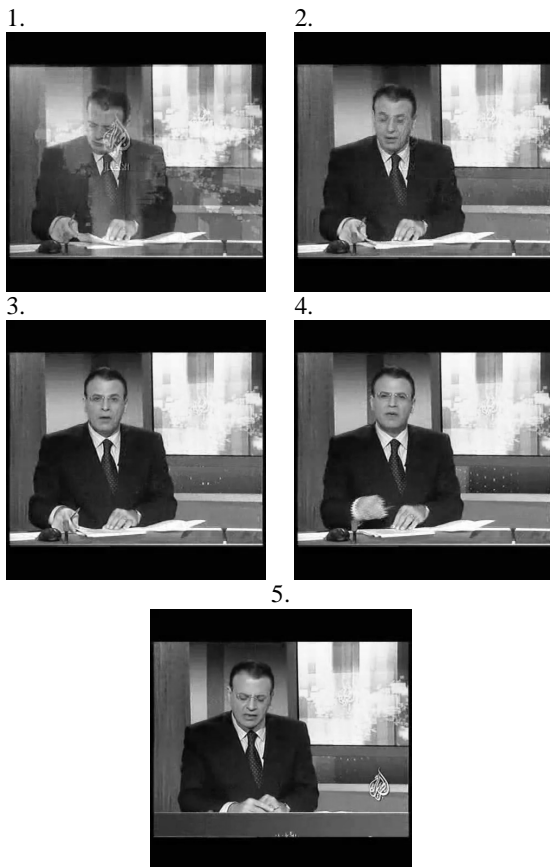
through speech. To this end, the newscaster simultaneously looks at the camera, moves his hands closer to each other, joins them, and begins to speak.



Verbally, he situates the broadcast and identifies it as a broadcast of the channel (“This is BBC news from BBC world”. In a second segment, he introduces himself (“I’m Alistair Yates”). We should note that this is the only one of the four channels where the journalist introduces himself, which is resonant of the direct Anglo-Saxon style that one encounters in telephone communications. In a third segment, without interruption, the newscaster introduces the presentation of the news headlines (“the latest international headlines”). The close-up of the newscaster is then interrupted by images illustrating these headlines, with a pause of a half second marking the transition and having an effect of punctuation.

- al-Jazeera

As we have stated, on al-Jazeera as on al-Manar the introductory sequence follows the presentation of the main headlines. In a dissolve from the lead-in which effects a transition (1) the camera shows the newscaster, in suit and tie, in close-up. His glance is directed towards some documents on the desk which he consults, pen in hand (1-2). Here, once again, we note this introductory technique which consists of showing the newscaster in the act of “taking up his duties,” that is to say, passing from a preparatory stage (1-2) to the stage of presentation (3-4). After having introduced the broadcast (3), which he does by means of movement as well, in bringing his hands close together and joining them (3-4), the newscaster returns to his papers and breaks off briefly (5) thus marking the transition to the treatment of the first news story.



Launching directly into the news stories with the main headlines allows elimination of one step of the transition. That is why, between

the presentation of the headlines and the beginning of the detailed treatment of the news, the newscaster limits himself to situating the broadcast, the broadcaster, and the originating place of the broadcast (“nashratu al-akhbâr min qanâti al-Jazeerati fî Qatar” - “edition of the news of the channel al-Jazeera in Qatar”). Besides, a banner appears at the bottom of the screen (5) upon which appear the words “al-akhbâr” - “the news” and Jamâl Rayyân (the name of the newscaster). As the transition from the introduction to the treatment of the first news story does not involve a change of framing, the pause marked by the newscaster in his narration and the orientation of his glance, back and forth between the camera and the papers spread out on his desk, function as punctuation. This time, however, it does not have the effect of a colon introducing an enumerative list, but of a mark at the line indicating the beginning of a new paragraph.

- al-Manar

After the presentation of the headlines, the newscaster on al-Manar appears immediately in a dissolve, on a set that situates him at his desk (1). At the moment that he is picked up by the camera, he is consulting a screen situated to his left. He remains behind his desk, pen in hand, with documents spread out in front of him (1-2). The hook is double, through his beginning to speak and through the change of orientation of his glance, which passes from his screen to the camera (3). The transition from the introduction to the treatment of the first news story is marked by a slight pause in its narration at the same time as a change of frame, slightly faded, which accentuates the zoom on the newscaster (4-5). This transition is prefaced by a slight movement of the journalist, who, after having looked at a camera for a first frame, begins to orient himself toward a second camera just before the change of view (4). We should note that this journalist is the only one in the group of newscasters of the four channels who does not wear a tie, even though he does wear a jacket, and who sports a beard cut very short (5). For the competent viewer, this is not

insignificant and immediately signals a modulation of ideological register.



At the end of the presentation of the headlines, the journalist introduces the program with a twofold greeting, one properly Islamic (“al-salâmu ‘alaykum” - “peace be with you”; al-Manar is the only one of the four channels to use a formula with religious connotations); the other more general (“ahlan bi-kum” - “welcome”), the latter permitting the situating of the broadcast (“ilâ nashratin mufassala li-l-akhbâr” - “for a detailed reporting of the news”). At the moment of beginning the narration of the first of these news items, two phrases are added, one confirming the purpose of the journalist (“al-akhbâr” - “the news”), the other introducing the latter (“‘Abbâs Shufayr”). Identification of the channel is continuous through the superimposition of the channel’s logo on the upper right of the screen.

The banner headlines of the news

The banner headlines are placed at the forefront of the presentation of the news as a selection of that which, in the entire spectrum of the day’s news, occupies a particular place and, with this headline, merits special attention. They are also story headings announced in a preliminary summary. They constitute, then, a selection of relevant news items which are showcased, and arranged sequentially, hierarchically, and substantively within the lexical and categorical systems.

Al-Arabiya

The headline news on the channel al-Arabiya comprises four items. The first concerns the liberation of Azzam Azzam, the second concerns the violence in Iraq, the third, the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations and the fourth deals with the question of street children in Sudan. The positioning of each title is inscribed in a hierarchy of importance. Thus the freeing of Azzam constitutes the principal news of the day and is to be found at the head of the list. The violence in Iraq, in the context of the current electoral process, appears in the second position, because, at a general level (the violence in Iraq), its recurring nature diminishes its relevance from the point of view of uniqueness (today’s violence in Iraq). In the same way, the recurring nature of the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations justifies their relegation to third place in the ranking of headlines. The newsworthiness of the day’s updates is not sufficient to transcend the general redundancy of the theme of the negotiations. Finally, the story on the Sudanese street children is presented as a change of pace from the first three, having more of the character of a documentary than that of news. We note that all four headlines concern the Arab world. They form a progressive diminution of intensity, passing from the news of the day (breaking news) to acts of daily violence, then to an ongoing political negotiation and, finally, to the reporting of a societal problem.

- al-Arabiya (1):

1.



2.



3.



{3 views: 'Azzâm + police officers; leaving prison; entering the courtroom}

{{voice of the newscaster}}

Misr tuqâyid 'Azzâm 'Azzâm bi-sittati min talabâtihâ kânû mu'taqalîn fi Isrâ'îl fa'l al-safqati baqîyya

//Egypt exchanges 'Azzam 'Azzam for six of its students who have been imprisoned in Israel. The transaction follows live//

This first headline, which represents *the* news of the day, appears in the form of a double personalization--pictorial (the face of Azzam) and nominal (the name of Azzam)--of the news story's protagonist. The association of a face and a name, without any other information about the identity of the person, gives one to understand that what he is and who he is emerges from background evidence. The fact that Azzam is shown flanked by police officers (1), leaving prison (2), entering a courtroom (3), coherently illustrates the narration which speaks of the exchange of Azzam for the students imprisoned in Israel. The pictorial focus on Azzam suggests that this exchange is asymmetrical in the sense that Azzam is the significant participant in the transaction for which the students are only a pretext, all confirmed by narration that speaks of an agreement whose details are yet to be revealed. The news appears to be firsthand, and seems to be covered live, judging by the images suggesting a release in progress (1, 2), thus projecting an impression of immediacy and conformity of the image to the narration—all of which has the effect of

authenticating the story. At the same time, the third shot of the main headline connects Azzam and the occasion of his release to the historic moment of his conviction (the image corresponds to the entry of Azzam into the interior of the courtroom), thus confirming his status as a prisoner who is eligible for an exchange and a person likely to justify a political transaction of the highest level, all the while underscoring that the channel's reporting of the story is documented and therefore credible. Finally, we underscore the elliptical organization of this headline, first in the narration (since it does not directly state who Azzam is) and in the following image, since it only illustrates part of the narration. This is no doubt because of the structure of headlines, which must serve two functions: saying something new and intelligible in the most concise manner possible, and arousing sufficient interest on the part of the viewer to induce him to continue following the stories in order to know more about them.

- al-Arabiya (2):

1.



2.



3.



4.



{4 views: armed men posing in front of photographers; office of registration; electoral signs}

{{voice of the newscaster}}

tahdîrâtun min harbin ahliyya wa 'unfin mutazâ mutâzâyid fi hâl ijrâ'at al-intikhâbât al-'irâqîyya fi maw'idihâ

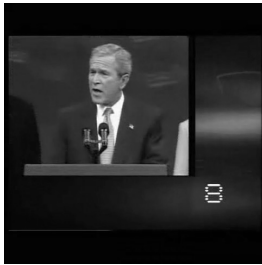
//Placed on guard against a civil war and spillover violence in the context of the holding of Iraqi elections on the scheduled date//

The second headline suggests a parallel between armed violence and the Iraqi elections. A pictorial representation

corresponds to each of these narrative elements, of armed men posing for the cameras, on the one hand (1), and of electoral signs, on the other (2, 3, 4). The correspondence between narration and images is literal, inasmuch as the juxtaposition of two elements of the story contributes to the creation of a contrasting narrative pair opposing and associating, within the same context, the permanence of the violence and the electoral process. The incongruity thus created is not without an inferential aspect (how could one imagine that the electoral process could succeed in the conditions prevailing at the time the information is being reported?). It is noteworthy, as well, that nothing clearly indicates the association of the armed militants and the Iraqi elections, which shows that the illustrative and semantic correspondence of the images with the narration does not necessarily imply a factual correspondence of these same images and the reported information. Here the viewer finds himself forced into a reading through the association of ideas, even though the filmed event may be fictive, erroneous or simulated (Bjelic, 1999).

- al-Arabiya (3):

1.



2.



{2 shots: Bush at a press conference; Powell-Abbas handshake}

{{ voice of the newscaster }}

Washington tuhaddid silsila min al-ijrâ'ât li-tanfîdh ta'ahudi Bush bi-l-'amali 'alâ qiyâmi dawlatin filastîniyya
 //Washington outlines a series of measures to carry out Bush's promise to work for the founding of a Palestinian state//

In this third news headline on al-Arabiya, the images illustrate the narration in a manner both personalized and literal. The United States, verbally invoked through mention of their capital and pictorially through the person of their president, is outlining measures, pictorially invoked by the meeting of

Secretary of State Powell with Fatah leader Mahmoud Abbas, to carry out a promise of President Bush, represented pictorially through his person and verbally by his name, to support the creation of a Palestinian State, invoked pictorially by the most important person in the political hierarchy following the death of Yasser Arafat. Once again it is not possible to determine if the images correspond factually to the narration (which concerns a speech in which Bush made this promise), since they illustrate it by association of ideas. It is, to a certain extent, their familiar aspect (the names and the faces, the places and institutions, the persons and the activities) which permits them to converge in the production of an intelligible news story. This relies, however, on background knowledge by the minimally competent viewer of historically difficult relations between the United States and the Palestinian Authority. It emerges, then, from a contrast between the formerly prevailing situation (tensions between the United States and Palestine) and the new situation (a Powell-Abbas handshake, which leads one to think that there is a will for agreement and cooperation), which represents a break with the past and—for this very reason—constitutes, strictly speaking, “news”.

- al-Arabiya (4):

1.



2.



3.



{3 shots: a group of children; gathered together; soliciting a driver}

{{voice of the newscaster}}

wa ba'da nuzûh ayyâm jarrâ al-jaffâfi wa-l-harb al-alâf min al-afâl al-sudânîyyîn yaftarishûn al-arda wa-l-samâ' fi shawâri' al-bilâd

//And after a journey of many days to flee the drought and the war, thousands of Sudanese children wander aimlessly in the streets of the city//

The fourth and final headline is clearly set off from the previous ones. It does not relate, strictly speaking, to a news story, but rather to a documentary account of a current, ongoing phenomenon. The first part of the narration about this headline story has no accompanying image, no pictorial illustration to support the words that speak of flight, drought, and war. This headline is constructed as a mystery, in that we do not know of whom or of what place the narrator is speaking—except we do know that the images represent black children, which seems to suggest the African continent. In the middle of the narration “Sudanese children” are mentioned, the narration thus converging with the images, producing an effect of agreement and resolving the mystery. From this point on, the images illustrate the words, whether literally (children, aimlessness, and wandering), or connotatively (association of place, the Sudan, and a supposed phenotype, the Sudanese). We should add that, if the first part of the narration is elliptical (to what drought, what war, what exodus does it refer?), it does not create any disjunction because it rests upon shared background knowledge (Sudan is a country of drought, wars, and a people in exodus).

Each of the four news headlines on al-Arabiya is the object of intense work of categorization. This work relies upon a layer of background knowledge possessed by every normally competent viewer who watches the news on this channel. Thus, the countries and places (Egypt, Israel, Iraq, Washington, Palestine, Sudan), the proper names (Azzam, Bush, but also Powell and Abbas), the events of the news (the trial of Azzam, war in Iraq, peace process), the societal phenomena (drought and war) can be evoked without any need to define, situate, explain, or interpret. If the viewer is ever unable to understand what he is

watching, it is his own incompetence which is responsible—not the opacity of the news story conveyed by the channel. Every production of news headlines, because it must be very concise and rapid, functions by association of words and images within a framework that is implicit but taken as obvious. The background of shared knowledge is put into play through the mobilization of categorical systems (political agreement, settling of conflicts, peace process, human misery) with which individuals are associated (Azzam/students, militia /voters, Powell/Abbas), often organized into pairs, just like certain activities (negotiating, exchanging, fighting, voting, carrying out, meeting, shaking hands, fleeing, wandering) and their implications (differences tend to be settled by means of negotiation and compromise, armed men are generally opposed to any electoral process, a superpower is involved in the settling of conflicts, catastrophes cause misery). The evocation of a categorical system, the narrative or pictorial designation of a pair or an activity which is associated with it, activates a mechanism of involvement through which the elements of the categorical system, the other part of the pair, the categorical system itself, and its components are naturally drawn into the description of the event, even though they may very well not have been explicitly mentioned. Thus the face of Azzam suggests the idea of being convicted for espionage and that this conviction justifies the signing of a political agreement, and even the exchange of prisoners. In the same way, the evocation of violence suggests the idea of civil war, just as evoking the elections suggests civil peace. The juxtaposition of the two creates a contrast from which we may infer the risk of a setback. Or again, mentioning Bush and Washington in relation to the creation of a Palestinian State suggests the United States in the role of intermediary, even though controversial, in the peace process, and the resolution of the stalemate which was justifying, in their view, not becoming involved. Let us add that a whole system of description and selection of vocabulary plays a part in this categorical mechanism. Exchanging prisoners is not equivalent to

releasing a prisoner; mentioning someone by name (Azzam, Bush) is not equivalent to making him bear the weight of moral and legal condemnation (a spy) or to speaking of a function (President, Chief Executive); choosing an occupation (that of students) is not equivalent to choosing another (that of terrorists); describing a situation of civil war does not amount to describing the actions of terrorists. The choice of descriptors is directly consistent with the constitution of the categorical systems and, therefore, with the categories, their paired elements, the activities linked to them, the rights and duties attaching to their members, as well as the inferences which may be made on this basis. All of this, simply stated, amounts to the fact that the channel is going to deal with the following themes in its news program: the negotiations that surround the extradition of the spy Azzam to Israel; the impossibility of successfully carrying out fair and transparent elections in Iraq in the context of occupation and civil war; the change of the United States' position with regard to Palestine after the death of Arafat; and the miserable existence of the Sudanese children who are the chief victims of the war and the drought.

BBC World

The main headlines on BBC World feature three items. The first concerns Iraq, the second, the exchange of prisoners between Egypt and Israel and the third, an initiative for promoting peace in Thailand. If we compare this sequence with that of al-Arabiya, we immediately notice an inversion of the ranking of headlines, with Iraq moving to the top and the exchange of prisoners to second. As for the third headline, which the BBC alone elevates to this position, it represents a change of register from the two others and functions sequentially as a sort of respite and whiff of optimism in the news within the somber group. The release of Azzam is deemed less important than the recurring violence in Iraq, and the introduction of an upbeat news item is deemed more important than the developments in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. In other words, the breaking news is not sufficiently important, in

the eyes of those responsible for the channel's news broadcast, to supersede the news stories reporting on violence from the news hotspot of the moment.

- BBC World (1):

1.



{1shot:truck removing corpses; text: Iraq violence/17 civilians killed}

{{voice of the newscaster}}

gunmen kill at least seventeen Iraqi civilians working for the Americans in Tikrit

In this first headline, we observe a direct correspondence between the narration, which speaks of civilians killed, the image, which shows in a single shot the removal of bodies on a truck, and the text. (The BBC is the only channel of those analyzed here to accompany its news headlines with a superimposed text). However, the image is poor, qualitatively (it is not possible to determine clearly what it is documenting) as well as semantically (nothing about the identity of the victims can be deduced from it, and particularly about the reference to “civilians working for the Americans”). We note that, even though the image illustrates the narration by association of ideas (without which the viewer does not have any means of knowing if it even corresponds to the reported event), the text, on its part, serves to paraphrase the narration and summarize it briefly. Two aspects of this headline need to be emphasized. The first is the role of numbers, which might be called the practical grammar of numbers. When the narration speaks of “at least 17 civilians” and the text reports “17 civilians,” the image shows us several bodies. This is a sort of practical grammar of expression available to analysis when the preciseness of the text makes it difficult to fall back on generalities. In such a case, the verbal narration provides the means of using a quantitative formula of the type “at least,” which indicates a large number and admits the possibility of a heavier

toll, and the image connotes a large number, indicating the materiality without being exact. This brings us to the equally grammatical role of the image in this headline. In this case, the image of the bodies clearly lends authenticity to the story, even though nothing attests to an exact correlation between the filmed event and the narration.

- BBC World (2):

1.

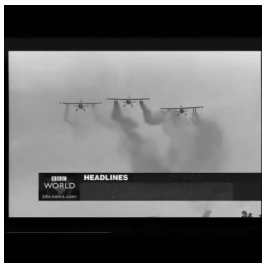


{1shot: convoy; text: prisoner exchange/spy for student conspirators}
 {{voice of the newscaster}}
Jerusalem and Cairo exchange prisoners, one of them sentenced as an Israeli spy

The second BBC headline is presented similarly to the first. A single shot, rather poor and not very explicit, which only makes sense as support to the narration (the image of the convoy is not in itself significant), although it is not problematic since it backs up this narration (the convoy of police vehicles clearly must be the one accompanying the exchange of prisoners) with a superimposed text which summarizes (a prisoner “convicted as a spy” becomes “a spy”) but also, this time, amplifies the narration (“prisoners” becoming, apart from the “spy”, “student conspirators”).

- BBC World (3):

1.



{2 shots: planes;release; text: Thailand/birds of peace}
 {{voice of the newscaster}}
and Thailand drops millions of paper birds in the Muslim South as a message of peace

2.



This third news headline acquires emphasis through its relation to the two previous ones. If it is really a news story (and not essentially a documentary as in the case of the fourth headline on al-Arabiya), it is difficult to see why it ranks as a major headline; it seems more to fit the category of a miscellaneous news item. Possibly it has been chosen precisely because of its anecdotal character, which allows it to function as a diversion and change of pace in a context that is otherwise very somber. We note that the images are the literal illustration of the narration (they could not be understood independently of it) and at the same time exclude any simulation (how could a deluge of millions of paper birds be anything but unique?). The superimposed text, for its part, simply summarizes the narration without any elaboration.

If we turn our attention to the work of categorization evident in the presentation of the news headlines on the BBC World, we notice first of all the extent to which it relies on background knowledge (Iraq, Americans, Tikrit, Jerusalem, Cairo, Thailand, Muslim South), to the exclusion of any personalization. One might well ask whether this presumption of background knowledge does not sometimes exceed the viewer’s actual competence (for example, not everyone could be expected to know that a Muslim rebellion is in progress in the South of Thailand). In this particular instance, the last headline acquires its meaning within a purely categorical system, opposing Thailand to Muslims (even though it deals with the Muslim South of Thailand) and opposing Muslims to peace (since Thailand needs to convey a message of peace to the Muslims of the South). The categorical systems in play are the “armed conflicts,” the “exchange of prisoners” and the “message of peace,” and each one in turn leads to (or has itself been preceded by) a series of membership categories organized in pairs (armed men/civilians, armed resistance/conspirators, Egypt/Israel, prisoners/prisoners, Thailand/Muslim South, Buddhism/Islam). Various activities are linked to these categories (armed men kill, civilians work and/or are victims, spying can lead to a prison sentence, prisoners

are released or exchanged, neighboring countries maintain relations, Buddhists promote non-violence, Muslims resist with arms), with the rights, duties and diverse consequences they entail: (working for the Americans is a cause of death, spying for the Israelis is a cause of imprisonment, being Muslim is a source of violence, etc.). Here, as elsewhere, we underscore the importance of word choice: “working for the Americans” is not “collaborating with the Americans,” “to kill” is not “to execute,” “to convict” is not “to wrongly accuse of a crime”. From this point of view, the BBC shows a preference for terms of a more neutral tone.

Al-Jazeera

The sequence of news headlines on al-Jazeera follows the same model as on al-Arabiya. In its exclusive focus on the Arab world, the news concerning Azzam is in the forefront, followed by violence in Iraq, and, in the third place, Fischer’s declaration on the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. The “breaking news” thus moves to the head of the list, preceding the recurring violence and the re-opening of a political process. There is no respite at the end, as on the BBC, to make the atmosphere less tense or divert the viewer.

- al-Jazeera (1):

1.



{1 shot: Azzam Azzam}
 {{voice of the newscaster}}
‘Azzâm ‘Azzâm yâsilu Isrâ’îl ba’da ifrâji al-Qâhirati ‘anhu muqâbila sittati talabatîn masrî
 //Azzam Azzam arrives in Israel after having been released by Cairo in exchange for six Egyptian students//

After the lead-in, the news stories on al-Jazeera begin immediately with the image of Azzam speaking with journalists from a car in which he is seated next to a person who seems to have a kind attitude toward him, giving the impression that he is already in Israel and no

longer in Egypt. To certain extent, the narration confirms this, speaking of the arrival of Azzam in Israel. Images and narration are personalized in the extreme, since it is the face and name of Azzam which serve as entry point to the statement of the headlines, in such a way that one is able to affirm that the pictorial and narrative presentations mutually cohere (one may infer from the mention of the name the face of the person and the inverse). Heard in the background, the voice of Azzam adds to this effect of personalization and immediacy, even though at this stage it is not possible to understand what he is saying. As on the other channels, the second party to the exchange, namely the Egyptian students, is not the subject of any pictorial documentation.

- al-Jazeera (2):

1.



{shot: soldier uncovering corpses}
 {{voice of the newscaster}}

maqtalu ‘ashrîna ‘Irâqiyyan wa ‘arba’ati junûdin amîrikiyyîn fî ‘amali ‘unfîn fî al-‘Irâq
 //Murder of twenty Iraqis and four American soldiers in an armed operation in Iraq//

The shot of this second headline on al-Jazeera relates directly to the narration, without which it would not be possible to determine that it definitely corresponds to the reported event (aside from the fact that the soldier discovering the bodies wears an American uniform which suggests the occupation of Iraq). In fact, the image covers the result of the action (the bodies) while the narration deals more with the action itself (the attack). The image is illustrative and literal, but partial, since it documents neither the number of victims nor their identity. As on the BBC, one observes the deployment of a practical grammar of numbers, with the difference that the narration here gives an exact toll, while the image suggests, as on the other channel, a

large number. We note, as well, the indirectly illustrative character of the uniform which not only leads one to think of Iraq, but also establishes a relation with the death of American soldiers.

- al-Jazeera (3):

1.



{shot: Fischer's press conference}

{{ voice of the newscaster

yu'akkidu fī Rāmallāh anna al-fursata al-āna tārīkhiyyatun li-ihyā'i 'amaliyyati al-salām

//Fischer confirms at Ramallah today the historic occasion of the reopening of the peace process

The third headline on al-Jazeera, equally sober, presents the image of a press conference held jointly by Joschka Fischer and Mahmoud Abbas to illustrate in a very explicit way the declaration of the German Foreign Minister concerning the reopening of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. The information is personalized through mention of Fischer's name and the place of the declaration, as well as the image of Fischer, of Abbas, and, on a poster in the background, Arafat. We note how the narration and the image are mutually supportive, the identification of a specific place (Ramallah, official capital of the Palestinian Authority in the narration) occurring conjointly with that of the official representatives (Abbas and Arafat for the Palestinian people) in the image.

On al-Jazeera, as on the other channels, the work of categorization is fundamental. The whole economy of news headlines rests upon the ability to rely on the denotative and the connotative to convey, in as few words and images as possible, what has been selected as the significant news of the day. This is the reason that background knowledge is so much relied upon. The editing of television news must bet that names of people, names of places (Israel, Cairo, Egypt, Iraq, Ramallah)

or geopolitical situations (Israeli-Egyptian relations, the war in Iraq, the peace process) form part of the knowledge shared by those who watch the news, so that there is no need to explain and define everything. Thus the invocation of a word, a name, or an expression is enough to make the statement of a new fact intelligible. Beyond the presentation of a new fact, a whole series of ramifications is put into play through the single deployment of a categorical mechanism, whether it is a categorical system (exchange of prisoners, civil war, peace process), relational pairs (Egypt-Israel, prisoners-prisoners, murder-victim, Palestine-Israel), category-linked activities (a spy is extradited, political prisoners are exchanged, to kill or be killed in a civil war, to make declarations as Foreign Minister), category-linked obligations (a soldier deals with life and death, a minister negotiates) or of the choice of lexical descriptives (Azzam/spy, students/terrorists, to kill/to execute, violent actions/terrorism, American soldiers/ forces of occupation, Fischer/German Minister, opportunity/constraint, peace process/normalization).

Al-Manar

While devoting its main headlines to the Arab world alone, al-Manar presents a sequence slightly different from that of its two Arab sister-channels. Namely, the exchange of Azzam is the actual headline news, with Palestine the subject of the second headline and Iraq appearing only in the third position. Furthermore we observe a tendency to use headlines that combine two news stories in one. The release of Azzam is also the announcement of increased cooperation between Egypt and Israel; the declarations regarding the peace process are counterbalanced by Hamas' refusal of the truce; the violence in Iraq is presented along with the atrocities of the American forces. The news headlines become, in a way, general themes subdivided into different items.

- al-Manar (1):

1.



{1 shot: escort}

{{ voice of the newscaster }}

maktabu Sharon yatahaddath 'ani ittifâqin ma'a Mubarak 'alâ mazîdin min al-ta'âwun ba'da 'amaliyyati itlâq Misr 'alâ al-jâsûs al-isrâ'îlî 'Azzâm 'Azzâm

//The Sharon cabinet speaks of an agreement with Mubarak to increase cooperation after the agreement which led to the release of Israeli spy Azzam Azzam//

The image in the single shot of this first headline does not make sense until the end of the statement concerning it. Even though it is a literal illustration, this image is poor, above all when it is put into perspective with the narration (see below). It is notable that this image is identical to the image on the BBC that served to illustrate the same story. This suggests that the iconography used by the channels is not the property of each one, but rather has been acquired from a common source that markets television images.

- al-Manar (2):

1.



2.



3.



4.



{4 shots: Moratinos and Mubarak; Fischer (press conference); Zahar (press conference)}

{{ voice of the newscaster }}

Moratinos wa Fischer yad'awâni li-l-istifâda min al-fursa li-ihyâ' 'amaliyyati al-taswiya wa Hamâs tarfudu ayy hadîth

'an al-hudna

//Moratinos and Fischer call for the Hamas leadership to take advantage of the opportunity to reopen the peace process and Hamas refuses to discuss a ceasefire// in the context of the holding of Iraqi elections on the scheduled date//

After the relative visual poverty of the preceding headline, this one appears rich, even though the images are semantically poor in the absence of the narration they support. We note the extreme personalization of the story, which speaks of Moratinos and Fischer and shows them, and speaks also of a political movement (Hamas), accompanying this statement with the image of one of its leaders (al-Zahar). The image is thus the literal support of the narration, in a relation of strict correspondence between a proper name and its representation. We should emphasize, besides, the narrative duality of this headline; the story concerns both the peace process and the refusal to discuss a ceasefire, without the two things being directly linked to each other. It is the headline itself, by opposing the European politicians to Hamas, which constructs the unity of the story through contrast. We should note that al-Manar is the only one of the four channels to mention Hamas. Aside from this, we also underscore that among the microphones extended toward al-Zahar, the one bearing the logo of al-Manar figures prominently, giving the impression that the importance given to this second part of the story grows out of a deliberate and engaged choice on the part of the channel.

- al-Manar (3):

1.



2.



3.



{3 shots: corpses; mosque;ransacked place}

{{ voice of the newscaster }}

aktharu min 'ashrîn 'Irâqîyyan qada'û fî hajamâtin mutafarriqa wa quwâtu al-ihlâl ta'taqil mandûban li-l-tansîq al-intikhâbî li-l-marja' al-Sistânî

//More than 20 Iraqis have fallen in various skirmishes and the occupation forces imprison the election coordinator of marja al-Sistani//

The third headline on al-Manar likewise shows a double structure. It deals with both the Iraqi victims of the conflict and the arrest of a Shiite dignitary by the American forces. This structure is not contrastive, however, but simply cumulative; one story is simply added to another concerning the same country. If the image is illustrative and literal for the first part of the headline (the bodies of the Iraqi victims), it is allusive and connotative for the second. The viewer is expected to find, in the image of the mosque, the representation of the place of a Shiite cult, which, in its turn, alludes to the narration which speaks of the arrest of a dignitary of whom one may infer, by the reference which has been made to Sistani and to his religious title of *marja'*, that the arrestee himself is Shiite. The third shot is, at the stage of news headlines, even more difficult to read. It represents a ransacked site, which one may interpret as a sort of deserted battlefield, the place of the arrest of this deputy of Sistani. This example allows us to underscore the inferential power of images, the wrecked place suggesting violence (that of the "forces of occupation") against religious spaces (the mosque) and religious figures ("marja' al-Sistani"). As in the corresponding headline on the BBC, we should note the deployment of the practical grammar of numbers, the image suggesting a large number, but not a precise one, and the narration supplying an approximate, open-ended figure ("more than 20").

The work of the categories is even more important on al-Manar than elsewhere. It relies upon background knowledge permitting the mention of names, titles and events without further explanation (Sharon, Mubarak, Moratinos, Fischer, Hamas, Sistani, *marja'*). It is based as well on categorical systems (cooperation, war and peace, army of occupation), on relational pairs (Sharon-Mubarak, European Union-Hamas, forces of occupation-Iraqi citizens) and activities linked to the categories (negotiation under the table, supporting or opposing normalization, being a victim of the occupation). Still more, it rests upon a powerful lexical and semantic system. Each name carries with it a certain number of implications. The mere mention of Sharon invokes the Zionist enemy; of Mubarak, the traitor to the Arab cause; of Azzam, the spy in the pay of Israel; of Moratinos and Fischer, encouraging an unjust normalization; of Hamas, the legitimate resistance to the occupation; and of Iraqis, the victims of the American forces. The choice of descriptive terms operates in the same way. It is not neutral to speak of Sharon and not the Israeli Prime Minister, of Mubarak and not the Egyptian President, of a spy and not a person sentenced on the basis of his alleged spying, of Moratinos and Fischer and not Foreign Ministers, of Hamas and not an activist Palestinian movement, of combat and not terrorist acts, of forces of occupation and not Americans, of *marja'* al-Sistani and not just Sistani.

The production of relevance on television

It would now be appropriate to enumerate some of the salient qualities specific to the type of televisual production that news headlines are and to look at them analytically. More specifically, we will concentrate on the function of punctuation, the body, and the voice in capturing the attention of the viewer, and the role of image and text as support of the narration. In addition, we will consider televisual relevance as the actual product of the semantic manufacture of objectivity.

The body, the voice, and the image as support of the narration

The attention of the viewer is not in itself guaranteed and for this reason it is important to imbue the televisual sequence with a rhythm that captures, orients, and holds the viewer's interest. With that in mind, the movements, sounds and images are arranged in the context of an editorial system that is complex and yet unobtrusive (so familiar has it become today) and transparent (it is its immediate intelligibility that justifies it).

The lead-in is the first element put into play to capture the viewer's attention. It constitutes a break from the previous program and announces the program that is to come. Its style makes that announcement easy to understand. The countdown of the seconds separating the beginning of the new broadcast and the image of the world, in the form of a globe or a stylized map, belong to the globally conventional repertoire of introductory sequences to television news programs. The news headlines constitute the second element, whether they appear before or after the introductory appearance of the newscaster. We note that it is actually because the lead-in is understood in its role of announcement that the headlines may be inserted before that introductory appearance. The format "television news" having been announced, the grammatical function of these headlines (their relational position in the general phrasing) becomes clear and their position at the beginning increases their ability to capture immediately the attention of the viewers.

Movement and intonation form a second element in the capturing and holding of attention. They perform actual work of editing the narration by cataloguing and punctuating it. The close-up of the newscaster focuses the program directly on the presentation. To mark the transition, the newscaster reorients his body and his glance toward the viewer, drawing him in and inviting him to turn his attention to the program. He folds his hands, thus communicating his "taking up his function" and his transition from the work of gathering together his journalistic resources to

the work of synthesized presentation. After reorientation of his body and his glance, his voice comes in portentously. Without hesitation, without preliminary, he launches directly into speech. He proceeds to what is called the "hook." Inversely, the newscaster accomplishes his work of introduction while turning away from the camera, indicating the beginning of a new activity, which leads the viewer to expect a transition from the introductory sequence to a thematic sequence. Through movement, tone, and rhythm, the newscaster punctuates the whole of the sequence. On the BBC, for example, a simple silence of a half second marks a transition and produces the effect of punctuation. In the case of the newscaster on al-Arabiya, the mounting tone leading to a pause, while reorienting his glance and separating his hands, signals the opening of an enumerative list (compared above to the use of the colon in written text). In the case of al-Jazeera, the pause in the narration and the orientation of the glance, going back and forth between the camera and the papers spread out on the newscaster's desk, function like the transition to a new paragraph. Likewise on al-Manar, a slight pause in the narration, the reorientation of the journalist towards another camera and his subsequent change of position, punctuate the transition to the treatment of the first news story.

Along with movements and positions of the body and the intonations and inflections of the voice, the image plays a part as support to the narration. First and foremost, we have been able to observe the recurring nature of the images, most of which seem to come from a sort of common source accessible to the television market. More importantly, we notice that the images function in an essentially literal manner, associating the figure of a person with the mention of his name or the view of bodies with the evocation of acts of violence, or by simple association of ideas, of armed and masked men personifying the civil war or a mosque symbolizing an important figure of Shiite Islam.

Relevance and objectivity

If, then, sound, voice, images and text are joined in a sequential and intertextual framework in order to produce the news, it is generally the case that preeminence is given to the verbal narration.¹ The image is found to be confined to the role of paraphrase and commentary on the narration, and the written text to the role of summarizing or complementing it. This also brings up the question of the role of the image, apart from its aesthetic and entertaining aspect (certainly not negligible). The technically ancillary status of the image in no way detracts from the fact that it plays a fundamental role in the news, which is that of confirmation and accreditation of the stories related by the narration. As we stated in our introduction, the presentation of the news of the day is an artifact, but an artifact epistemically conceived as objective. It is the image which, above all, contributes to the production of this objectivity. There is a fundamental perceptual difference between hearsay and eyewitness, namely that the first is the product of rumor and the second has a quasi-legal, testimonial aspect.

Apart from the difference between the actual view and the hearsay account, it is also the “model of the recorder” (Dulong, 1998) on which the audiovisual media functions, which gives the television news its objective aspect. The original image and sound relayed by the camera attain the status of proof. This power comes from that fact that, even though they may be biased, incomplete, or even erroneous or falsified, these backups come onscreen with the documentary headline to shore up the position of the verbal narration. Because they produce the correspondence, they are witness to the veracity. Because they confirm—even if it is actually by association of ideas or by simulation of events—what the narration claims, they create the impression of authenticity. Besides this, they allow one to see and listen to something concrete. Original sounds and images seem to come in directly, without mediation, so that our senses are able

¹This is the origin of the “No Comment” sequence on Euronews.

to perceive things as if we were in the location and in the place of the camera. The technology which supports every filming operation tends to erase the conditions endogenous to its production, so much and so well that the document produced appears, finally, as natural, obvious, and self-validating.

According to Schutz (1990: 5), “Relevance is not inherent in nature as such, it is the result of the selective and interpretative activity of man within nature or observing nature.” Neither is televisual relevance simply a matter of evidence, and the ability to read it is not “a transparent and ‘natural’ ability, but very much a socially organized element of culture that is instantiated within, and sustained by, a community of practice” (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1996: 69). Television news stories, as well, are the product of an activity of selection, production, ordering and hierarchization of “facts of the day.” Various techniques are mobilized for this purpose: the time allotted to covering the story, its place in the program, the type of treatment (report, briefs, interview, investigation), the lexicon upon which it draws, are so many ways of producing relevance. The main headlines of the news are another, choosing three or four items deemed the most relevant of the day’s news, summarizing them in one short, elliptical sentence, verbally categorizing and visually illustrating them. In other words, the news headlines are an instructed relevance, an order imposed in such a way that they seem to proceed from the factual objectivity of natural current events. To be sure, this relevance can only operate in the context of a background of understanding shared by the channel and its viewers. At the same time, it is the channel itself which, by means of continuing news programs, produces this background. Previous news items are the referent of the news of the moment, they comprise the archives upon which the news story of the day is indexed.

It would not be wrong to say, in conclusion, that if the news is presented in such a way that it corresponds to the world and to facts identifying the news of the day, it is also a way of ensuring that the world corresponds to

the ideological orientation given to it by the channel, to the technological framework which surrounds their production-- and, above all, to the specific conditions which the format "television news" has assigned to itself.

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Endnotes

¹ Translated from French by Rosemary Miller.

² Translation from Arabic:

Al-Arabiya

11"

we welcome you to the latest edition of the Eight o'clock News in the evening edition we will follow

19"

Egypt exchanges Azzam Azzam...

56"

{"eight pm"}

1'00

{newscaster's name; "eight pm"}

welcome to you the case of the spy...

al-Jazeera

03"

Azzam Azzam arrives in Israel...

26"

{"the news"}

36"

{"the news"; newscaster's name}

edition of the news of the channel al-Jazeera in Qatar the Egyptian foreign minister...

al-Manar

00"

{" the news"}

14"

{"the headlines"}

Sharon's office...

42"

{"the news"}

peace be with you and welcome to you for a detailed reporting of the news

47"

{"the news"; newscaster's name}

the cabinet of the enemy's Prime Minister Ariel Sharon announces...