Milica Radulović[*]
Faculty of Philosophy
University of Niš
Serbia

DIGITAL NEWS HEADLINES AND YOUTUBE TITLES: A RELEVANCE-THEORETIC ACCOUNT OF EXPLICITNESS AND IMPLICITNESS[1]

Abstract

The article addresses issues relative to explicature and implicature derivation in the discourse of digital news report headlines and YouTube titles from the point of view of relevance theory (RT) (Sperber and Wilson 1986/1995). In accordance with the presumption of optimal relevance, linguistically and non-linguistically encoded content provides information that leads the addressee towards the most accessible explicatures and implicatures. In digital discourse, countless sources of information create networks of explicit and implicit propositions leading to both predictable and unpredictable cognitive effects, and, therefore, selecting knowledge-worthy information can be cognitively costly. The analysis is based on examples of news headlines and YouTube titles taken from the Google News aggregator, where voices on similar topics from various sources can be heard.

Key words: relevance theory (RT), explicatures, implicatures, digital news discourse, headlines, YouTube video titles

1. Introduction

The research is an account of explicature and implicature derivation with reference to digital news report headlines and YouTube titles from the point of view of Sperber and Wilson's (1986/1995) relevance theory (RT).[2] Relevance theory explores the relation between cognition and communication with the aim of providing a "psychologically realistic and empirically plausible account of communication"

---

[*] Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Ćirila i Metodija 2, 18000 Niš, Serbia; e-mail: milica.radulovic@filfak.ni.ac.rs

[2] In her unpublished master's thesis, *Naslovi u britanskoj informativnoj štampi u svetlu teorije relevancije,* Radulović (2011) analyses the lexico-semantic and syntactic aspects of newspaper headlines from the perspective of relevance theory. In her unpublished doctoral dissertation, *Euphemisms in English and Serbian Public Discourse,* Radulović (2016) analyses euphemistic uses of language within the same theoretical framework.

(Allott 2013: 58). The central claim in this theory is that communication is guided by the presumption of optimal relevance, which consists in achieving the maximum cognitive cost-effect ratio. In other words, the maximum cognitive cost-effect ratio is equivalent to deriving explicatures and implicatures which lead to contextual implications that modify the quality of our *cognitive environment*. Sperber and Wilson (1995: 38–46) define *cognitive environment* as an individual's set of facts/assumptions that are manifest to him. Our cognitive environment consists of manifest assumptions, rather than known facts, and communication involves "adjusting the manifestness of each other's assumptions" (Clark 2013: 115–116).[3] Both explicatures and implicatures are derived through *mutual parallel adjustment* by following the *relevance-guided comprehension heuristic,* which consists in following a path of least effort and stopping when expectations of relevance are satisfied (Clark 2013: 150, 366; Sperber, Cara and Girotto 1995: 51; Wilson and Sperber 2012: 7)

The analysis focuses on digital news headlines and YouTube video titles seen as *relevance optimizers,* communicative units "designed to optimize the relevance of their stories for their readers " (Dor 2003: 696). Dor's (2003: 695–696) term of art *relevance optimizer* was proposed as an explanatory functional notion that overrides descriptive distinctions between different types of headlines. Here, this term includes digital news headlines and YouTube video titles, digital versions of relevance optimizers which address netizens, users of the Internet. News headlines are "older" than YouTube titles in the sense that they existed before the Internet and the digital age, but what headlines and YouTube titles have in common is that they should both be catchy and interesting enough to attract the addressee's attention. Therefore, they are both closely associated with relevance optimization.

The aim of the analysis is to show that gaining knowledge through processing information provided by digital sources can be cognitively demanding. Digital sources are the new frontiers of knowledge, the epistemic environment that does not seem to impose any limits in disseminating and collecting information. On the other hand, users of the Internet rely on their cognitive capacities to adapt to this new environment. Relevance theory explains that any cognitive search for relevant information is guided by the presumption of optimal relevance/the Second (Communicative) Principle of Relevance, which is grounded in the First (Cognitive) Principle of Relevance (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 263). This makes cognitive behaviour of the interlocutor predictable enough to make communication possible.

---

[3] To define *manifestness*, Clark uses (2013: 115) the word *assumption,* rather than the word *fact*. The notion of *manifestness* is further discussed in subsection 2.2.2.

2. Theoretical background

In relevance theory (RT) (Sperber and Wilson 1986/1995: 182) any explicature is explicit to a smaller or greater degree, and any explicature derivation involves inference in addition to decoding the content of the logical form. By way of contrast, ostensive stimuli that do not encode logical forms (such as, for example, body language that attracts attention and has meaning) only have implicatures. The maximization of relevance means that cognitive mechanisms, which constitute the cognitive system, tend towards reaching the highest benefit at the lowest possible cost (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 261–263). In the age of digital discourse, a galaxy of information creates networks of both predictable/expected and unpredictable/unexpected cognitive effects caused by more or less explicit and more or less strongly or weakly/loosely implicated propositions, all the more unpredictable as we do not have direct access to the inferential computations in comprehension (Wilson and Sperber 2012: 162). In the intensely competitive and persuasive news market, where reality spinning, let alone fake news, becomes a regular occurrence, this means that selecting knowledge-worthy information can be cognitively costly. The discussion is illustrated with the news headlines and YouTube titles taken from the Google News aggregator, an application designed to gather and post news on the website non-stop. The aggregator collects news from numerous agencies (e.g. *BBC News*, *Bloomberg*, *Daily Mail*, *Financial Post*, *The Guardian* etc.) so voices on similar topics from a variety of sources can be heard.

2.1 Digital discourse: headlines and YouTube titles

Discourse is about language in use, not the abstract "grammatical" language of linguistics (Crispin and Mroczek 2011: xxiii). Digital discourse is about language in digitally mediated surroundings which give new opportunities for communication and interaction not limited by time and space. The interactive nature of digital technology is reflected in the two roles digital technology has: it is not only an object of research, but also a research tool (Jones, Chik and Hafner 2015: 1), which suggests that digital discourse is not only about receiving information, but also about using digital technologies as a tool to critically evaluate "the information overload and data deluge" (Lin 2012: 299).[4] As digitally mediated texts are loosely textured, intertextual, interdiscursive and heteroglossic (Jones, Chik and Hafner 2015: 5–7), the analyst's active critical role in selecting stimuli is crucial. Both digital headlines and YouTube titles are multimodal ostensive stimuli because they link written language with the

---

[4] In view of the quantity of data provided by digital sources, text-mining tools (creating large sets of textual data) are devised to help analyse data (Lin 2012: 295–314).

visual stimuli and also with spoken language. Headlines and YouTube titles are linked and hyperlinked in multimodal synchronous and asynchronous networks, which are constantly modified and updated.

2.2 Principle(s) of Relevance

2.2.1 The First (Cognitive) Principle of Relevance

As stated in the Introduction to this paper, in RT, communication is synonymous with maximising relevance, or achieving the maximum cognitive cost-effect ratio. Clark (2013: 363) defines cognitive effects as "adjustments to the way an individual represents the world". This is incorporated in the first generalisation about human cognition, the First (Cognitive) Principle of Relevance, which states that "human cognition tends to be geared to the maximisation of relevance" (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 260–266; Wilson and Sperber 2012: 6–7). Human cognition tends to collect positive cognitive effects, or relevant differences in the way the world is represented (not distorted or fake representations of the world). The method used in this search for relevance is heuristic (searching by discovering, *heuriskein* from Greek)[5], as suggested by the *relevance-guided comprehension heuristic.* Searching by discovering means that interpretive hypotheses are tested in order of accessibility, and when expectations of relevance are satisfied, the search stops (Clark 2013: 366; Wilson and Sperber 2012: 7). Clark (2013: 148–149) points out that we cannot explain completely how assumptions become more or less accessible, which is the reason why searching for relevance can also be qualified as "suitably constrained guesswork" (Clark 2013: 124). This is an important observation for this paper especially as the objects of the analysis are digital headlines and YouTube titles, which are by definition (previously inaccessible/ unknown) manifest/new assumptions that should be somehow interpreted.

2.2.2 The Second (Communicative) Principle of Relevance

In relevance theory, linguistic communication is defined as ostensive-inferential communication. The communicator produces a stimulus that makes it mutually manifest that the communicator intends to make manifest a set of assumptions (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 50–54). The Second (Communicative) Principle of Relevance foregrounds the notion of optimal relevance (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 266–272), which states that "every ostensive stimulus conveys a presumption of its optimal relevance" (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 266). Communication is *mutual parallel adjustment process* (Clark 2013: 366; Sperber and Wilson 1995: 38–46; Wilson and

---

[5] Online Etymology Dictionary: <https://www.etymonline.com/>

Sperber 2012: 15), implying that interpretive hypotheses are adjusted in parallel until expectations of relevance are satisfied. The communicator takes into account that the addressee has to invest effort to process a stimulus, but, at the same time, the communicator has limited abilities and his/her own preferences in communication. In addition to these constraints, successful communication is challenged by another restriction, and this is the language-dependent constraint in communicating a message, or the gap between linguistic expressions and the propositions they express. Carston (2002: 19–30) labels this as *underdeterminacy*. Language is characterised by some specific sources of *under*determinacy, such as *referential in*determinacy relative to indexicals and indefinite descriptions.

As Clarks (2013: 114–115) argues, the notion of *manifestness* is preferred to the notion of *knowledge*, as it is very difficult to explain what is meant by *knowing* something, which evokes the Socratic paradox *scio me nihil scire*. An assumption is seen as *manifest* if we can perceive it or infer it, or if and only if an individual is capable of representing it mentally and if and only if an individual is capable of accepting its representation as true or probably true (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 39; Clark 2013: 115). Many assumptions that we communicate can be taken for granted, or, as Clark puts it, we can take them on trust. Due to language underdeterminacy and indeterminacy, this is often necessary. All assumptions manifest to an individual constitute his/her cognitive environment, and when assumptions are mutually manifest, they are part of a shared cognitive environment. For instance, culturally defined groups are subsets of mutual cognitive environments (Carston 2002: 68). The effects of communication between individuals can be described as adjustments to one another's cognitive environments (Clark 2013: 117), one another's mutual *mental landscapes* (Wilson and Sperber 2012: 87).

2.3 Explicature and implicature derivation

Relevance theory describes inferential/reasoning/logical processes guided by the search for relevance, especially focusing on the non-deductive (probabilistic) type of inference[6]. Linguistically encoded content is underdetermined, so inference/ comprehension involves both decoding and inferring the meaning based on the encoded content. Relevance theory relates these processes to explicature and implicature derivation, the former denoting the full explication of the encoded material (explicit truth-conditional content) and the latter denoting implicated premises and conclusions.[7] Inference in explicature includes enrichment, disambiguation and reference assignment (Carston 1996, 1998; Carston 2002; Wilson and Carston 2007;

[6] See Sperber and Wilson (1995: 65–117) for an elaborate discussion of deductive and non-deductive inference.

[7] Robyn Carston has done the most extensive research into this topic (Clark 2013: 167).

Hall 2013; Wilson 2004). Explicature and implicature derivations are context-driven and context-dependent, and an utterance is, therefore, viewed as an input, which, together with contextual information leads to the interpretation of the communicator's intended meaning (Wilson and Sperber 2012: x). The first interpretation consistent with the principle of relevance is the one the addressee should choose (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 257–258).

Carston (2002: 321) examines the distinction between encoded and communicated concepts, or between lexically and pragmatically derived concepts in relation to the structure of monomorphemic lexical concepts. In RT, an atomic concept is an entry in memory which provides information about the logical content (analytic implications), general knowledge (both assumptions and facts, knowledge in general) and lexical properties (phonological and syntactic properties). As Carston further argues, each entry is structured in terms of the degree of accessibility, and differences in the frequency and recency of use in processing of specific pieces of information affect the degree of accessibility. Repeating new information may stimulate changes in the accessibility hierarchy of the entry. In news discourse, this means that if a topic is mentioned on many occasions in many headlines/ YouTube titles, it can become a highly accessible talking point or lead to developing a popular narrative.

3. Analysis

3.1 Corpus

News aggregation is a concept that Apablaza-Campos, Codina and Pedraza-Jiménez (2018: 125) relate to what is known as *communication agencies*. The authors make a distinction between two types of agencies: *news agencies*, which collect news from different locations, and *communications agencies*, which analyse the press and give their clients a report about the talking points in different media sources. The latter, referred to as *news aggregation,* is the product of the development of digital media.

In the Google News aggregator, news reports/headlines are categorized into general groups such as *Business, Technology, Entertainment, Sports, Science*. Headlines can be followed by YouTube videos, more headlines, links, blogs, comments, written and audio advertisements. These connections emphasize the interactive nature of digital environment addressed at an interactive (or hyperactive) consumer. Specifically, the headlines/YouTube titles included in this research deal with the topic of GDP growth in the US economy. The following headlines were posted on the Google News aggregator front-page on April 26, 2019:

	Headline	YouTube	Source
1.	US economy posts strong first quarter, but consumer spending slows	Resilience is still the word for stocks (followed by numerous YouTube links)	CNN
2.	US economy grows by 3.2% in the first quarter, topping expectations	Paul Krugman on the next recession and wages First Quarter GDP increases 3.2 percent, beating 2.5 percent estimates	CNBC
3.	US economy grew 3.2% in early 2019, smashing expectations		NOLA.com
4.	2019 Starts off with a Bang in the First Quarter with Strong Economic Performance		The White House
5.	Behind that great GDP number, the real economy slumped		Marketwatch

Table 1. Google News aggregator:
Front-page/top coverage headlines and YouTube titles

All headlines deal with the topic of GDP growth, and the first three headlines even have the same theme *US economy* (with more or less different rhemes). The headlines are positively or negatively connoted, so they can be contextualized as good or bad news (e.g. number 4 and number 5, respectively). This suggests that different attitudes are taken with regard to the same/similar topics.

Front-page headlines are followed by the full event coverage, which includes links such as *Top coverage, Timeline, Opinion, Analysis, Videos* and *Twitter.* At the time when the aggregator was consulted (April 26, 2019) more than 50 headlines and YouTube titles were identified as those that reported on the GDP growth in the US economy. In the Google aggregator, news updates are given without stopping (new headlines are added, some disappear and may reappear on a different site), so the number itself is taken as an *ad hoc* number. In this particular corpus, more headlines

than YouTube titles were collected, which proves that headline articles are not outdated but rather accessible both in the printed and digital formats. Table 2 gives ten headlines and five YouTube titles which are later discussed in more detail, and the remaining examples from the corpus are given in the Appendix. The examples are arranged alphabetically by the source of information:

	Headline	YouTube	Source
1.	U.S. Growth is Boon for Trump But Details Show Broad Slowdown	U.S. 1Q GDP Expands by 3.2% Topping Forecasts	Bloomberg
2.	Friday's report of first quarter growth should show economy is strong and no recession in sight		CNBC
3.	Trump gets economic growth of 3.2 per cent in first three months of 2019	Trump touts strength of US economy in State of the Union address	Daily Mail
4.	Trump hails America's blockbuster GDP growth —'far higher than the high expectations'		Financial Post
5.	U.S. 1Q GDP Growth Surges, But Devil Is in the Details	What Would Boris Johnson as Prime Minister Mean for U.K. Assets?	Investing. com
6.	U.S. economy grows 3.2% in first quarter, smashing expectations	CBP Presents Trump with a Piece of the Wall	Philly.com
7.	US GDP growth is much better than expected—for now		Quartz
8.	U.S. economy expands 3.2 percent in first quarter; growth details weak	U.S. economy expands 3.2 percent in first quarter; growth details weak	Reuters, One America News Network
9.	US economy grows by 3.2 percent, beating expectations		The Blaze
10.	US economic growth stronger than expected despite weak demand		The Guardian

Table 2. Google News aggregator: All Coverage Headlines and YouTube titles

3.2 Digital relevance optimizers

The notions of explicature and implicature can be linked with what Hall (2009) labels as *local (non-global)* and *global* processes. For example, enrichment is a local process, and the process of combining complete propositions/explicatures with contextual assumptions to derive implicatures is a global inference. Describing global inference means describing how premises lead to conclusions and how conclusions are further used as premises in a chain of inference. As for headlines, Ifantidou (2009: 716) argues that headline interpretation is based on lexical adjustment, which involves modifying tentative hypothesis about contextual assumptions, explicatures and contextual implications, until the addressee's expectations of relevance are satisfied. This is the result of both local and global interpretative processes. Also, Ifantidou (2009: 716) draws attention to the fact that "unspecified or fragmented discourse contexts make headline interpretation a *radical* inferential lexical adjustment process compared to ordinary cases of utterance interpretation". Headlines encode concepts that lead to *ad hoc* concepts (occasion-specific senses) adjusted in *ad hoc* contexts (Ifantidou 2009: 705).

To illustrate what this means, various ways of encoding content in the headlines and YouTube titles are given in Table 2. To begin with, the following examples show that the GDP growth can be viewed optimistically (the numbers agree with Table 2):

3) Daily Mail: Trump touts strength of US economy in State of the Union address (YouTube)
4) Financial Post: Trump hails America's blockbuster GDP growth —'far higher than the high expectations' (headline)
6) Philly.com: U.S. economy grows 3.2% in first quarter, smashing expectations (headline)
9) The Blaze: US economy grows by 3.2 percent, beating expectations (headline)
10) The Guardian: US economic growth stronger than expected despite weak demand (headline)

Despite the fact that we do not have direct access to the inferential computations in comprehension (Wilson and Sperber 2012: 162), headlines and YouTube titles are good examples of what the end result of inference can be. The addressee is invited to make lexical adjustments, which, based on the positively-connoted words, lead to positively-connoted explicatures. Therefore, it can be concluded that the above-stated sources of information have an optimistic outlook on the GDP growth. Encodings can be optimistic (US economic growth *stronger than expected despite weak demand*), or very optimistic (e.g. Trump hails *America's blockbuster GDP growth—'far higher*

than the high expectations'). However, whether something is treated as optimistic, very optimistic, hyperbolically or ironically optimistic is up to the addressee to decide (of course, based on the linguistic specification given in the headline). These examples show that digital news discourse makes it manifest that the same optimistic viewpoint can be differently graded and lead to different lexical and phrasal specifications.

In addition to expressing an optimistic outlook on a situation, headlines/YouTube titles can express a less optimistic point of view. This is a different starting point for the addressee's inference (the numbers agree with Table 2):

1) Bloomberg: U.S. Growth is Boon for Trump But Details Show Broad Slowdown (headline)
5) Investing.com: U.S. 1Q GDP Growth Surges, But Devil Is in the Details (headline)
8) Reuters, One America News Network: U.S. economy expands 3.2 percent in first quarter; growth details weak (YouTube)

In RT, words encode a) conceptual/representational information or b) procedural information, which is information about computational processes in interpretation (Blakemore 1987; Iten 2005). When compared to the optimistic headlines, the examples 1), 5) and 8) give different starting points for deriving explicatures and implicatures. The three examples require a different inference as they introduce the contrastive relation between propositions, which suggests that the optimistic version should be critically evaluated and the expectations of relevance are different. Namely, if bad tendencies in economy are present despite the GDP growth which brings optimism, then we should be skeptical, rather than optimistic. The explicit contrast can thus lead us to the implication that the optimistic attitude is inadequate, given the additional GDP growth details.[8]

It may also happen that the same source can update its own encodings, suggesting that views can be modified:

1) Bloomberg: U.S. Growth is Boon for Trump But Details Show Broad Slowdown (headline)
1) Bloomberg: U.S. 1Q GDP Expands by 3.2% Topping Forecasts (YouTube)

The following examples show that even predictions or doubts about the future can be given in headlines:

2) CNBC: Friday's report of first quarter growth should show economy is strong and no recession in sight (headline)

---

[8] These examples could be related to the *modus tollens* argument: if P, then Q/If not Q, then not P.

7) Quartz: US GDP growth is much better than expected—for now (headline)

At first sight, headlines and titles may not be meant to make the addressee cogitate on whatever is mentioned. Sometimes headlines/YouTube titles can even be far-fetched and actually not related to the story. Actually, Dor (2003: 717–718) argues that headlines can serve the function of attracting the addressee's attention to the news story or the function of giving the addressee the maximum cognitive effects even without reading the news story. Dor also argues that the addressee can never process all the information given in news discourse, so *a relevance-based selection mechanism* directs individual addressees to those stories which would carry optimal relevance for them. In digital discourse, this is even more pronounced as digital media can consume the Internet user in view of the fact that there is too much new information that can interact with the existing assumptions to derive contextual implications. Finally, whether the addressee chooses to read/listen to the news story or not depends on his/her cognitive style and expectations of relevance.

All these examples show that while we read or scan headlines and YouTube titles, *ad hoc* contexts for interpretation can quickly change if more headlines and YouTube titles with their novel manifest assumptions supersede those already posted on the Internet. In the digital environment, the present soon becomes the past and the already existing news soon becomes more or less relevant. It is cognitively demanding to follow these updates because our cognitive environment needs to change and adapt quickly to the digital environment that changes and enriches the explicit material for optimized inference. Manifestness itself is a matter of degree, and whether an assumption is acceptable or unacceptable depends on the evidence provided for a certain assumption at a certain point in time. This can be confusing, as contextual implications can be evaluated as true or probably true (until proven otherwise) rather than absolutely true or false. In relevance theory, the issue of truth/falsity is important, however, truth-conditionality is seen as being liable to the principle of relevance. This does not mean that communication can be fake news or spinning as truth-conditionality is important. But, according to Sperber and Wilson (1995: 263–265), this means that when we say that an utterance is true, we mean that its interpretation is true. Interpretation is not the input, but the output of the process of comprehension.

4. Conclusion

Mutual adjustment processes in digitally mediated contexts involve adjustment of explicit and implicit content that is both imposed and/or selected by the user of the Internet. When headlines and YouTube titles propose assumptions, the addressee is guided to a specific inferential route. However, even though possibilities for

making manifest and imposing certain assumptions/data/facts are impressive, digital environment makes it possible for the addressee to use digital intelligence and discover more headlines/sources of information, and then test and evaluate interpretative hypotheses relative to incomplete or inconsistent/contradictory information. This can be done without reading or listening to full news reports.

When our goal is knowledge discovery, and the addressee does not passively accept but selects and processes information, digital sources are used as tools to achieve the optimal cost-effect ratio by drawing our own conclusions in accordance with our own cognitive environments. In this sense, this particular research illustrates that a large number of headlines/YouTube titles makes it visible that certain topics may be made manifest/imposed as major talking points. However, different ways of encoding content regarding the same/similar topics prove that linguistic representations can be more or less subjective representations of reality with more or less subjective attitudes incorporated in these representations. Ultimately, the presumption of optimal relevance is consistent with the communicator's preferences, interests and abilities, and relevant enough to be worth the effort of processing, which is also the communicator's more or less subjective interpretation of relevance. On the other hand, explicature and implicature derivation happens inside the mind of the addressee, so it is up to the addressee's independent interpretative insight to decide how to process more or less subjectively encoded content to enrich his/her understanding and knowledge about the world.

References

Allott, N. (2013). Relevance Theory. In: A. Capone, F. L. Piparo and M. Carapezza (eds.), *Perspectives on Linguistic Pragmatics,* Cham: Springer, 57–98.

Apablaza-Campos, A., L. Codina and R. Pedraza-Jiménez (2018). Newsonomics in the Interactive Era: Dimensions of Sustainability in the News Media. In: M. Pérez-Montoro (ed.), *Interaction in Digital News Media: from Principles to Practice,* Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 115–146.

Blakemore, D. (1987). *Semantic Constraints on Relevance.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Carston, R. (1996). Enrichment and Loosening: Complementary Processes in Deriving the Proposition Expressed. *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics,* 8, 61–88.

Carston, R. (1998). The Semantics/Pragmatics Distinction: A View from Relevance Theory. *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics,* 10, 53–80.

Carston, R. (2002). *Thoughts and Utterances*: *The Pragmatics of Explicit Communication.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Clark, B. (2013). *Relevance Theory.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dor, D. (2003). On Newspaper Headlines as Relevance Optimizers. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 35, 695–721.

Hall, A. (2009). 'Free' Enrichment and the Nature of Pragmatic Constraints. *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics*, 21, 93–123.

Hall. A. (2013). Relevance Theory, Semantic Content and Pragmatic Enrichment. In: A. Capone, F. L. Piparo and M. Carapezza (eds.), *Perspectives on Linguistic Pragmatics,* Cham: Springer, 99–130.

Ifantidou, E. (2009). Newspaper Headlines and Relevance: Ad Hoc Concepts in Ad Hoc Contexts. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 41(4), 699–720.

Iten, C. (2005). *Linguistic Meaning, Truth Conditions and Relevance: The Case of Concessives.* Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jones, R. H., A. Chik and C. A. Hafner (2015). Introduction: Discourse Analysis and Digital Practices. In: R. H. Jones, A. Chik and C. A. Hafner (eds.), *Discourse and Digital Practices: Doing Discourse Analysis in the Digital Age,* London and New York: Routledge, 1–17.

Lin, Y. (2012). Transdisciplinarity and Digital Humanities: Lessons Learned from Developing Text-Mining Tools for Textual Analysis. In: D. M. Berry (ed.), *Understanding Digital Humanities,* Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 295–314.

Thurlow, C. and K. Mroczek (2011). Introduction: Fresh Perspectives on New Media Sociolinguistics. In: C. Thurlow and K. Mroczek (eds.), *Digital Discourse: Language in the New Media,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, xix–xliv.

Radulović, M. (2011). *Naslovi u britanskoj informativnoj štampi u svetlu teorije relevancije.* Neobjavljena magistarska teza. Univerzitet u Nišu, Filozofski fakultet.

Radulović, M. (2016). *Euphemisms in English and Serbian Public Discourse.* Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. University of Niš, Faculty of Philosophy.

Sperber, D. and D. Wilson (1995). *Relevance: Communication and Cognition*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Blackwell.

Sperber, D., F. Cara and V. Girotto (1995). Relevance Theory Explains the Selection Task. *Cognition,* 57, 31–95.

Wilson, D. (2004). Relevance and Lexical Pragmatics. *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics,* 16, 343–360.

Wilson, D. and D. Sperber (2012). *Meaning and Relevance.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wilson, D. and R. Carston (2007). A Unitary Approach to Lexical Pragmatics: Relevance, Inference and Ad Hoc Concepts. In: N. Burton-Roberts (ed.), *Pragmatics*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 230–259.

Online sources

Online Etymology Dictionary. (26 April 2019) <https://www.etymonline.com/>.
Google News Aggregator. (26 April 2019)
    <https://news.google.com/?hl=en-US&gl=US&ceid=US:en>.

Appendix

Digital News Headlines: GDP Growth in the US Economy (40 examples arranged alphabetically):

1) Barron's: The Latest U.S. Economy GDP Numbers Have Something for Everyone
2) BBC News: US economy grows faster than expected
3) Bloomberg: U.S. Growth of 3.2% Tops Forecasts on Trade, Inventory Boost
4) Breitbart: Donald Trump on 3.2 GDP: Far Higher than High Expectation
5) Breitbart: U.S. Economy Grows 3.2% in Q1, Smashing Expectations
6) CBS News: US GDP: U.S. grew 3.2% in the first quarter
7) Financial Times: US economy defies slowdown fears with 3.2% first-quarter growth
8) Forex Factory: Gross Domestic Product, First Quarter 2019 (Advance Estimate)
9) FXStreet: US: Real GDP (first estimate) expanded 3.2% in Q1 (YoY) vs 2.1% expected
10) Investing.com: Trade, inventories power U.S. economy to 3.2 percent growth in first quarter
11) Investor's Business Daily: US GDP Grew 3.2% In Q1, Much Better Than Expected
12) KSL.com: US economy grew at strong 3.2% rate in first quarter
13) KTLA Los Angeles: U.S. Economy Grew at 3.2 Percent Rate in First Quarter, Surpassing Expectations
14) Los Angeles Times: U.S. economy grew at strong 3.2% rate in first quarter, beating estimates
15) MishTalk: Explaining the First-Quarter GDP 3.2% Surprise
16) Missing source: Rebound: Economic growth hits 3.2% in Q1
17) MSNBC: Economy shows surprising resilience in early months of 2019
18) NBCNews.com: Economy grew by 3.2 percent in the first quarter, the best growth in four years

19) Newsweek: Strong U.S. Q1 GDP Growth Stuns Until 'You Look Under the Hood and Kick the Tires,' Economist Warns

20) New York Post: Trump touts American economy's growth in first quarter

21) New York Post: US growth increases by 3.2% in first quarter due to trade and inventory

22) NEWS.com.au: US economy grows at 3.2pc rate in Q1

23) nNewser: GDP Growth Much Better Than Expected

24) NPR: GDP Report Shows Rebound In US Economic Growth

25) Philly.com: U.S. economy grew 3.2% in early 2019, smashing expectations

26) Raw Story: US economy surges at the start of 2019 thanks in part to bump in government spending

27) Reuters: Exports, inventories seen boosting U.S. first-quarter growth

28) The Daily Caller: US Economic Growth Hits 3.2 Percent In 2019

29) The Hill: US economy grew at 3.2 percent in first quarter, exceeding expectations

30) The Street.com: U.S. Economy Grows Faster Than Expected at 3.2%, Erasing Recession Fears

31) The Wall Street Journal: Economic Growth 'Really, Really Strong' in First Quarter, Hassett Says

32) The Wall Street Journal: U.S. Economy Grew at 3.2% Rate in First Quarter

33) The Wall Street Journal: Real Time Economics: Boom Goes U.S. GDP!

34) The Washington Post, Bangor Daily News: U.S. economy grew 3.2 percent in early 2019, smashing expectations

35) The White House: 2019 Starts off with a Bang in the First Quarter with Strong Economic Performance

36) TPM: US Economy Grew At Solid 3.2% Rate In First Quarter, Exceeding Expectations

37) Washington Examiner: Economy grew at 3.2% in first quarter, beating expectations

38) WOLF STREET: I Just Hope the Fed Won't See This: US Economy Has Blowout First Quarter

39) Yahoo Finance: This week in Trumponomics: The economy hums along

40) Yahoo Finance, Nasdaq: Q1 GDP 3.2% -- Big Upside Surprise!