More Social, Less Religious: Trends of Hardcover Fiction Titles on the New York Times Bestseller List 2000-2020

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Abstract

We examine changes in book titles of the New York Times Bestseller hardcover fiction lists from 2000 to 2020 regarding thematic, grammatical, and psychological categories. We find that social categories (including personal pronouns) have been increasingly used, while religiously connotated titles have been declining.

Introduction

The title — "half sign, half ad" (Moretti 2009) — is a reader's entry point to a novel. Research on how people select books in online library catalogs underlines that title names play an important role in attracting readers (Mikkonen and Vakkari, 2016; Pöntinen and Vakkari, 2013). Readers select books with titles that appeal to their personal life experiences (Mikkonen and Vakkari, 2016), such as through references to gossip, morality, pleasures, and mental processes (Barnes / Black 2022). However, while studies on the aesthetics (and success of) books typically do not discuss titles (Ashok et al., 2013; Yucesoy et al., 2018; Wang et al., 2019), research on fiction titles focuses on historical corpora (Patras et al., 2021; Moretti, 2009; Benard, 1995), or on other domains, such as a corpus of news headlines (Oberländer et al., 2020). Several studies on titles of scientific articles also exist (cf. Cheng et al., 2012; Sahragard and Meihami, 2016; Hartley, 2007).

When analyzing titles, we should consider which functions they fulfill, and which cultural significance they bear. According to Genette (1998), a title carries the following functions: a) identifying the text (of a book), b) describing its content, c) holding connotative value, and d) attracting readers. Studying British novels between 1740 and 1850, Moretti (2009) highlighted the relationship between the length, syntax, and semantics of titles and changes in

the economic and cultural environment. He found that with a significantly growing book market, titles became much shorter, and also that titles from the beginning of the nineteenth-century reflect nineteenth-century ethics. Thus, titling practices follow the book market, but also presumably the cultural and aesthetic preferences of readers.

Corpus

To study the trends in titling practices, we compiled a corpus of all titles that have been on the New York Times (NYT) bestseller list for hardcover fiction, between 2000 and 2020, which is based on sales data from all over the United States (New York Times Best-Seller Lists Staff, 2020). For any given year, a title is included if it entered the list in that year, regardless of how long it stayed. Although the online published list carries more information (weekly rankings), we start with a dataset from data.world that already includes yearly lists from February 2011 until June 2018 (cf. Tauberg, 2018), and augment it through manual collection to cover the years from 2000 to 2020. We also constrain the data to hardcover fiction, albeit the NYT publishes genre-specific rankings as well. We leave a more fine-grained analysis to future work. Overall, we retrieve over 4000 titles in total. See Table 1 for exact numbers of titles and tokens per year. The data can be found at https://github.com/tnhaider/nyt-fiction-bestseller-list

Year	# Titles	# Tokens	
2000	137	398	
2001	130	404	
2002	139	413	
2003	142	417	
2004	148	427	
2005	156	417	
2006	176	464	
2007	183	508	
2008	193	509	
2009	199	520	
2010	196	519	
2011	220	599	
2012	255	730	
2013	333	903	
2014	363	1039	
2015	337	918	
2016	359	977	
2017	252	712	
2018	229	641	
2019	186	547	
2020	165	508	

Table 1: Number of titles and tokens per year.

Experiments

To measure the change in titling practices, we use the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) (Pennebaker et al. 2015), a dictionary that maps words to grammatical, psychological, and thematic categories. We treat each year as a bag-of-words, for which we extract all associated categories via the python package *liwc* (Brown, 2012). We then calculate the relative frequency of each category for a given year. We also calculate the length of titles and count unigram frequencies (excluding a set of stopwords).

Based on the relative category frequencies per year for each category, we estimate their trend by calculating Spearman rho with the year range. This shows us whether, and how strongly, the trend for a category increases or decreases. Furthermore, the p-value shows us whether the trend is significant or not. We choose p=0.05 as the threshold. See Table 2 for the significant categories.

LIWC category	Correlation coefficient	p-value	Example words
Total function words	0.4649	0.0337	it, to, no, very
Total pronouns	0.6535	0.0013	I, them, itself
Personal pronouns	0.6208	0.0027	I, them, her
1st person plural	0.6866	0.0006	we, us, our
1st person singular	0.4558	0.0378	I, me, mine
Impersonal pronouns	0.5117	0.0177	it, it's, those
Social processes	0.7247	0.0002	people, talk, they
Family	0.4819	0.0269	daughter, dad, wife
Cognitive processes	0.4896	0.0243	and, know, secret
Certainty	0.4961	0.0222	always, never
Religion	-0.7104	0.0003	christmas, devil, faith
Assent	0.4561	0.0377	absolutely, yes
Filler	0.4541	0.0386	like

Table 2: Result of Trend Analysis with Spearman rho on LIWC categories. Numbers rounded to four (five) decimal places.

Our analysis shows that titles of bestselling fiction books increasingly contain features that previous research has shown to be appealing to readers. People like titles alluding to mental processes and gossip (Barnes / Black 2022). Topic modelling on the contents of bestselling books has shown that human closeness and human connection are topics that are characteristic of bestsellers (Archer and Jockers, 2016: 67). Furthermore, people like titles they can relate personal experiences with (Mikkonen and Vakkari, 2016).

We have found increases in mentions of family terms (presumably relatable for most). Generally speaking, social categories dominate the significant upward trends in our data (personal pronouns, family, social processes), meaning that words related to social categories like *people*, *talk* and *we*, are relatively more present in later years (Figure 1), rising from a relative share of 5% of all tokens in 2000 to a share of 11% in 2019. Close reading of titles referring to social categories indicates that this increase is attributable to interpersonal matters (e.g., romance, coming of age), rather than social issues, particularly seen in titles containing the pronouns *we* and *you*.

Besides social categories, our results show that words describing cognitive processes (particularly those expressing certainty) and terms referring to spoken categories (assent and fillers) increased over the years.

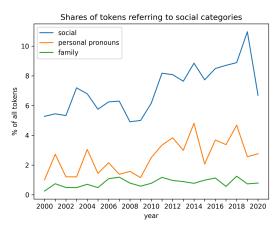


Figure 1: Trend for rising categories 'social processes', 'personal pronouns' and 'family'.

However, the share of religious terms has decreased significantly since 2000 (apart from a sudden peak in 2008) (Figure 2). A majority of years feature *christmas* titles, and especially in the earlier years (e.g., 2008) there are additionally a number of references to e.g., devils and angels, but frequently in a metaphorical

sense without clear religious content, rather alluding to *good* and *evil*, or a specific attitude (as in the James Bond novel *Devil may care*, or *Seducing an Angel* by Mary Balogh). Furthermore, research on American religiosity declining (Voas and Chaves, 2018) may help contextualize the decrease of terms referring to religion.

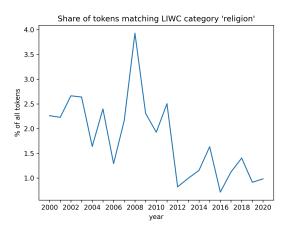


Figure 2: Trend for falling category 'religion'.

Finally, our method focused on trend analysis, but we did not study terms (or categories) that have remained popular in detail. An analysis of the most frequent words over the years reveals that the words *girl(s)* and *death* have maintained a high share, similar to Haider (2019), where it is shown that these topics have stayed frequent in German poetry since 1600. However, this could be a genre effect here, since mystery and thriller books are among the bestselling fiction genres (Yucesoy et al., 2018). Furthermore, since other research found changes in the length of titles (Moretti, 2009; Tauberg, 2019), we examined the length of titles, as shown in Figure 3, finding no substantial change, where most titles are between two and three words long.

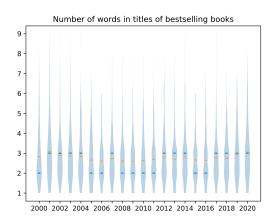


Figure 3: Violin plot depicting the distribution of title lengths per year. The width corresponds to the estimated density of data points. Averages indicated in orange, medians in blue.

Conclusion & Future Work

Our analysis highlights trends in psychological, thematic, and structural features of bestselling fiction titles. We have shown that titles containing words related to social and cognitive categories have been increasingly adopted over the last two decades. However, references to religious terms have been on the decline, and that many religious references are regarding metaphorical uses of moral categories (good, evil).

Future research might want to expand the dataset (weekly lists, or expanding the time frame), to study finer trends. Furthermore, studying syntactic features and group-based differences (bestselling vs. non-bestselling titles, genres) could yield interesting results. Finally, identifying confounds was beyond the scope of this paper, for example whether (and how much) the length of titles has an influence on certain trends (e.g., social titles becoming longer).

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