

1 **If this title is funny, will you cite me?**

2 **Citation impacts of humour and other features of article titles in ecology and evolution**

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17 Running Title: *Citation impacts of funny paper titles*

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21 writing.

22 This study was reviewed and approved by the Research Ethics Board of the University of New

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Abstract

Titles of scientific papers play a key role in their discovery, and “good” titles engage and recruit readers. A particularly interesting aspect of title construction is the use of humour, but little is known about whether funny titles boost or limit readership and citation of papers. We used a panel of volunteer scorers to assess title humour for 2,439 papers in ecology and evolution, and measured associations between humour scores and subsequent citation (both self-citation and citation by others). Papers with funnier titles were cited less often, but this appears to result from a confound with paper importance. Self-citation data suggest that authors give funnier titles to papers they consider less important. After correction for this confound, papers with funny titles have significantly *higher* citation rates, suggesting that humour recruits readers. We also examined associations between citation rates and several other features of titles. Inclusion of acronyms and taxonomic names was associated with lower citation rates, while assertive-statement phrasing and presence of colons, question marks, and political regions were associated with somewhat higher citation rates. Title length had no effect on citation. Our results suggest that scientists can use creativity with titles without having their work condemned to obscurity.

Key Words

humour, titles, scientific writing, citation, research impact

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Introduction

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50 Do titles matter? It's easy to find advice about constructing "good" titles for academic
51 papers (e.g., Thomson and Kamler 2013, Silvia 2014, Saramäki 2018, Belcher 2019, Hofmann
52 2019, Heard 2022). By "good" titles, we generally agree that we mean those that engage readers
53 and thus recruit them to a paper. It seems obvious that titles *should* matter in this way: they're
54 generally the first encounter a potential reader has with a paper, and they're much more widely
55 (and easily) communicated than papers themselves. Belcher (2019), for example, recommends
56 titles that aren't too broad, avoid abstract terms, name specific research subjects (such as species
57 or places), include searchable keywords and verbs, and avoid cleverness or wit – among other
58 things. There isn't strong agreement, though, with advice from other sources sometimes
59 concurring with Belcher's and sometimes contradicting it. Moreover, it's rare for advice of this
60 sort to be supported by data.

61 The availability of large citation-rate datasets has made possible correlative analysis of at
62 least one possible consequence of "good" titles: if a good title attracts readership, it should also
63 make it more likely that the paper is cited. Conversely, papers whose bad titles repel, or at least
64 fail to engage, readers are less likely to be cited. So what, empirically, makes a good title? The
65 literature promises much, but delivers relatively little. For most easily-scored features of article
66 titles, measured effects are weak (e.g., Costello et al. 2019) and inconsistent both among and
67 within disciplines. As an example, consider title length. Most advice favours short titles, but also
68 titles that clearly communicate an article's contents (the fundamental contradiction between
69 those suggestions is hard to miss). While most studies find short titles to have higher citation

70 rates, a few have found the opposite, some find no association at all, and still others find
71 associations that shift across disciplines (review: Heard 2021). In almost every study, though,
72 title length explains only a small fraction of variation in citation rates. The literature for other
73 title features (such as the use of question marks, colons, and hyphens and the inclusion of
74 geographic place names) is similarly mixed. About the only title feature on which the literature is
75 consistent is that titles including scientific names of genera or species are less cited than those
76 that do not (Fox and Burns 2015, Yuret 2018, Murphy et al 2019). The picture that emerges from
77 this work is that many features of titles are indeed associated with differences in citation rate –
78 but that most associations are weak, and many are inconsistent. And yet it’s difficult to imagine
79 that titles really don’t matter.

80 A major gap in our knowledge involves humour. Do funny titles attract reader attention,
81 and thus increase impact? Or do they suggest that readers shouldn’t take the work seriously, and
82 thus decrease impact? Some writing guides explicitly advise against the use of humour in titles
83 (e.g., Thomson and Kamler 2013:85, Mack 2018:47, Belcher 2019:288). However, just three
84 papers to our knowledge have attempted to put evidence behind this advice – likely because
85 humour resists the kind of automated scoring that makes other features of titles easy to study.
86 Sagi and Yechiam (2008) used panels of undergraduates to assess humour in titles of psychology
87 papers, and found that the funniest titles were cited (slightly) less. Perhaps, they reasoned, this is
88 because “scientific publication is considered a serious matter, and humor seems antithetical to
89 it”. Subotic and Mukherjee (2014) attempted to replicate Sagi and Yechiam’s result (again for
90 psychology papers), but instead found a positive effect of humour on downloads but no effect on
91 citations. Finally, Murphy et al. (2019) found no significant effect of title humour on citation rate
92 for ecology and entomology papers. Two other studies have examined related attributes of titles:

93 Haslam et al. (2008) found no effect on citation of “catchiness” (a title could be catchy because it
94 was funny, or for many other reasons); and Keating et al. (2019) found a negative effect of title
95 sarcasm. And yet funny titles (and the papers that bear them) are widely shared on social media
96 and stick in memory. This incongruity suggests that humour in scientific titles deserves further
97 study, including of the possibility that humour in titles may be correlated with other aspects of
98 papers that influence their later citation.

99 We used citation rate data for 2,439 papers in ecology and evolution, taken from nine
100 leading journals, to ask whether humour in titles influences subsequent impact. We used self-
101 citation data to control for possible effects of underlying differences in paper importance. We
102 also considered two features of titles that are closely related to humour: cultural references or of
103 titles that could be considered offensive. Finally, we consider possible effects of a variety of
104 other title features, including length, use of colons and questions, and inclusion of taxonomic and
105 geographic names. Effects on citation rates were mostly subtle, but we present evidence that,
106 after controlling for paper importance, funny titles increase impact. We regret, therefore, being
107 unable to think of a funnier title for this paper.

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110 **Methods**

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112 *Compiling papers*

113 We compiled the titles for every paper published in 2000 and 2001 in nine well-known
114 ecology and evolution journals: *The American Naturalist*, *Ecology*, *Evolution*, *Evolutionary*
115 *Ecology*, *Journal of Animal Ecology*, *Journal of Ecology*, *Journal of Evolutionary Biology*,

116 *Oikos*, and *Trends in Ecology and Evolution*. Our compilation included 2,439 papers. We
117 categorized papers as primary research articles, review articles, and “other”, with that last
118 category including less standard forms such as “forum review” articles (*Oikos*) and “journal
119 club” articles (*Trends in Ecology and Evolution*).

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121 *Scoring titles*

122 We recorded whether each paper’s title was a question or an assertive sentence (a
123 declarative statement of a main result), and whether it was a two-part title (using a colon, dash,
124 etc.). We also scored titles (yes/no) for the presence of acronyms or initialisms, for the inclusion
125 of the scientific (Latin) name of a genus or species, and for the mention of a political region
126 (country, state/province, etc.). We then assembled a group of 11 “humour scorers”, who received
127 a spreadsheet of titles and were asked to score them for humour, offensiveness, and the presence
128 of cultural references (allusions to books, movies, music, memes, and other non-scientific
129 cultural knowledge). Journal names and author lists were redacted from the spreadsheets sent to
130 humour scorers, and they were instructed not to look up any information about a paper beyond
131 its title. Each scorer received the full set of 2,439 titles, but in a different random order. We
132 instructed scorers to work in 20 minute sessions to avoid task fatigue, not to score more than 8
133 20-minute sessions in a day, and to score each title with their screen adjusted so that only that
134 title was visible. Scorers were students or employees of the University of New Brunswick,
135 Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada. All scorers gave informed consent before their
136 involvement, and the study was reviewed and approved by the Research Ethics Board of the
137 University of New Brunswick (REB #2020041).

138 We had scorers assess humour on a 7-point scale, from zero (completely serious) to 6
139 (extremely funny). We did not attempt to calibrate scales across scorers. Scorers were asked to
140 infer the author’s attempt at humour, rather than their own assessment of how funny the title was,
141 and they were asked to ignore the subject of the article in assessing humour.

142 We asked scorers to identify any titles they found offensive. In contrast to the humour
143 scoring, here we asked scorers to report their own feelings rather than their inference about the
144 authors’ intent. Also in contrast to humour scoring, we allowed for a title to be found offensive
145 as a result of the article’s subject (for example, a scorer might be offended by the use of humour
146 in the title of an article addressing a very serious subject).

147 We asked scorers to identify titles that included cultural references of any sort (books,
148 movies, music, memes, etc.). In a few cases, scorers reported that they suspected a cultural
149 reference but could not identify its origin; we instructed them to include these instances. We did
150 not restrict the age of a “cultural reference”. Thus, allusions to Vivaldi and Lil Nas X are both
151 cultural references and are treated equally in our analyses. We acknowledge, however, that
152 scorers might sometimes miss less current examples.

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154 *Tracking citations*

155 Because a minority of titles included humour or cultural references, we subset the titles
156 database before gathering citation data. We first identified all titles for which at least one scorer
157 recorded either a non-zero humour score or a cultural reference. There were 414 such titles, and
158 all underwent citation tracking. From the remaining 2,025 titles, we randomly selected 650 for
159 tracking, giving us a citation-tracked dataset of 1,064 titles. We randomized the order of titles
160 before counting citations, because citations accumulate through time. We used Scopus™ to

161 count citations, recording the total number of citations from publication until the date of
162 checking. We divided total citations into self- and other-citation. Self-citations were citations of
163 the focal paper by any paper that shared at least one author; other-citations were citations of the
164 focal paper by any paper with a non-overlapping set of authors. We use self-citations as an
165 indicator of a paper's intrinsic importance, reasoning that the authors' likelihood of later citing
166 their own paper depends on its content, not on its title.

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168 *Data analysis*

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170 We compared citation rates and humour scores among paper types using generalized
171 linear models with Poisson (citation counts) or Gaussian (humour scores) error terms. We
172 measured agreement among humour scorers by calculating pairwise Pearson correlation
173 coefficients among scorers and calculating Light's (1971) kappa as an overall measure of
174 concordance. Light's kappa is the mean of all possible pairwise combinations of kappa scores
175 between raters, where each $\kappa = (P(a) - P(e)) / (1 - P(e))$. In this expression, $P(a)$ is the observed
176 fraction of agreement and $P(e)$ is the expected fraction of agreement due to chance.

177 We assessed the effect of various title attributes on both total citation count and self-
178 citation count using a series of generalized linear models, each with a Poisson error structure.
179 Specifically, we examined the effect of article type (PrimaryReviewOther), whether the title was
180 phrased as a question (Question), whether the title was assertive (Assertive), the presence of a
181 colon or dash in the title (Colon), the presence of any acronyms or initialisms (Acronyms),
182 whether the political region was noted in the title (Location), the presence of a taxonomic name
183 (Taxonomic_name), and the average humour, offensiveness, and cultural-reference scores for

184 each title (Avg_humour, Avg_offense, Avg_culture). For humour, we also calculated an
185 importance-corrected citation rate as total citations divided by self citations, and tested a similar
186 generalized linear model. We use this test primarily as a way of illustrating the importance
187 effect, recognizing that it is not independent of the separate total- and self-citation tests. We
188 assessed each combination of these predictor variables and ranked models according to AIC
189 criteria – once for an analysis including all article types, and then again considering only primary
190 research articles. We present only the best fitting model for each response variable. We did not
191 include highly-correlated (>0.7) predictor variables in the same model, and we did not include
192 offensiveness or cultural-reference scores as these are conceptually related to, and correlated
193 with, humour. We examined residual plots to verify that model assumptions were met. Unless
194 otherwise specified, for all reported results $P < 0.01$.

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196 **Results**

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198 Citation counts for the papers we tracked were extremely variable, ranging from zero to
199 just over 2,300. Unsurprisingly, review papers were cited more heavily, on average, than primary
200 research papers; “other” papers had the lowest citation rates (Figure 1A). The citation advantage
201 of review papers was far smaller, but still significant, for self-citation (Figure 1B). Among article
202 types, titles from “other” papers were rated significantly more humorous than those from review
203 and primary articles (Figure 1C). Humour did not vary significantly among journals, except that
204 *Trends in Ecology and Evolution* (where all papers belonged to the review or “other” types) had
205 significantly funnier titles than the rest (Figure 1D). Our best fitting models and parameter
206 estimates were similar whether we analyzed all articles or just primary research papers (compare

207 Tables 1 and 2, for all articles, with Supplementary Materials, Tables S1 and S2, for primary
208 research papers only). In what follows, we present only the more comprehensive analysis.

209 Few titles were funny: only 414 of 2,439 papers were assigned a non-zero humour score
210 by even one scorer, and only 60 had at least 11 humour points (as they would if all scorers gave
211 them the minimum non-zero humour score, or two scorers gave them the maximum score). We
212 saw fairly low, but non-zero, agreement among scorers in their assessment of title humour. The
213 overall concordance score (Light's kappa) was just 0.34; most pairwise correlations had $r < 0.5$,
214 and many had $r < 0.3$ (Figure 2).

215 Our best-performing models suggested contributions to citation rate from title humour
216 but also from phrasing titles as questions, including colons, acronyms, locations, and taxonomic
217 names, and (for all article types but not for primary research papers alone) phrasing titles as
218 assertive statements. However, some of these effects were weak.

219 After we controlled for other predictors, total citations declined with average title humour
220 (Figure 3A). The effect was relatively small, with a decrease of 4% in total citations for each 1
221 point increase in average humour score, but this equates to a difference of 20.4% between the
222 least and most humorous titles. There is, however, an important qualification: the pattern was
223 similar, but much stronger, for self citations, with an 82% decrease for the most humorous titles
224 (Figure 3B). Thus, after correcting for underlying paper importance, funny title are cited more,
225 not less (Figure 3C), with a 23% increase for each 1 point increase in humour score.

226 While we did not include offensiveness or cultural references in our AIC modeling, we
227 examined their association with citation rates in isolation. Offensive titles were rare, with only 19
228 of 2,439 titles scored as offensive by even a single scorer. Citation rates declined with average
229 offense score (Figure 4A). However, as for humour, there was an even stronger decline for self-

230 citations (Figure 4B), suggesting that less important papers are given titles that our scorers
231 judged offensive. Titles including cultural references show a pattern of increasing citation
232 (Figure 4C), despite fewer self-citations (Figure 4D, again suggesting lower underlying paper
233 importance). Interestingly, the detection of cultural references by our scorers was quite
234 imperfect: most titles received scores below 0.5, meaning that half or fewer of our scorers
235 noticed the presence of a reference.

236 Several other characteristics of paper titles were significant predictors of citation counts
237 in the AIC model, but most of these effects were relatively weak. Titles with colons or question
238 marks, those phrased as assertive statements, and those including names of political regions were
239 more highly cited (Table 1 and Supplementary Material Figure S1, upper row), although only the
240 colon effect was strong and the “assertive statement” effect disappeared when we analyzed only
241 primary research articles; Supplementary Material Table S1). Effects on self-citation were
242 mostly very weak (Supplementary Material Figure S1, lower row), except that titles mentioning
243 political regions had moderately more self-citations. Finally, title length was excluded from all
244 AIC models (Tables 1, 2) and made little difference to either total or self citation rates viewed in
245 isolation (Supplementary Materials Figure S2).

246 We found stronger effects for the inclusion in titles of acronyms and taxonomic names.
247 Each was associated with a sharp decrease in citation rates (acronyms 41%, Figure 5A; and
248 taxonomic names 32%, Figure 5C). These effects cannot be explained by paper importance, as
249 the inclusion of acronyms was not associated with self-citation (Figure 5B) and the inclusion of
250 taxonomic names was associated with slightly higher self-citation (Figure 5D).

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253 **Discussion**

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255 Despite the widespread availability of clear and firm advice on constructing “good” titles,
256 the most striking pattern we document is simply that few easily measured attributes of titles seem
257 to have strong associations with citation rates. This is broadly consistent with the literature (e.g.,
258 Costello et al. 2019, Murphy et al. 2019; review: Heard 2021).

259 There were some differences in humour scores among the three article types we
260 distinguished. In particular, “other” articles (forum review and journal club papers) had both the
261 highest humour scores and the lowest citation rates. This can account for the higher average
262 humour scores for one journal (*Trends in Ecology and Evolution*), where the bulk of “other”
263 papers were published. Otherwise, though, article type didn’t drive the patterns in citation rate
264 we observed, as analyses restricted to primary research articles had very similar results to those
265 including all three article types.

266 Our analysis suggests that humour in the title can increase a paper’s impact. It is true that
267 the simplest analysis, correlating total citations with humour score, finds a (weak) negative
268 relationship. However, such an analysis fails to account for the possibility that authors are less
269 likely to use humour in titling their more important papers. Our self-citation data strongly
270 suggest that this is true: papers with funnier titles are subsequently cited less *by their own*
271 *authors*. Since authors don’t need titles to alert them to their own papers, self-citation provides a
272 title-independent estimator of importance – unlike other-citations, for which effects of title and
273 underlying importance on citation are inextricably confounded. Because the decline in self-
274 citation with humour score is much steeper for self-citations than for other-citations, funny titles
275 are actually over-cited, not under-cited, after correction for paper importance (Figure 3C).

276 Earlier literature has not considered the possibility of confounding between title humour
277 and paper importance. An analysis for psychology papers by Sagi and Yechiam (2008), which
278 found a negative association between total citations and title humour, did not attempt any
279 correction for paper importance, via self-citation or otherwise. As a result, that analysis may well
280 have drawn precisely the wrong conclusion. The same issue applies to analyses by Subotic and
281 Mukherjee (2014) and Murphy et al. (2019), both of which found no effect of humour on total
282 citation but, again, did not correct for paper importance. Advice to avoid humour in paper titles
283 (e.g., Thomson and Kamler 2013:85, Mack 2018:47, Belcher 2019:288) is thus not well founded
284 in evidence – at least, not if the concern is citation impact.

285 Scientists sometimes express two related worries about the use of humour: that funny
286 titles might be seen as offensive, and that funny titles will be misunderstood by those who don't
287 share the author's cultural background. Our data suggest three things about this. First, if these
288 things happen, they don't affect citation much. Papers with titles identified as offensive were
289 indeed cited less, but as for humour, analysis of self citations suggests that this can be more than
290 explained by the use of such titles for less important papers. Second, the low concordance among
291 our scorers suggest that even with a group of scorers of relatively homogeneous cultural
292 background, opinions about humour and offense vary widely. The simultaneous existence of
293 *South Park* and *The Satanic Verses* should make it obvious that both humour and offense are
294 deeply personal, and both will sometimes be perceived even when neither is intended. Third,
295 even though some readers will miss cultural references in titles (it was commonplace for our
296 scorers to differ in their detection), this does not interfere with discovery or impact of the papers:
297 the use of cultural references was strongly associated with increased citation rates.

298 Other features of titles are significantly associated with citation rates, but most of the
299 effect sizes are small – as has generally been true in previous studies. Citation rates are higher for
300 two-part titles (those with colons, dashes, etc.) and a little higher for question and assertive
301 sentence titles. Inclusion of a geographic region name increases citation a little, consistent with
302 some other studies (Rostami et al. 2013, Nair and Gibbert 2015, Murphy et al. 2019) but
303 contrasting with others (Jacques and Sebire 2010, Paiva et al. 2012, Abramo et al. 2016,
304 Alimoradi et al. 2016, Yuret 2018, Costello et al. 2019). However, analysis of self citation
305 suggests that this is likely explained by a tendency for authors to use geographic names in their
306 more important papers. We do not have an explanation for this tendency, which surprised us.
307 Title length, which is one of the most frequent targets of well-meaning advice, had virtually no
308 effect on citation. This is broadly consistent with the literature (review: Heard 2021): shorter
309 titles are sometimes found to be cited more, and sometimes found to be cited less, but the effects
310 vary from weak to very weak. Keeping titles short may help typesetters, but seems to have no
311 implication for authors or readers.

312 There were larger effects for taxonomic names: their inclusion is associated with a steep
313 (32%) reduction in citation. The negative effect of taxonomic names in titles is one of the few
314 citation effects to be consistent across studies (Fox and Burns 2015, Yuret 2018, Murphy et al.
315 2019). Readers appear to behave as if inclusion of a taxonomic name signals narrower scope of,
316 and thus narrower interest in, a paper. This could be a reliable signal (papers including
317 taxonomic names may, on average, genuinely be of narrower scope) or a misperceived one (with
318 readers being deterred from papers that really are relevant to them). Since *self*-citations don't
319 decline with the inclusion of a taxonomic name, we suspect that misperception is often involved.
320 Authors may therefore wish to consider removing scientific names of taxa from titles.

321 Finally, we were surprised by the strong pattern for acronyms. Despite our deep
322 familiarity with – perhaps even love for – acronyms (Barnett and Doubleday 2020), their
323 appearance in a title is associated with a 41% decrease in citation rates, and this can't be
324 explained by variation in paper importance. There were already good reasons to reduce our use
325 of acronyms in writing; their apparent effect on citation impact may add another.

326 There is, of course, an important assumption behind our choice of citation rate as a
327 variable to correlate with features of titles. Citation rate is only of interest if it says something
328 useful about the reach or impact of a paper. Given that science is a fundamentally cumulative
329 process, and given that modern citation practices involve an ethical responsibility to cite
330 influential work, citation rate really does seem likely to be measuring something useful. In a few
331 cases, of course, a paper may be heavily cited because it's wrong – for example, as an example
332 of how an analysis can go astray – but we doubt that such citations account for a significant
333 fraction of our database.

334 Ultimately, the factors that explain the citation impact of a paper are sure to be numerous,
335 interrelated in complex fashion, and extending far beyond just the title. However, because titles
336 are the first point of contact with a paper for most readers, we suspect interest in their
337 construction will remain strong. In a sense, our results are mostly good news for authors: few
338 title features (barring acronyms and taxonomic names) work against citation. That means
339 scientists can use titles creatively, even inserting touches of humour (Heard 2014), without fear
340 of their work ending up in undeserved obscurity.

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420 **Figure and Table Legends**

421

422 Table 1. Best fitting model after AIC model selection for total citations.

423

424 Table 2. Best fitting model after AIC model selection for self-citations.

425

426 Figure 1. Total citations (A) and self citations (B) compared among article types (Other,
427 Primary, or Review); and average humour scores compared among article types (C) and
428 among journals (D).

429

430 Figure 2: Concordance among scorers for title humour. The matrix shows Pearson correlation
431 coefficient (r) for each pairwise combination of scorers, across all scored titles. The
432 overall concordance, measured by Light's kappa, was 0.34.

433

434 Figure 3: Humour and citation rates. Both total citations (A) and self citations (B) significantly
435 decreased with higher humour scores. However, the effect size is much larger for self
436 citations, and the ratio of total to self (C) citations *increases* with humour score.

437

438 Figure 4: Offensive titles, cultural references, and citation rates. Total citations decreased
439 significantly with higher offensive scores (A), but self citations decreased more strongly
440 (B). The inclusion of cultural references was associated with higher total citations (C) but
441 with *lower* self citations (D).

442

443 Figure 5: Acronyms, taxonomic names, and citation rates. The inclusion of acronyms was
444 associated with a significant decrease in total citations (A), but was not associated with
445 self citations (B). The inclusion of taxonomic names was associated with a strong
446 decrease in total citations (C) but a slight increase in self citations (D).
447

448 Table 1: Best fitting model after AIC model selection for total citations.

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Total_citations
PrimaryReviewOtherPrimary	0.542*** (0.013)
PrimaryReviewOtherReview	1.662*** (0.014)
QuestionY	0.044*** (0.009)
AssertiveY	0.165*** (0.011)
ColonY	0.416*** (0.006)
AcronymsY	-0.529*** (0.052)
LocationY	0.082*** (0.011)
Taxonomic_nameY	-0.389*** (0.010)
avg_humour	-0.096*** (0.006)
Constant	3.926*** (0.013)
Observations	1,027
Log Likelihood	-61,416.010
Akaike Inf. Crit.	122,852.000
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

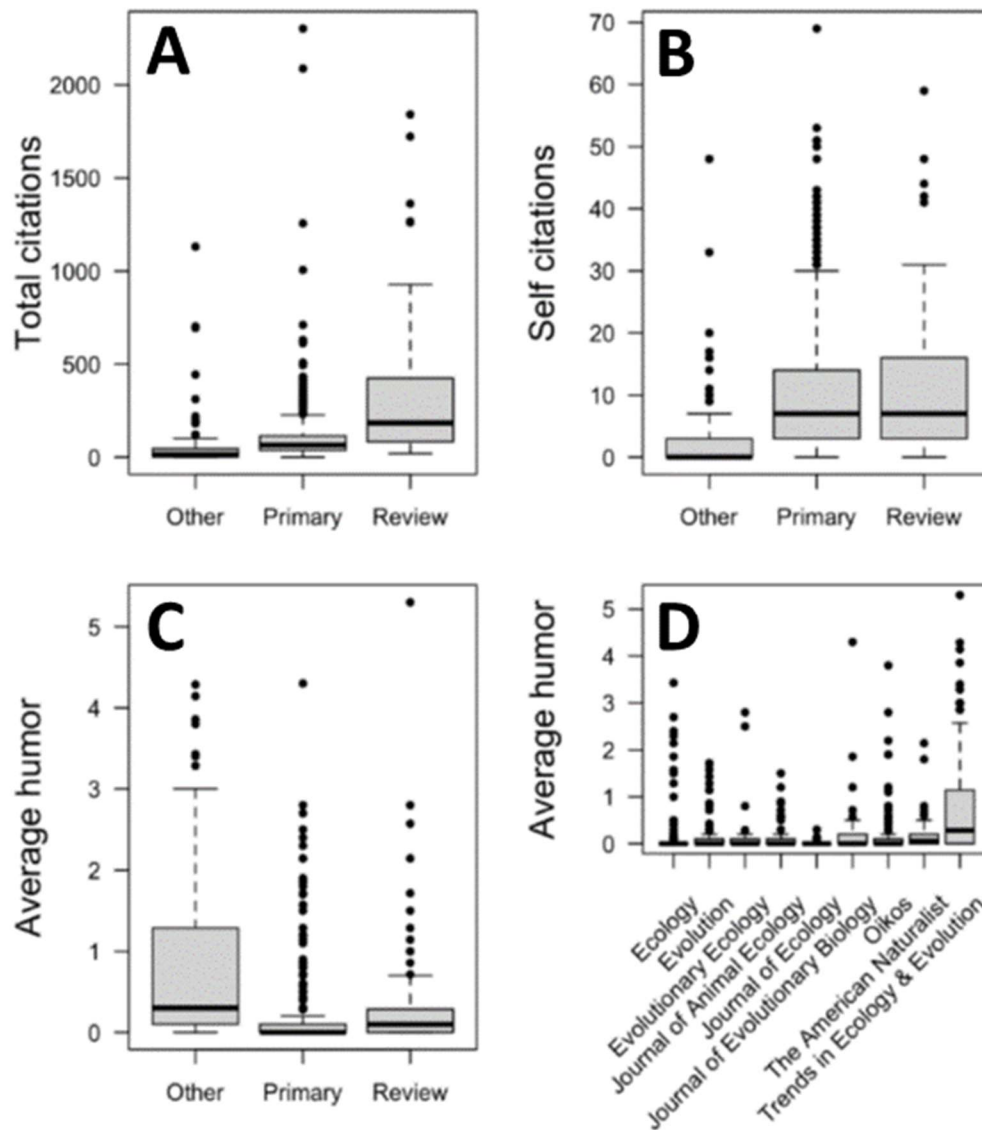
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451

452 Table 2: Best fitting model after AIC model selection for self-citations.

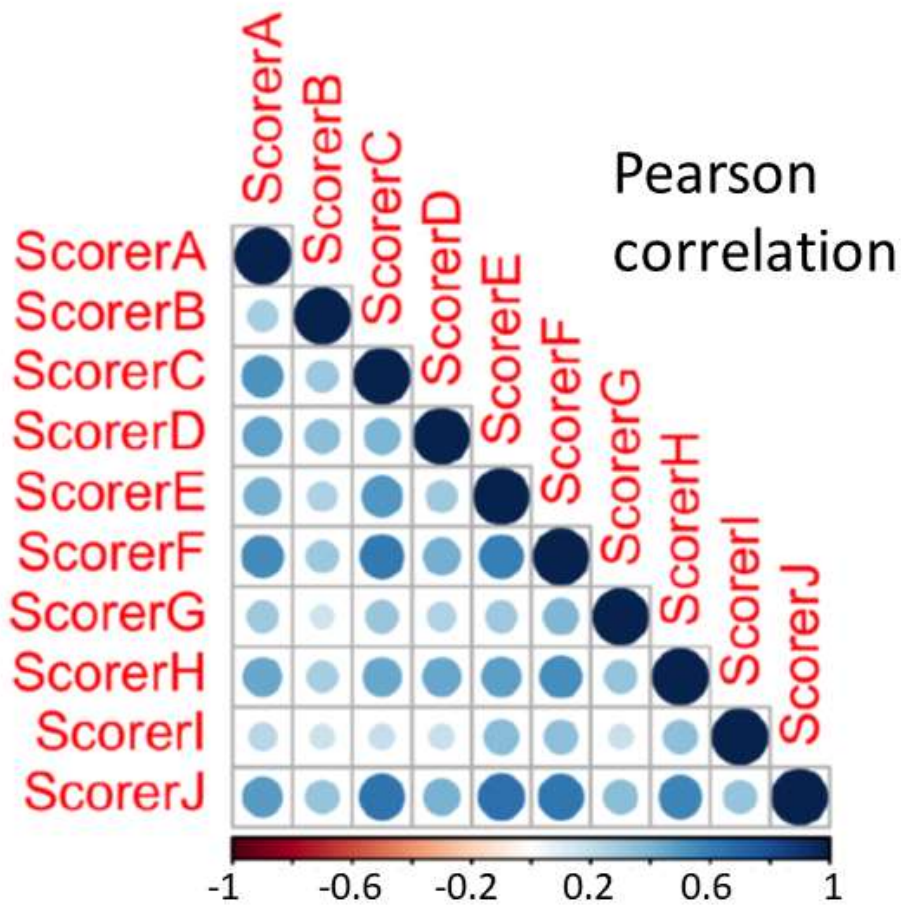
	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Self_citations
PrimaryReviewOtherPrimary	1.125*** (0.057)
PrimaryReviewOtherReview	1.327*** (0.064)
QuestionY	-0.076**
ColonY	(0.035)
LocationY	0.126*** (0.021)
avg_humour	0.248***
Constant	(0.034)
	-0.152*** (0.027)
	1.109*** (0.057)
Observations	1,027
Log Likelihood	-6,062.415
Akaike Inf. Crit.	12,138.830
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01



454

455 Figure 1. Total citations (A) and self citations (B) compared among article types (Other,
456 Primary, or Review); and average humour scores compared among article types (C) and among
457 journals (D).

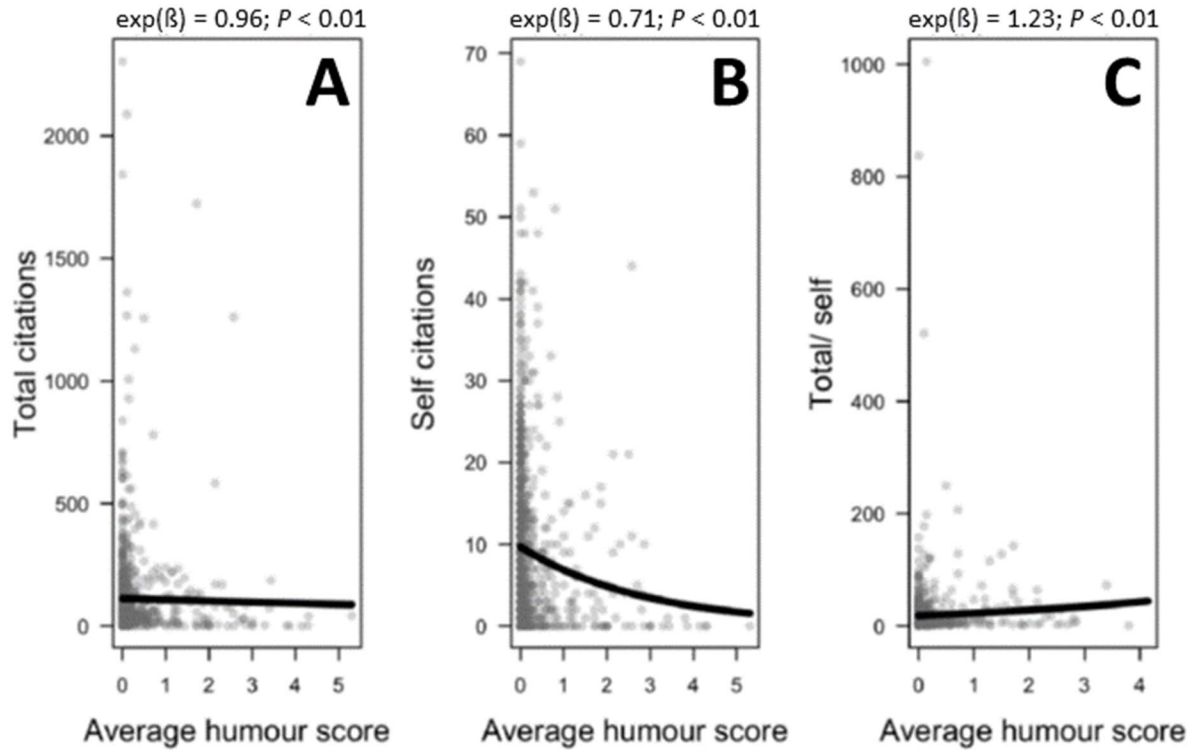
458



459

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462 concordance, measured by Light's kappa, was 0.34.

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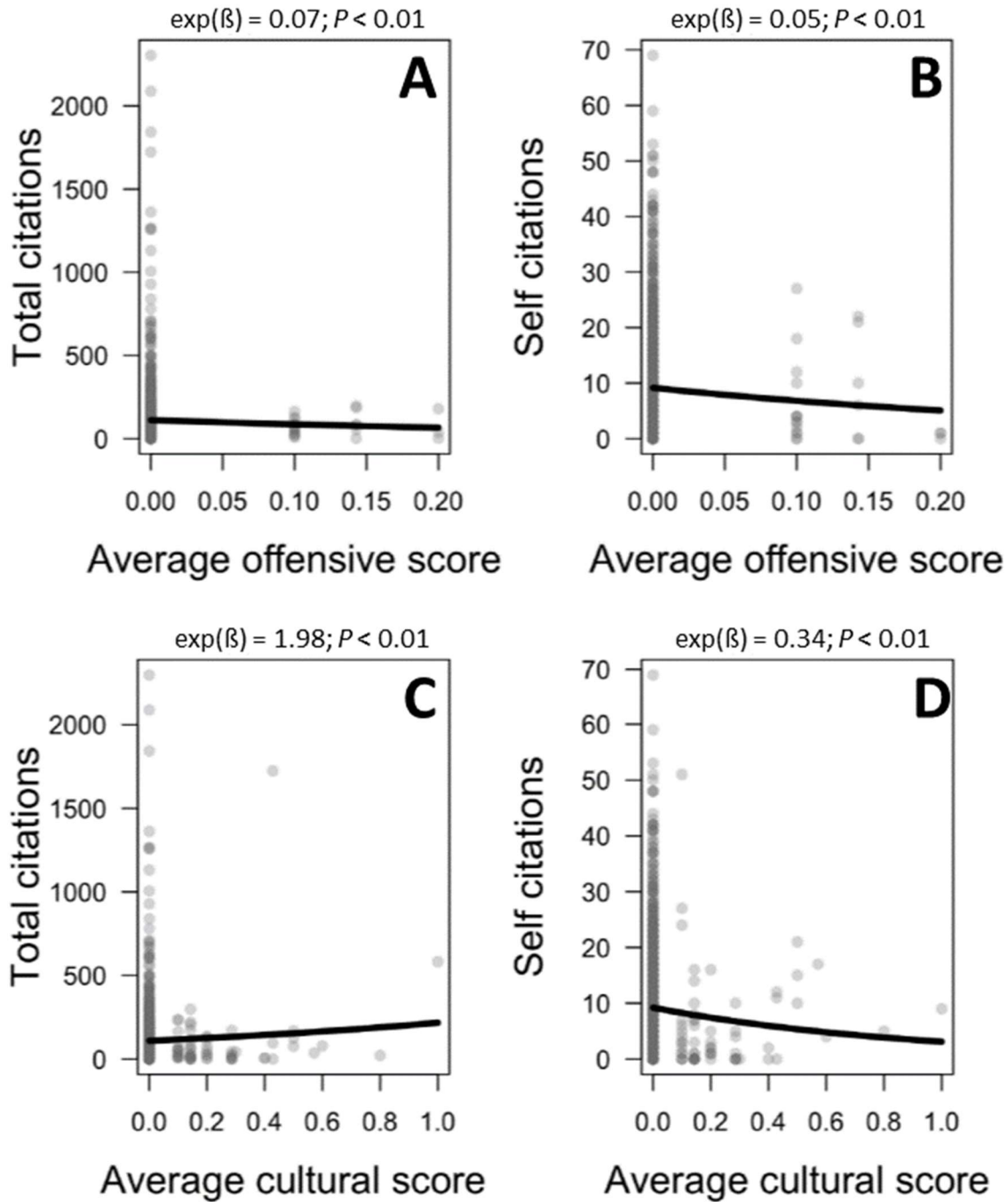
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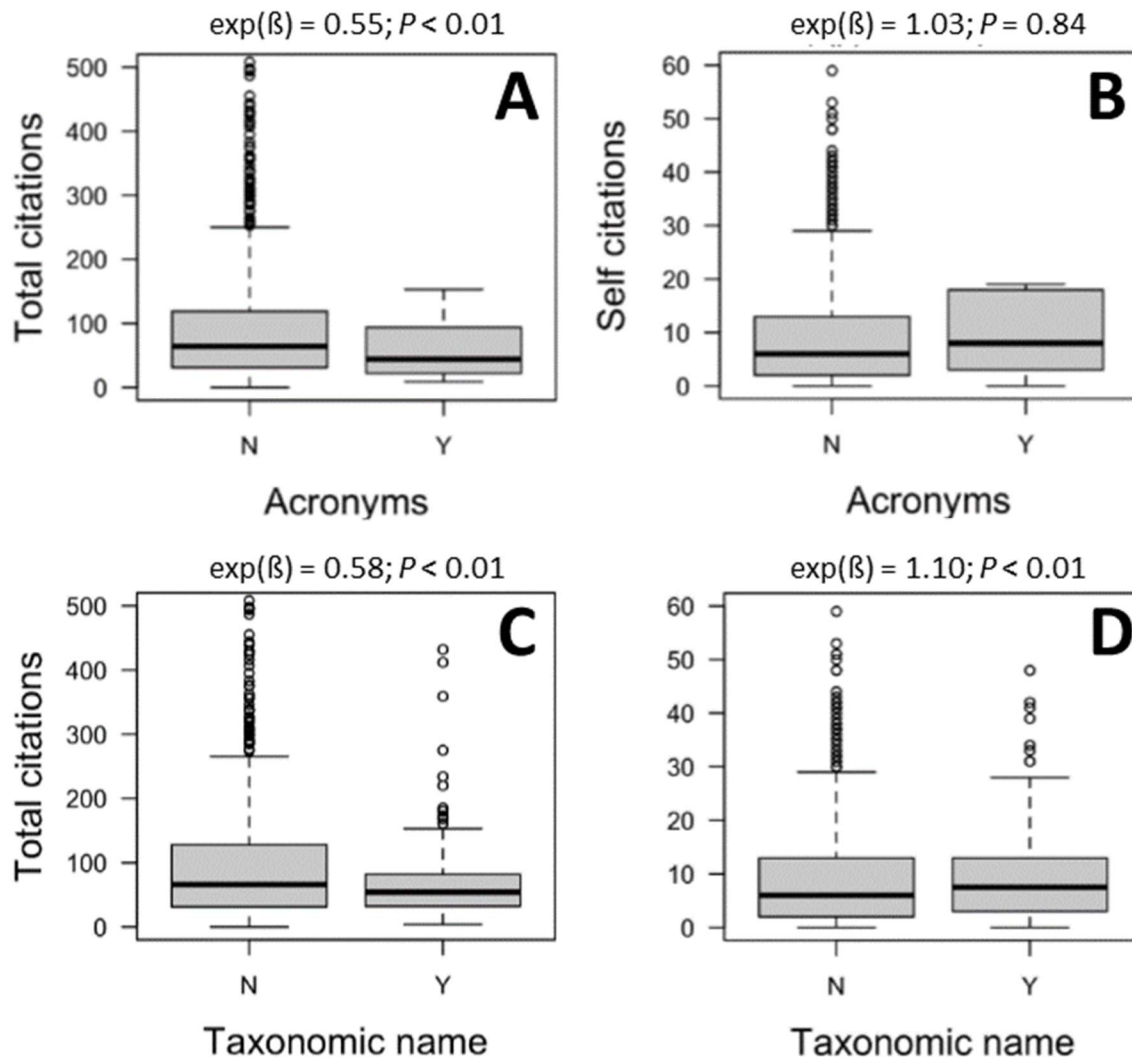
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471

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476

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479 citations (B). The inclusion of taxonomic names was associated with a strong decrease in total

480 citations (C) but a slight increase in self citations (D).

481

482

Supplementary Material

483

484 *Supplemental Tables and Figures: HeardCullWhiteSupplement.pdf*

485 *Table S1. AIC-selected model for total citations, primary research papers only*

486 *Table S2. AIC-selected model for self citations, primary research papers only*

487 *Figure S1. Associations with total citation rates (top row) and self citation (bottom row) for two-*

488 *part titles (“colon”), question titles, assertive-sentence titles, and titles including names*

489 *of political regions.*

490 *Figure S2. Title length and rates of total (A) and self (B) citation.*