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SYMBOLIC SIGNIFICANCE OF NEWSPAPER TITLES: ANALYSIS OF PATTERNS IN PRINT NEWSPAPER TITLES IN THE DIGITAL AGE

The titles of print newspapers around the world are culturally and politically diverse but have some common themes and patterns of logic. While the words Post, Times, Evening, Daily, News, Truth, and Independent are among the most popular, creative variations of elements in titles reflect each newspaper's recognizable identity on the global news map. Some titles refer to a unique historical legacy, some represent cultural values, others highlight specific geographic cities, states or areas, some titles signify the concept of "freshness" of the news. This exploratory study aims to investigate the range of print newspaper titles of seven representative countries – the United States, United Kingdom, France, Russia, Kazakhstan, India, and South Africa. Using grounded theory and textual and visual discourse analysis as methods of newspaper titles, this study deliberately excluded all digitally born news outlets and focused only on titles that have originated from legacy news brands. By compiling and analyzing the online and print slogans of approximately the top 50 newspapers from each country, this paper identifies certain trends and distinctions among title and slogan choices.

Key words: newspaper titles, google slogans, patterns of newspaper titles, Kazakhstan, USA, France, Russia, Great Britain, cultural meaning, symbolic significance.

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Газет басылымдарының символдық мәні: Дижитал дәуірдегі газет атауларының үлгілерін талдау

Дүние жүзіндегі баспа газеттерінің атаулары мәдени және саяси жағынан алуан түрлі, бірақ оларға кейбір ортақ тақырыптар мен логикалық заңдылықтар тән. Post, Times, Evening, Daily, News, Truth және Independent сөздері жиі қолданылғанымен, тақырып элементтеріндегі креативті вариация әр газеттің дүниежүзілік жаңалықтар картасындағы даралығын көрсетеді. Кей газет атауы бірегей тарихи мұраға сілтеме жасайды, кейбірі мәдени құндылықты білдіреді, тағы бірі белгілі бір географиялық қаланы, штатты немесе аймақты көрсетеді, ал кей газет атауы ондағы жаңалықтардың «соны» екенін білдіреді. Бұл пилоттық зерттеу АҚШ, Ұлыбритания, Франция, Ресей, Қазақстан, Үндістан және Оңтүстік Африка Республикасы сынды жеті елдегі басылымдар легін қарастырады. «Негізделген теория» («grounded theory») және мәтін мен визуал дискурс анализ газет атауларын зерттеу әдісі ретінде қолданылып, дижитал түрде пайда болған жаңалық платформалары бұл зерттеуге мақсатты түрде қосылмады және бастапқыда қағаз газет түрінде шығарылған басылымдар атауларына ғана көңіл бөлінді. Әр елдегі 50-ге жуық жетекші газеттің онлайн және баспа версиясы слогандарын талдай отырып бұл жұмыс атау мен слоган таңдау тенденциялары мен айырмашылықтарын анықтайды.

Түйін сөздер: газет тақырыптары, Google слогандары, газет атаулары, Қазақстан, Ресей, АҚШ, Франция, Ұлыбритания, мәдени мағына, символдық мағына.

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Символизм в названиях газет: Анализ закономерностей в названиях печатных газет в цифровую эпоху

Названия печатных газет во всем мире разнообразны в культурном и политическом аспектах, но имеют некоторые общие тренды, темы и логические модели. Даже если слова Post, Times, Evening, Daily, News, Truth и Independent являются одними из самых популярных составных

частей названий для газет, креативные вариации элементов в названиях отражают узнаваемую идентичность каждой газеты на глобальной карте новостной индустрии. Названия некоторых газет относятся к уникальному историческому наследию, некоторые названия отражают культурные ценности, третьи газеты названы по своей географической идентификации – в честь города, штата или области, в которой они издаются; в то время как некоторые издания выносят концепцию «свежести» новостей в название своей газеты. В этом пилотном исследовании авторы изучают диапазон названий печатных газет семи репрезентативных стран – США, Великобритании, Франции, России, Казахстана, Индии и Южной Африки. В данном проекте были применены метод «обоснованной теории» («grounded theory») и визуальный дискурс анализ в качестве метода анализа данных. Исследователи заранее исключили из списка исследуемых газет все цифровые издания, которые появились в эпоху Интернета, сфокусировавшись только на газетах, которые изначально существовали только как печатные СМИ. Путем компиляции и анализа онлайн- и печатных слоганов примерно 50 ведущих газет из каждой страны, это исследование определяет основные тенденции и различия в выборе названий и слоганов для газет в выбранных для анализа странах.

Ключевые слова: названия газет, цифровые слоганы, тренды в пресс брендах, Казахстан, США, Франция, Россия, Великобритания, культурное значение, символизм.

Lit Review

If, as Shakespeare said, a rose “by any other name” would smell as sweet, what’s in the names of newspapers? Would the Post still have the same news if it were called the Observer? Would the Times still be the newspaper of record both in the U.S. and the U.K if it were called the Dispatch? And is the Republicain in France the same as the Republican in the U.S.?

Newspapers use slogans to differentiate themselves from competitors, to attract audiences and lure advertisers (Ghanem and Selber, 2007). Newspaper titles and slogans are, at their core, brands. Brands have existed since time immemorial. Brickmakers in ancient Egypt are said to have put symbols on their bricks to identify them, medieval guilds trademarked their products. Branding can account to up 80 percent of a company’s value, such as the example of Coca-Cola (Batey, 2015, p. 1). At their most basic level, brands consist of a name and a trademark. In the case of a newspaper, this is its title and its slogan. Brands are not merely text and imagery; they also exist in consumers’ minds. Moreover, they act as associative neural networks (Batey 2015, p. 5). Good brands are memorable and evoke emotion (Supphellen & Nygaardsvik, 2002). Consumers read and interpret them, in the process creating meaning. Thus, a newspaper’s brand is key to its identity, not merely in the minds of the journalists who work for it but also for the public and its view of the newspaper’s role in society.

A newspaper’s title has much to do with the time it was founded. In the U.S., during the 18th century when newspapers primarily sought readership of commercial elites they featured titles such as Daily Advertiser or Commercial Gazette. Later newspapers

founded in the 1830s switched to titles such as Herald or Sun in what is called the “commercial revolution of the American press” (Schudson, 1981, p. 17). Many of these newspapers chose titles that expressed some type of political agency, such as Critic, Herald, or Tribune. When the only known systematic study of American newspapers was conducted in 1937, it calculated that two-thirds of daily newspapers in the US chose their titles from only 15 different words, starting with the News, Times, Journal, and Herald (Larson, 1937). Some innocent-sounding titles have complicated histories, and at least one newspaper of British heritage has its roots in sexism. Development of newspapers for the lower middle classes in Britain began in the late 1800s with The Daily Mail, followed by the Daily Express. The Daily Mirror, with its subtly sexist title, was “aimed at women and was the first to carry news photographs.” (Feather, 2006, p. 148-151).

By entering the digital world, legacy newspapers have had the opportunity to reinvent themselves. Digital media has allowed organizations the opportunity to shift identities, creating entirely new identities online (Palfrey and Gasser, 2008). Yet digital media has also allowed newspapers to pursue continuity, presenting them same information, the same format online as in print.

In an analysis of 744 American newspaper slogans researchers found that 75 percent of the slogans mentioned some key benefit of the newspaper (Ghanem & Selber, 2009). This finding is in line with our research. Yet some of the slogans were exceptionally vague. While the authors argued that “there is little merit in a slogan that is so general it could easily be applied to a competitor or even another category of advertiser” they found that this was often the case (Ghanem & Selber 2009, p.

19). The authors divided slogans into the following categories: timeliness, geographic reference, call for action, quality, experience, friendliness, vigilance, representation, superlatives, and focus. They found that top categories were geographic reference and representation of the community (Ghanem and Selber, 2009).

Methodology

Political situations, historical circumstances, globalization, cultural recycling, linguistic seasoning, and geography are all considered in the analysis of the main elements of titles of today's newspapers. While the list of nations is not exhaustive nor representative of the world at large, they reflect news leaders (US, UK), relatively new republics (Kazakhstan, South African Republic) ancient traditions (India), and former monarchies (UK, France, Russia) that together are symbolic of the way nations have handled the dissemination of news since the invention of the printing press. These nations were chosen with an eye towards being representative of leading democracies, ancient civilizations, and newly constituted nations. While examining the newspaper titles, we explored their meaning and symbolic significance to answer the following research questions:

RQ1: What are common trends/patterns in the titles and slogans of the print newspapers in the selected countries?

RQ2: What do these titles, slogans and their trends mean?

RQ3: How do these titles reflect the unique cultural, global, political or traditional news values in each country? Do they manifest those variations in their titles?

RQ4: How did digital media convergence affect the titles and slogans of print and online versions of the newspaper titles under analysis?

Using grounded theory and textual and visual discourse analysis as methods of newspaper titles, this study deliberately excluded all digitally born news outlets and focused only on titles that have originated from legacy news brands. To be included, newspapers must publish original content, such as interviews, eyewitness accounts, or reporting by dedicated reporter and editorial staff. Sites must also in some way self-describe themselves as a news organization in their about section, subject headers, or navigation bars. This study observed and categorized newspaper names to determine their origin, meaning, and symbolism. We studied legacy newspapers and their related websites. Due to dif-

ferences in availability of data across various countries, different metrics were used to adjudge the approximately top 50 newspapers per country. In some cases average circulation was used. In other cases average readership was used. Some countries such as South Africa, Russia, and Kazakhstan had fewer than 50 newspapers each. Some other countries, such as India, had insufficient data to record the top 50 newspapers (see below for further details).

The following are the country specific methodologies for gathering data, not necessarily analysis:

United States Methodology

Data for American newspapers was sourced from Pew Research Center's 2017 State of the News Media Report. Pew ranked the top 49 American newspapers -- and the Wall Street Journal -- for average Sunday circulation for Q3 2015 and Q3 2016 according to data from the Alliance for Audited Media. Pew then matched each newspaper with its associated domain name (Pew research, 2017).

Online titles and slogans were recorded through visiting each newspaper's website. To ensure the most up to date information, print titles and slogans were taken from newspaper front pages through the Newseum Website in April 2018.

Indian Methodology

Data for Indian newspapers was sourced from the Indian Readership Survey of 2017 and cross checked with the Audit Bureau of Circulations 2017 Report. Available data for India was less complete than other countries like the US. Data for Indian newspapers was ranked by average readership. Data was available to establish the top 37 newspapers by readership, although India has far more than 37 newspapers. Data was collected from both English language and local language newspapers. The researchers relied on assistance from colleagues to complete translations where necessary.

Online titles and slogans were recorded through visiting each newspaper's website. Print titles and slogans were generally recorded by visiting each newspaper's 'e-edition' in April 2018; Indian papers widely and freely circulate e-editions online.

South African Methodology

Data for South African newspapers was less complete than other countries. In 2016, the South African Audience Research Association ceased its All Media and Products Survey due to declining

revenue (SAARF, 2017). However, South Africa has fewer than 50 daily circulating newspapers so data collection was straightforward. Data was collected from both English language and local language newspapers.

Online titles and slogans were recorded through visiting each newspaper's website. Print titles and slogans were generally recorded by visiting each newspaper's 'e-edition' in April 2018; South African papers widely and freely circulate e-editions online.

United Kingdom Methodology

For British newspapers, the list of prominent and influential newspapers came largely from the National Readership Survey of Britain, which listed the top national and regional publications by circulation. (NRS, 2017). It was supplemented by the Newseum's daily compilation of front pages from around the world (Newseum, 2018). The list was not meant to be exhaustive, but was meant to include the most popular and influential newspapers. Slogans were compiled from the front-page pictures that accompanied the list of newspapers in the readership survey and other sources, or by following links to the e-editions of those papers. Some slogans that were not available via this method were compiled by the Newseum site.

French Methodology

The list of relevant and influential French newspapers was compiled from a variety of sources, including www.Kiosko.net, a website described as a way to "browse the covers of newspapers of the world," and which is a worldwide daily press directory that gives access to the world's largest news sites. It displays a readable image taken from each day's front pages. Material also came from the Newseum's "Today's Front Pages" (Newseum, 2018). The print slogans were similarly compiled from PDFs of the front pages or from the Newseum site, or by following links to the front pages. Online slogans were found on the newspapers' web pages directly.

Russian Methodology

The data collection was straightforward for Russia because the country has fewer than 50 top national daily newspapers by circulation. Thus, data for Russian newspapers was less complete than other countries. In Russia and Kazakhstan, readers

usually subscribe to newspapers via postal services. We consulted the newspaper listings compiled by the postal service to make sure that we have as comprehensive and inclusive a list of top dailies as possible. Most, if not all, top national Russian dailies are published in the Russian language.

The data was compiled by accessing and comparing different list sources: the lists compiled by the Russian postal services, individual websites of the newspapers and the list of the most quoted newspapers published on the Russian *Medialogiya* website (Federalnye SMI, 2017).

Online titles and slogans were recorded through visiting each newspaper's website. Print titles and slogans were generally recorded by visiting each newspaper's "e-edition" in April 2018; in general, most Russian papers have free e-editions which are widely circulated. Because only few newspapers in today's Russia have print slogans we decided to drop this data from analysis.

Kazakhstan Methodology

Kazakhstan's population is roughly 17 million people; therefore, the number of the top national dailies is under 50. The data was gathered from both online compilations and native observation. We included most dailies if they were distributed nationally. Kazakhstan's independence came a few years before the global digitalization trend, therefore many new "independence era" newspapers in Kazakhstan were launched exclusively online and do not have printed versions. Those digitally native newspapers were excluded from this study. The small number of newspapers could also be explained by the fact that several newspapers in this country were closed in the last two decades: some could not sustain themselves economically, others were shut down for political reasons.

The Kazakhstani slogans were excluded from analysis because only few Kazakhstani newspapers, like in Russia, have print slogans.

Findings (Patterns, Comparisons, Outliers)

Findings have been divided by country and are contrasted in the discussion, where common themes are identified.

United Kingdom and France

There is a long tradition of news dissemination in the United Kingdom that dates back to before the invention of the printing press in the fifteenth cen-

tury. Scribes hand-wrote stories and information at that time, and those who could read, did so aloud. But the modern mass media began in England in the nineteenth century. Education was a driver of the press (Feather 2006, 147). Newspapers like *The Times* drove popular opinion and continued to educate readers about the world.

The more the masses were educated, the more was their appetite for news and information. The working class press began to take shape with the publication of the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1885 (Feather 2006, 149). Then newspapers for the lower middle working classes began to emerge. "*The Daily Express* was founded in 1900, by Cyril Pearson ... *The Daily Mirror* (1909) specifically for women; it was the first to carry news photographs. Its competitor was *The Daily Sketch*." (Feather 2006, 151).

The titles of British newspapers today fall into several broad categories:

- Geography -- Scotsman, Celt
- Time Morning/Noon/Evening -- The Times,
- Freedom -- Independent, Citizen, Guardian
- Speed and transmission -- Express, Telegraph, News, Mail, Record, Courier
- Celestial -- Sun
- Observational Power -- Observer, Examiner, Tribune
- Political views -- Independent

Fewer English newspapers name themselves after geographic areas than in other countries, particularly France, one of the subject countries of this study. Irish newspapers tend to be more geo-centric than English newspapers. While there are some national newspapers in France (*Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* are the most outstanding) top tier French legacy publications are more likely to be named for regions, cities, states and other geographic landmarks such as rivers and mountains. Thus, we get *The Parisian*, *The Morning of Corsica*, *The Mountain*, *The Pyrenees*, *The Lorraine*, *The Northern Lightning* and *the Ocean Press*.

According to Kuhn (2011, 35-36), "The newspaper industry in contemporary France is made of new distinct markets: national titles (i.e. those produced in Paris) and local/regional papers." This theory is borne out by our research enumerated above. Readership, however, Kuhn found, does not necessarily follow the national papers. "In 2000, three out of four French citizens never read a daily national newspaper and there is no reason to believe that this statistic has changed for the better in the intervening years." He noted that in 2007, the daily regional market consisted of 57 titles. "It is these regional dailies, often centered on a provincial conurbation,

that dominate sales nationwide" (Kuhn, 2011, 35-36).

This trend also highlights the number of distinct names of these regional newspapers. While this study concentrated largely on the most popular, influential and largest papers, some notable small papers have unique and interesting names, such as *Ouest-France* (West France), *The Free Charente*, *The Morning of Corsica*, and *the Dauphine Release* (translations).

British and French newspapers have more on-line slogans than print ones, and the online slogans tend to be longer. British and French newspaper slogans again reflect a national or regional divide. British newspapers like the *Daily Express* (1900), is grandly sloganized: "World's Greatest Newspaper," a direct ripoff from the old *Chicago Tribune* (1847), which used that slogan up until recent times. (WGN radio and television stations, once owned by the *Tribune*, is taken from that slogan). The *Times of London* nods to the Crown, with its "Dieu et mon droit (God and my Right)" as in the "divine right of kings."

Smaller British papers are less comprehensive, but no less grand. The *Cork Independent* (Ireland) styles itself: "Cork's biggest free newspaper, bringing you everything you need to know in Cork since 2005!" (exclamation point included).

But many of the French newspapers, in a reflection of the regional nature of many of them, note their locations and strive to underscore their closeness to the people and the geographic area. While *Le Monde* -- "News and Information in France and around the world" -- and *Le Figaro* -- "Find all the news in France, internationally, economic and political news with le Figaro" -- are the top national papers, one is more likely to find slogans like that of the *Berry Republican* -- "First local and regional news media in Cher and Berry -- news, sports, leisure, economy." And the *Le Parisien* (Île-de-France, Oise) gets very specific: "Follow the news in your city live and video on the Parisien.fr. Local information in Paris, Ile de France and Oise"

The *Berry "Republicain"* brings up the fact that more major newspapers in France are named for political causes than in Britain. Even Irish newspapers, with the political divide more recent than in other British Isles, tend to go with names that have few political connotations like the *Irish Post* and the *Irish News*. In France, however, *The Berry Republican*, the *Lorraine Republican*, the *Republic*, the *Independent* and the "New Republic of the Center West" all reflect political leanings stemming from the French move for independence.

United States

American newspaper titles generally follow a location-function format: the location of the newspaper followed by its purpose. Furthermore, American newspapers often represent past mergers. For instance, the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel or the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette. American newspaper titles fall into several broad categories:

- Time Morning/Noon/Evening -- Morning News
- Political Ideology -- Republic, Democrat-Gazette
- Information Transmission -- Record, Times, Post, News, Courant, Herald, Gazette
- Celestial -- Sun, Globe, Star
- Observational Power -- Observer, Sentinel, Tribune

From the data it is evident that corporate policies have effects on newspaper slogans. All eleven Gannett papers studied have the online slogan "Part of the USA Today Network." While print slogans are more ubiquitous, online slogans are rare. Besides the Gannett papers, only six newspaper have online slogans. These range from the benign "Covering Northeast Ohio" for Cleveland's newspaper The Plain Dealer, to the more aspirational "Democracy Dies in Darkness" for the Washington Post. The New Jersey Star-Ledger, which has no print slogan, has one of the oddest online slogans: "True Jersey."

The print slogans for the majority of American papers fall into several thematic categories:

- Achievements -- Miami Herald: "Winner of 22 Pulitzer Prizes"; Seattle Times: "Winner of 10 Pulitzer Prizes; Independent and Locally Owned For More Than 121 years"
- Purpose -- Kansas City Star "Keeping You Connected"
- Public Interest -- Baltimore Sun's "Light For All"; Washington Post's "Democracy Dies in Darkness"
- Boasts -- Un Gran Periodico "A Great Newspaper"; Pittsburgh Post-Gazette "One of America's Great Newspapers"
- Combinations -- St. Louis Post-Dispatch "Serving the Public Since 1878; Winner of 18 Pulitzer Prizes"

Russia

The Soviet newspapers in Russia that survived the chaos of 1990s brought their titles online, though sometimes in a transformed or abbreviated way: Komsomolskaya pravda became kp.kz online, for

example. The names given to newly founded newspapers were surprisingly not much different. Russia's new titles signaled a sort of re-birth of Russia's pre-Soviet traditional values.

The titles of Russian newspapers today fall into several broad categories:

- Geography – The Moscow Times, Delovoi Peterburg (Business Peterburg)
- Time /Morning/Noon/Evening – Vechernyaya Moskva (Evening Moscow)
- Freedom – Nezavisimya gazeta (Independent newspaper), Novaya gazeta (New newspaper)
- Speed and transmission – Moskovskie novosti (Moscow news), Vedomosti (News/Records), Izvestiya (News)
- Profession/Labor/Business/Occupation – Commercant (Businessman), Trud (Labor), Moskovskiy komsomolets (Moscow Komsomol member)
- Ideas/Arguments/Genre – Argumenty i fakty (Arguments and Facts), Argumenty nedeli (Arguments of the week), Literaturnaya gazeta (Literature newspaper)
- Political views/ideology – Komsomolskaya pravda (The Truth of Komsomol), Pravda (The Truth), Parlamentskaya gazeta (Parliamentary newspaper)

Kazakhstan

It was challenging to categorize Kazakhstani newspaper titles because there are not many legacy newspapers left as of today. Almost every title under analysis has its own unique category. Kazakhstani newspaper titles went through a transformation in the 1990s when the nation gained its independence from the U.S.S.R. Not all Soviet brands disappeared; some were creatively transformed to keep their recognizable Soviet elements but added new elements. "Komsomolskaya PravDA-Kazakhstan" is one example. Here we observed three games being played: the words "Komsomolskaya Pravda" are kept as the root or the key anchor; then a new meaning is embedded by splitting the word "pravda" into two pieces with separate meanings: "prav" – meaning "you are right" and "da" meaning "yes." The final outcome if interpreted into English would be something close to: "Komsomol: Yes, you are right". Thus, what we get is creative playing with words and sounds to create additional new modern flavor.

Some Kazakhstani titles reflect double associations: location and time, history and transmission, freedom and location. Some titles have unique connotations. For example, Karavan newspaper (Karavan means "caravan") has Silk Road implication:

the route of this ancient trade route went through the territory of contemporary Kazakhstan. Thus, this title has both historical and transmission connotations.

In general, the titles of Kazakhstani newspapers today represent classic news brands with the connotation of time, location, or means of transmission, and fall into several broad categories:

- Geography – Turkistan (Name of the city), Almaty Akshamy (The evening of Almaty), Astana Times
- Time /Morning/Noon/Evening – Vecherniy Almaty (Evening Almaty)
- Time as Epoch – Kazakhstan zamani (The Times of Kazakhstan, Vremya (The time),
- Freedom – Yegemen Kazakhstan (Independent Kazakhstan)
- Clarity/Quality of News/ – Aikyn (Clear)
- Speed and transmission – Express-K, Karavan (Caravan), Izvestiya- Kazakhstan (News-Kazakhstan),
- Letter /Word/Language – Ana tili (Native Language), Liter (The Letter)
- Political views/ideology – Zhas Alash (Young Alash), Kazakhstanskaya pravda (The Truth of Kazakhstan),

India

India has a diverse selections of titles and slogans, which is reflective of its immense cultural and linguistic diversity. While its English language newspapers generally follow the British model of naming conventions, local language newspapers are more diverse. These run the gamut of languages such as Bangla, Hindi, Malayalam, Telugu, Tamil, Gujrati; Marathi, etc. The titles of local language Indian newspaper titles fall into several broad categories:

- Patriotism -- Mathrubhumi (“Mother Land”); Deshabhimani (“Patriot”); Vijay Karnataka (“Victory” Karnataka)
- Time -- Sakal (“Morning”); Prabhat Khabar (“Morning News”)
- Religious -- Dainik Jagran (Daily “Jāgran” a Hindu ritual); Andhra Jyothi (Andhra “Divine Light”); The Hindu
- Public’s Voice -- Lokmat (“People’s Opinion”); Prajavani (“Voice of the People”)
- Information Transmission -- Bartaman (“Current”); Gujarat Samachar (Gujarat “News”); Dina Thanthi “Daily Mail” (“Daily Mail”)
- Aspirations -- Nai Dunia (“New World”); Anandabazar Patrika (“Happiness Bazar Newspaper”)

- Observational Power -- Sakshi (“Witness”)

Few Indian newspapers have online slogans. However print slogans are more common. Many newspapers’ slogan were merely lists of the locations they printed. Besides those, the print slogans for the majority of Indian papers fall into a few thematic categories:

- Boasts -- Pudhari (Widely circulated non biased and fearless newspaper); Lokmat (Readers first preference Marathi national newspaper); Anandabazar Patrika (The most widely circulated first Bangla daily in India); Vijay Karnataka (Pride of Young Karnataka)
- History -- The Hindu (India’s National Newspaper Since 1878); Samaja (98 Years of Publication); Deshabhimani (Established in 1942).
- New Ideas -- Navbharat Times (Young India, Young Paper); Nai Dunia (New Thinking, New Style)

South Africa

Despite South Africa’s eleven recognized national languages, only newspapers from three languages fulfilled the criteria to be represented in this study: English, Afrikaans, and Zulu. The paucity of linguistic diversity in legacy news outlet names may be a reflection of the country’s apartheid history which suppressed literacy and economic opportunities among black African populations. The majority of South African newspapers studied were English and to a lesser extent Afrikaans (a language spoken predominantly by both white afrikaners and coloureds¹). Only two Zulu papers fulfilled the criteria for this study. Furthermore, South African newspapers exhibited high levels of corporate consolidation, with only three companies owning all but three newspapers represented in this study. With a few exceptions, South African newspapers do not mention their locations in their titles, e.g. it is the Mail & Guardian not the Johannesburg Mail & Guardian. South African newspaper titles fall into several broad categories:

- Time -- Cape Times, Isolezwe (Sunday)
- Freedom -- The Independent, Die Burger (The Citizen)
- Information transmission -- Herald, Daily Dispatch, Daily News, Times, Beeld (Image)
- Public Interest -- Mail & Guardian; The Witness, Volksblad (Peoples Paper)

¹ Coloured is not a racial pejorative but is a preferred term to describe those of traditionally mixed-ethnic heritage in South Africa.

- Celestial -- The Mercury, Die Son (The Sun); Ilanga (Sun)

While few South African newspapers have online slogans, many have print slogans. They fall into the following thematic categories:

- History -- The Star (130 Years / Established October 17 1887); Daily News (140 Years); The Mercury (Since 1852 / Get a Head Start)
- Knowledge -- Die Son (The Sun Sees All); The Sowetan (In the Know On the Move)
- Public Voice -- The Herald (Your news, your views, your voice / SA's oldest newspaper established in Port Elizabeth in 1845); Pretoria News (The Paper for the People of Tshwane)
- Boast -- Mail & Guardian (Africa's Best Read); Isolezwe ("Crossing the Full River:" a metaphor that means a desire which goes beyond the possible.)

Discussion

Findings suggest that while newspapers in each country in this analysis have unique names, most names reflect cultural identities and can be categorized into broad themes of function, information delivery, grandiosity, uplift, universality or intelligent observation. Some names refer to a unique historical legacy such as Motherland, Pioneer, Patriot, the Liberation. Some represent cultural values – Liberty, the People's Paper. Still others reflect geographic symbols – the Mountain, or the (specific) River and the like. Some names hew closely to their original purpose; Le Monde, in France (The World), still attempts to bring a global viewpoint to its pages. But some newspapers named the Democrat or the Republican have little to do with the political parties of the same names. Many newspapers derived their titles from the dissemination of news itself – the Post, the News, the Dispatch, or the Telegraph, for example – or from the passage of time: the Times, the Sun, the Star – or from the city, county or region in which it is located, or even the World, or the Globe, which by its title brings news from everywhere.

While not all names were chosen to reflect the anticipated readership, newspapers have historically chosen names with some thought as to the symbolic nature of the choice, a current political situation, historical circumstances, globalization, or geography. In many cases, the historical reason for the newspaper's title has been left behind, but the name remains. The iconic Cleveland "Plain Dealer" came about in 1842, when two brothers, A.N. Gray and J.W. Gray bought the Cleveland Advertiser and renamed it.

"Had we called it the Torpedo, timid ladies never would have touched it. Had we called it the Truth Teller, no one would believe a word in it! Had we called it the Thunder Dealer or Lightning Spitter, it would have blown Uncle Sam's mail bags sky high. But our democracy and modesty suggest the only name that befits the occasion, the PLAIN DEALER" (Bernhard, 2007).

In the vernacular of the day, a "plain dealer" was one who dealt straightforwardly and honestly, often the goal of a free press.

Many newspapers have taken advantage of the digital space by reinventing themselves, creating websites that do not match in title, form, or even substance to their print alter-egos. NJ.com is the website for the Star-Ledger, Cornwalllive.co.uk is the website for the Cornish Guardian. Casual online readers might not connect these website to their print alter-egos. Other newspapers such as the Boston Globe or the San Francisco Chronicle have created two websites for one paper, boston.com and bostonglobe.com, and Sfgate.com and Sfchronicle.com respectively. South African newspapers, with their high level of consolidation are extreme examples of an opposing trend. At least eight different newspapers share the website iol.co.za, from the Star to the Daily Dispatch, with only a forward slash differentiating their online presence. Yet many other newspapers have sought continuity rather than change with their online presence reflecting their print presence. This in line with findings suggesting readers consume and recall news online just as they do in print (d'Haenens, Jankowski and Heuvelman, 2004).

We found that similar names exist in divergent cultures. We found that newspapers names tend to fall into one or more of a series of categories: geography, time, patriotism, observational power, public interest, religion, and news dissemination. Likewise, we found that newspaper slogans are generally alike, and fall into categories of boasts, celebrations of the papers history, spreading of knowledge, or public interest. The differences between the titles and slogans of Eastern and Western newspapers may be explained by different value systems. The high level of diversity in Indian titles and slogans reflects research that suggests cultural identities are more resilient than is often credited (Morris, 2012). Indian slogans may borrow from English colonial tradition but retain their own distinct identity.

When unique titles are present, they are often specific to cultural or historical heritage. The Sacramento Bee credits James McClatchy, founder of the paper in 1857, for coming up with the name. In its

first edition, the paper called attention to its moniker and said it was adopted “‘as being different from that of any other paper in the state (California) and as also being emblematic of the industry which is to prevail in its every department.’ So the promise was a paper as busy as a bee” (Nauman, 2011).

Legacy newspaper titles may have been grandiose, such as the *World*, but when it comes to slogans attached to the papers, the themes often get even grander. “Light for All,” or “Texas’ Leading Newspaper,” or even “Democracy Dies in Darkness” connote more lofty aspirations than what most newspapers can accomplish with regularity every day. Aspirational themes and slogans are an attempt to uplift what can sometimes be a daily litany of bad news – death and destruction, war and strife, corruption and crime – to a higher level of discourse. Slogans of newspapers further extrapolate their newspaper’s purpose and intent. Slogans like “The Voice of the Irish,” or “All the News in Normandy” reflect the same regional ties as the newspaper titles.

This study shows that newspaper titles are symbolic and have resonance across geographic and cultural divides. No matter what the title’s origin, its name, i.e. its brand becomes associated with the news it brings to the public. That brand is cherished as a symbol of reliability and trust. It does not matter if that title is in Britain or India; France or Kazakhstan, readers of that publication come to expect a certain style of news to be associated with that title. Old-line, traditional newspapers use old-fashioned titles like *Times*, *News*, or *Guardian* to connote steadiness and reliability. Newer titles often include references to geography or regions, to underscore a connection to a specific area or culture.

This study was of printed-origin newspapers, but some online-only publications, in an effort to be modern and to differentiate themselves, chose names of people (Huffington Post, Bloomberg News) or more unusual titles (*Vox*, *Vice*, *The Daily Beast*) as a way of denoting their modern look at the world. (*The Daily Beast* is an example of life imitating art, as the title of the news website was taken from the 1938 satirical novel “Scoop,” by the English writer Evelyn Waugh.

A few contemporary Russian titles have an imperial flavor (*Kommersant*, *Vedomosti*) in terms of how they sound and the images they evoke. These titles originate from the pre-Soviet era. *Kommersant*, for example, was launched in 1909 but has one interesting detail on its “About us” page: it says that the newspaper was not published from 1917 until 1990, due to the circumstances beyond newspaper’s power. In other words, the newspaper was not published during the Soviet era because Russian Bol-

sheviks closed all newspapers and launched purely politicized Soviet news publications. That is why 1917, the year of the October Revolution in Russia, gave birth to many Russian newspapers that are still around.

Why did Russian newspaper managers revive these “imperial” brands rather than introducing a modern more neutral news brand? This could be explained by the “nostalgia” phenomenon in Russia, which was interestingly explored by Serguei Alex (Oushakine, 2007). “In the scholarship on cultural changes on post socialist countries it has become a cliché to single out nostalgia as an increasingly prominent symbolic practice through which the legacy of the previous period makes itself visible” (Oushakine, 2007, p. 451).

A similar pattern or trend is evident in today’s Kazakhstan, though the word “nostalgia” does not fully capture the essence of this phenomenon. The reuse of turkic sounding titles with historical connotations emphasize the strategic geography of a region evoking “great power.” These revived titles, with specific cultural and symbolic meanings, are used as a currency in the new marketplace of attention; a form of branding.

There are, of course, many predictable parallels between Russian and Kazakhstani newspaper titles, because these two states had been under one joint cultural and political space for 70 years controlled by the Soviet ideology. Kazakhstan has its own versions (with Kazakhstani content) of three Soviet-Russian newspaper titles:

- a) *Komsomolskaya pravda-Kazakhstan* (The Komsomol truth-Kazakhstan)
- b) *Argumenty i fakty-Kazakhstan* (Arguments and facts-Kazakhstan)
- c) *Izvestiya-Kazakhstan*.

During the Soviet era, Kazakhstan also had its *Sotsialistik Kazakhstan* newspaper (“Socialist Kazakhstan”) which is now transformed into *Yegemen Kazakhstan* (“Sovereign/Independent Kazakhstan”). In the Soviet era, the differences in titles among Soviet regional newspapers were of a linguistic nature, rather than political.

Today’s Russian and Kazakhstani newspapers that have retained their Soviet title roots comfortably and coexist in contemporary news space. They promote themselves as modernized, refurbished new post-Socialist generation newspapers. The content of these newspapers has nothing to do with the Soviet propaganda anymore. Thus their Soviet spirit is manifested in the titles only. This manifestation is symbolic, because the substance of the papers changed to embrace the new cultural values of contemporary Kazakhstan.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union when a significant volume of linguistic representations of public spaces in Kazakhstan changed (names of the some cities, streets, shops, parks) it was surprising that the prominent newspapers decided to keep their original Soviet signifiers. For example, the word “pravda” meaning “the truth” signals that this is a prominent newspaper brand component. The word “pravda” defined and still defines the location and the cultural origin of the paper. In other words it signifies an authentic cultural and geopolitical belonging. It is rare if not impossible to imagine such a combination in newspaper titles like “The Washington Pravda” or “The Komsomol Herald.” This is because the two elements embedded here contain mutually exclusive meanings. They are like a cultural oxymoron. Thus, the Western-born “Post” or “Times” did not penetrate much to the media brands in Kazakhstan and Russia.

It seems ironic that newspapers still want to employ the word “pravda” (the truth) in their titles today. Interestingly, two groups in Russia were competing for having the monopoly for using “Pravda” brand name: the journalists who worked in “Pravda” for many years since 1980s and the owners. (Pravda.ru, 2015). Eventually, the court made a decision that both qualify to use the brand title. Thus, there are two Pravdas in Russia: one is Pravda.ru (digitally present only) and the Pravda newspaper, which now is the official news outlet for Russia’s Communist party

To sum up, the titles in Russia and Kazakhstan are the result of a compromise between Soviet space and modernized contemporary space.

Limitations

This study was necessarily limited by the countries that were selected. Future studies could look at

other countries to see if the patterns hold up there as well. In particular East-Asian, Middle-Eastern, and Latin American countries could be studied, since the origins of those nations are far different than the ones that this study encompasses.

Conclusions

This study has investigated the range of print newspaper titles in seven representative countries – the United States, United Kingdom, France, Russia, Kazakhstan, India and South Africa. The nations were chosen for their leadership, and comprise relatively new republics like Kazakhstan and the South African Republic, news leaders like the United States and the United Kingdom, and older European nations which have undergone changes from monarchy to republic like France and the U.K. India was included to reflect a nation of ancient tradition yet modern leadership in technology. Russia and Kazakhstan were included as representatives of post-Soviet countries. The range of nations was not meant to be comprehensive, but taken together, they represent enough diversity in the way newspapers have evolved.

While examining the newspaper titles, we looked at common trends and patterns in titles and slogans of the print newspapers in the selected countries. We looked at their meanings, the culture or society that they reflect and how digital versions of those newspapers both incorporated the newspaper titles and slogans into their versions while coming up with different ones, often to reflect the immediacy of the online news. Titles and slogans were analyzed for their function, branding, and meaning. While it has attempted to categorize titles and slogans into recognizable and meaningful themes, it has in so doing highlighted the incredible diversity of these titles and slogans.

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