

American Automobile Names

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1 Introduction

As early as 1933 a committee of the U.S. government noted that the rise of the automobile was likely to transform language:

It is probable that no invention of such far reaching importance was ever diffused with such rapidity or so quickly exerted influences that ramified through the national culture, transforming even habits of thought and language.¹

While a number of studies have, in the meantime, dealt with the automobile's influence on the *habits of thought* and on society in general², literature on the way it has affected *habits of language* is rather scarce. Apart from Aronoff's (1981) study of American car names as a semantic field only a passing mention here and there has come to my attention. One of the more extensive of these is Werkman (1974: 231ff), who compares trademarks for brassieres, perfumes, automobiles and cigarettes in France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. He analyses their construction patterns, their linguistic origin, the product information they contain and their psychology. It is interesting to note that this is not a linguistic but an economic study. The chapter "Christening" in Anderson's *Story of the American Automobile* (1950: 90-98) concerns itself with various aspects of the designations for early automobiles, and Grieshaber's (1987) article on "A Rolls By Any Other Name ... Would It Sell As Sweet?" argues that onomastic research should not only concern itself with personal and place names but also with other fields such as onomastic humour, names of companies, businesses and organisations, animal names, and also automotive names.

There are various aspects to the impact of the automobile on language. First of all there are the designations for the various generic terms denoting various kinds of cars like *cabriolet*, *hardtop*, *sedan*, *4WD*. Only a tiny part of this vocabulary belongs to general language. Most of it forms, together with designations for the various parts of a car, a language variety only used by car producers, designers, mechanics, etc.: a language for the specific purpose of automobiling (cf. ch. 2.1.4). The names of certain types of cars like *1972 Chevrolet Chevelle Malibu Sedan*, *1958 Pontiac Star Chief Catalina four-door hardtop sedan* or *1971 Ford Maverick Grabber two-door sedan* are part of this nomenclature but situated more to the fringe of it as they are not only used among insiders but also in

¹ *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, Report of the President's Committee on Social Trends, quoted from Flink, 1975: 2.

² Cf. e.g. the studies on the automobile in literature and popular culture, Becker, 1989; Casey, 1991; Dettelbach, 1976; Lewis, 1980/81a; or Pettifer/Turner, 1984; and studies of its social impact such as Berger, 1979; Finch, 1992; Flink, 1975; 1988; or Rae, 1965 and 1971).

communication with outsiders, especially consumers, for marketing purposes. Only this part of automobile language, the names bestowed upon a certain car, will be the focus of this study.

Another interesting aspect of automobile language is beyond the scope of this thesis: the way the importance of the car has influenced everyday language and given it new words, phrases and metaphors. Some words were coined to designate new realities that came into existence with the car like *motel*, *drive-time radio* or *automobile* itself. It took some time before a common designation was accepted for the new machine:

Early enthusiasts, variously known as autocaristas, chauffeurs or autoneers, even had difficulty in giving a name to the newfangled novelty. Autowain, self-motor, petrocar, autobat, diamote, autogo, pneumobile and ipsometer were some of the more serious contenders. (Pettifer/Turner, 1984: 11)

There was even a contest for the best name. In 1895 a Chicago newspaper awarded the creator of the term *motorcycle* a \$500 prize³. Many other words assumed a new meaning like *car* itself, or *park*:

Car storage had always been a problem for the motorist when he left his suburban garage behind. Gradually, businesses and municipalities supplied lots where cars could be left while the owner carried out his or her chores. Some such lots were beautified with plantings and minimal landscaping, which earned them the name *car park*; hence, the verb *to park* became applicable to automobiles, corsets, and even chewing gum. (Finch, 1992: 101)

A sub-category of words assuming a new meaning are car names that came to be used as common nouns. The following examples have come to my attention: the expressions of excellence *It's a doozy*, derived from *Duesenberg*, a famous luxury car of the Twenties and Thirties (cf. Finch, 1992: 148; or Duke (1978: 29) with the spelling *Doosy*), and *to be the Cadillac of something* meaning "to be the best of a class" (cf. McCall, 1982: 4) as in "the Cadillac of vacuum cleaners" (Lakoff, 1987: 87). *Edsel* (cf. ch. 1.2.1) is said to have become a synonym of "failure" (cf. Georgano, 1992: 202) and *MT* from Ford's *Model T* is now used for any machine that works reliably without offering any superfluous conveniences (cf. Redling, 1989: 117). *Ford* has been a particularly prolific source for the formation of new expressions: people *went A-Fording* meaning "to go on a pleasure trip in a Ford" (cf. Wik, 1972: 37), workers of the Ford company showed a *Fordization of the face* which produces a *Ford whisper* meaning "a

³ For an overview on the public debate about a "proper" name for the new machine in its early days cf. Anderson, 1950: 90ff.

frozen expression" and "clandestine communication at the workplace" (cf. Flink, 1988: 119) and there is even a *Ford Bible*, "directives for branch agencies in thick loose-leaf operations manuals" (cf. Flink, 1988: 252). I am not sure how widely these expressions are used or were used, all of them are certainly restricted to certain regional, stylistic or other varieties. WT gives only *doozy*, offering a different etymology, however: "perhaps alteration of *daisy*" and marking it as "slang", and *model t* but with a different meaning to Redling (1989: 117). According to WT it is used as an adjective meaning "1. belonging to an initial or rudimentary phase of development. [...] 2. old-fashioned, outmoded." WT does not offer any of the above-mentioned coinages with *Ford* as a constituent but gives four other ones: the zero-derived common noun *ford*, "slang. a highly successful fashion design; often, a low-priced copy of a successful high-priced style in women's dress", *ford cup*, "a viscometer used for testing paints, varnishes, and lacquers", *fordism* (cf. ch. 1.3) and *fordize*, "1. to standardize in the interests of efficiency and mass production [...] 2.a. to organize and control [...] as if on an assembly line [...] b. to deprive of individuality."

The automobile has also created a new source of metaphors and comparisons. Reinecke/Link (1987: 436) give examples from German discussions of political economy:

Die suggestive Illustration ökonomischer Sachverhalte mit Hilfe von Autometaphern gehört vermutlich zu den fundamentalen Verfahren der bundesdeutschen 'öffentlichen Meinung': Keine Wirtschaftsdebatte kommt ohne *Motor*, ohne *Ankurbeln*, *Anspringen*, *Stottern* oder *Bremsen*, zuweilen freilich auch *Pannen* aus.

Car metaphors seem to be extraordinarily frequent in dedications to female partners in automotive literature: Finch (1992: 5), for instance, dedicates his efforts to "Linda, my spark plug", and Yates (1983: 2) his to "my lady Pamela, part Ferrari, part Mercedes-Benz [...]". The pervasive influence of automobile metaphors and comparisons is well illustrated by examples from such distant fields of discourse as the foreword of a linguistics textbook, an introduction to grammatical theory, a commentary on consumer esthetics and an advertisement for a cough syrup:

If reading a typical textbook of transformational grammar can be compared to watching an automobile commercial, reading Levi's book can be compared to test-driving a car on rugged terrain. (Levi, 1978: xi)

[...] in der neueren Grammatiktheorie verhalte es sich mittlerweile ähnlich wie in der Automobilindustrie: jedes Jahr ein neues Modell! (Welte, 1985: 26)

[...] they argue for market segmentation and product differentiation in the performing arts - a different offering for the peasants than for the aristocrats - a chauffeured Pinto as well as a Lincoln Continental. (Kassarjian, 1980: 127)⁴

Silomat Hustenstiller mit 'Anti-Blockier-System' (*Funkuhr* 22/01/1993: 85)

Some of these expressions are only used in special varieties like *to take somebody for a ride* used by Mafia killers with the meaning "to eliminate somebody" (cf. Finch, 1992: 95)

The automobile has even been credited with initiating a completely new form of communication: Class D citizens band (CB) radio communication (cf. Powell, 1980/81). CB communication is characterized by the use of numbers instead of certain expressions to minimize transmission time, by the use of a special jargon and the adoption of a "handle", a self-selected nickname like *Ashcan*, *Screaming Eagle*, etc. by the CBer. But the most important point about CB communication is that language is almost exclusively used in phatic function, it is a means of satisfying the need for companionship on long solitary interstate travel without being concerned for the transmission of ideas. "It is a set of formulas as aimless and ritualistic as the act of driving in a circle, verbal cruising." (Powell, 1980/81: 654).

1.1 Names of means of transport

When thinking of proper nouns, personal names and place names come to mind immediately, and one might have difficulty thinking of any other proper nouns. Introductions to onomastics consider these almost exclusively. But people tend to personify animals and things to which they have a particularly close relationship, and as quasi-humans these are also invested with names. Bach (1953: 246) explains this with anthropomorphous tendencies in primitive thought ("die anthropomorphe Haltung des naiven Denkens"). In this way pets are treated like members of the family and are given "first names"⁵. People personify not only pets but also inanimate things. Apart from houses and weapons means of transport always seem to have raised particularly intimate feelings in man⁶, which is documented by a rich pattern of names of means of transport.

⁴ The Pinto was a small, low-priced Ford of the Seventies, the Lincoln Continental is a very prestigious luxury car.

⁵ Of course, I do not speak of the so-called "animal names" like *golden retriever*, *setter*, *alsatian* etc. but of personal names like the one of president Clinton's cat, *Socks*, or those of "film stars" like the horse *Fury* or the dog *Lassie*.

⁶ Until only a short time ago, the use of vessels, and thus their naming, too, was an almost exclusively male phenomenon.

The first recorded ship bearing a "personal name" that I know of is the *Argo* of Greek legend. Ship names are documented from many seafaring nations: Russian and German ship names were studied in several articles [cf. Bach's (1953: 247) bibliography], as well as canoe names in Martinique (cf. Price/Price, 1966) and British ship names (cf. e.g. Manning/Walker, 1959). Examples of British ship names are *Victory*, *Warspite*, *Orion*, *Ajax*, *Greyhound*, *Dreadnought*, *Triumph*, *Revenge*, *Swiftsure*, *Happy Return*, *Mayflower*, *Mauretania*, *Miss Conduct*, *Wild Cat*, or *Huckleberry Finn* among many others (cf. Dunkling, 1974: 218f). Manning/Walker (1959: 17) give an interesting introduction to the topic:

[...] of all creations of men's hands, the ship - and especially the sailing ship - is surely the nearest approach to a living entity, possessing individual traits which distinguish her from her sisters, even of the same class. Small wonder, then, that the sailor, ever a sentimentalist at heart, has always endowed his vessel with an almost human personality and given her a name; or that, deprived as he is for long periods of the society of womankind, that personality should invariably be feminine - though by some illogical thought process he does not demand that the name should follow suit, and sees nothing incongruous in referring to an *Agamemnon* or a *Benbow* as "she".

The identification of man and ship can become so close that certain magic rituals or taboos associated with personal names (cf. Frazer, 1989: 355ff) may also be applied to the name of one's vessel. Price/Price (1966: 157) record that in Martinique a fisherman who thinks that somebody or something has bewitched him or wishes him evil tries to alter the name of his canoe in order to confuse the forces of evil. As Crystal (1987: 9) points out these attitudes can also be found in industrialized countries as it would probably not be possible to name a new ship *Titanic*. A kind of superstition was probably also involved in the naming of some of the above-mentioned ship names. Names like *Victory*, *Triumph*, *Repulse*, *Revenge*, *Defiance* or *Swiftsure* are clearly programmatic in character and obviously bear a wish for the future.

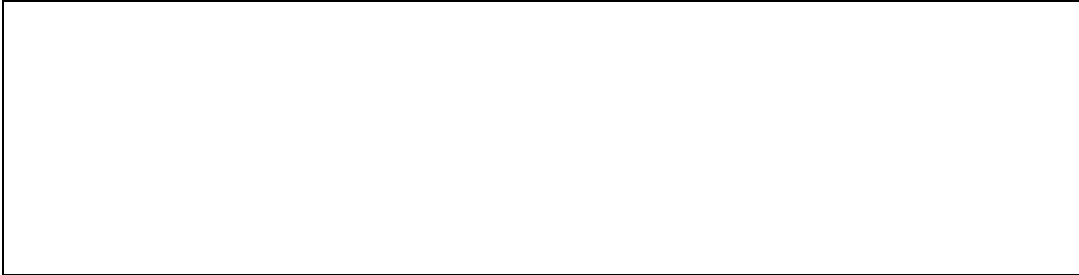
The practice of baptizing ships did not stop with advances in technology. The inventor of the first sea-going submarine, for instance, referred explicitly to an ancient naming tradition when he called his vessel *Argonaut*. When the possibilities to travel by land improved, these new means of transport were named, too. British stage coaches bore names like *Vivid*, *Lightning*, *High Flyer*, *Talisman*, *Vixen*, *Arrow*, *Dart*, *Comet* or *Quicksilver* (cf. Dunkling, 1974: 222), some of which, incidentally, later came to be used on cars, too. The names of stage coaches were then, together with new ones, used on their successors, trains and locomotives. In Britain, famous trains were called *Broadsman*, *Flying Scotsman*, *Master Cutler*, *White Rose*, *Red Rose*, *Welsh Dragon*, or *Statesman*

(cf. Dunkling, 1974: 222). It is interesting to note that some of the trains were named after famous racehorses like *Sandwich*, *Spearmint* or *Pretty Polly* (cf. Dunkling, 1974: 222), because words from the lexical field "horse" also form an important source of automobile names (cf. ch. 4.3.2.3). The phenomenon of named trains and/or locomotives is not exclusively British as Dunkling (1974: 219) thinks but can also be found in Germany, where trains got personal names from Greek legend like *Pluto* or *Titan* in the early days of the railway (cf. Bach, 1953: 247) and are named after historic personalities like *Gottfried Semper* or *Friedrich Liszt* today, the USA, where names of Homeric heroes like *Achilles* were bestowed upon the first locomotives of the Great Western (cf. Dubost, 1990: 29), and probably elsewhere. One of the first American race cars, Ford's 999 was named after the express train between New York and Chicago (cf. Waitley, 1979: 117).

The interrelation between the various names of transport nomenclatures becomes even more striking when we turn to aircrafts. The tradition of "baptizing" means of transport was also carried on when the aircraft was invented, famous examples being the *Spirit of St. Louis*, or *Enola Gay* and *Bockscar*, the two airplanes that dropped the atomic bombs, *Little Boy* and *Fat Boy*, on Hiroshima and Nagasaki (cf. Butler, 1982: 267). It has not even stopped at more recent inventions like space rockets (*Sputnik*, *Explorer*, *Apollo* etc.) and space shuttles (*Challenger*, *Discovery*, *Endeavour* etc.). Automobile design and technology has, especially since the Second World War, been closely related to aircraft design and technology: the technological relationship becomes clear from the fact that many automobile manufacturers also produce aircrafts. General Motors, for instance, owned Allison, the aircraft engine company for some time (cf. Bayley, 1986: 13), the Ford Motor Company built the first all-metal, tri-motor airplane to be used commercially (cf. Campbell, 1964: 171) and in Europe BMW initially produced aircrafts (its brand mark still is a propeller; cf. Figure 1-1). When US automobile production came to a halt in 1942 many of the factories were used for aircraft production, so that 75 percent of all the American aircrafts used in the war were produced by the automobile industry (cf. Georgano, 1992: 160). Examples of automobile design inspired by aircrafts are provided by Ferdinand Porsche, who left VW for some time to assist in the construction of the V-1 rockets Britain was bombed with (cf. Finch, 1992: 220ff), and in the USA, Harley Earl, head designer at GM, sought inspiration in the fighter bomber *Lockheed P-38* (cf. Emptas/Lemeunier, 1989: 30). Automobile advertising has again and again reinforced the connection between planes and cars (cf. ch. 4.3.3.1). It is not surprising that this interrelationship also shows in the names; more than one aircraft name has been the "godparent" of a car name: the *B-26 Marauder* and *P-47 Thunderbolt* fighter bomber of World War II, for instance, gave their name to

the *Mercury Marauder* and the *Chrysler Thunderbolt*, and the *Buick LeSabre* and the *Chevrolet Corvette* were named after military jets (cf. Bayley, 1986: 13f).

FIGURE 1-1: THE BMW TRADE MARK SYMBOLIZING A PROPELLER



When the horseless carriage made its appearance in the world of transport, not only new designations like *horseless carriage*, *self-propelled vehicle* or *automobile* were introduced, but the practice of naming individual vehicles was continued. America's first recorded automotive vehicle, a land- and sea-going steam craft built in Philadelphia in 1805, was called *Orukter Amphibolos* by its inventor Oliver Evans (cf. Kimes/Clark, 1989: 527). Initially the automobile was hand-crafted and often no more than one specimen was built by a single artisan. But when it changed into a mass produced commodity at the turn of the century, namers ran into unexpected problems, which are nicely illustrated by the difficulties of two Philadelphian producers of electric cars, Henry Morris and Pedro Salmon:

At first, each car carried its own name, in the manner of railroad locomotives or ships, *Crawford Wagon*, *Fish Wagon*, *Skeleton Wagon*, and so on, but they soon ran out of names and for 1896 their vehicles were simply called *Electrobats*. (Georgano, 1992: 16)

The descendants of the ship-, train- and aircraft names are thus not really today's automobile names, as the brand names bestowed by the manufacturers, but rather the "personal names" individuals "christen" their "family car" with. The former names were the result of an intimate, personifying relationship between man and his individual vessel. Although manufacturers also try to personify the machine they offer (cf. ch. 4.3.1), they cannot help the fact that thousands of cars of the same name meet on the roads. Many people, however, like to feel that their personal car is "special", so they re-name it in an attempt at renewed personification and individualization. Dieckmann (1994), for instance, speaks lovingly and longingly about his *Hummelchen*, his family's Trabant, that he regards as the most important symbol of his identity as an East German. One of the most famous personal names bestowed upon a car is *Little Bastard*, the name James Dean had painted on his 1956 Porsche 550 Spyder, in which he crashed to his death. Examples collected on the Virgin Islands are *Boopsie*, *Trouble Man*,

Baby Shaf, Sad Mover, Apollo II, Consider Me, Nigger Charlie, Love Bug (this is also the name of a humanized VW *Beetle* in a Walt Disney movie), *Mr. Lightning, The Different, Buccaneer* and *Rated X* (cf. Dillard, 1976: 69). Bonheim (1984) collects a number of these affectionate names in the parking lot of a German university and explains this private naming phenomenon in terms of *langue* and *parole*:

Roland Barthes speaks of a 'code' in the automobile world, unusual in that there is evidently a general system, a *langue*, but no corresponding *parole*: the customer has no choice but to accept what the system offers. [...] Barthes is certainly right when he supposes that the automobile code, by contrast, allows of practically no *parole* on the part of the motorist. On the other hand, the gesture of removing the factory-made, chrome-plated label and creating the blazon of the special, appropriate, hand-painted name, seems to constitute at least an attempt on the part of the consumer to evade the dictates of the *langue* with which he is presented by the manufacturers. (Bonheim, 1984: 230)

It is necessary to distinguish between individual personal names for cars, and affectionate nicknames that become so successful for a certain brand that they are once again used by a larger part of the language community like *Tin Lizzie, Topolino* or *Beetle*. Apart from affectionate names programmatic names can also be found. This is especially true of the "mottos" or sentence names Dillard (1976: 61ff) finds on many cars in West Africa: *No King as God, The Lord is my shepherd, Christ is my hope, The Last Ride, Love is Nice, Life is War*.

This individualization of one's car can also be achieved by means of bumper stickers and vanity license plates. Finch (1992: 323f) distinguishes three categories of bumper stickers: the first delivers factual messages (*This car climbed Mount Washington*), the second is used by car owners who try to tell the world something more personal about themselves (*Honk if you love Jesus* or *I'd rather be hang-gliding*) and the third is the would-be humorous statement (*Beam me up, Scotty, there's no intelligent life down here*). The use of all three of these can be interpreted as an attempt to personalize one's vehicle from all the other identical, mass-produced automobiles. Especially in the second group one's car is additionally seen as an extension of oneself, something that is also important for the meaning of car names given by the manufacturers (cf. ch. 4.1). Personalisation is also aimed at when vanity license plates are used. In the USA license plates have been issued since 1903, when the practice started in Massachusetts. These usually carry some indication of the issuing state and a number combination allocated according to various systems (indicating e.g. the Congressional District of the issuing office or the weight of the vehicle). In many states "combinations of up to six letters or fancy letter-number combinations may

be obtained upon payment of an extra fee" (Marvin, 1971: 465) - the vanity license plate. As it is in most states only obligatory to carry a license plate at the back of the car, the front can also be used for individualization. Examples of the more or less inspired texts on such vanity license plates are given by Finch (1992: 324): *My Toy*, *I Sue 4U*, *Coco Van* or *I Doc*, one that has been featured in the press recently is *L84AD8* ("late for a date") on the Ferrari of O.J. Simpson's ex-wife (cf. Turque et al., 1994: 22). As far as I can see most of these texts are a total enigma for the uninitiated observer, though, as initials for instance do not display any message at all⁷ if you do not know the name of the driver or his or her beloved - if the letters displayed are initials at all! Not only individuals like to individualize their cars but also the issuing states. Many of them mark the license plates they issue with a special symbol or text. Thus, the picture of a codfish can be found on Massachusetts plates, a pelican on Louisiana ones, a potato on Idaho ones or a bucking bronco on Wyoming ones. Various states also imprint their license plates with advertising slogans. The first to do so were issuing offices on the Prince Edward Islands, which in 1928 called attention to two features of the island, *Foxes* and *Seed Potatoes*. Other examples are *The Heart of Dixie* used in Alabama, *North to the Future* in Alaska, *Sunshine State* in Florida, *Peach State* in Georgia or *The Land of Enchantment* in New Mexico. Until the beginning of 1993 car rental agencies also marked their cars off from others by the use of special designations on their license plates. The practise was abandoned when it turned out that it is not necessarily desirable to let others know certain features of one's identity: as tourists are a major clientele of car rental services license plate identification made them an easy prey to highway robbers.

A non-verbal way to individualize one's automobile is customizing, "the enhancement of production machinery by aftermarket additions" (Bayley, 1986: 74).

1.2 Automobile names as trade names

Brand name, *business name*, *corporate name*, *product name*, *proprietary name*, *registered name* and *trade name* are widely used as synonyms, and the second element *name* may even be substituted by *mark*. ²OED e.g. gives the meaning of *brand-name* as "a trade or proprietary name" and Praninskas (1968: 12) notes:

We learned that the term *trade name* is a somewhat generic one, which is used to refer to any name created for the specific purpose of furthering trade. Thus a trade name may be a product name, a

⁷ An instance in which the message is so clear that authorities deemed it necessary to intervene has recently occurred in the city of Potsdam: it is no longer allowed to combine the city code (*P*) with the letters *DS* (cf. Rückert et al., 1994: 9). *PDS* stands for *Partei des demokratischen Sozialismus*.

brand name, a 'line' (a sub-category of brand) name, or the name of a business establishment, large or small, incorporated or unincorporated.

In scientific usage it is common to draw a distinction between a product and a brand, though (cf. e.g. Britt 1968: 350-389).

From a strictly technical manufacturing standpoint, a product consists of a number of raw materials so put together that the end result, the product, serves a useful purpose of consumption, be it feeding, clothing, housing, transporting the consumer, etc. (Herzog, 1968: 353)

A car is a product in this sense, and terms like *automobile*, *car*, *horseless carriage*, *station wagon* etc. are *product names*⁸. With the advent of mass production about a century ago commodities that had until then been sold as *sugar*, *flour*, *cheese* and *soap* were packaged, labeled and sold as the products made by a certain manufacturer competing against essentially the same products from another manufacturer (cf. Douglas, 1986: 269): a single product was differentiated into brands and with it the brand name or trade name was born. A branded product is offered in a large market area in constant quality, amount, design and often price (cf. Voigt, 1984: 63). Certain products had, of course, been especially marked by the manufacturers before the 19th century. Dichtl (1978: 17) points to Sumerian earthen-ware, Minoan seals, Egyptian, Greek and Roman amphoras as well as the medieval marks of towns and guilds as forerunners of today's brand marks. In contrast to these the medieval marks, some of which have become world-famous like the Fugger trident, the Welser pentagram or later the crossed swords on Meissen china, guaranteed a certain quality which was controlled by the guilds (cf. Dichtl, 1978: 18). Trademarks can thus be defined as "words or devices, or combinations of these, which came into use together with industrial mass production to identify the genus of the product." (Werkman, 1974: 131).

While *product name* and *brand name/trade name* will thus not be used synonymously, the difference between *brand* and *trade name* is less clear. Section 45 of the U.S. Federal Trademark Statute (quoted from Crowley, 1979: vii) defines *trademark* as

[...] any word, name, symbol, or device or any combination thereof adopted and used by a manufacturer or merchant to identify his

⁸ Of course, we can only speak of a *product name* in the sense that we speak of *animal names*, *plant names* etc. in the sense of *name* (substantive) given in ²OED: "2.a. The particular word or words used to denote any object of thought not considered in, or not possessed of, a purely individual character." On the question whether trade names are common nouns or proper nouns, cf. ch. 1.2.3.

goods and distinguish them from those manufactured or sold by others.

Crowley (1979: vii) adds: "*Brand* or *brand name* is a colloquial term used synonymously for *trademark*." In German marketing literature (cf. e.g. Meffert/Bruhns, 1984) a difference is made between *Herstellermarke* (producer's brand) and *Handelsmarke* (dealer's brand). Though it seems important who brands a certain product, I will not make this distinction here as it is of no importance to the marketing of automobiles. The only American car I know of that was marketed under the name of its dealer was the *Kaiser Henry J* which was named *Sears Roebuck Allstate* when it was sold by that department store in 1952/53 (cf. Gunnell, 1992: 651).

Whereas the terms *brand-*, *business-*, *corporate-* and *product mark/name* are more often found in commercial usage, the terms *proprietary* and *registered name* point to another aspect of brand names: they are considered as intellectual property and as such in many cases protected by the law⁹. ²OED defines *proprietary name* as "a word or phrase over which a person or company has some legal rights, especially in connection with trade (as a trade mark)." The opposite of a proprietary name is, legally speaking, a *generic* one, which is defined by ²OED as "Of a name or designation (as for some type of product): that is used generally for the article, etc., that it describes, and is therefore not admissible as a trade mark; not protected by legislation, non-proprietary."

Up to now the second element of all these terms, *brand* or *name*, have been used indiscriminately. I will distinguish between *brand name/trade name* and *brand mark/trade mark*, though, the first being used for the word or words used to identify a particular company and/or its product and the latter for a design symbol (with or without the name) used for that purpose. Thus, the trade name *Ford Mustang* is accompanied by the trade mark of a stylized running horse displayed as a metal figure on the grille of that car (cf. Figure 1-2). Name and horse figure together may be called the trade mark, too. The characteristic lettering of a name will also be considered part of the mark, not of the name. These elements¹⁰ will be treated in ch. 2.3.

FIGURE 1-2: FORD MUSTANG GRILLE (SOURCE: *AUTOMOBILE* 1, 1994: 2)



Apart from the commercial and legal viewpoint, trade names as signs are also studied by semioticians and, more specifically, by linguists. All three aspects shall now be examined in some more detail.

1.2.1 The commercial viewpoint

Though marketing experts never tire to lament executives' lack of awareness of the importance of the trade name for the success of a new brand¹¹, they are in unison about the trade name's importance in the marketing mix, in which it has the following functions¹²:

First of all the trade name identifies the brand and distinguishes it from rival makes¹³. Werkman (1974: 5) reports an experiment in which consumers were asked to get their familiar products in a supermarket. The trademarks and nameplates had been removed from all the goods and it turned out that a majority of the subjects found it difficult or impossible to identify them. It is important to note that with the name the identity of the brand changes - not with the product itself!

Change the advertising, change the distribution, change the promotion, change even the product itself, and you may have lost nothing but instead gained in sales appeal. But change the product name, and you are starting all over again. (Lippincott/Margulies, 1961: 47)¹⁴

The brand name also has an advertising function¹⁵, something that was noted as early as 1923: "There is a great advantage in a name that tells a story. [...] To

⁹ I would like to note here that many of the car names I am studying here constitute registered trademarks. However, I will not mark them as such but want it to be understood that this does not affect their legal status.

¹⁰ In the US three-dimensional marks and even melodies can be accepted (cf. Römer, 1976: 56). German law has only accepted such marks since January 1995.

¹¹ Cf. e.g. Cheskin, 1981: 212; Dogana, 1967: 50; Heaton, 1967: 279; Hisrich/Peters, 1978: 233; McMurry, 1963: 499. The opposite opinion has been uttered, too (cf. e.g. Boulvin/Szekely, 1971: 148).

¹² As different researchers give different functions I will state my sources for each function separately.

¹³ Cf. Bebié, 1978: 745; Hartmann, 1966: 328; Herstatt, 1985: 45; Hisrich/Peters, 1978: 233; Lippincott/Margulies, 1961: 47; Lohmeier, 1964: 80; Werkman, 1974: 5.

¹⁴ Cf. also Gotta (1987: 64): "Der Markenname ist das einzige Element, das wir nach einer Produkteinführung nicht mehr ändern können - oder wir haben ein neues Produkt."

¹⁵ Cf. Bebié, 1978: 746; Hartmann, 1966: 328; Herstatt, 1985: 45; Richter, 1960: 3; Werkman, 1974: 5f. Klickow (1964: 24), on the other hand, explicitly rejects the notion that a trade name should be coined with advertising in mind. Brandmeyer (1990: 93) notes a current trend towards an increasing distance between advertising and brand name as he finds that there are more and

justify the space it occupies, it should aid the advertising. Some such names are already complete advertisements in themselves." (Hopkins, 1923: 91)¹⁶. The trade name advertises by providing information about the product, by containing pleasant associations and/or by having a pleasant sound. Consumer exposure to trademarks is usually a lot greater than to expensive advertising campaigns on TV or in other media. Parcels (1981: 208) estimates that in the U.S. the buying public is 1500 times more frequently in contact with the packaging of the "typical nationally marketed product" than with advertising campaigns related to it. This holds especially true for cars because they occupy a lot more public space than most other consumer goods. Bongard (1963: 22) calls every car name a "brochure on wheels" ("rollende Verkaufsprospekte"). Again, it is interesting to note that the name is seen as substituting the product:

Many advertisements make one mark compete against another so that it is no longer exclusively a struggle of one product against another but of mark against mark, of word against word. (Werkman, 1974: 81)

An example of this is an advertisement in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (01/06/1993: A5):

After reading Time Magazine one could conclude that a Lexus is really nothing more than a Toyota with a different hood ornament. [...] Let's just say it's not important whether Toyota and Lexus share some parts. After all they are made by the same big company. Toyota. [...] All of which brings us to the real point of this ad. The BMW 325i. True, it's almost two thousand dollars more than the Lexus. But nobody could ever confuse it with a Toyota. [...] It all comes down to this. If you have \$30,000 to spend, you can buy a Lexus, which seems just an overpriced Toyota. Or you can buy a BMW that is undeniably a BMW.

The advertisement plays on the fact that the Toyota Camry and the Lexus ES300 share parts and materials (cf. ch. 2.1.2 on "badge engineering"), but it does not stop at these technical facts about the Lexus but carries on to deny it the right to be called *Lexus*: "[...] a *Lexus*, which seems just an overpriced *Toyota* [...]". Whereas the status of *BMW* and *Lexus* is roughly the same, both are high-priced luxury cars, and *BMW* is thus competing against an equal, *Toyota* belongs to another paradigm. In the advertisement *BMW* tries to convince the reader that *Lexus* and *Toyota* are of equal status and that they do not rank on the same level as *BMW*.

more advertisements without a brand name. As he does not give an example of this and I have not found one, either, I doubt the validity of this judgement.

¹⁶ Hopkins (1923) does not provide an example of such an ideal name.

Closely connected with the brand name's advertising function is its function of representing the product image or personality¹⁷. Brand image is the symbolic value attributed to a product by the consumers (cf. ch. 4.1). In experiments Schiffman/Kanuk (1991: 183) established that consumers buy products with which they have had no previous experience on a "name basis", i.e. "[...] they tend to 'trust' a favored or well-known brand name." This is of special importance with products where differences in quality are not easily perceptible for the consumer. Experiments on the influence of the brand image on the taste perception of beer (Allison/Uhl, 1964 and Jacoby/Olson/Haddock, 1971) and of turkey meat (Makens, 1965), and on the evaluation of stereo receivers (Raju, 1977) have shown that a well-known name positively affects the perceived taste or quality of these products¹⁸. The importance of the designation for the success of a product can also be seen from the fact that not only the brand name but also the product name (the generic term used for a commodity, cf. ch. 1.2) may influence its selling appeal. There is the case of the *Chinese gooseberry* which in the 60s reminded too many Americans of communism so that they would not even consider buying the fruit in question until it was renamed *kiwi* and became an immediate success (cf. Müllender, 1993: 31), or in Germany the fish called "Katzenhai" by zoologists is sold as "Seeaal" at the supermarkets' fish counters because a majority of Germans do not fancy having shark for dinner.

The reason for this behavior might be that trade names have a certain guarantee function (cf. Herstatt, 1985: 45; Werkman, 1974: 8). Though nothing but the fact that somebody has put a name on a product does not necessarily imply that certain quality standards will be met, it is one of the characteristics of a brand that it is available in the same quality wherever it is sold. The name does not provide a proper warranty but it "symbolizes guarantee" (Werkman, 1974: 8).

Other commercial functions of the trade name, which are obviously regarded as less important because they are found only once or twice in the relevant literature, are the following: A trade name reduces price comparisons because

with a brand name, the manufacturer can establish a price that is different from competition. This is largely possible because the brand image will differentiate the product from competition, allow

¹⁷ Cf. Boulvin/Szekely, 1971: 148; Fischer-Appelt, 1959: 164; Hisrich/Peters, 1978: 233; King, 1973:134; Lippincott/Margulies, 1961: 49; Schiffman/Kanuk, 1991: 183; Werkman, 1974: 8.

¹⁸ The validity of the results of Allison/Uhl (1964) was challenged by Mauser (1979), though, who claims to have found methodological mistakes. His own results suggest that "beer drinkers can distinguish among major brands of beer using only taste and aroma cues. [...] Moreover, consumers' preferences did not significantly change from the unlabeled to labeled conditions." (Mauser, 1979: 164)

a price differential, and reduce consumer price comparisons.
(Hisrich/Peters, 1978: 234)

It facilitates the expansion of a product line (cf. Hisrich/Peters, 1978: 235). It will be easier for a manufacturer to launch a new product if it can incorporate a name which already exists with a good reputation (cf. ch. 2.1.2 on "family branding"). Via the trade name a brand can be protected legally (cf. Hartmann, 1966: 328; Herstatt, 1985: 45). Another of its functions is to facilitate remembrance of the product (cf. Lysinski, 1918: 144; Werkman, 1974: 6). From the producer's point of view it is of course of little use if a potential consumer has been convinced by advertising to buy a certain brand but enters the store having forgotten its name. Last but not least, the brand name is supposed to characterize the product and convey information about it (cf. Herstatt, 1985: 45; Werkman, 1974: 7):

The term *product information* is used to describe the information that trademarks provide through their content or form. The information may be about properties of the product, the company, its services or about the results to be expected from use of the product - whatever is regarded important to the manufacturer."
(Werkman, 1974: 12)

All the listed functions of a trade name can be summed up in the global function "that communication between firm and consumer [should be] facilitated."
(Peterson/Ross, 1972: 29)

Another interesting question is what marketers regard as essential characteristics of a "good", a successful name that is able to fulfill all or a major proportion of the above-mentioned functions. Since the earliest days of trademark research lists of desirable properties have been put forward: the first that I know of is the list of White (1927: 221f; quoted in Herstatt, 1985: 47) which demands that the name be short, pronouncable in only one single way, euphonic, suitable, original, distinctive, suggestive, easy to remember, connected with a family name and protectable (in this order). In order to stress the scientific character of the process of creating a brand name even "creation formulas" have been put forward like Douglas' (1981: 277) "SOCK-IT Criteria" (Suitability, Originality, Creativity, Kinetic Value, Intity and Tempo) or Gotta's (1989b: 82) "COVIUS-Formel" (Creativität, Originalität, Vitalität, Internationalität, Unverwechselbarkeit, Schutzfähigkeit)¹⁹. I have checked fourteen of these catalogs of desirable characteristics²⁰ and identified the following top priority characteristics:

¹⁹ I cannot help feeling that in these cases the criteria have been chosen for the acronym they produce - a kind of brand name in itself - rather than for the help they offer in deciding on a new name.

²⁰ Bebié, 1978: 758ff; Burdick/Green/Lovelace, 1959: 285; Douglas, 1981: 270, 277; Gotta, 1989a: 240; Hartmann, 1966: 331; Heaton, 1967: 279f; Hisrich/Peters, 1978: 240; King, 1973:

1. It is regarded as very desirable that a trade name should be distinctive, unique and original. Hartmann (1966) suggests the use of information theory as a means of achieving this aim - which means making use of statistics about the frequency of the phonemes or graphemes²¹ of the language or languages of the area in which the brand is to be marketed and then coining names out of the least frequent units. The high frequency of the letter X, a rather uncommon one in general English, in acronymic automobile names suggests that this principle might have been followed by name makers: nine out of 21 acronymic series designations, that is 42.9%, make use of the X (cf. ch. 3.3.1, especially Table 3-14). This high portion might be due to the attempt to secure a high attention value for the new name²². The idea is not only to get a distinctive form of a trade name but distinctive connotations are also aimed at:

Valiant, Corvair, Falcon, Lark, Comet, Lancer and Tempest each conveys a fine image for a compact car, but, alas, they are all the *same* image. While it is true that the automobile companies are correct in all seeking to project ideas of movement and power, something beyond these concepts is needed for each brand in order to give it a unique and underlying quality - the essence of brand imagery and brand naming. (Lippincott/Margulies, 1961: 49)²³

2. A trade name should not only show originality but at the same time a certain association with the "category, use, ingredients, performance, or the benefits of these." (Douglas, 1981: 270). This property of a trade name is disputed, though. While Gotta (1989a: 240) regards it as extremely important that a new name should be distinctive, findings of Peterson/Ross (1972: 34) indicate the opposite:

[...] consumers possess a preconceived notion of the remindfulness of certain words or word sounds [...] Thus, good marketing strategy would involve choosing new brand names which possess some congruence with names of existing, perhaps competing, brands.

3. Whether achieved by distinctiveness or congruence, memorability is another popular characteristic. A trademark is easier to remember if it consists of both mark and word because learning a picture takes less time than learning verbal

134; Lippincott/Margulies, 1961: 48; Lohmeier, 1964: 83f; McMurry, 1963: 495; Vicary, 1968: 384ff (who mentions 59 characteristics of an ideal trade name!); White, 1927: 221f (quoted from Herstatt, 1985: 47); Wills, 1968, 113f. These are not the only catalogs, though, Herstatt (1985: 47f), for instance, lists six others.

²¹ He only speaks of "letters" ("Buchstaben").

²² cf. also the inflationary use of X in the names of German TV magazines (*Exclusiv*, *Explosiv*, *Extra*, *Exakt* etc.) because it is regarded as a classical attention getter by name makers (cf. Niggemeier 1995: 24).

²³ One may of course argue whether all the names mentioned by Lippincott/Margulies (1961: 49) really convey the same image.

information but the word helps to encode and store the whole symbol (cf. Schiffman/Kanuk, 1991: 205).

4. A trade name should also create a favourable impression, connote pleasant meanings and suggest that it will offer a certain benefit or value to the consumer. It should imply that it will satisfy a need felt and "suggest the proper mood" (Douglas, 1981: 270). This can be achieved by either using words which already exist or by spending large sums of money on the creation of desired associations in coined names (cf. McMurry, 1963: 495)²⁴. Scientific advertising experts also quite often draw attention to another means of achieving a positive association: phonetic symbolism or the physiognomy of language (cf. e.g. Klickow, 1963). Chastaing (1958: 468), for instance, asked subjects about the relative size of products having the hypothetical names *kugon* and *kigen*. He reports that 97% of the subjects associated *kigen* with a smaller product. His subjects were native speakers of French but he reports having obtained similar results in the United States, Austria and Germany, and Bebié (1978: 751) reports that Japanese speakers were also found to associate brand names containing the vowel /i/ with small products. Bebié (1978: 753) draws the conclusion that names coined in accordance with the findings of phonetic symbolism are quicker, more efficient and precise than other names in triggering the desired connotations in the consumer. I do not know to what extent the actual coinage of trade names has been influenced by these considerations²⁵ but I cannot help feeling that associations attributed to phonetic symbolism are more often than not triggered by other knowledge of language or of the world. A case in point is the assertion of Richter (1960: 4), an East German advertising expert:

So ging auch *Sputnik* als Musterbeispiel eines ausdrucksstarken Namens in Windeseile um die Welt und wurde rasch zum auf ähnliche Objekte übertragenen Gattungsbegriff, was, schon allein

²⁴ It is typical of the use of the terms *meaning*, *coined names* etc. in marketing literature that McMurry (1963: 497) gives *Arrow*, *Aunt Gemina*, *Dutch Boy*, *Educator* as examples of "meaningless names which have been given significance through advertising" along with *Zerex*, *Zippo*, *Argyrol*, *Cuticura* and *Zerone*.

²⁵ Lippincott/Margulies (1961: 49), leading executives of one of the United States' first advertising agencies to set up a subsidiary exclusively devoted to the creation of new trade names, explicitly state that they make use of phonetic symbolism when creating a new name: "Do you want a name with a musical, singing quality, for example? Then concentrate on the *ing* words, such as *sing*, *spring* and *zing*. Do you want soft sounds for a product? Sibilants, hissing sounds - s, ch, z, sh, zh, j - used together or in combination produce these. The b's, t's, d's and k's (sic!), along with the vowel sound, i, are hard and abrupt; they command attention in a compelling fashion. Part of the success of names like *Tide* and *Kodak*, for instance, is undoubtedly due to the fact they use these hard sell consonants. [...] A good name selection program, then, pays attention to this science, and screens out its prospective names for the impressions their sounds evoke."

vom Sprachlichen her, dem ausdrucksmäßig vergleichsweise schwerfällig einherschreitenden *Explorer* kaum beschieden gewesen wäre.

Although *Explorer* consists of three syllables, one of which even contains a long vowel, against *Sputnik's* two, I am sure that it would also have made its way into almost all the world's languages if it had been the name of the first artificial satellite to be launched into orbit.

5. An effective trade name should also be "simple", i.e. short, easy to spell and to pronounce. If consumers are unsure how to pronounce a given trade name and maybe afraid of making a fool of themselves, this will lead to rather negative feelings about the brand and may even deter potential customers from buying it (cf. Klickow, 1964: 26). The pronunciation should be the same in the brand's whole market area - thus, if necessary, supralingual and it should have no propensity for contraction into nicknames (cf. Vicary, 1968: 385). Nicknames are obviously regarded as a mixed blessing, though. While the trade name creator Gotta regards them as supreme luck (cf. Werner, 1990: 142) and quotes Citroën's *Ente*²⁶ and VW's *Beetle*²⁷ as examples, the marketing value of *Coffin* or *Mobile Refrigerator*, two nicknames for the Cord 810, which were suggested by its unusual front end appearance (cf. Finch, 1992: 149) may be doubtful. Other rather negative nicknames are *Coming or Going* for the Studebaker Champion (cf. Ludvigsen, 1990: 542), *Pregnant Whale* or *Bathtub* for the Packard Custom Eight (cf. Emptas/Lemeunier, 1989: 19), *Swiss Cheese* for the Pontiac Catalina (cf. Gunnell, 1992: 595), and the famous *Thunderchicken* for the Ford Thunderbird. Apart from the last-mentioned all these nicknames derive from the form of the car, and not its name. Names of American cars that have actually been contracted into nicknames are, for instance *Barracuda* into *'Cuda* (later also used as "official" name; cf. ch. 3.3.3), *Cadillac* into *Caddy*, *Chevrolet* into *Chevy* (which also became used as an "official" name, *Chevy II*, cf. ch. 3.4.1), *Cadillac Eldorado* into *Eldo*, *Hudson Metropolitan* into *Met*, *Mercury* into *Merc*, *Buick Riviera* into *Riv*, *Thunderbird* into *T-Bird*, *Oldsmobile Toronado* into *Toro*, *Chevrolet Corvette* into *Vette*, and *Chevrolet Monte Carlo* into *Monte*. The most famous nickname of an American car, *Tin Lizzie* for the *Ford Model T*, derives neither from the form of that car nor is it a shortening of the original name. As far as its marketing value is concerned, it is not exclusively a term of endearment as the following quotation suggests:

Tin Lizzie, it should be noted, was a nickname that came to suit the Model T only as its long production run came to make it seem

²⁶ The German nickname of the Citroën 2CV is, as far as I know, not used in English.

²⁷ VW itself tried to defend its car against the US-born designation *Beetle* for some time, though (cf. Werner, 1990: 142).

anachronistic. In 1908 no one would have felt embarrassed at being seen in a shiny new gray roadster (the 'any color as long as its black' policy came later)." (Finch, 1992: 69)

6. It has already been mentioned that a trade name should, if necessary, be supralingual. This brings us to the next criterion for a "good" name: it should suit the language or languages of the area in which it is to be marketed. If a brand is marketed only regionally, local expressions and dialect words can make fine brand names. On the other hand, it is supposed to be wise to avoid local connotations, if the product is to be marketed nationwide. And the name of an internationally marketed brand should be checked for possible negative or unpleasant meanings in languages other than the language of origin - a process that is termed *global branding*²⁸ (cf. Kleis, 1991: 30). There are some notorious examples of car names where this requirement was not met, usually with negative effects on sales figures: Mitsubishi's *Pajero*, whose name is displayed in large letters on the spare tire at the back of the off-road vehicle, does not sell at all in the Spanish-speaking world, where *pajero* means "wank" (cf. Kleis, 1991: 32), nor did *Regata*, the name of one of Fiat's vehicles, in Sweden where the name means "rebellious woman" or *Uno*, another Fiat make, in Finland, where it designates a "lumberjack" (for both examples, cf. Kleis, 1991: 32), or *Opel Manta* as *Manta* is an out-dated Finnish woman's name that sounds pretty strange nowadays (cf. Hakkarainen, 1977: 421). Ford made similar experiences in Latin America with its *Pinto*, a Brazilian slang term for "penis" (cf. Reichle, 1988: 155; also the following), Chevrolet with its *Nova* (Spanish *no va* = "does not move") and Toyota with its *MR2*: in French the letters are spoken as one unit producing *merde*, "shit". The marketing results of names like these are more disastrous than simply giving people a good laugh:

Consumers in such countries are bound to deduce that if companies care so little about checking out their brand name in advance, their products can't be good either. (Lekus, 1969: 415)

Examples of names which were changed in time for another market are *Rolls Royce Silver Mist* being sold as *Rolls Royce Silver Shadow* (cf. Hakkarainen, 1977: 421) in Germany, *Seat Malaga* being sold in Greece as *Seat Credos*

²⁸ In connection with the interpretation of brand names as internationalisms every now and then the question is raised whether they can be regarded as the first elements of an emerging international language, Grosse (1966: 95), for instance, speaks of *Wirtschaftsesperanto* and the name creator Gotta, says about his work: "Wenn man solche Namen schöpft, dann schafft man eigentlich auch neue Begriffe - mal ganz langfristig gesehen - für eine europäische Sprache." (Kleis, 1991: 32). An example given by Cadbury (1987: 90) helps to put these visions in the proper perspective: "Pepsi Cola used its American slogan *Come alive - you're in the Pepsi generation* in Thailand. The message which came across in Thai was: *Pepsi brings your ancestors back from the dead.*"

(Greek *malaga* means the same as Spanish *pajero*) and VW *Vento* being sold in Japan under another name as Japanese *bento* (the way the word is pronounced there) means "lunch box". While some of these meanings are not acceptable in any language and for any product others would do for another product but not for a car (*Uno, Vento*). The problem with taboo words is that they are often slang words and do not appear as dictionary entries so that they are extremely difficult to spot. Therefore companies deciding on a new brand name make increasing use of data banks like the one provided by the Institute for Brand Name Research, Inc. in New York. This data bank collects slang terms from more than 40 languages, "the equivalents of the whole gamut of 'four-letter words' in the English language" (Lekus, 1969: 422).

Generally, these 'unacceptables' fall into the categories of: (1). Sexology and scatology, i.e., depicting general human conditions. (2). Friction involving antagonisms between religions (cow-killers, Giaur, Pope-lover, Kike, Polack, Hunkies, Goj); races (Whitey, Nigger); nations and/or nationalities (Frogs, Katzelmacher, Dago, Chink, Jap); or socio-economic groups (Beatniks, Bums, Townies, Lackeys). (Lekus, 1969: 422)

Of course, only the languages of markets with sufficient spending power are "interesting" in this respect. So it does not damage a car name if it is a taboo word in the language of a people that cannot afford automobiles anyway. Aman (1982: 218) gives the example of animal images being taboo in the Congo: "Luckily for American car makers, few Congolese can afford Cougars, Mustangs, and other cars featuring animal trade marks." It has to be noted that the problem of a trade name being a taboo word or carrying general unpleasant connotations not only arises across languages and cultures but also with sub-groups and -cultures of a given language and culture. Aman (1982: 217) reports that English Jews are extremely reluctant to buy brands the names of which contain the number 88, such as *Oldsmobile Delta 88*, as "the number 88 is derived from the eighth letter of the alphabet, H, and, in the minds of its users, is the equivalent of *HH*, standing for the Nazi salute 'Heil Hitler'." and the psychologist Ash (1980: 214) relates that women may refuse to buy cars by Volvo:

She [= one of her patients] stated that she could not buy the popular Swedish Volvo for the reason that it reminded her of the word *vulva* and made her too self-conscious. She explained that the word *vulva* brought the sight of the organ to her mind and she assumed that other people had the same experience. (Perhaps this is so; the use of the male symbol on the nameplate of the contemporary Volvo seems to express a need for denial of the implication of the name.

The founders of Volvo took the name from Latin, where it means "I roll" (cf. Volvo Car Corporation, 1993: 8), the symbol is displayed in Figure 1-3.

FIGURE 1-3: THE VOLVO TRADE MARK

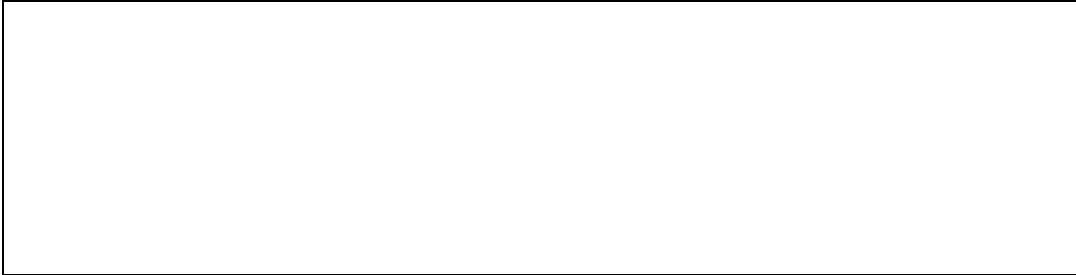


TABLE 1-1: AGES OF BEST KNOWN BRAND NAMES (SOURCE: BOGART/LEHMAN, 1973: 21)

| Age | Percentage of 106 brands | Percentage of 4.925 mentions |
|-------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| 100 years or more | 9 | 10 |
| 75 to 99 years | 23 | 26 |
| 50 to 74 years | 25 | 28 |
| 25 to 49 years | 28 | 25 |
| 20 to 24 years | 4 | 4 |
| 15 to 19 years | 6 | 4 |
| 10 to 14 years | 2 | 2 |
| 5 to 9 years | 3 | 1 |
| less than 5 years | - | - |
| total: | 100 | 100 |

7. It is also desirable that a brand name can be used unaltered not only in space but also in time. "It should be good for at least five years, preferably ten, ideally a lifetime." (Lippincott/Margulies, 1961: 48). The longer a name "lives" the more chance it has to get stuck in the minds of the consumers: in an experiment by the Bureau of Advertising of the American Newspaper Publishers Association 400 women were asked to give as many brand names as they could in four minutes. It turned out that 85% of the names mentioned were older than 25 years and none was less than five years old. Table 1-1 shows the detailed results of this free recall experiment.

Sometimes circumstances that could not be foreseen at the time of its creation make a change inevitable, though: the name of the British *SS Cars* was changed into *Jaguar* in 1939 when *SS* became more and more associated with the German Nazi unit (cf. Whyte, 1985: 100). It is generally of vital importance for the trademark that it is continually monitored and adapted to time and change. Otherwise it would lose its function of being an effective means of communication (cf. Margulies, 1977: 60). Brueggeboës (1981: 52f) divides the

"curriculum vitae" of a trademark in five phases: in the first three phases of introduction, gaining of acceptance and market penetration, more and more consumers get acquainted with the mark. In the course of this, interpreting and explaining text in advertisements should become less and less important, so that the mark can in the fourth phase convey its meaning on its own, without any additional text. Ideally this phase of maturity lasts for a long time without the mark losing its appeal. The loss of appeal, in which the mark fades out of the consumers' minds, is its last phase: decline.

8. Apart from these major characteristics which are mentioned in almost all of the lists consulted there are other characteristics which seem to be of less importance as they only appear in one or two of the catalogs. Among these are euphony, alliteration, rhyme, word play, kinetic value (whatever that may be in a name), suitability, intelligibility, salience (which concerns the lettering rather than the name itself) and it should be human and personal, connected with a family name, and it should justify its costs. Some of these criteria remain rather fuzzy. Legal protectability is also quite often regarded as an essential property of a trade name, but that issue will be dealt with in ch. 1.2.2.

To find a name that fulfills all these criteria companies nowadays usually employ advertising agencies many of which have special branches for the creation of names or do nothing but create names²⁹. While in earlier days companies used to find new names in a more casual manner - the supreme test being whether the proverbial president's wife liked the name or not (cf. Heaton, 1967: 279) - today large amounts of money are spent on the creation of a name³⁰. Computers have become indispensable in the process, especially as it becomes increasingly difficult to find names that have not already been registered by someone else. As a kind of warning for all those who think of saving on names by doing without "scientific" name creation, many writers on the subject³¹ include the story of how the name *Edsel* was chosen for a new Ford make which was a disastrous failure - production ceased after only two years (model years 1958 - 1960). After being initially designated the *E-car* (for *Experimental*, cf. Georgano, 1992: 198) the advertising agency Foote, Cone & Belding was called in as early as 1955 to

²⁹ In the United States trade name creators have made a living since the 50s (cf. Efron, 1957: 30), while in Europe the existence of the profession only dates from the 80s.

³⁰ Kleis (1991: 32) estimates 800.000 to 1.000.000 German marks for a car name. The name creator Gotta asks at least 90.000 marks for a name, the price depending on the product and the number of countries in which it is to be used (cf. Reichle, 1988: 155). But for a "good" name the investment clearly pays, the trademarks may become one of the most valuable assets of a company. In 1979, the Coca Cola Company was said to value its marks at over \$1 billion (cf. Crowley, 1979: viii).

³¹ Cf. Douglas, 1981: 270; Efron, 1957: 31; Herstatt, 1985: 15; Lippincott/Margulies, 1961: 47; 50; Werkman, 1974: 339f.

create a name for the new car. It soon came up with a list of 6.000 possible names. Additionally, the poet Marianne Moore was engaged to create a name.

[...] none of Miss Moore's suggestions was remotely suitable. They included *The Intelligent Whale* (after a pioneer submarine shaped like a sweet potato), *Resilient Bullet*, *Mongoose Civique*, *Taper Racer*, *Taper Acer* and as a final fling *Utopian Turtletop*. (Georgano, 1992: 201)

After extensive street interviews, motivational and other research the list of 6.000 was shortened to four: *Corsair*, *Citation*, *Pacer* and *Ranger*.

Corsair seemed to be head and shoulders above everything else. Along with other factors in its favor, it had done splendidly in the sidewalk interviews. The free associations with *Corsair* were rather romantic - 'pirate', 'swashbuckler', things like that. For its opposite we got 'princess' or something else attractive of that order. Just what we wanted. (John Brooks, quoted by Werkman, 1974: 340)

When the final decision was reached, Henry Ford II was away and the responsibility lay with his deputy Breech whose "mood that day was brusque and not one to linger long over swashbucklers and princesses" (John Brooks, quoted by Werkman, 1974: 340). He did not like any of the four names and spontaneously decided on *Edsel*, the first name of Edsel Ford, father of Henry Ford II and son of the company's founder. Though not everybody was happy with the new name, the make (cf. ch. 2.1.2) was called *Edsel* and *Corsair*, *Citation*, *Pacer* and *Ranger* became its series designations.

Some felt that the name of a former president of the company, who had sired its current president, bore dynastic connotations that were alien to the American temper; others, who, with Wallace, had put their trust in the quirks of the mass unconscious, believed that *Edsel* was a disastrously unfortunate combination of syllables. What were its free associations? Pretzel, diesel, hard sell. What was its opposite? It did not seem to have any. (John Brooks, quoted by Werkman, 1974: 340)

The car soon acquired a reputation for inferior quality to Fords and Mercurys because production was unhappily organized (cf. Georgano, 1992: 201) and customers disliked its styling, especially the form of its grille.. It sold so badly that it was soon abandoned. Though there is no evidence that it failed because of its name, comments tend to be similar to the one by Lippincott/Margulies (1961: 50):

Certainly the unfortunate, incredibly selected name did not cause the failure by itself, it merely helped to dig the grave. As a matter of fact, it was a good name - memorable, distinguished, unique -

but for some other car. It simply didn't 'go' for this middle priced, middle class automobile.

Dunkling (1974: 202) even attributes the car's failure to the fact that *Edsel* is a first name: "It is difficult to say why, but first names do not convey the same impression of respectable solidarity [sic!] as surnames used as trade names."³²

1.2.2 The legal viewpoint

A trade name is only then able to fulfill its marketing functions when it is used only by one single manufacturer and designates only one single brand (cf. Giefers, 1992: 18). In order to ensure that a trademark is not used more than once it can be registered with the United States Patent and Trademark Office or a similar institution of any other country. In 1959 over 536.000 trademarks were registered with the U.S. Patent office (cf. Baum, 1959: 58), today their number exceeds one million and is rising by 30.000 a year (cf. Bryson, 1994: 288), in Germany more than 400.000 are registered (cf. Horrmann, 1992: 3). Legal studies of trademarks started quite early, Dichtl (1978: 18) regards the 14th century treatise *De insigniis et armis* by the Bolognan legal scholar Bartolus de Saxoferrato as the basis of today's legal protection of trademarks. Generally³³, trade mark legislation has two aims (cf. Weisgerber, 1969: 194): First, it is intended to protect the consumer from fraud; they should not be led into believing that the product they are buying is marketed by a certain manufacturer whom they trust to offer a certain quality, while, in fact, it originates from somebody else. Second, trademark legislation wants to ensure fair competition: an imitating brand should not be allowed to siphon off the goodwill which another company has arduously created for itself.

A trademark can only be registered if it meets certain requirements. All the different national laws demand first and above all that it be distinctive (cf. Medcalf, 1961: 468). Additionally it will not be registered if it contravenes the following two registration barriers: the first obstacle is an absolute one, and excludes marks which consist of national symbols (flags etc.), which may cause offence and "which appropriate matters of public interest like the Boy Scouts of America and certain uses of the words *Federal*, *National* and the like" (Baum, 1959: 57). The second obstacle is a relative one, and excludes marks that have already been registered and marks that are similar to ones already registered. The brands so labeled have to belong to the same product group. If the name *Cortina*,

³² It is true that first name are rarely used as car names, cf. ch. 3.5.2.

³³ Trademark legislation can be quite different in different countries (cf., e.g., Medcalf, 1961 and Vanzetti, 1965). The U.S. trademark statute, the Lanham Act, has been in effect since July 5, 1947. The international legal protection of trademarks is regulated by the Agreement of Madrid which was signed by a number of major industrial nations in 1891.

for example, has already been registered for a car, it can nevertheless be registered again for a cheese. Most national laws have certain product groups within which similarity is prohibited. In German law all vehicles with two and four wheels fall into the same category so that bicycles and cars, for instance, cannot have the same name. This was the reason why Ford's *Mustang* could only, after the payment of a substantial sum of money and almost twenty years after its introduction in the USA, be marketed under the *Mustang* name in Germany. In the meantime it was called *T5* and/or *Capri* because *Mustang* had already been registered by Kreidler, a manufacturer of motor bikes, for one of its mopeds (cf. Viedebantt, 1982). In cases of extremely well-known brand names other products of the same name may nevertheless profit from its goodwill, even if the products do not have anything to do with each other at all. Grosse (1966: 95) gives the example of *Mercedes*, which is not only a famous automobile name but also used for shoes, cigarettes and typewriters. The criterion of similarity is a fuzzy one, though:

The question as to whether mark A resembles mark B to such a degree that registration and use side by side would become impossible, is one for whose solution no absolute, sharply defined formula exists, even though the German criterion of 'Übereinstimmung in Klang, Bild und Sinn' [...] has contributed a step in the right direction. The majority of these cases are dealt with mainly on a basis of subjective criteria, as a result of which security under the law suffers greatly. (Werkman, 1974: 9)³⁴

Many national trademark laws allow companies to register *defensive marks*, marks that they do not use³⁵ for a brand but which are similar to a mark used by them and which they do not want to be used by another company.

One of the reasons for the trend towards coined trade names is that the probability of getting them registered is higher. Marketing specialists lament that the commercial functions of the trade name have become increasingly dominated by legal requirements (cf. e.g. Boulvin/Szekely, 1971: 162; Werkman, 1974: 9). Therefore, King (1973: 136) advises his readers not to get into too much trouble about registration: "[...] it seems better to have the right name unregistered than

³⁴ Knobloch (1985) shows how little consideration registration lawyers give to linguistic criteria when deciding on the similarity/dissimilarity of a new trade name to an older one. He also points out, though, that this is partly due to a default on the part of linguists who rarely offer their services and whose interest in forensic linguistics is quite a new one.

³⁵ Usually names can only be registered in connection with a certain product and an actual business establishment.

the wrong name registered."³⁶ Trademarks enjoy some legal protection even if they have not been registered:

Registration of a mark with the United States Patent and Trademark Office is a common practice, though not mandatory. Trademark rights are acquired, and to some extent protected, by actual *use* and *display* of the mark on goods and in advertising. The familiar TM symbol is often used informally with unregistered marks to indicate a common-law claim of rights. After registration in the Patent and Trademark Office, the designation ® or the phrase 'Reg. U.S. Pat. & T.M. Off.' may be used with the word or symbol. (Crowley, 1979: viii)

While it is one problem to get one's name into the register, it is another to stay there. In contrast to the trademark legislation of many other countries U.S. American legislation stops protecting trademarks if they are no longer regarded as such by the general public. The Restatement of the Law of Torts, an influential commentary, states in Section 735(1) (Change from Trademark or Trade Name to Descriptive or Generic Designation) (quoted from Ladas, 1964: 421):

A designation which is initially a trademark or trade name ceases to be such when it comes to be generally understood as a generic or descriptive designation of the type of goods, services or business in connection with which it is used.

Aspirin, *Cellophane*, *Deepfreeze*, *Escalator*, *Linoleum*, *Mineral Oil*, *Shredded Wheat* and *Thermos*, amongst others, have thus lost their status as trade names, while the trade name status of *V-8*³⁷, *Pyrex*, *Q-Tips*, *Club Crackers*, *Argyrol* and *Polaroid* has been upheld in court decisions (cf. Ladas, 1964: 419f). "Genericide" (Crowley, 1979: viii) is often caused by the companies themselves. In the court decision against *Thermos* the judges recognized three periods in the "curriculum vitae" of the word (cf. Ladas, 1964: 418): in the first one, from 1907 to 1923, the aim of the company's advertising was to promote *Thermos* as a generic term as well as as brand name, in a second phase, from 1923 to 1953, the company realized how dangerous that was to their brand name and started to promote *Thermos* in connection with the generic term *vacuum flask*. In the last period, from 1953 to 1962, the company undertook enormous promotional efforts to stop *Thermos* from becoming a generic term but its endeavours came too late: *Thermos* had been taken into common usage. Whether people like it or

³⁶ Another possibility is to buy the rights to a name already registered. Oldsmobile, for example, had the rights to the name *Fiesta* long before Ford wanted to market a car under that name and so, Ford had to make a deal with GM (cf. Seidler, 1976: 239).

³⁷ *V-8* is the only car name among these examples.

not³⁸, manufacturers make every possible effort to prevent their names from losing legal protection:

Trademark specialists explain that the mark should, in almost every case, be used as an adjective, as in 'BAND-AID adhesive bandages.' The brand name or trademark should be distinguished by capitalizing at least the first letter, and the use of ® is encouraged where it is appropriate. Cases of genericide seem most often caused by 'nouncing', 'verbing', 'lowercasing', 'pluralizing', and as a Coca-Cola Company advertisement referred to it, 'the agony of being stretched on the rack of the possessive.' Companies watch for misuse in all forms of the media, trying to stamp out such transgressions and to educate the public on the finer points of trademark grammar. 'Please don't use our name in vain,' pleads an ad from Xerox Corporation. 'Use it the way the good law intended'. (Crowley, 1979: viii)

1.2.3 The linguistic viewpoint

While it is readily accepted that marketers and lawyers should have a professional interest in trademarks, linguistic interest has, for a long time, been viewed more reluctantly - by linguists as well as by marketers. The latter occasionally outright doubt the possibility of a linguistic contribution to the topic. Wills' (1968: 87) assessment of the relationship between marketing experts dealing with trade names and linguists can be taken as an example among others:

[...] darf hier die Grundlage der Sprache und des Sprechens als vorhanden vorausgesetzt werden, sodaß es sich erübrigt, mehr als notwendig auf die Gebiete der Sprachwissenschaft, der Phonetik, der Poetik und ihrer Randgebiete einzugehen. Ihre Literatur bewegt sich so stark im Abstrakten, daß Nutzenwendungen für den Werbefachmann kaum herauskristallisiert werden können.

Of course, it is not the prime aim of linguistic study to enlighten advertisers and it even has to be admitted that some of the linguistic contributions trying to do so must seem rather weird to a practitioner: Borgmann (1968: 174), for instance, points out that *Dynax*, a proposed name for a fuel, is unsuitable because, among other reasons given, Cornish *dynas* means "unnatural, unkindly" - the Cornish language died out in the 18th century! Aman (1979: 149) goes even further back in history when he tells us that *Poppycock*, the name of a brand of popcorn, "from Indo-European **pap* and **kak* , etymologically means 'soft, sticky shit'." The science that does not only concern itself with the meaning of verbal signs but

³⁸ Cf. Levin's (1978) polemic article *Another Unacceptable Face of Capitalism*.

of signs generally, semiotics, has been more interested in "Symbols for Sale"³⁹. An interesting document of this is *Marketing and Semiotics* (Umiker-Sebeok, 1987), a book that comprises papers read by marketing experts, consumer scientists and semioticians at the First International Conference on Marketing and Semiotics. The editor's preface (Umiker-Sebeok, 1987: xi) states that "most of us present were struck by the fact that we are all studying the same thing - message production and consumption - and that our different research traditions are complementary." Some of their findings will be dealt with in ch. 4.1.

But not only have "outsiders" doubted the value of the linguistic contribution to a greater understanding of trade names, but also linguists themselves have been reluctant to pick up the topic. Even today many grammars and other basic works of linguistics do not grant them more than a passing note. This has occasionally been explained by their ephemeral nature (cf. e.g. Gläser, 1978: 14): new brands come and go and so do their names. One of the earliest studies of American trade name states:

Many of the words entered will have outlived their currency by the time this article is printed. The material under discussion is fluctuating in character; and an exhaustive canvass of contemporary forms, even if that stupendous undertaking were possible, would be unprofitable. Trade-names have in general only passing significance for the student of language. (Pound, 1913: 30)

Nevertheless, a synchronic view of language has to take trade names into account and, as they have been with us for more than a century now, form and function patterns may well be studied. Additionally, car names do not simply pass away with a certain brand but move into a special variety: "fan language". When a car is no longer produced it is almost sure to become a vintage car and, as such, a precious object of collection and admiration around which hobby a vast body of literature is built. In the USA magazines like *Old Cars* perpetuate brand names of cars out of production.

Another problem linguists had with trade names was a disapproval of them inspired by purism. This concern was stronger in German literature than in the English one. A case in point is Wustmann's *Allerhand Sprachdummheiten* that tells us in the third edition in 1903 (quoted from Voigt, 1984: 65):

Ein Kapitel, das von Jahr zu Jahr beschämender für unser Volk wird, bilden die Warennamen, die wohl meist von den Fabrikanten der Waren oder von ebenso unfähigen Helfern ersonnen, uns täglich in Zeitungen und Wochenblättern anschreien. [...] Die

³⁹ This is the title of the earliest study of symbolism in consumer behaviour, Levy (1959), that has come to my attention.

Verrücktheit geht so weit, [...] daß man sogar aus ganz beliebigen Lauten solche Lauthaufen bildet! [...] Man kann nur hoffen, daß der ganze Blödsinn schließlich einmal an sich selber zugrunde gehen werde.

Nevertheless, early American literature on trade names is not free from it, either:

The motley and audacious terms of our own day seem capricious and undignified indeed, alongside the formal designations created by our ancestors. [...] Our present-day coinages, curtailments, and distortions would no doubt have inspired among our ancestors only amazement and distrust of the articles so named. [...] Ours - so long as present vogue continues - seems to be word-creation or word-manipulation as it were, with the lid off. Where our ancestors were content with conservatism and monotony, the present day reveals a fluctuation and bewildering variety of commercial terms without apparent limits of kind or quantity. (Pound, 1913: 40f)

These seem to be the reasons why there are comparatively few linguistic studies of trade names, although there are various ways in which trade name study may be of interest for linguists (cf. Schippan, 1989: 48): First of all, trade name study can further our understanding of the societal determination of language change as they show clearly which communicative needs determine the introduction of new words. Second, trade names provide excellent examples of movements within the vocabulary of language, changes from proper nouns to common nouns and vice versa. This also touches on the question of their linguistic status (cf. end of this chapter below). Thirdly, trade names tend to be complex nouns and the study of their structure may offer new insights into borderline questions of word formation and phraseology as well as show new types of word formation.

Only four full-scale studies of trade names have come to my attention: Praninskas' (1968) *Trade Name Creation. Processes and Patterns*, analysing a sample of 2000 American trade names collected mainly in supermarkets and comprising a wide range of products. The other three are more limited in scope, analyzing a sample of 2700 German names of man-made fibres (Sialm-Bossard, 1975), a sample of 931 German names of synthetic substances (Voigt, 1982) and a sample of 215 German and 114 English names of drugs (Wehking, 1984). The three studies that deal only with one certain product group each analyse the names of product groups that do not really target the general public as potential consumers but a more restricted group of retailers (doctors are in a sense retailers, too, as they prescribe, and thus distribute, the drugs). So these belong more to a language for specific purposes than names of general consumer goods and especially of cars, which occupy so much public space that hardly anybody can avoid being exposed to them. Apart from their special status as regards their

use the names of man-made fibres (e.g. *Aberlon, Bala, Cadon, Dacron, Evlan, Fabelcord*), synthetic substances (e.g. *Inefa, Vynella, Terebec, Witec, Atlastic, Europlastic*) and drugs (e.g. *Bactrim, Eusaprim, Omsat, Traumeel, Aspirin, Vibramycin*) show a special morphology. As Voigt (1982: 15) states synthetic substances were chosen because only a tiny minority of their names consists of words already existing in the language and altered only in their writing or not at all. So, while these studies deal almost exclusively with artificial words, many of them generated by computer, this formation type is rarely, if at all, found in car names (cf. ch. 3, especially Table 3-1).

Apart from these full-scale studies there are a number of studies dealing with various aspects of trade names⁴⁰: Seeba (1986), for example, studies one of the so-called "commercial suffixes", *-ex* (cf. ch. 3.2.4). The form and motivation of car names, names of soaps and washing powders, of spirits and of man-made fibres are the focus of two articles by Gläser (1973a; 1973b). The *Unorthodox Spelling in American Trademarks* is dealt with by Jacobson (1966) and Gläser (1972). Sometimes brand names also get some attention in studies dealing with the language of advertising (e.g. Leech, 1966; but not Vestergaard/Schrøder, 1985)⁴¹ because the language of advertising can be said to consist of two fundamental categories: the advertising text as such and the trade names.

Während der Produktname gleichsam als Etikett des jeweiligen Verkaufsartikels fungiert, besitzt der Werbetext erläuternde Funktion. Die Strategien der Produktbenennung sind andere als die der Textgestaltung, denn es geht bei den Produktnamen in erster Linie darum, die Signalfunktion optimal zu realisieren. (Haarmann, 1986: 31)

According to a count by Sialm-Bossard (1975: 23) names make up 8.0 percent of the words of magazine advertisements, thus confirming an earlier count by Römer (quoted by Sialm-Bossard, 1975: 23), who got 8.1 percent.

A last group of studies of trade names has to be mentioned which is more often done by journalists than by linguists: the trade name dictionaries⁴². Their concern is primarily the etymology of brand names⁴³. It has often been held against trademarks, especially of the artificial type, that only a few specialists

⁴⁰ Only some of the studies dealing with English trade names are mentioned.

⁴¹ Cook (1992: 108ff) even has a chapter with the promising title "Car names and ads", which, however, comments only very briefly on the names.

⁴² Campbell, 1964; Room, 1982; Stiling, 1980; and, on a smaller scale (two pages), but exclusively devoted to automobile names, also Eisiminger (1991).

⁴³ There are also trade name dictionaries like Crowley (1979) or Gregg (1963), which indicate the companies that manufacture or distribute a certain brand. They want to answer the question "Who makes that?" as Gregg (1963: v) puts it.

know what to make of them, while they have no motivation for the rest of the language community. The dictionaries try to shed light on this question but the etymologies they provide are often quite anecdotal in character. Picking only a few car names from Room (1982) we get information as diverse as the following:

Alvis. The name is said to have no specific meaning, but to be simply a name easy to pronounce in several languages. This is not very satisfactory, however, and various stories have been circulated concerning the name. One, for example, says that the first two letters of 'aluminium' were used in combination with the Latin word *vis*, 'force', 'power'. Another suggests that the name is based on the name of a woman, Avis, with 'L' added to give the word symmetry when displayed on the car.

Amilcar. The little French sports car had a name that was said to be an anagram of something although it is not certain of what.

Cadillac. The Cadillac Motor Car co. of Detroit produced its first car in 1903, taking its name from the founder of Detroit in 1701, the Frenchman Antoine de La Mothe, sieur de Cadillac.

Chevette. The car is based on the American *Chevrolet*, hence a 'Chev-ette', or smaller *Chevrolet*. At the same time the name is attractively and elegantly (although meaninglessly) French.

Chrysler. In spite of associations with 'crystal' and 'chrysalis' (and thus with Greek *khrusos*, 'gold') the name is actually that of the American engineer, Walter Percy Chrysler.

Corniche. Many car names are foreign-sounding but this one may have some people baffled. What exactly is a corniche? Is it a form of cornice (whatever that is)? Is it even an English word at all? Recourse to the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* reveals that a corniche is a 'coastal road with wide views' (which is in fact related in origin to 'cornice', the architectural term for a length of wood or stone that runs along the top of a building).

Hillman. As with a number of car names, *Hillman* suggests the character or performance capability of the vehicle. It is not a noted hill climber, however, but derives its name from William Hillman, who began his career manufacturing bicycles in the 1870s.

Mazda. It is a corruption of the name of the founder of the Toyo Kogyo Co. in 1921, the Japanese businessman Matsuda.

Mitsubishi. The Japanese name basically means 'three stones', this being loosely interpreted as three precious stones or three diamonds and thus giving the company's symbol of three equilaterally placed diamond shapes.

Saab. The name is formed from the initials of the Svenska Aeroplan Aktiebolaget ('Swedish Aeroplane Company') founded in 1937. For some older English-speakers the name might conjure up prestige

associations with 'sahib', which could be a bonus from the manufacturer's point of view, even if a chance one.

It has already been noted by Voigt (1982: 62; 66) that these explanations are of no great help when one wants to find out formation patterns. The stories behind the words are of no importance for their actual usage. I agree with Voigt (1982: 67) that etymology - interesting though it is - should not be the prime tool of brand name study⁴⁴. Additionally, it is important to make a distinction between primary and secondary motivation (cf. Debus, 1980: 190). The first one is the intention the namers had when originally naming the brand, while the second is the communicative value a name has in actual usage. The two can be identical but usually are not. A case in point is the name *Mazda*: its primary motivation is quoted above, a secondary motivation is given by Eisiminger (1991: 105), who relates the name to Mazda, the Persian god of light.

From a linguistic viewpoint there is one theoretical problem about brand names that has up to now not been solved to everybody's satisfaction: it is the question of what brand names are. Common nouns or proper nouns? Something in between? Or even adjectives as Werkman (1974: 4) suggests? The heart of the problem is that there is no unanimously agreed upon definition of what a proper noun is. Thus, while some linguists believe trade names to be a valid object of onomastic study, others explicitly refute this opinion. In his article "The Field of the American Name Society" Stewart (1953: 77ff) states:

A great opportunity is also offered in the study of brand names. These are a characteristically modern phenomenon, and are perhaps more specifically American than any other class of names. Their importance in our daily vocabulary is immense, and some of them are becoming common nouns.

Roelandts/Schönfeld (1954: 19) challenge this view:

De onlangs opgerichte 'American Name Society' verkiest het veld van onderzoek uit te breiden tot allerlei soorten van benamingen, waaronder titels van boeken, soortnamen van dieren, handelsmerken, namen van gebeurtenissen en tijdperken uit de geschiedenis, bacteriologische en botanische nomenclatuur, enz. Wij vrezen dat deze opvatting al te zeer tot versnippering zal leiden

⁴⁴ This is also the major reason why I did not contact any automobile manufacturers on questions of the origin of specific names. At an early stage of this study, I had directed enquiries about the practices and principles of car naming to various manufacturers and importers of cars into Germany, though. For answers and information I am indebted to Audi AG, BMW AG, Chrysler Import Deutschland GmbH, Mercedes-Benz AG, Mitsubishi Motors, Nissan Motor Deutschland GmbH, Adam Opel AG, Porsche AG, Deutsche Renault AG, Seat Deutschland GmbH, Skoda Automobile Deutschland GmbH, Suzuki Auto GmbH Deutschland, Volkswagen AG and Volvo Deutschland GmbH.

en blijven de term naamkunde reserveren voor de studie van de plaats- en persoonsnamen, die samen een welbegrensde eenheid vormen.

There are basically three kinds of definitions of proper nouns, a syntactic, a semantic and a pragmatic one. A syntactic definition of the proper noun is given by Chomsky (1965: 100), who regards them as "nouns with no determiner". Following this definition it can easily be shown that trade names are no proper nouns because they readily take a determiner:

I drive a Chevrolet.

I drive a blue Chevrolet.

The Chevrolet over there ...

A company name, as distinct from the name of its product, is grammatically a proper noun, though, as can be shown by comparing the following two sentences (cf. Algeo, 1973: 14):

Onassis sold the Ford and bought a Volkswagen.

Onassis sold Ford and bought Volkswagen.

Semantic definitions of the proper noun stress the fact that proper nouns identify rather than characterise, an example is Gardiner's (1954: 43) definition:

A proper name is a word or group of words recognized as indicating or tending to indicate the object or objects to which it refers by virtue of its distinctive sound alone, without regard to any meaning possessed by that sound from the start, or acquired by it through association with the said object or objects.

In this respect trade names are not proper nouns, either, as can be seen from the fact that there are thousands of *Chevrolets* and they all have something in common⁴⁵: being built by the same manufacturer. The more complex an automobile name becomes, the more traits the cars have in common. All *1971 Ford Maverick Grabber two-door sedans* are identical except for colour and trim options.

Pragmatic definitions of the proper noun focus on the intention of the sender and the perception of the receiver. So the performative act of baptizing a child and of registering a new trade name have been compared (cf. Kalverkämper, 1978: 372) - I would rather compare it with the act of introducing the name in advertising as not all trade names are registered (cf. ch. 1.2.2). An example of a pragmatic definition is Kalverkämper's (1978: 386):

⁴⁵ There are thousands of *Peters*, too, but they have nothing in common. We cannot say **Peters are nice persons*.

Ein Sprachzeichen ist dann ein Proprium, d.h. übernimmt propriale Kommunikationsfunktion, wenn es als solches intendiert (Sprecher-Perspektive) und über geeignete kontextuelle und situationelle (pragmatische) Signale auch als solches gesichert zu verstehen (Hörer-Perspektive) ist.

Trade names meet these criteria and can be regarded as proper nouns according to this definition:

The product name is intended as a proper name, and is understood as such. [...] A type of proper name, a brand-name, is used to refer to the product; and a type of deictic name, the second person pronoun, is used to refer to the consumer. [...] But do the pronoun *you* and the brand-name meet the requirement of particularity of reference? *You* refers to a host of readers and viewers; a brand-name refers to a vast number of specimens of the same article. To this objection we can reply that both are generally treated as if they are unique: *the* product, not a class of articles bearing the same label; and *the* person addressed, not just anyone. (Leech, 1966: 132; 156)

It cannot be denied that this is manipulative use of language: individual reference is only an appearance but no reality. Voigt (1982: 203) considers it as outright fraud that trade names are used as proper nouns in advertising slogans. But trade names are not only used as proper nouns because advertisers want manipulatively to suggest the uniqueness of their product but also because of a possible loss of legal protection if a certain trade name gets used as a common noun (cf. ch. 1.2.2).

The fact that brand names meet only one out of three possible criteria of a proper noun makes me agree with Gutknecht/Wehking (1985: 87), who regard brand names as a special subcategory of common nouns. As is often the case in the study of language, we are dealing with peripheral items that are grouped around the prototypical members of a class. If we interpret class membership of nouns as a continuum, the prototypical members of the class "proper nouns" (*Mary, Peter, Russia, Thames* etc.) and those of the class "common nouns" (*woman, house, car, street* etc.) can be viewed as forming the two ends of a gliding scale, with the brand names somewhere in between and the borderlines not totally clearcut.

1.3 The automobile in American society and culture

It has been said that the automobile is "the most powerful instrument of social change mankind has ever encountered." (Pettifer/Turner, 1984: 9). My argument

in this chapter will be that the advent of automobility⁴⁶ tremendously influenced modern culture and that its impact on American society has been greater than on any other country. Although an extensive body of literature⁴⁷ has already been devoted to this topic, I feel it is important for the reader, who, being a child of the automobile age, might take everyday experiences with the automobile for granted, to be made aware of the fact that the way in which our own century differs from the 19th and those before is in large part due to the spread of the automobile. Only if this pervasive influence is realized can it be understood that it must also have left its traces in language as the main tool of social interaction. Auto-related changes in the following three - interrelated - areas will be focused on: economy, environment and family life. The reflection of these changes in literature and popular culture will be briefly examined.

1.3.1 Economy

In the mid-80s one out of every six jobs in the USA was in the automobile sector. The earnings provided were to a large part re-invested into automobility as the average American spent 22 per cent of his or her personal income on automobile transportation (cf. Pettifer/Turner, 1984). Today the state of the automobile industry is one of the major indicators of the soundness of many national economies, it has become one of the so-called key industries. Only a few examples from various decades of this century can exemplify this succinctly: the slogan of the Eisenhower administration in 1958, "You auto buy now!", which was offered as a remedy of a business recession that year (cf. Flink, 1988: 284) and played on the homophony of *auto* and *ought to* to bring home to the consumer which products he or she was supposed to buy; the dictum of Charles E. Wilson, a former president of General Motors: "For many years, I thought what was good for our country was good for General Motors and vice versa." (cf. Hey, 1980/81: 593); or the fact that the so-called "Japanese challenge" is mainly perceived in the automobile production sector, although the Japanese trade surplus in the electronics sector may even be larger. Before this came to be so, the automobile had to play a major part in the advent of a consumer-goods-oriented economy. Henry Ford is usually credited with realizing that workers are

⁴⁶ "The term conveniently sums up the combined impact of the motor vehicle, the automobile industry, and the highway plus the emotional connotations of this impact for Americans." (Flink, 1975: 1f)

⁴⁷ Detailed accounts of automotive literature are given by Duke (1978), Ackerson (1980/81), Flink (1980/81) and Becker (1989: 19ff). Becker's account is particularly interesting because it gives the literature not in chronological order but rather in groups. He distinguishes eight different areas of automotive literature: fan literature, encyclopedias, literature on the history of the car's technical development, literature on companies, their founders and engineers, literature on designers, literature on automobile design, literature on the historical and sociological impact of the automobile on the USA, and literature on the automobile in literature, film and culture.

also consumers and that higher wages would increase their purchasing power and stimulate sales. His "Five-Dollar Day", introduced in 1913, changed economic theory as, until then, it had been regarded as profitable to pay wages only at a subsistence level, while Ford maintained that higher wages would turn the worker into a consumer and thus stimulate demand.

By the 1920s automobility became the backbone of a new consumer-goods-oriented society and economy that has persisted into the present. By the mid-1920s automobile manufacturing ranked first in value of product and third in value of exports among American industries. [...] The automobile was the life-blood of the petroleum industry, one of the chief customers of the steel industry, and the biggest consumer of many other industrial products, including plate glass, rubber, and lacquers. The technologies of these ancillary industries, particularly steel and petroleum, were revolutionized by the new demands of motorcar manufacturing. (Flink, 1988: 188)

The automobile industry itself was the first to change the nature of industrial employment on a major scale. While it is not true that Henry Ford invented the moving assembly line, nobody had ever before applied assembly-line techniques on the scale he introduced to the production of the Model T. This system of flow production techniques effecting mass production came to be known as "Fordism"⁴⁸. The limited and repetitive tasks mass production demanded of the workers even changed the ethics of work:

As the job became a treadmill to escape from rather than a calling in which to find fulfillment, leisure began to assume a new importance. The meaning of work, long sanctified in the Protestant Ethic, was reduced to monetary remuneration. (Flink, 1988: 120)

The economic impact of automobility is not only limited to the automobile industry itself but extends to many other sectors. One of them is agriculture: While, on the one hand, the car, and especially the Model T, ended the isolation on small family farms in rural America, it, on the other hand, made these small family farms obsolete:

[...] motorization was also in large part responsible for the depressed condition of agriculture, which involved a ruinous combination of overproduction of staple crops and higher operating expenses for equipment and chemical fertilizers. Along with the farmer's automobile came the widespread displacement of farm horses by the tractor, which necessitated a switch to artificial

⁴⁸ "Sloanism", the complementary marketing strategy, set up by Alfred P. Sloan, president of General Motors from 1923-1937, will be dealt with in ch. 2.1.2.

fertilizers, encouraged the use of other expensive machinery to increase productivity, displaced farm workers, and usually involved a mortgage on the family farm. (Flink, 1988: 153)

The car was a catalyst for the fact that the farm population of the United States fell from 30.5 million or one quarter of the entire population in 1930 to only 6.1 million or less than 3 percent in 1980 (cf. Jakle, 1990: 301). Automobility also changed the patterns of retail and wholesale trade: in rural areas it meant the end of the village general store as it opened up larger trading areas and in the cities stores moved to the edges of town, on cheaper land with enough parking space. The advent of supermarkets and later shopping malls is directly related to the car (cf. Flink, 1988: 154f and Finch, 1992: 281f). Another result of this development is the decay of many downtowns into "crime-ridden wastelands of vacated stores" (Flink, 1988: 155). The character of the service sector changed, too, as more and more services for the motorist became available. From motels and camping sites via fast-food chains and service stations to drive-in movie theaters, drive-in chapels and even drive-in funeral parlors (cf. Duke, 1978: 29), many services that have sprung up in the course of this century owe their existence to the automobile.

Highway-generated and highway-oriented business constitutes an impressive segment of this vital area of economic activity [= service enterprises-I.P.]; [...] it accounts for 18 percent of the number of establishments, 15 percent of the total employment, and 20 percent of the sales. (Rae, 1971: 108)

1.3.2 Environment

The decay of inner cities and the advent of commercial strips around towns are two examples of environmental changes wrought by the automobile. They are not the only ones, though: the whole of the American landscape has been altered to meet the demands of automobility.

No other technological innovation has so transformed the geography of the United States as the automobile. Landscapes inherited from pre-automobile times have been remade to suit highway-oriented technology and new landscapes have emerged shaped strictly in its image. (Jakle, 1990: 293)

Apart from the car itself, which has become such an integral part of our environment as the horse had been before, the most obvious feature of this re-design is the construction of highways. The virtual non-existence of suitable roads had been one of the major impediments to a wide-spread use of the automobile (and earlier of the bicycle). The "Good Roads Movement" initiated in the last decade of the 19th century by bicyclists and farmers and since the turn of

the century endorsed by the lobbying efforts of automobile manufacturers began to bear fruit with the building of the first concrete highway in 1909⁴⁹. The creation of a highway system became a national task that was expressed in various Highway Acts. In 1911 the Long Island Motor Parkway was the first road on earth built exclusively for the automobile and the Meadowbrook Parkway of 1934, also in New York, was the first divided, limited-access road in the United States (cf. Jakle, 1990: 298). Since then about 3.979.000 miles of highways, freeways, parkways and turnpikes have been constructed (cf. Wayzata Technology, 1993, s.v. "USA; communications"), about 625.000 of these were the result of job creation programmes within the New Deal (cf. Petsch, 1982: 222). Highways not only changed the face of America but also the way the environment is perceived:

The old roads had been, as they continue to be, a definite kind of place: the geography of the roadside as important as that at the end of the road. Direct access to highway margins encourages social contact between locals and strangers and rural lifeways can be observed close up. But limited-access roads isolate and contain the motorist in an environment divorced from its surroundings. These new roads exert a tyranny on what the motorists see with the countryside reduced to background. Interaction between locals and strangers is impossible except at freeway interchanges. Both the rural freeway, for its monotony, and the encompassing countryside, for its distance, can be safely ignored in high-speed driving. (Jakle, 1990: 301f)

The off-road movement of the the last twenty years can be interpreted as an attempt to get in closer contact with nature again without having to do without one's car. This fantasy of freedom can be quite devastating for the wildlife environment (cf. Steinhart, 1980/81). Not only roads changed the environment but also urban sprawl was encouraged by the car. In cities with more than one million inhabitants today 62 percent of them live in suburbs, a total of about 40 percent of the entire population of the United States (cf. Jakle, 1990: 302). More than one car name has paid tribute to this archetypal American life-style: there was, for example, the *Suburban Automobile Company*, organized in Portland, Maine, in 1902, the *Suburban Steam*, produced in Boston, Massachusetts in 1904, the *Suburban*, produced in Detroit from 1911 - 1912 (cf. Kimes/Clark, 1989: 1400), followed by the *Nash Suburban* (1946 - 1948), the *Plymouth Suburban* (1956 - 1961) and the recent *Chevrolet Suburban*.

⁴⁹ Incidentally, the numbered highway system was predated by named roads, such as *Lincoln Highway*, *Dixie Highway* or *Jefferson Highway*.

Terms used to describe these multi-centered urbanized areas are *megalopolis* or *conurbation*. As this new type of city would not have been conceivable without the mass use of private transport some sociologists divide American cities in "pre-car" urbanities, dating in their structure from before the automobile age and resembling European cities like Boston or San Francisco and "post-car" ones (cf. Redling, 1989: 23). The archetypal megalopolis is Los Angeles:

Its vast amorphous conglomeration of housing tracts, shopping centers, industrial parks, freeways, and independent towns blend into each other in a seamless fabric of concrete and asphalt, and nothing over the years has succeeded in gluing this automobile-oriented civilization into any kind of cohesion - save that of individual routine. (Jackson, 1985: 7)

Rural areas experienced the opposite reorientation to metropolitanism, namely a centralization of institutions and activities. This "citification"⁵⁰ made the car as indispensable in rural areas as it is in suburbia (cf. Interrante, 1980/81: 508). This re-design of the American landscape changed the character of the automobile from an extravagance to a necessity.

Another interesting feature of the automobile landscape are billboards, advertising signs large enough to attract the notice of the fast-travelling motorist and typical of the commercial strips. Although they existed before the automobile, their use increased for it. The Burma-Shave signs of the 1920s were the first major successful advertising campaign by billboard. Before that the function of road sign and billboard had been connected in an advertising campaign by Rambler: in 1902, when hardly any road signs existed at all, Rambler covered the countryside with more than 5.000 signs that indicated the distance to the nearest city and in which direction it lay. Of course, each sign featured the Rambler name prominently (cf. Campbell, 1964: 173). Also similar to billboards in its function is the so-called "programmatic architecture", which tried to combine the function of sheltering a commercial enterprise with the one of being an advertising sign in one building. A famous example of this type of architecture that saw its heyday in the Twenties is a doughnut stall in the form of a huge doughnut in Southern California. After a decline in the use of highway advertising because of the 1965 Highway Beautification Act and the advent of TV advertising billboards have experienced a revival since the 80s when cigarette and hard liquor advertising was banned from TV. As these industries found billboards advantageous over TV advertising - the Surgeon General's mandatory warning cannot be read at high speeds, and billboards can target specific markets more effectively and cheaper - other industries followed their

⁵⁰ Berger (1979: 209) uses the term to denote not only an environmental change but also a change in the outlook on life.

lead. Today's outdoor advertising includes such novelties as holographic displays and arena-scale high-resolution television screens (cf. Finch, 1992: 349ff). Billboards have been the issue of many ecological and aesthetic discussions: while condemned as "junk" in Peter Blakes polemic publication *God's Own Junkyard* (first published in 1964), they are also regarded as true expressions of American popular culture (cf. Becker, 1989: 275).

1.3.3 Family life

Not only did automobility change public space but also the architecture of private homes. Hall, parlor and front porch, which had been essentials of a turn-of-the-century middle-class home, were given up after World War II as the use of the car had removed leisure-time activities away from the house and the neighbourhood. The driveway, on the other hand, became increasingly prominent and garages providing direct access to the kitchen were integrated into the suburban home (cf. Flink, 1988: 166ff). The architecture of homes was only one way in which the car imprinted itself upon the microstructure of society, family life. According to Flink (1988: 158ff) the life-style of the middle class family was revolutionized by the car in the following aspects as early as the 1920s⁵¹: it undercut parental supervision and authority as teenagers could easily leave the restrictions of the home environment. By the 1920s a car had become a social essential for Southern Californian teenagers, especially useful for the purpose of dating. Cars changed the rituals of courting and mating.

Cars fulfilled a romantic function from the dawn of the auto age. They permitted couples to get much farther away from front porch swings, parlor sofas, hovering mothers, and pesky siblings than ever before. [...] Courtship itself was extended from the five-mile radius of the horse and buggy to ten, twenty, and fifty miles and more. Sociologists duly noted that increased mobility provided by the motorcar would lead to more cross-breeding and eventually improve the American species. Autos were more than a mode of transportation. They were a destination as well, for they provided a setting for sexual relations including intercourse. (Lewis, 1980/81b: 519f)

This automobile-related change has caused a lot of public concern, some communities prohibited the activities in the so-called "lovers' lanes" (cf. Lewis, 1980/81: 519), Henry Ford is said to have constructed the Model T seat so short that the use of the car for sexual intercourse would be impossible or greatly inhibited, whereas other models like the 1925 Jewett, the Nash cars after 1937 and especially the vans of the 1970s are said to have been constructed with the

⁵¹ For working class families the same holds true from the 1950s onwards.

opposite purpose in mind. Sociologists even estimated that up to 20 percent of Americans are conceived in cars (cf. Georgano, 1992: 6) and even the FBI concerned itself in 1940 with the "hot-pillow trade" in motels allegedly created by the automobile (cf. Flink, 1988: 160ff). The same ambiguous public feelings about the car were caused by the fact that it also changed religious habits⁵². Until the turn of the century the Sunday had, especially in rural communities, been almost exclusively devoted to religious practices. With the car, it was increasingly used for Sunday pleasure travel causing a decrease in church attendance (cf. Berger, 1979: 133ff). Pleasure travel in general was something that had not been available to the majority of American families before mass automobile ownership. With it "the automobile outing and the automobile vacation became middle-class American institutions" (Flink, 1988: 169). This in turn was conducive to the consolidation of the national park system with its concept of "democratic access to and preservation of scenic and wilderness areas" (Flink, 1988: 171). It also created an enormous tourist infrastructure.

The role of women was also influenced by automobility. It "freed them from the narrow confines of the home and changed them from producers of food and clothing into consumers of national-brand canned goods, prepared foods, and ready-made clothes" (Flink, 1988: 163). Together with the refrigerator it turned shopping from a daily into a weekly activity. They, thus, had to spend less time in the kitchen, which completely lost its status as center of the home with an eating-out boom from 1910 onwards, reinforced since the 50s by the rise of limited-menu, self-service restaurants like McDonald's (cf. Flink, 1988: 166).

1.3.4 Literature and popular culture

These various societal impacts of the car, which I could only briefly touch upon, made themselves felt earlier and stronger in the United States than in any other country. Already in 1907 the USA had outstripped France, the first important automobile-producing nation, in the production and consumption of cars (cf. Ingersoll, 1990: 149). In 1916 there were two million cars on the road, eight million in 1920, ten million in 1923, and 23 million in 1930, which meant 80 percent of all the automobiles in the world. In the 1920s, there were more cars registered in Kansas than in France or Germany, Michigan had more than Great Britain and Ireland combined (cf. Jakle, 1990: 294), and over one-half of all the cars in the world were Fords (cf. Hey, 1980/81: 589). While European manufacturers were still aiming at the rich sporting motorist, American

⁵² Today there are still some 100.000 people in the United States who refuse to use automobiles on religious grounds. Most of them live in Pennsylvania and Ohio and are members of the Old Orders of the Amish, the Mennonites, the German Baptists and the River Brethren (cf. Enninger/Scott, 1985: 372).

manufactures were already aiming at a mass market, producing "cars for everyone". How far the USA had outstripped the rest of the world in automobile ownership by the late 30s can be seen from the fact that European audiences had difficulty identifying with the plight of the Joads, when watching the film version of John Steinbeck's novel *The Grapes of Wrath*. They could not understand that people owning a car could be poor (cf. Finch, 1992: 143). The image of the 50s, the Golden Age of the motor car is a Chevrolet, a Ford or a Cadillac all over the world. "Not a Peugeot, even in France." (Bayley, 1986: 62). Even today, the USA shows the highest people/car ratio in the world: there are 1.9 persons for every car on the road, with other advanced industrialized, capitalist countries closely following, however. In Western Germany, the ratio in the early 80s was 2.7 persons per car (cf. Petsch, 1982: 227) versus 18.000 people per car in China (cf. Pettifer/Turner, 1984: 109). It has been said that "driving may indeed have become the key to American existence, as our principal form of identification is the driver's license" (Ingersoll, 1990: 149).

The USA afforded such an enormous market for automobiles because of its vast land area, its higher per capita income than Europe, the absence of tariff barriers between the states, its low raw material costs and "the American System of Manufacturing", which meant early mechanization of the industrial process and standardization of the industrial product (cf. Flink, 1988: 43f) but additionally the rapid diffusion of the car was aided by the fact that the car could be interpreted as an expression of certain American core values:

They are most certainly values inherited from a frontier experience whereby an essentially European culture brought a continent to heel, exploiting its resources and developing new possibilities socially and politically. At base was belief in individual freedom of action as well as respect for change as progress. Basic also was the pursuit of privatism, utilitarianism, and egalitarianism, values honed by pioneer circumstances. (Jakle, 1990: 308)

It is not surprising that a product that changed the realities of life so profoundly and that could do so because it met a certain cultural predisposition to embrace private mass transport as offered by the automobile should also leave its trace upon cultural artefacts. Either in real or symbolic capacity, it is almost omnipresent in literature and the arts: "The automobile has become so culturally ingrained that it seems hard to imagine writers who would *not* utilize the automobile [...] to move characters physically or symbolically from place to place, or to provide space for them to reflect and interact with each other." (Plath, 1990: 114). According to Dettelbach (1976) the car is primarily used as a symbol of the innocence of youth, freedom, success and possession in modern American literature, according to Becker (1989: 11) for individualism, (social) mobility, the

national characteristics of freedom and movement and the Puritan idea of progress. These positive ideas are also concentrated upon by marketers in the creation of a product image (cf. ch. 4, especially 4.3).

In literature these positive values attached to cars are counterbalanced by the fact that it is also used as a symbol for their opposites like constraint, failure and being possessed (cf. Dettelbach, 1976). Consequently, Dettelbach (1976) interprets the role of the automobile in American literature exclusively within the framework of the dreams and nightmares it evokes. The disillusion with the car began in the 60s when people started to notice its destructive potential. Especially Nader's (1965) book *Unsafe at Any Speed*, which dealt with the safety hazards of the American car, contributed to this change in public opinion. With an increase in car accidents, automobile-related environmental problems and economic problems of Detroit's car producers due to the oil crisis and rising imports in the 70s, the image of the car became even more flawed. A whole body of death-of-the-automobile literature ensued⁵³. This social ambiguity of the car was, of course, reflected in literature. A famous example of a novel in which the car has become a totally destructive and evil force is Stephen King's *Christine* (1983): the heroine, a 1957 Plymouth Fury, turns into a killing monster terrorizing a small town.

Thus cars run through literature in defiantly paradoxical and contradictory ways. There is the love affair with cars, the romance impulse, if you like, and there is a counter-movement in the detailed, sobering assessment of what happens when a society takes to the road. (Laird, 1980/81: 640)

The symbolic quality of cars in songs and in movies is much the same as in literature. In songs "four-wheeled imagery" is used to "depict issues of freedom, mobility, sexual relationships, prosperity, and authority" (Cooper, 1980: 18). Particularly interesting are the songs that feature not cars in general but only certain models. The Model T Ford was especially prolific in that respect. One of the most famous ones is *The Little Ford Rambled Right Along* by C. R. Foster and Byron Gay, which runs:

Now Henry Jones and a pretty little queen
Took a ride one day in his big limousine,
The car kicked up and the engine wouldn't crank
There wasn't any gas in the gasoline tank.
About that time along came Nord
And he rattled right along in his little old Ford
And he stole that queen as his engine sang a song

⁵³ For a bibliography of the most important titles cf. Goldstein (1980/81: 620).

And his little Ford rambled right along.
(quoted from Wik, 1972: 50)

In My Merry Oldsmobile by Gus Edwards and Vincent Bryan (1905) runs in a similar vein. It is particularly noteworthy because the car it refers to, the Oldsmobile Curved Dash, America's first quantity-built car, is best known by its song name: *Merry Oldsmobile*. These examples of early songs should not give rise to the impression that there are not any more modern songs featuring automobiles, on the contrary, Rock' n Roll lyrics like Chuck Berry's *Maybellene*, *Come On*, *No Money Down* or *No Particular Place to Go* use cars as all-pervasive image, and an even more recent example is Bruce Springsteen's *Cadillac*, which runs:

Eldorado fins, whitewalls and skirts
Rides just like a little of heaven here on earth
Well buddy when I die throw my body in the back
And drive me to the junkyard in my Cadillac.
(quoted from Pettifer/Turner, 1984: 258)

In movies, too, the car has come to play a major part. Car and film industry came into existence simultaneously, and their relationship has been a special one: movies were more influential on the popular image of the car than any other medium (cf. Pettifer/Turner, 1984: 243). As the car is a means of transport in the physical sense, films are a means of transport in a spiritual sense. From the start movies were used to help create an image of the car as also affording emotional transport. They have thus in common the fact that they are "transports of delight" (Smith, 1980/81: 577). Film and automobile industry have been supportive of each other in terms of image creation. While movies popularized specific cars [*Genevieve* (1953), in which Genevieve is a 1905 Darracq, or *The Love Bug* (1972) featuring a VW Beetle are famous examples], car dealers helped popularize those movies. The "star-in-the-car"⁵⁴ was used to further the publicity of both industries. Ford was the first industrial firm to produce and distribute films in order to enhance the image of the company's products (cf. Wik, 1972: 41). In the 40s and 50s each of the Big Three sponsored its own special program on TV, Ford *The Ed Sullivan Show*, GM *Bonanza* and Chrysler *The Best of Groucho*, in which the DeSoto was accompanied by its own song *It's delightful, it's delovely, it's Desoto* (cf. Hey, 1980/81: 597). Another area of popular culture in which the car has become a staple ingredient are everyday myths and legends. Brunvand (1981), professor of American Studies at the University of Utah, has collected these auto myths and isolated several recurring themes such as "The Death Car" (the smell of death cannot be removed from a used car in which a

⁵⁴ A sample of such "star-in-the-car" pictures is given by Anonymous (1968).

corpse had lain undiscovered for some time prior to the purchase), "The Philanderer's Porsche" (an expensive car is sold at a ridiculously low price because the proceeds are to go to the mistress of the seller's husband) or "The Solid Cement Cadillac" (a cement truck driver revenges himself on his wife's lover by delivering a load of wet mix into his rival's Cadillac). One legend, which focuses on the frightening aspects of automobility, is "The Boy-Friend's Death", in which the boy-friend's car breaks down in an isolated place. He goes walking off to get petrol or to get help to start the car and leaves the girl, who locks the doors, behind in the car. She becomes increasingly terrified as he does not come back, she hears strange sounds or sees strange shadows and finally she is rescued in the morning by the police who tell her not to look back at the car. When she does, there is her boy-friend hanging upside down above the car decapitated by some maniac and his finger nails scratching the roof (cf. Brunvand, 1981: 18ff).

The automobile not only became a recurring element in literature and popular culture, it also engendered a whole body of "road art". The term is used to designate art featuring automobiles or driving as the most important topic. It comprises road novels like Jack Kerouac's (1957) *On the Road*, road movies like Wim Wender's *Paris, Texas* or the recent *Thelma and Louise*, the above-mentioned billboards and motoring ephemera like mascots, postcards or miniatures. Even car advertisements have been interpreted as art created exclusively by and for the automobile. The most famous of these artistic advertisements are the ones written for the Jordan Playboy in 1923, which cannot be denied a certain lyric quality. One of them is given in Figure 1-4. The automobile has influenced art and even engendered a new genre of art, and moreover it has itself been regarded as a work of art. The first to do so were the Italian Futurists. One of their representatives, F. T. Marinetti, declared in 1909 that he considered a roaring motor car more beautiful than the Victory of Samothrace (cf. Pettifer/Turner, 1984: 239). It is not surprising that another of the Futurist artists, Ettore Bugatti, turned away from conventional art and became one of the most famous automobile engineers and designers. It has been said that "no poet expressed himself through his work more completely than Mr. Ford has expressed himself through his car and his tractor engine" (Goldstein, 1980/81: 626).

FIGURE 1-4: 1923 JORDAN PLAYBOY AD (SOURCE: STERN/STERN, 1978: 78)

The New York Museum of Modern Art acknowledges cars as works of art by exhibiting a Cisitalia. In his much-quoted equation of cars with Gothic cathedrals Roland Barthes (1957: 150) goes even further, he not only interprets individual cars as works of art but regards the automobile in general as the supreme artistic expression of our age:

Je crois que l'automobile est aujourd'hui l'équivalent assez exact des cathédrales gothique: je veux dire une grande création d'époque, conçue passionnément par des artistes inconnus, consommée dans son image, sinon dans son usage, par un peuple entier qui s'approprie en elle un objet parfaitement magique.

1.4 The corpus

The basis for this study is a corpus of 2241 American automobile names which were mainly collected from the three volumes of the *Standard Catalog of American Cars* (Flammang, 1989; Gunnell, 1992; Kimes/Clark, 1989). The catalog covers American cars built in the period from 1805 to 1986 with the exception of the years from 1943 to 1944 when no civilian vehicles were produced. For the period from 1946 to 1986, covered by volumes II (1946-1975: Gunnell, 1992) and III (1976-1986: Flammang, 1989) exhaustiveness was aimed at although I am fully aware that I cannot possibly have collected all the names used by American automobile manufactures during that period.

Originally I had the same goal for the names used from 1806 to 1942, covered by volume I of the catalog (Kimes/Clark, 1989) but on closer scrutiny of the names used during that period it turned out that the vast majority of these names is made up of the surnames of manufacturers who at some stage or other attempted production and were not successful enough to stay in business for a long time. Thus, a count of all the names used from 1806 to 1942 and starting with the letter A yields the following results: of the 302 manufacturer designations that have A as initial letter, 130 or 43% are taken from surnames (e.g. *Abbott-Akin*, *Abel*, *Abendroth&Root*) and the rest, 172 or 57% from general English words, simplexes (e.g. *Ace*, *Acme*, *Acorn*) and complexes (e.g. *Accessible*, *Aerocar*, *Airmobile*), or from place names (e.g. *Aberdeen*⁵⁵, *Albany*, *Alpena*) or phrases (e.g. *Amalgamated Steam*, *American Beauty*, *American Cyclecar*). If 43% does not seem to warrant speaking of the "vast majority" it should be taken into account that a specific feature of the names starting with A is that two general words that are used extremely frequently as automobile names start with this letter: *American* and *Auto*. Out of the 172 names 51 are called *American* or contain *American* as attribute within a phrase and 52 are called *Auto* or contain

⁵⁵ From Aberdeen, Mississippi.

Auto as part of a word-formation. If these two items are disregarded it can be estimated that the percentage of surnames within the total sample is considerably higher than for the names beginning with the letter *A*: it might account for two-thirds to three quarters of the more than 5000 automobile names on record before 1942. Therefore I decided to look only at the names used by automobile manufacturers that were still in business after 1945. Again, the names turned out to be rather "uninspired" mainly consisting of numerical designations: *Buick Model B, Model C, Model G, Model F, Model D, Model S, Model 10, Model 5, Model 16, Model 17, Model 7, Model 19, Model 41*⁵⁶ etc. I thus took the decision to exclude all these numerical names and the names that give nothing but the number of cylinders or cubic inches of the motor such as *Dodge Four, Dodge Eight, Packard Twelve, Ford V-8, Cadillac V-12* or *Cadillac 353, Cadillac 452* etc. although some such names made it into my corpus. The comparative unimportance of these names can additionally be deduced from the fact that they played only a minor role in advertising or were not mentioned at all. A Chrysler ad from 1929, for instance, uses the series designation *75* only once in rather small script as a subtitle of a picture of the car in question but features the manufacturer designation *Chrysler* thirteen times (Marchand, 1985: 129). Similarly, the advertisements for the *Ford Model A* that replaced the *Model T* after 18 years in 1927 did not feature the model designation *Model A* at all, it only referred to *Ford* or *the New Ford* (cf. Marchand, 1985: 157).

The result of these decisions is that only 131 of all the names in the corpus were exclusively used in the pre-war period and a further 28 were used before and after the war. Of course, this arbitrary decision also excludes a number of quite interesting automobile names such as the *Jordan Playboy* (1919-1928) which is said to have been named after John M. Synge's play *The Playboy of the Western World* (cf. Georgano, 1992: 97) or the *A Car Without a Name* (1909) about which the advertisements said that a name was all it was lacking.

Names used from 1986 to the present, the period not covered by the catalog, were collected from a variety of sources, especially Georgano (1992) and various issues of *automobile* and *car and driver*. Normally, only the names of passenger vehicles are included in the corpus but the names of a few pick-up trucks and duty-vehicles such as *GMC Sonoma* etc. also occur.

Another question that had to be answered before compiling the corpus was what should be regarded as an American car. Since today Volkswagen, Nissan or BMW produce cars in the USA while cars by GM or Ford might in whole or in part be designed and assembled abroad, the question is not that fatuous at all.

⁵⁶ Actually, the models from 1904 to 1910 were marketed in this order, i.e. *Model D* followed *Model F, Model 10* preceded *Model 5* etc.

Because I could not possibly deal with the name of every car that is sold in the United States or produced by companies with some kind of US affiliation, I decided to only include cars that are "built inside the borders of the United States [... or ...] by Americans in other countries, but primarily for the U.S. market [...]" (Gunnell, 1992: 650). Two reasons in support of this imprecise definition can be given: the first one is that during most of the time in which the car names described here were used the role of foreign-built cars in the United States was marginal. Only since the early 70s have foreign carmakers, especially the Japanese, been able to obtain a larger market share. Their market share has never surpassed 26% of all the cars sold in the USA, however, and is presently declining again. It was 22% in 1994 (cf. Anonymous, 1994: 85). The other reason is that these cars are perceived as American by a majority of Americans. Although consumer reports tend to point out that foreign cars might surpass domestic ones in quality, price etc. and automotive writers might ridicule purchasers of domestic cars⁵⁷, "American" cars are bought not only for rational reasons like price, quality, service etc. but also for the identity they confer on their drivers as Watkins (1991: 162) points out:

[...] the U.S. identity of GM is not a reflection of where its cars are made but a marketing construct of where they are made *for*. That is, in terms of the cultural plotting of technological change, it's no less a matter of social positioning. Wherever the car parts may actually be manufactured, in possessing the car as GM identified, the marketing invites you to possess as well a history of U.S. manufacture and purchase, one then available only through GM and other U.S. companies, and not through Honda, say, even though many Accords currently may be assembled in Ohio.

⁵⁷ Yates (1983: 266), for instance, writes: "Perhaps the ultimate absurdity is a 'Buy American' sticker on a Plymouth Horizon or a Dodge Omni, cars which are powered by German-made engines and French-designed transmissions."

2 American automobile designations and their constituents

Commonly only terms like *Oldsmobile 98*, *Star Chief* or *Chevy* are used as automobile names but in order to fully identify an American automobile larger syntagmas like *1951 Oldsmobile 98 Holiday two-door hardtop coupe V-8*, *1958 Pontiac Star Chief Catalina four-door hardtop*, or *1982 Chevrolet Cavalier Cadet sedan* are used. An article on vintage cars in the German fan magazine *Wheels Magazine* (4, 1993: 56), for example states: "Hallo Leute! Mein voller Name ist Dodge Custom Royal Lancer Hardtop Coupé, mein Geburtsjahr 1959, [...]." While these designations are intended for the consumer, manufacturers use a serial number system for exact identification of their products. Thus, the series identification numbers of 1951 Oldsmobile 98s, for instance,

took the form 519()1001 to 519()ending number. First two symbols indicate model year: 51=1951. Third symbol indicates series: [...] 9=98. Fourth symbol in () assembly plant as follows: A=Atlanta; B=Boston (Framingham); K=Kansas City; M=Michigan (Lansing); L=Linden (New Jersey); C=California (Los Angeles/Southgate); and W=Wilmington, Del. Remaining symbols were the unit's sequential production number. Starting number at each assembly plant was 1001. Ending numbers [...] at each coded plant were: [...] M42674; A8556; B7590; K15277; L11584; C11027; and W10857. Motor numbers (unrelated to assembly plants) were [V-8] 8C1001 to 8C287312. (Gunnell, 1992: 488)

This vehicle number is normally to be found somewhere on the car, in the case of the 1951 Oldsmobiles the number was located on the left front door pillar on the right side of the cowl. In the planning stage of a new car there is even another means of identification: the code name of a car. This is usually a letter name like *F-car* for what was later to be the *Chevrolet Camaro* and the *Pontiac Firebird* or *DN5* for the later *Ford Taurus* and *Mercury Sable* (cf. Georgano, 1992: 212; 244) but common or proper nouns like *Archbishop* for the later *Ford Cortina* (cf. Bayley, 1986: 87) or *Erika* for the later *Ford Escort* (cf. Georgano, 1992: 232) are used, too. Vehicle identification number and code name are not normally used by the consumers. They are only confronted with the above-mentioned syntagmas. These syntagmas specify one or more of the categories of "model year" (*1951*; *1958*; *1982*), "manufacturer" (*Oldsmobile*; *Pontiac*; *Chevrolet*), "series" (*98*; *Star Chief*; *Cavalier*), "model" (*Holiday*; *Catalina*; *Cadet*) and "body type" (*two-door hardtop coupe*⁵⁸; *four-door hardtop*; *sedan*). These constituents will now be examined in some more detail.

⁵⁸ Sometimes the engine type is indicated, too: *V-8*.

2.1 The constituents

2.1.1 Model year designation

The first constituent is the model year designation which is usually nothing more than a numeral, *1990*, *1991*, *1992* etc. Only a few manufacturers use other designations as Packard, for instance, who spoke of *series* instead. Cars built in 1946-47 were referred to as *21st Series*, in 1948-49 as *22nd Series* and so on. To achieve greater regularity the *26th Series* of 1953 was followed by the *54th Series* in 1954. Occasionally, the model year designation may occupy a position other than the initial one within the syntagma such as in *Cord L29* where the series designation (cf. ch. 2.1.3) is derived from the year of introduction of this model: 1929. From 1930 till 1932, when production of this line finished, the normal order is restored, however: *1930 Cord L29*, *1931 Cord L29*, *1932 Cord L29*.

Armi (1988: vii) reports that in his childhood, which must have been in the 50s, he and his brother used to pass time in the car on the interstate by playing a game in which the winner was the one who first identified a complete ten-year run of any make of car. Of course, such a game only makes sense when automobiles, or at least their styling, changes appreciably every year. The marketing policy of annual model change was started by General Motors in 1923 and fully formalized and institutionalized in the 1930s, it is part of the larger marketing concept called "Sloanism" (cf. ch. 2.1.2). Henry Ford, whose Model T was produced more or less unaltered for eighteen years (1909-1927), was initially reluctant to follow General Motors' lead but in due course both Ford and Chrysler started to bring out different models each year, thus hastening the demise of the independent manufacturers who did not have the means to keep up with the pace of the "Big Three". Annual model change is intended to increase the turnover of cars and is often also referred to as "built-in obsolescence". Most of these model changes are of a purely cosmetic nature, i. e. only affecting the styling of the automobiles. Automobiles thus become part of modern consumer society's fashion system - Alfred Sloan boasted that he had transferred the methods of Parisian couturiers to the world of automobile production: as few people like to be seen in old-fashioned clothes car drivers do not want to drive "dated" models⁵⁹ (cf. Braun, 1991: 188). Actually, Fordism and Sloanism are essential to each other:

⁵⁹ Now and then, cars that explicitly defy this fashion system can be successful. The success of the VW Beetle as an import car in the USA from the late 50s through the 60s has been attributed to the fact that it did *not* change its models every year (cf. Bongard, 1962). VW targeted the subculture of consumer society critics with advertisements saying e. g. "The 1962 model has not changed at all." (cf. Bongard, 1962).

Standardization and pseudo-individualization would thus mark how the automotive industry solved one of the basic problems of a capitalist economy: standardization meant cheap, efficiently organized production; pseudo-individualization meant the potential for continually expanding sales by trading on easily altered features of appearance that didn't affect the basic organization of production. (Watkins, 1991: 161)

Although this model change does not necessarily mean that the car is improved in any vital aspect, modern western society's belief in progress contributes to the impression that a 1994 model of any make is superior to its 1993 sibling⁶⁰. The model year designation is thus not without connotations as one might expect from a purely numeric designation.

Nor is the denotatum of the model year designation unambiguous. To talk of a 1990 model does not necessarily mean that the car in question was produced at some date between January 1st and December 31st, 1990, rather a model year usually starts in September when the new models already bearing the designation of the calendar year to come appear in dealer showrooms. Occasionally new models are introduced at a date other than September. The first series of Mustangs, for instance, are called *1964½* as they were introduced in mid-season on April 17, 1964 (cf. Georgano, 1992: 208). As import models are introduced at any time of the year this practice has in recent years also been changing with domestic models, however, so that today new model introductions are taking place all over the calendar year (cf. *car&driver* 9, 1993: 29).

Even more ambiguous are instances of "re-badging" of model years. Hudson, for example (cf. Butler, 1982: 113), initially called its models of calendar year 1928 that appeared between January and June *1928 Series Two* and those that appeared between June and December *1929 Series One* but a few years later they were reclassified as *1928 Series One* and *1928 Series Two*. In automobile catalogues usually the latter designation is used. It is especially noteworthy that the only difference between Series One and Series Two models is the designation!

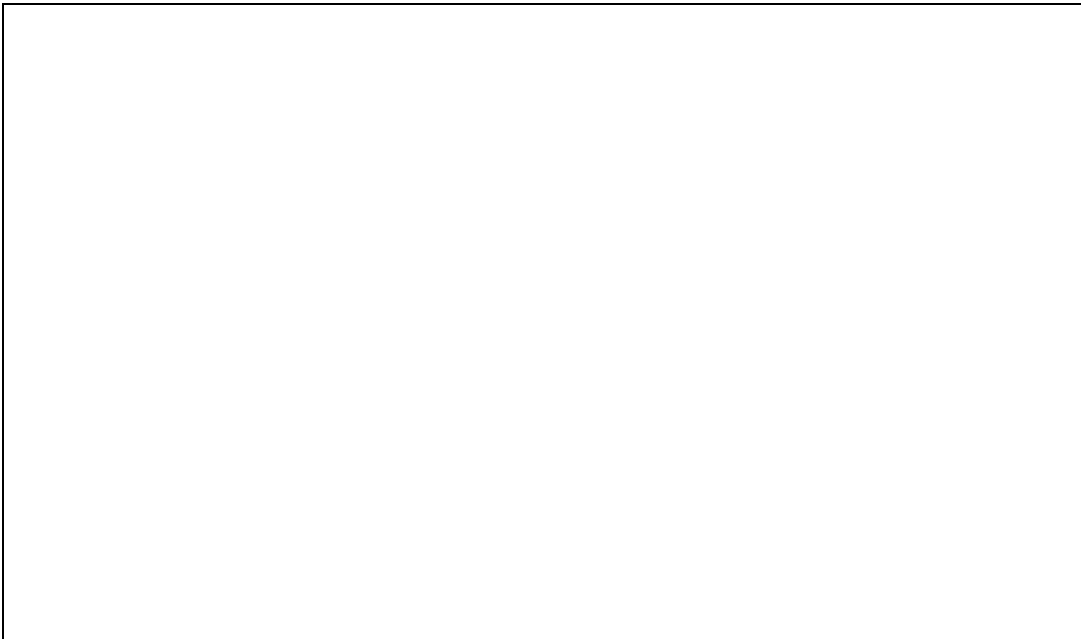
2.1.2 Manufacturer designation

The second position in the syntagma is usually occupied by the designation of the manufacturer. Thus, all the automobiles offered by one manufacturer or division have this designation element in common. In marketing theory this branding strategy is called family or blanket branding (cf. Hisrich/Peters, 1978: 235f). It has the advantage that it facilitates the acceptance of a new product as

⁶⁰ An important exception to this rule are classic or vintage cars - they may be the more prestigious and valuable the earlier they were produced.

consumers will generalize that the level of quality of a new product is the same as of already existing ones. It also reduces the cost of branding as brand name research and extensive advertising will be superfluous and it helps to make profits at an earlier stage as consumers will respond to the new product faster when they recognize it as part of an already existing range. The disadvantage of this strategy is obvious, too: should a manufacturer or a division fail to maintain a consistent level of quality all products of the range might be affected. If one automobile of a certain division acquires a reputation for poor quality this reputation might spread to the whole make. Marketing theory recognizes three general branding strategies: family branding, individual branding and a "no name"-strategy.

FIGURE 2-1: RENAULT LE CAR (SOURCE: FINCH, 1992: 322)



Family or blanket branding is the only one of these that is used by the major automobile manufacturers. The strategy of individual branding, in which no manufacturer designation is given, is only very occasionally used by the major American manufacturers. An example would be the *Valiant*, which was turned out by the Chrysler Corporation and marketed without manufacturer designation in 1960 but later on became *Plymouth Valiant*, or the *Merkur XR4Ti*, a car imported by the Lincoln-Mercury-Division from Ford's German subsidiary. In this case a certain connection is maintained by the fact that *Merkur* and *Mercury* can almost be regarded as spelling variants, however. Individual branding is also used by minor manufacturers who may not even offer a range of products and virtually no automobile manufacturer uses a "no name"-strategy, which simply uses the generic term such as "car" and nothing else. It is most common with low

cost items such as food stuff. An example that gets quite close to this strategy in cars is Renault's *Le Car*, which features the words *Le Car* in large letters on both front doors but additionally carries the Renault badge on its front and back (cf. Figure 2-1).

Not only model year designations are assigned to certain cars on an arbitrary basis but also the manufacturer designations. Yates (1983: 17; 59) gives the following example of the sub-compact J-cars (= code name) introduced by General Motors for 1982:

The machine was to be sold in the United States as the Chevrolet Cavalier, the Pontiac J-2000⁶¹, and the Cadillac Cimarron. It would also be marketed on a worldwide basis as the German Opel Ascona, the English Vauxhall Motors Cavalier, the General Motors of Brazil Monza, the Holden - GM of Australia Camira, and the GM - South Africa Ascona. In Japan, it would be built under license to Isuzu. [...] The J-cars were being sold under different trademarks, but they were actually products of 'nameplate engineering'. The Cavaliers and Pontiacs coming down the line were virtually the same automobile with different brand labels. GM, Ford, and Chrysler had been doing this for years, but it apparently did not upset most consumers who were used to paying several hundred dollars more for a Mercury, Buick, Oldsmobile, Dodge, or Chrysler than for a clone from Ford, Chevrolet, Pontiac or Plymouth.

The best example of the practice of badge-engineering is the involuntarily funny one of the Dodge Aspen and the Plymouth Volare, the one side of a number of which emerged by error as Volare, while the other side of the car came as Aspen (cf. Sobel, 1984: 253f). This system of indicating a certain make or division as a substitute for the manufacturer and thus diversifying one's range of products was devised and instituted by General Motor's president Alfred P. Sloan and is commonly referred to as "Sloanism". The point of this marketing strategy is to offer a "car for every purse and purpose": one manufacturer houses various "makes" or "divisions" which differ in their prestige and are ranked according to price. Engines, chassis and bodies are interchangeable, the difference between the various makes is not necessarily a material one but rather a difference in meaning. Thus, Chevrolet is the lowest-priced GM make carrying the lowest prestige, while Cadillac is the highest-priced make carrying the highest prestige. The policies of yearly model change and offering various makes are interrelated: consumers are not only supposed to buy a new model every year but also to "trade up", i. e. to exchange their first car, e.g. a low-priced Chevrolet, for a mid-

⁶¹ The *Pontiac J-2000* became the *Pontiac 2000 Sunbird* in 1984 and has been called *Pontiac Sunbird* since 1985 - I. P.

priced Pontiac or Oldsmobile as their salary increases. The purchase of a Cadillac would be a sign that they have "arrived", have "made it". It is important to note that not every Chevrolet is cheaper than a Pontiac, "it means rather that a given Chevrolet will be less expensive than a comparably equipped Pontiac, and so on up the line." (Aronoff, 1981: 333). Additionally, the system is not as static as one might suppose and Aronoff's (1981) study suggests. Occasionally, the manufacturers have overthrown their own marketing principles so that cohesion of prestige and prices was lost, e.g. when in the early 80s a loaded Chevrolet Caprice Classic cost more than a base Cadillac Coupe de Ville (cf. Yates, 1983: 61). And consumers do react when the differences amount to nothing but the badge - in the 80s Cadillac suffered from a severe loss of image as a reaction to the virtual non-existence of differences with other GM products (cf. Georgano, 1992: 262). Today, General Motors for instance is trying to get away from Sloan's simple scheme and to differentiate its makes not only through prestige but also through other aspects of product image:

Crucial to the new segmentation scheme, GM's divisions have assessed their 'brand heritage', to clarify their own images and missions so everything from product planning to advertising reflects a consistent direction. (Serafin, 1988: 1)

Today the "Big Three", General Motors, Ford Motor Company, and Chrysler Corporation, account for all the 15 domestic brands (cf. Table 2-1, Table 2-2, and Table 2-3). The fact that the oligopoly of the Big Three has within each concern successfully created a semblance of competition has contributed to the demise of most of the independent American automobile manufacturers. Thus, the number of American automobile makes dwindled from about 200 in 1922 to 47 in 1929 and 22 in 1940. If one disregards the economically insignificant makers of replicars and kit cars this process continued after World War II to the present 15 makes that are turned out by only three manufacturers (cf. Georgano, 1992: 92). How successful this creation of a pseudo-competition has been can be shown syntactically (the examples are taken from Aronoff, 1981: 332): One can say

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} GM \\ Ford \\ Chrysler \end{array} \right\} \text{ is putting out a new model.}$$

but likewise substitute make for manufacturer:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Pontiac \\ Dodge \\ Lincoln \end{array} \right\} \text{ is putting out a new model.}$$

One can not use the name of a series or model in this function as agent, however, these can only be used for cars while the name of the make is polysemous: it denotes the manufacturer as well as the car.

Chevelle
 *{ *LeMans* } *is putting out a new model.*
Horizon

While the polysemy of the names of makes that used to be independent manufacturers and were taken over such as Cadillac, Oldsmobile or Dodge can be explained historically, it must be regarded as a real marketing success in names of makes that were created for the purpose of filling a marketing gap such as Pontiac, Plymouth or Mercury.

Table 2-1, Table 2-2, and Table 2-3 show the makes of the three major U.S. automobile manufacturers, the "Big Three". The lower a make is in the table the lower it is ranked in prestige and price. Divisions producing mainly trucks and utilitarian vehicles such as GMC are not indicated. The dates given in brackets indicate when the brand became a division of GM, Ford or Chrysler and when it ceased to exist. The first date is not necessarily identical with the foundation date. Thus, the "Cadillac Automobile Company", for instance, was founded in 1903.

TABLE 2-1: THE MAKES OF GM

| | |
|-------------------------------|--------------|
| Cadillac | (since 1908) |
| La Salle ⁶² | (1927-1940) |
| Buick | (since 1904) |
| Marquette | (1912; 1930) |
| Viking | (1929-1930) |
| Oldsmobile | (since 1908) |
| Oakland | (1907-1931) |
| Pontiac | (since 1926) |
| Saturn ⁶³ | (since 1990) |
| Chevrolet | (since 1919) |
| Geo | (since 1989) |

⁶² In the late Twenties a number of marks were set up as "companion cars" to be produced and marketed under the aegis of a sister division. Thus, La Salle was a companion car to Cadillac, Marquette to Buick, Viking to Oldsmobile, and Pontiac to Oakland. Pontiac was the only one of these to survive and even to replace its parent brand.

⁶³ Saturn and Geo were set up with the aim of providing an alternative to foreign imports. While Saturn is a highly innovative division as regards production and marketing methods (cf. Flink, 1988: 401ff), Geo is mainly used as a badge for imports from GM-related Japanese manufacturers. Thus, the *Suzuki Samurai* (called *Suzuki Vitara* in Europe) becomes the *Geo Tracker*, the *Suzuki Swift* the *Geo Metro* (also *Chevrolet Sprint*), the *Isuzu Impulse* the *Geo Storm*, and the *Geo Prizm* (also *Chevrolet Nova*) is related to the *Toyota Corolla* (cf. ConsumerGuide, 1993a).

TABLE 2-2: THE MAKES OF FORD

| | |
|------------------------------|--------------|
| Lincoln ⁶⁴ | (since 1922) |
| Edsel ⁶⁵ | (1958-1960) |
| Mercury | (since 1938) |
| Ford | (since 1901) |

TABLE 2-3: THE MAKES OF CHRYSLER

| | |
|--|--------------|
| Imperial ⁶⁶ | (1954-1975) |
| Chrysler | (since 1923) |
| Jeep ⁶⁷ - Eagle ⁶⁸ | (since 1987) |
| DeSoto ⁶⁹ | (1929-1961) |

⁶⁴ There existed various makes of various degrees of independence from the Lincoln division, namely the Continental Marks, the most independent being the higher ranked Continental Mark II (1956-1958), and the Lincoln Zephyr, which was set up as a more or less separate, lower-ranking make from 1936-1942.

⁶⁵ The Edsel was intended to bracket Mercury at either end not only at the higher one.

⁶⁶ The *Imperial* had been a model of the Chrysler division (*Chrysler Imperial*) from 1926 to 1953. Therefore public acceptance of the designation *Imperial* for a separate make was low (cf. Gunnell, 1992: 236). Furthermore, the image of Imperial changed during its existence from a make ranked higher than Chrysler division to one ranked lower.

⁶⁷ Jeep and Eagle are organized and marketed in one division but regarded as two different makes. They are given together in this table because Jeep only produces off-road four-wheel-drive vehicles that are not really part of the same evaluation system as other passenger cars. Jeep is an interesting make insofar as it has been part of numerous concerns: originally manufactured by American Bantam, it became successively part of Willys-Overland, Kaiser, AMC, Renault, and recently Chrysler.

⁶⁸ When AMC was taken over by Chrysler their Eagle model (*AMC Eagle*) became a separate make (while the manufacturer designation *AMC* was not part of the deal). The prestige value of the Eagle make is not yet totally fixed, it might also be regarded as similar to or even somewhat lower than Dodge. Once again, it should be noted that prestige is not the only aspect of the image of a make. A comparison of prices of related (i.e. badge-engineered) models with similar equipment as given in ConsumerGuide (1993a; 1993b) yields the following table:

| full-size | sports coupe | mid size | subcompact |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Chrysler Concorde \$18,341 | | | |
| Eagle Vision \$17,387 | Eagle Talon \$11,752 | Eagle Premier \$10,000-12,000 | Eagle Summit \$11,455 |
| Dodge Intrepid \$15,930 | | Dodge Monaco \$9,500-11,000 | |
| Plymouth Laser \$11,406 | | Plymouth Colt Vista \$11,455 | |

The table indicates that Eagle is ranked lower than Chrysler and higher than Dodge and Plymouth although the subcompacts of both lines have the same sticker price. The prices for the intermediate-sized cars are estimations of used cars of this type while the others are the figures for new cars.

⁶⁹ DeSoto's prestige value was roughly the same as Dodge's: "[...] the DeSoto wasn't a necessary car when it arrived, for the market gap it was intended to fill between the Chrysler and the new Plymouth could very nicely be plugged by Dodge, which company Walter Chrysler had just managed to buy. Indeed, there is reason to believe that the DeSoto had been planned by Chrysler to intimidate the bankers controlling Dodge into selling the company to him. By the time that happened and the papers were signed, the DeSoto was on the assembly line, however." (Kimes/Clark, 1989: 413)

| | |
|-----------------|--------------|
| Dodge | (since 1928) |
| Plymouth | (since 1928) |

The various makes of one manufacturer not only carry different prestige but the makes of different manufacturers that occupy the same position within their respective scale also carry roughly equivalent prestige:

One of the results of the existence of ranks is that makes can be compared, regardless of manufacturer. Chevrolet and Ford are thus equivalent, as are Cadillac and Lincoln. Mercury is higher than Chevrolet, etc. The ranks form a value system, and each make can be placed within this system. (Aronoff, 1981: 333)

An interesting acknowledgement of this system is the Plymouth slogan "Look At All Three" which is - according to Anderson (1950: 102) - without further comment understood as inviting comparison with the make's two principal rivals, Ford and Chevrolet. Again, this is not a static system but rather one that is subject to prestige changes. Chevrolet, for instance, competed not head-on with Ford in its early days but rather it was marketed as something a bit more stylish and better equipped than a Model T, so that Ford owners could trade up to Chevrolet.

2.1.3 Series and model designation

The third and fourth position in the syntagma of an American automobile designation is occupied by the series and model designation. What I call "series" might also be called "line" or "model" in automobile literature and for "model" one can also find "line" and, rarely, "series". The category "series" refers to the size of the automobile. The size of a car is determined by its comparative weight and the wheelbase and it is most commonly classified as "full-size", "intermediate size", "compact" and "subcompact"⁷⁰. As with makes, cars of the same size but from different manufacturers can be compared: in 1970 Ford and Chevrolet competed with the lines given in Table 2-4.

⁷⁰ These size classifications do not compare with European sizes: there are virtually no European cars that would classify as "full size" for Americans, even a Rolls-Royce is at best "intermediate size" (cf. Sobel, 1984: 23). The smallest category, sub-compacts, would include a car like the VW Golf (*VW Rabbit* in the US) (cf. Redling, 1989: 37) and a Ford Fiesta is best spoken of as "tiny". While in Europe car size is categorized according to cubic capacity (below 1000 cc: small car; 1000-2000 cc: mid size; more than 2000 cc: full size), the criteria in the USA are comparative (rather than absolute) weight and wheelbase. The descriptive term *compact* itself exemplifies this difference in the perception of car size: "[...] it was he [= George Mason, Nash-Kelvinator manager who introduced the Rambler - I. P.] who decided not to call it [= Rambler - I. P.] a small car, perhaps because he knew American buyers frowned on the word in most things, and cars, in particular. Rather, the Rambler would be advertised as a 'compact'." (Sobel, 1984: 55).

TABLE 2-4: FORD AND CHEVROLET SERIES, 1970 (SOURCE: NORBYE, 1971: 137)

| | Ford | Chevrolet |
|--------------|-------------|----------------------|
| Full size | Galaxie | Impala ⁷¹ |
| Intermediate | Torino | Chevelle |
| Compact | Falcon | Nova |
| Personal | Thunderbird | Monte Carlo |
| Sporty car | Mustang | Camaro |
| Subcompact | Maverick | - |
| Sports car | - | Corvette |

But this is only a very rough classification as on the one hand size differences were not very pronounced until the late 50s and early 60s and on the other hand differences in size and range have proliferated to an enormous variety since then. So, in 1950 Oldsmobile, for example, came in three different series: 76, 88 and 98. There were "two different engines, a six for the 76 and a V8 for the others, but they looked almost alike, and differences in size were very small, an extra 2.5 inches on the wheelbase and 2 inches on the front tread between the bottom and top of the range." (Georgano, 1992: 176). Since the 1960s a number of new size types have emerged, the "muscle car" type for example "resulted from installing the most powerful V8 from the full size range in an intermediate body shell" (Georgano, 1992: 209) or the "micro-mini" type which refers to cars powered by engines below 2.000 cc (cf. Sobel, 1984: 181). It has to be noted that the information given by series as regards the size of a certain vehicle is always a relative one which only provides information about the comparative size of a certain car at a certain point in time. The standard size of a so-called full-size car, for instance, had been growing until around 1970, so that Ford's full-size series, the Fairlane, was 198 inches in overall size in 1954 but 214 inches in 1960 (cf. Georgano, 1992: 203). With a growing consciousness of fuel economy and environmental issues car makers started to downsize their products from the late 1960s onwards. Thus, an intermediate sized car of the 60s may well be larger than a full-size car of the 80s.

Again, this position might not be filled at all. Especially pre-World War II cars and the automobiles turned out by minor manufacturers were sometimes not even differentiated in series. But even when more than one series are present one might be singled out by not getting a series designation, the full-size Chevrolets of the early 70s, for example, had no series designation but only manufacturer and model designations such as *Chevrolet Biscayne*, *Chevrolet Bel Air*, *Chevrolet Impala* and *Chevrolet Caprice* while the mid-sized Chevelle showed all three

⁷¹ Actually, the Impala is a model name rather than a series designation as it was used for the deluxe trim full-size Chevrolet. There was no separate series designation for full-size Chevrolets in 1970.

designations: *Chevrolet Chevelle* (base trim), *Chevrolet Chevelle Malibu*, *Chevrolet Chevelle Concours* and *Chevrolet Chevelle Greenbrier*.

The fourth position of the syntagma is occupied by the model designation. A car of a given series is offered in various models differentiated according to standard and available trim, accessories and equipment. Thus, the 1955 Studebaker Champion series came in three models: Custom, Deluxe and Regal.

Custom models continued with painted headlight and taillight trim rings. The Deluxe versions featured narrow stainless windshield moldings, while the Regal style had very wide stainless steel windshield moldings. (Gunnell, 1992: 626).

Custom, Deluxe and Regal variations on the mid-sized Commander were the same as on the low-priced Champion, but in the top line President series there were only two model variations: Deluxe and State. The terms used as model designations are not necessarily descriptive, in most cases it is not even obvious that they relate to trim levels, the Kaisers of 1949, for instance, were offered as *Kaiser Traveler* (standard equipment) and as *Kaiser Vagabond* (deluxe equipment), sometimes the term used might even be "misleading": the *1952 Oldsmobile Deluxe 88* designates the lowest trim level available. There are on average three models of a given series: economy, standard and deluxe (cf. Aronoff, 1981: 334). Apart from these systematic variations there are often all kinds of special models or special editions⁷² offered. Again, the differences between a special edition and the standard version of a given automobile tend to be rather superficial and are supposed to aid the marketing of the car by individualizing it and giving it a semblance of customizing. In 1955, for instance, there was a *LaFemme* option on Dodge Custom Royals, it was differentiated from the standard version by "special Heather Rose and Sapphire White color combinations and matching cape, boots, umbrella, shoulder bag and floral upholstery fabrics." (Gunnell, 1992: 278). This special edition was one of the first efforts of automobile marketing to target women. Another example would be the "designer editions" of the Lincoln Mark IV from 1976 onwards, the only difference with the standard version being two plates with the name of a couturier on it:

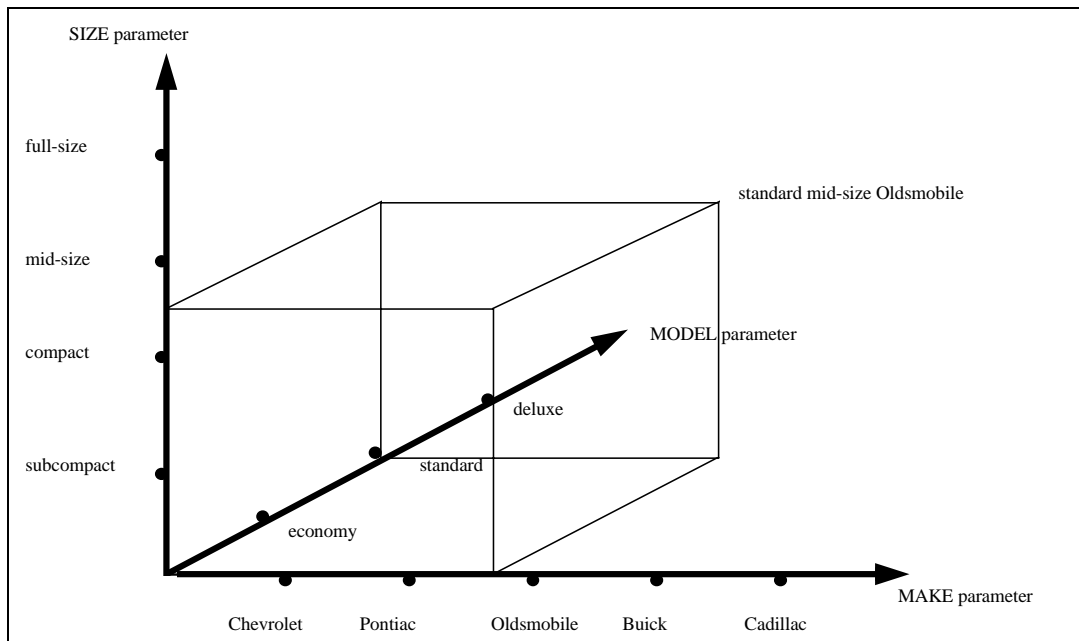
Bill Blass? Givenchy? Pucci and Cartier? Each of those internationally known apparel designers put his name and ideas on a Designer Series 'Mark' Lincoln. Each displayed the designer's signature on opera windows, as well as a golden plate on the dash.

⁷² Special editions are common with all kinds of products but they are especially well-known with automobiles as is shown by the following subtitle of an article on computers: "Sondermodelle gibt es nicht nur bei Autos: Auch PC-Hersteller bauen Spezialserien." (Kleinwort, 1993: 128).

Affluent customers must have liked the idea, just as ordinary folks wore jeans with designer names on the back pocket. Lincoln sales leaped upward this year [= 1976 - I. P.]. (Flammang, 1989: 260)

In contrast to series designation and "real" model designations the names of special editions tend to be rather short-lived and may be tied up closely with current affairs. An example of such an up-to-date name for a special edition is the special edition *Ötzi* which was offered by Suzuki almost immediately after the mummy had been discovered (cf. Anonymous, 1993b: 4).

FIGURE 2-2: MAKE, SERIES AND MODEL AS A SEMANTIC SYSTEM ACCORDING TO ARONOFF (1981: 335)



According to Aronoff (1981: 334ff) the parameters of series and model form together with make a three-dimensional system (cf. Figure 2-2): the sense of any car name is its position in this system. Intriguing as this system is, it has, to my mind, one major drawback: because of the sheer number of car variations and because of a frequent reshuffling of names only a tiny minority of automobile enthusiasts can actually know what the position of a given car in the field is. The number of variations of a given car is demonstrated by Higdon (quoted from Sobel, 1984: 3):

[...] a Yale University physicist calculated that since [in 1965 - I.P.] Chevy offered 46 models, 32 engines, 20 transmissions, 30 colors (plus nine two-tones combinations) and more than 400 accessories and options, the number of different cars that a Chevrolet customer conceivably could order was greater than the number of atoms in the universe.

But even more confusing than the number of variations of a 1965 Chevrolet is the fact that one and the same name is often used as a series designation at one point in time and as model designation at another. Thus, in 1957 a Pontiac Bonneville was a limited-edition convertible on the Star Chief series, but in 1958 the name was reassigned to a separate line so that in 1958 *Pontiac Bonneville* designated a series rather than a model or Ford's *LTD* designation was first used as a model name denoting a luxury interior trim on the Galaxie in 1965 and then changed into a series designation in 1967. Most of the names in this study successively occupied both slots in the syntagma, series designation as well as model designation. Additionally, this fourth position might also be regarded as a ragbag for all kinds of information. Often, it contains an engine designation, *Six*, *V-8*, etc. or a designation which refers to a certain body type. The designations *Chevrolet Nomad station wagon* or *Plymouth Suburban station wagon* must be regarded as tautologic as *Nomad* and *Suburban* were used exclusively for station wagons by Chevrolet and Plymouth respectively.

2.1.4 Body type designation

The last position in the syntagma of American automobile designations is usually occupied by the body type designation. This designation is in contrast to the designations of manufacturer, series and model a common noun rather than a proper one⁷³. That it is intended and understood as such can easily be seen from the fact that it is usually spelt in small letters while the other designations are marked off by the use of capitals. The use of a common noun in connection with a brand name is common practice not only in the automobile industry, in Steenbergen's (1965: 329) corpus of Dutch brand names for various products 35.29% of them were used in connection with a descriptive common noun. The reason for this practice is basically a legal one (cf. ch. 1.2.2): in order to prevent trade names from degenerating into generic terms advertising experts advise manufacturers to "support" trade names by a common noun that enters into a determinant-determinatum relationship with the trade name (cf. ch. 2.2.1).

The body type designation differs from manufacturer, series and model designation not only in being a common noun but also in being descriptive rather than evaluative (cf. Aronoff, 1981: 336). As we have seen above the relative rank or prestige of a car can to a certain extent be determined by its make, size and options but this is not possible with body types. A sedan and a station wagon, for instance, cannot be compared in terms of relative prestige⁷⁴.

⁷³ Of course, this "proper noun" is in the majority of cases a common noun used as trade name such as *Cougar*, *Mustang*, *Maverick* etc. (cf. ch. 1.2.3 and 3).

⁷⁴ Certain body styles can only be found on certain models, though. Convertibles, for example, are restricted to cars of high rank (cf. Sobel, 1985: 59).

Although of a descriptive nature, body style designations are used in a highly subjective way, there is no clear-cut terminology of these terms. Thus, the *coupe* of one manufacturer might look like the *sedan* of another. In automotive literature one can again and again find attempts to define these terms but manufacturers persist in using them subjectively. Thus, Flammang (1989: IX), for example, complains:

By definition, a runabout is the equivalent of a roadster. The term was used by carriage makers and has been applied in the past to light, open cars on which a top is unavailable or totally an add-on option. None of this explains its use by Ford on certain Pinto models.

Another interesting example of subjective body style description has become common on hatchbacks: they are described as *three-door* or *five-door* although only two or four of these are doors in the sense of "entryway for people". But the use of body style designation has become more regular as their number has been shrinking. Flammang (1989: VIIff) notes only eighteen different body style designations in current use: *two-door (club) coupe*, *two-door sedan*, *two-door (three-door) hatchback coupe*, *two-door fastback*, *two-door hardtop*, *colonnade hardtop*, *formal hardtop*, *convertible*, *roadster*, *runabout*, *four-door sedan*, *four-door hardtop*, *four-door pillared hardtop*, *four-door (five-door) hatchback*, *limousine*, *two-door station wagon*, *four-door station wagon* and *liftback station wagon*. As it is beyond the scope of this chapter to explain the differences between the referents of all these terms, I will restrict the explanations to the more general designations *coupe*, *sedan*, *hatchback*, *fastback*, *hardtop*, *convertible*, *roadster*, *limousine* and *station wagon*. For more detailed definitions the reader is referred to Flammang (1989: VIIff). A *coupe* is an enclosed car with two doors and a sloping back but today this applies equally well to a two-door sedan and a hatchback. *Sedan*

originally described a conveyance seen only in movies today: a wheelless vehicle for one person, borne on poles by two men, one ahead and one behind. Automakers pirated the word and applied it to cars with a permanent top, seating four to seven (including driver) in a single compartment. (Flammang, 1989: VII)

Hatchback or *liftback* denotes a car that has no separate trunk, with the rear end door that opens upwards providing immediate access to the passenger compartment. A *fastback* does not have such a door but the roof exhibits a long, moderately curving, downward slope to the rear. *Hardtops* and *convertibles* also exhibit certain similarities: a *convertible* is a car with a lowerable or removable top while a *hardtop* is a car that is made to look like a convertible but has in fact a rigid metal or fiberglass top. *Roadster* denotes a spartan open two-seater. This

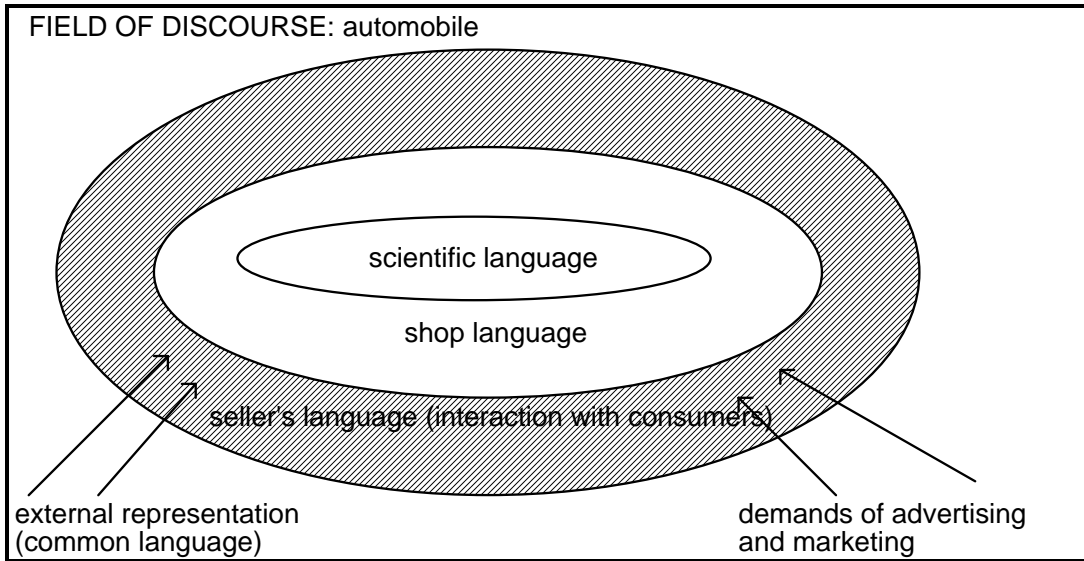
sports car is rare as a mass produced vehicle and today mainly confined to alternative-type vehicles and replicars. *Limousines* are large luxury cars that are often driven by a chauffeur whose compartment might be separated by a window from the passengers' compartment. A *station wagon* has "a larger interior than sedans of the line and seats that can be readily lifted out, or folded down, to facilitate light trucking." (Flammang, 1989: X).

Body designations used on early automobiles were far more numerous, there used to be *broughams*⁷⁵, *conestogas*, *coupé de villes*, *coupelets*, *landaus*, *landaulettes*, *phaetons*, *speedsters*, *spyders*, *stanhopes*, *surreys*, *tonneaus*, *tourers* and *victorias* to name but a few. Another example of increasing regularization can be seen with the term *station wagon* that has become the accepted term replacing the former cluster of terms such as *depot hack*, *suburban*, *beach wagon*, *estate (wagon)* and *carryall*. This decrease in descriptive terms is not only the result of a greater standardization in meaning but has also a correlate in reality, namely a greater standardization of body types. In the early days of the automobile only engine and chassis were built by the car manufacturer and body construction and styling were left to coachbuilders who produced bodies for motor-powered and horse-drawn vehicles at the same time. Therefore many of the body designations were taken over from carriage designations (cf. ch. 4.5.1). These early bodies were individual ones, i.e. custom-built. The day of custom-built bodies ended for the majority of automobiles with the advent of the Model T Ford and for the luxury cars with the Great Depression (cf. Pfau, 1971) - and of course that meant the end for a number of body designations, too.

The subjective use of descriptive terms in body style designations can be attributed to the fact that automobile designations are part of a language variety that has been called "seller's language" ("Verkäufersprache", Ischreyt, 1965). Ischreyt (1965) subdivides language for specific purposes vertically into three groups: scientific language ("wissenschaftliche Fachsprache"), specific colloquial language or shop language ("Werkstattsprache") and seller's language used in interaction with the consumer. This rather simple model has again and again been criticized and more complex ones have been put forward (cf. e.g. Jakob, 1991: 99ff). Most of the alternative models seem to be particularly concerned with stressing that there are fuzzy boundaries between the various layers of the language for specific purposes.

⁷⁵ Later some of these came to be used as series or model designations such as *Cadillac Fleetwood Brougham* or *Cadillac deVille* where they do not say anything about the body type. The 1974 *Cadillac DeVille*, for instance, was offered as four-door sedan and two-door coupe (cf. ch. 4.5.1).

FIGURE 2-3: THE FIELD OF DISCOURSE OF AUTOMOBILE LANGUAGE



Bearing this criticism in mind, Figure 2-3 shows Ischreyt's (1965) three groups for the language of automobile technology. The core language of this field of discourse is the scientific language⁷⁶ which is used in an abstract context. Its lexis consists of highly formalized terminological systems and it is used almost exclusively in written texts such as construction plans, repairing instructions, legal regulations etc. The next layer, the shop language, is direct communication in connection with automobile technology in a context where both automobiles or parts of them, and sender and addressee are actually present as, for instance, at work. It is thus characterized by spatial and temporal proximity and a common situative context. Terminological systems may be shortened as deictic reference helps to ensure exactness. The third layer, seller's language, is influenced by two factors from outside the field of discourse: the first is the need to communicate with laymen of the field of automobile technology and the second are the demands of advertising and marketing. Body designations within the syntagma of automobile designations⁷⁷ constitute part of this layer in which the need for exactness no longer holds centre stage.

Warenzeichen und Fabrikatsbezeichnungen [...] unterscheiden sich sowohl von der wissenschaftlichen Sprachschicht, weil sie meist deren *Exaktheit* und *Präzision* gar nicht bedürfen, und von der

⁷⁶ For this very brief characterization of the three layers of language for specific purposes cf. von Hahn, 1980: 391f.

⁷⁷ Of course, body style designations are not the only specific terms used in a seller-consumer-interaction context but they are virtually the only ones that enter into automobile names. Occasionally, designations for other parts such as the engine type are used as series designation or model designation (cf. ch. 4.2.5).

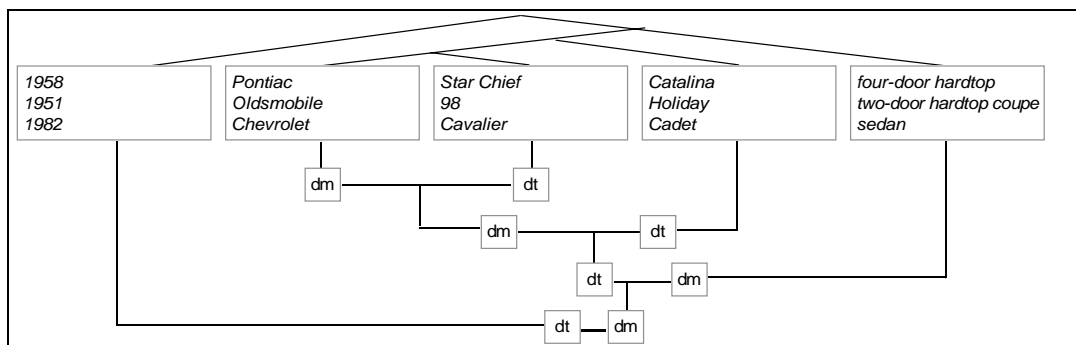
Werkstattssprache, weil ihnen deren Spontaneität und soziale Bedeutung fehlen. (Ischreyt, 1965: 46)

A term like *runabout* that may have an exact meaning when used in the context of scientific or shop language can thus have a totally different - fuzzier, less exact - meaning in the context of seller's language especially as part of a trade name⁷⁸. There is no "correct" automotive meaning other than the actual use of a term in various contexts although parts of specific terminologies may be used in brand names for the very reason of "pretending" specific meaning.

2.2 The syntagma

2.2.1 Syntactic relations

FIGURE 2-4: THE NORMAL HIERARCHICAL STRUCTURE OF AUTOMOBILE DESIGNATIONS



The most conspicuous feature in the syntagma of American automobile designations is the unusual item order. "[...], a *syntagma* is a combination of full linguistic signs, which are in a determinant/determinatum relationship to each other. [...] In a word-formation syntagma, in English and other Germanic languages, the determinant [...] normally precedes the determinatum [...]" (Lipka, 1990: 79). Not all the constituents of an automobile designation are arranged according to this normal item order "determinatum following determinant", however. The determinant (dt)/determinatum (dm) relationship in a noun phrase⁷⁹ like *1958 Pontiac Star Chief Catalina four-door hardtop* can be analyzed as shown in Figure 2-4.

⁷⁸ There is not only variation according to field of discourse in automobile terms but also regional variation. As the British and the American automobile industry grew quite independently of each other, lexical variation between British English and American English is frequent in automobile terms, an American *sedan*, for instance, is roughly equivalent to a British *saloon car* and a *station wagon* to an *estate car*.

⁷⁹ Following Levi (1978: 39ff) and Leisi (1985: 116ff) I do not attempt to differentiate between nominal compounds and free syntactic phrases in automobile designations. The terms *noun*

There is nothing exceptional in the way a numeral (*1958; 1951; 1982*) premodifies a noun phrase (*Pontiac Star Chief Catalina four-door hardtop; Oldsmobile 98 Holiday two-door hardtop coupe; Chevrolet Cavalier Cadet sedan*) and a noun phrase (*Pontiac Star Chief Catalina; Oldsmobile 98 Holiday; Chevrolet Cavalier Cadet*) premodifies another noun phrase (*four-door hardtop*⁸⁰; *two-door hardtop coupe; sedan*) as we would expect the determinatum to follow the determinant in these cases. With *four-door hardtop (two-door hardtop coupe; sedan)* as the head of the whole noun phrase its word order complies with the general grammatical rules of complex nominals, but within this noun phrase there are two other premodifying noun phrases, *Pontiac Star Chief Catalina (Oldsmobile 98 Holiday; Chevrolet Cavalier Cadet)* and *Pontiac Star Chief (Oldsmobile 98; Chevrolet Cavalier)* the word order of which is decidedly odd as in these cases the determinant follows the determinatum. This could either be explained as the structure of inversion compounds (cf. Marchand 1969: 81f) or of postposed 'mode' qualifiers (cf. Quirk et al., 1985: 1238ff), or as the one of appositive structures.

The *Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (Quirk et al., 1985: 1238ff) only knows of postmodification by finite clause, by nonfinite clause and by prepositional phrases with a minor pattern in which a noun can postmodify another noun. The formation type given that comes closest to the car name syntagma is called "postposed 'mode' qualifier" of the type *Lobster Newburg* under the heading "minor types of postmodification" (Quirk et al., 1985: 1296):

Though virtually confined to cuisine (rather than mere cooking), it is moderately productive within these limits, perhaps especially in Am[erican] E[nglish]. In Br[itish] E[nglish] one finds *veal paprika* and many others, but there is some resistance to this type of postposition with other than French lexical items, as in *pâté maison, sole bonne femme*.

This minor type is thus not restricted to "cuisine words" but is the major pattern in the formation of automobile designations!⁸¹

A further possibility to explain the unusual item order in automobile designations as not that unusual would be to interpret the syntagma as an appositive one as in apposition the defined element frequently precedes the defining one (cf. Quirk et al., 1985: 1304). "For linguistic units to be APPOSITIVES, ie in apposition, they

phrase and *complex nominal* will be used (but cf. ch. 3.2.1 on the internal formation of complex constituents).

⁸⁰ Here I am only concerned with the relationship of the various constituents with each other, not with the fact that these constituents themselves may be complex nominals (*four-door hardtop, Star Chief*). The formation of these constituents will be dealt with in chs. 3.2 - 3.4.

⁸¹ cf. also ch. 3.2.1.2 on constituents that are internally structured as inversion compounds.

must normally be identical in reference." (Quirk et al., 1985: 1301). Quirk et al. (1985: 1302) give three conditions that have to be met by linguistic units to be regarded as being in full apposition:

- (i) Each of the appositives can be separately omitted without affecting the acceptability of the sentence.
- (ii) Each fulfils the same syntactic function in the resultant sentences.
- (iii) It can be assumed that there is no difference between the original sentence and either of the resultant sentences in extralinguistic reference.

In a sentence like

She sold her Pontiac Star Chief.

all these conditions are met. Both sentences

She sold her Pontiac.

and

She sold her Star Chief.

are acceptable. In both sentences *Pontiac* and *Star Chief* have the same syntactic function, they are the head of the noun phrase that functions as direct object, and it can be assumed that the extralinguistic reference of all three sentences is the same. As either element of the appositive construction is omissible, as both belong to the same syntactic class and as both belong to the same information unit⁸² we could regard the syntactic relationship between manufacturer and series designation and series and model designation as "full, strict and restrictive apposition" exemplified by Quirk et al. (1985: 1305) by the sentence

My friend Anna was here last night.

Meyer (1992: 50) uses the following criteria to distinguish between apposition and postmodification:

- 1 The first unit of the apposition can be deleted.
- 2 The second unit of the apposition can be deleted.
- 3 The two units can be interchanged.

The more of these criteria are met the closer a given syntagma is to the apposition end of the gradient of apposition to postmodification. In the case of *Pontiac Star Chief* (*Oldsmobile 98*, *Chevrolet Cavalier*) and *Star Chief Catalina* (*98 Holiday*, *Cavalier Cadet* etc.) either unit can be deleted but interchange is, if not impossible, very uncommon:

⁸² *Pontiac Star Chief* as opposed to any other *Pontiac* we know of. Apposition can - like relative clauses, which it strongly resembles, - occur as restrictive and non-restrictive modification (cf. Quirk et al., 1985: 1303f).

? a *Star Chief Pontiac (98 Oldsmobile, Cavalier Chevrolet)*
? a *Catalina Star Chief (Holiday 98, Cadet Cavalier)*

This means to say that the syntagma of "manufacturer designation + series designation + model designation" is closer to the apposition end of the gradient than to the postmodification end.

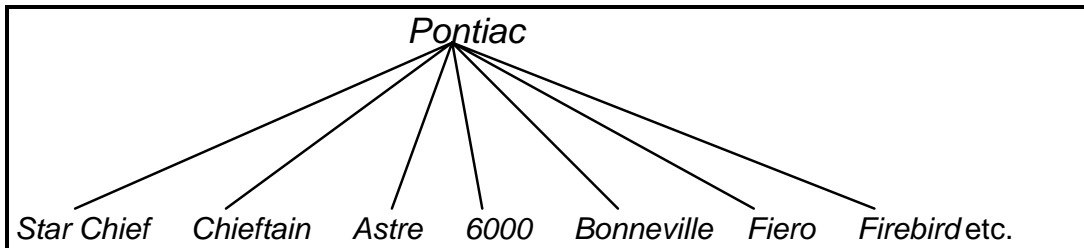
The interpretation of the syntagma *Pontiac Star Chief (Star Chief Catalina, Oldsmobile 98 Holiday, Chevrolet Cavalier Cadet etc.)* as an appositive one is also supported by the fact that we regard these units as (at least peripheral, cf. ch. 1.2.3) proper nouns and proper nouns figure highly in apposition. In a study based on a total of 360.000 words out of three computer corpora [the London-Lund Corpus of Spoken British English, the Survey of English Usage Corpus of Written British English and the Brown University Standard Corpus of Present-day American English, cf. Meyer (1992: 7)] Meyer (1992: 11f) found that of a total of 2.841 appositive constructions he identified 1.566 or 55% were nominal appositions and of these 661 or 42% contained a proper noun in one or both constituents. Unfortunately, the texts analyzed did either not contain brand name syntagmas or if they did they were not interpreted as appositions.

Automobile syntagmas occur either as single apposition (*Pontiac Star Chief, Oldsmobile 98, Chevrolet Cavalier etc.* or *Star Chief Catalina, 98 Holiday, Cavalier Cadet etc.*) or as double apposition (*Pontiac Star Chief Catalina, Oldsmobile 98 Holiday, Chevrolet Cavalier Cadet etc.*). Triple apposition such as *Dodge Custom Royal La Femme* occurs, but rarely. This corresponds with Meyer's (1992: 38) results: he identifies 2.626 cases of single, 94 of double and 9 of triple apposition. The hierarchical structure in double or triple apposition in the automobile syntagmas is binary (cf. Figure 2-4), ie. "the third unit is in apposition with the second unit; both these units, in turn, are in apposition with the first unit." (Meyer, 1992: 40). There is non-binary apposition, on the other hand, when the second, the third and maybe the fourth unit are in apposition with the first one only.

It is even more difficult to establish the semantic relationship between the various units of the automobile syntagma as apposition. Traditionally, units in apposition were considered to be coreferential but Meyer (1992: 57ff) points out that other semantic relationships such as synonymy, attribution and hyponymy, are common, too. It is difficult to decide whether the units in the automobile syntagma are coreferential "that is, they can refer to the same 'piece of reality'" (Meyer, 1992: 58) or whether their relationship is a hyponymous one in which "the second unit of such appositions is a hyponym of the first unit, [...] the meaning of the second unit is included within the more general meaning of the first unit [and in which] the second unit stands in a 'kind of' relation to the first unit." (Meyer, 1992: 71f). A coreferential relationship is deemed possible as *that*

Pontiac Star Chief can be substituted by *that Pontiac* or *that Star Chief* but on the other hand *Pontiac* can be regarded as hyperonym of *Star Chief* etc. as every *Star Chief* is a *Pontiac* and it can be argued that *Pontiac* includes the meaning (reference) of every series designation produced by Pontiac (cf. Figure 2-5).

FIGURE 2-5: MANUFACTURER DESIGNATION AS HYPERONYM OF SERIES DESIGNATION



Meyer (1992: 73ff) does not only discuss the semantic relations between the units in apposition but also the semantic classes of apposition. He distinguishes three semantic classes in which the second unit of the appositive syntagma provides information about the first: more specific, less specific and equally specific. In 1.685 or 59% of the appositive constructions he studies the second unit is more specific. So here again, the automobile syntagma would fall in the most common pattern of appositive constructions.

It is quite satisfactory to interpret the uncommon word order in automobile designations as being due to apposition as long as we are only looking at nouns that are used as such names but in a number of cases adjectives are used as series or model designations, too. In names like *Chrysler Imperial*, *Pontiac Deluxe* or *Plymouth Valiant* the second element is, according to the ²OED, only institutionalized as an adjective. If it is to be interpreted as part of an appositive construction it first has to be converted from adjective to noun. Actually, only regarding them as nouns derived by zero-morpheme allows for sentences like

She sold her Valiant.
The postwar Imperial began as an extra fancy Chrysler. (Gunnell, 1992: 236)

On the other hand, it cannot be ignored that all the examples given (for further ones cf. ch. 3.2) are adjectives of French origin⁸³ and that there is a minor word order pattern in English, also borrowed from French⁸⁴, in which an attributively used adjective follows the head of the noun phrase in which it functions as (post)modifier. This is especially true of a number of institutionalized

⁸³ It is especially instructive to note that the word order in products of one and the same company varies with etymology: *Zimmer Classic* vs. *Golden Zimmer*.

⁸⁴ cf. ch. 3.1 and especially 3.6 on loanwords used as automobile names.

expressions such as *president elect*, *heir apparent*, *attorney general*, *court martial* etc. (cf. Quirk et al., 1985: 418).

These are of little importance in themselves, being infrequently used (though our ability to form names like *Hotel Majestic* suggests that they are more than mere fossils), and it is likely that native speakers feel them to be very similar to compound nouns. (Quirk et al., 1985: 1295)

Thus, all our attempts to explain the determinatum-determinant order in automobile designations along the lines of the normal grammar of the noun phrase in general language - be it as noun postmodifying another noun (type: *lobster Newburg*), as appositional construction (type: *my friend Anna*) or as adjective postmodifying a noun (type: *president elect*)⁸⁵ - remain unsatisfactory to a certain extent. Only if we look at other brand names - *Hotel Majestic* gives us the clue - do we find that there is a fair number of them showing this word order pattern that deviates from the word order in other noun phrases. There are tires called *Goodyear Eagle GS-C*, *Goodyear Aquatred* and *Goodyear Wrangler GS-A* (*automobile* 1 (1994), 33), radar detectors called *BEL 625 Super Wideband Ka* (*car and driver* 6 (1993), 97), in which *BEL* stands for the manufacturing company *BEL-TRONICS*, 625 for the model and *Super Wideband Ka* is supposed to be a kind of descriptive term, or *Escort Passport 1000 Laser* and *Escort Passport 3200 WideBand* (*car and driver* 6 (1993), 112), motor oils called *Valvoline High Performance Synthetic* and *Valvoline All-Climate* (*car and driver* 6 (1993), 117) or cigarettes called *Camel*, *Camel Light* and *Camel Special Lights* (*car and driver* 6 (1993), 137). These examples, which have been collected at random, indicate that many other brand names show the same item order in which the designation for the manufacturer, division or distributor is followed by a special model designation which might be further determined by another designation. Of course, only products that are marketed within a "family branding strategy" (cf. ch. 2.1.2) will exhibit this kind of pattern. Unfortunately, for purposes of comparison, no study of the word order in brand names other than automobile names has come to my attention. All the major ones (cf. ch. 1.2.3) arbitrarily exclude manufacturer designations so that the problem of word order of course does not even pose itself. In her study of German brand names Römer (1976: 62) interprets brand names that have more than one constituent as nominal appositions ("nominale Beifügung"):

Die Warengattungen werden durch Zusätze differenziert. Der Eigen-Produktname steht dann mit nominalen Beifügungen, die manchmal etwas über das Produkt aussagen:

⁸⁵ Marchand (1969: 81f) does not distinguish between inversion compounds of the shape "noun + noun" and "noun + adjective".

Kraftwagen:

Ford Consul - Opel Kadett, Opel Rekord, Opel Kapitän, Opel Admiral, Opel Diplomat

Nahrungsmittel und Getränke:

Asbach Uralt (Weinbrand) - Asbach Soda (mit Sodawasser) - Nestle Extra (Milchprodukte) - Racke rauchzart (Whisky)

One would like to know why trade names exhibit such strange patterns. I would like to suggest three possible reasons for this phenomenon. There might be a psychological reason. Lysinski (1918) found in a quite early experiment on the memorability of trade names that it was a lot easier for subjects⁸⁶ to remember a new trade name when it followed a more general term than was the case with the opposite word order.

So oft ich an einen bestimmten benötigten Artikel denke, soll sich mir sofort ein bestimmter Name ins Bewußtsein drängen und womöglich alle anderen verdrängen. [...] das gebräuchliche Verfahren der Wortmarkenreklame, das erst den Namen und dann den Artikel anführt (z.B. Nivea Hautcream) [...] vollzieht die assoziative Verknüpfung in einer der bezweckten Reproduktion umgekehrten Richtung, läßt also Energie in eine Richtung fließen, in der sie nicht gebraucht wird und daher zum Teil nutzlos verpufft. Die Wortmarkenreklame muß vielmehr erst den Artikel und dann den Namen aufführen (Hautcream Nivea). (Lysinski, 1918: 145)

Unfortunately Lysinski does not talk about more general brand names such as manufacturers designation being followed by a more specific one such as a series or model designation but about the requirement that the generic term should be followed by the brand name. As we have seen exactly this is not the case within the syntagma of automobile designations.

Another possible explanation is that trade name creators might want to confer additional prestige on their product by making them as similar to titles as possible. That the choice of trade names is often motivated by considerations of prestige has again and again been noted (cf. e.g. Praninskas, 1968: 81; also ch. 4.3.1.1), titles often carry prestige and thus, one might reason that a word order modelled on the exceptional one of titles (*Lord Nelson, Father Brown, Mrs Johnson, Queen Elizabeth* etc.) might also enhance the status of a given brand.

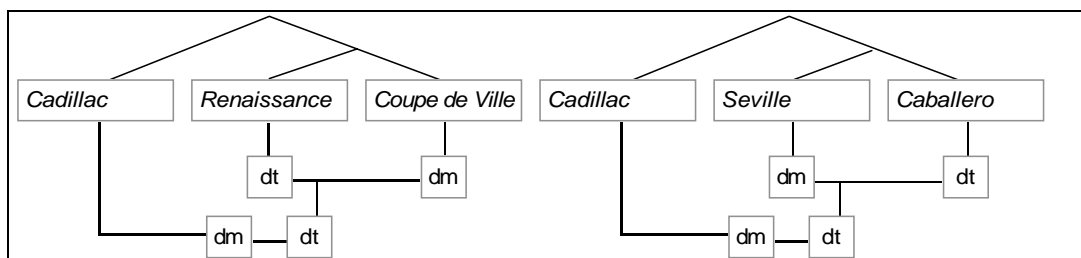
Again, I think that however ingenious such an idea might be it cannot account for the fact that a majority of trade names with more than one constituent follow this pattern. Rather, I would like to suggest an intralinguistic cause as the most

⁸⁶ The experiment was conducted with native speakers of German but as German and English noun phrases exhibit basically the same word order, it might be possible to transfer his results to English trade names as well.

plausible one. Initially, trade names were premodified by the name of the manufacturer, which was naturally used in the genitive, in the course of time the genitive marker was lost or voluntarily left out, and once the pattern had been established new coinages also followed it. A case in point is the name change of *Borden's*, a large, diversified international corporation with American roots, into *Borden*, the various stages of which are described by Parcels (1981: 206ff). An example of a car that carried the genitive marker on its nameplate is the *Basson's Star*. The genitive phrase can occasionally still be found in literature, Duke (1978: 28), for instance, speaks of *Ford's Model T*, and it is frequent in early advertisements: The first used-car advertisement (*Motocycle* June 1896, quoted from Anderson, 1950: 278), for instance, reads "For sale. One of Hildebrand & Wolfmuller's Motocycles."

Everything that has been said in this chapter about the word order in automobile designations has to be qualified in two respects. First, it has not always been that fixed as it might appear from the outline given above. Especially early automobiles for which only manufacturer and model designation were used might exhibit determinant-determinatum order such as *Model T Ford*, *Model O Hudson*, *Model K Cadillac* or *Aero Willys* but even in early names this order is less common than the other way round. Stylistic variation also accounts for changes in word order. Yates (1974), for instance, refers to one and the same car as *Oldsmobile Rocket 88*, *Oldsmobile Rocket*, *Oldsmobile 88*, *Olds*, *88*, but also as *Rocket Olds*. Occasionally manufacturers introduce deviating word order, too, such as *Cadillac Renaissance Coupe de Ville* and *Cadillac Seville Caballero*⁸⁷: here, *Coupe de Ville* and *Seville* denote the series, while *Renaissance* and *Caballero* refer to a special edition of either series. Thus, in the first case the more specific element precedes the more general one while it follows it in the second case. Figure 2-6 shows the determinant-determinatum structure of these two names.

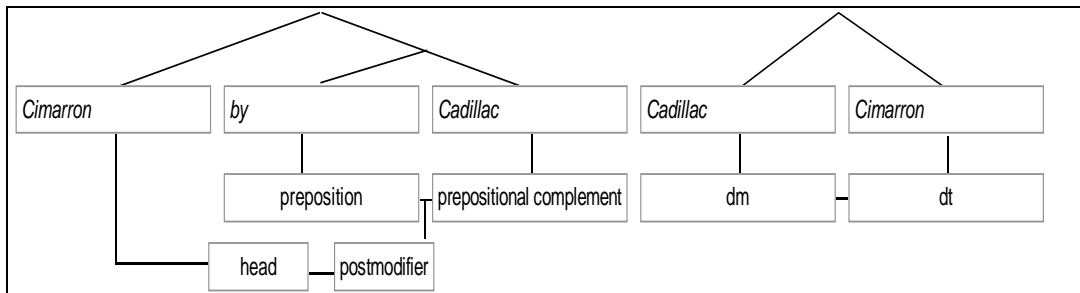
FIGURE 2-6: DEVIATING AND NORMAL HIERARCHICAL STRUCTURE OF AUTOMOBILE DESIGNATIONS



⁸⁷ Neither vehicle is a regular Cadillac, both are conversions that came from Wisco Corporation in 1981 (cf. Flammang, 1989: 82).

Another example is *Cimarron by Cadillac*, where a common pattern of the English noun phrase is observed: a noun phrase functioning as head is postmodified by a prepositional phrase. This usage has been attributed to the fact that the division felt a little bit uncomfortable with the first compact car it set out to manufacture in 1982 (cf. Flammang, 1989: 83) - it soon changed the name into *Cadillac Cimarron*, however. Figure 2-7 shows the determinant-determinatum structure for both names.

FIGURE 2-7: DEVIATING AND NORMAL HIERARCHICAL STRUCTURE OF AUTOMOBILE DESIGNATIONS



However, not every instance that looks like variation actually is variation: *Chrysler Crown Imperial* and *Chrysler Imperial Crown* refer to two different vehicles, the first is a model of the *Crown* series, the later a model of the *Imperial* series. The same kind of confusion arises between *Buick Regal Somerset* and *Buick Somerset Regal*.

The second qualification of the word order pattern set out above is that the various constituents do only seldom appear as a string - even if more than one constituent is actually present (cf. ch. 2.2.2) - in one of the major settings where automobile names are used: on the cars themselves. On the vehicles themselves the various constituents of the name are usually placed at some distance from each other so that it is not necessarily possible to make out which element modifies which one. The *1957 Pontiac Star Chief Custom Bonneville two-door convertible*, for instance, displayed the word *Bonneville* twice, on either rear fender, the words *fuel injection*, also twice, on either front fender, and the word *Pontiac* once on the back and once on the front of the car together with the Pontiac emblem (cf. ch. 2.3). The most established pattern is to display series and/or model designation on the front or rear fenders (usually on both), on the pillar between rear and side window (usually on both) or on the trunk lid, while the manufacturer designation is most commonly placed on the hood and/or the trunk lid.

2.2.2 What is the "real" automobile name?

In most contexts where automobile designations are used the problem of word order does not pose itself to that extent as it has been described above for the example *1957 Pontiac Star Chief Catalina four-door hardtop (1951 Oldsmobile 98 Holiday two-door hardtop coupe; 1982 Chevrolet Cavalier Cadet sedan)* because the use of the various constituents is largely optional. Thus, all the following variations would be acceptable:

She sold her four-door hardtop.

She sold her Catalina.

She sold her Star Chief.

She sold her Pontiac.

**She sold her 1957.*

All the constituents can be used on their own except the model year designation. "This restriction is pragmatic; it can be traced to the fact that simply giving the model year of the car is not informative enough." (Aronoff, 1981: 332). Additionally, only two, three or four elements may be used in any conceivable combination. Aronoff (1981: 332) gives the following phrase structure rule for American car names:

car name $\langle \boxtimes \rangle$ (year) (make) (line) (model) (body type)

Apart from automobile catalogues and information brochures it is quite rare to find all the five possible elements present in a single phrase. An analysis of the constituents used in the automobile names in twenty different printed automobile advertisements of single or double page length picked at random⁸⁸ yielded the results shown in Table 2-5.

⁸⁸ *automobile* 6(1993): advertisements for Oldsmobile Achieva (pp.16f), Buick Park Avenue (34), Eagle Vision (61), Ford Taurus (88f), Dodge Shadow (140).

automobile 1(1994): advertisements for GMC Sonoma (14), Chevrolet Corvette (30f), Buick Regal (42), Lincoln Mark VIII (136f), Dodge Intrepid (138).

car and driver 6(1993): advertisements for Chevy Camaro (2f), GMC Yukon (78f), Pontiac Grand Am (80), Ford Ranger (86), Ford Escort (106f), Cadillac Seville (110f), Saturn SL1 (148f), Buick LeSabre (154f).

car and driver 9(1993): advertisement for Buick Regal (160).

Mustang & Fords 5(1994): advertisement for Ford Mustang (2f).

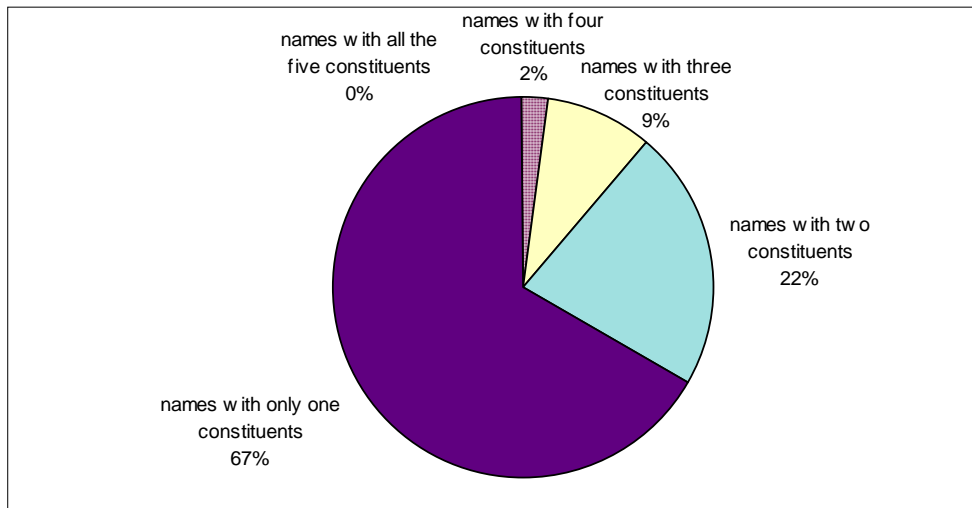
TABLE 2-5: CONSTITUENT USAGE IN ADVERTISEMENTS

| number of constituents | types | tokens | total | % |
|------------------------|---|--|-------|------|
| 5 | year + manufacturer + series + model + body type (0x) | - | 0 | 0 |
| 4 | year + manufacturer + series + model (4x) | <i>1993 Ford Escort GT (2x), 1993 Ford Ranger Splash, 1994 GMC Sonoma Highrider</i> | 4 | 2.3 |
| 3 | year + manufacturer + series (1x) year + series + model (2x) year + series + body type (1x) manufacturer + series + model (12x) | <i>1993 Saturn SL1 1993 Taurus SHO (2x) 1993 Regal Sedan Chevy Camaro Z28, Dodge Shadow ES, Eagle Vision Tsi, Ford Escort GT, Ford Ranger Splash (3x), Ford Taurus SHO, GMC Yukon 4x4; with deviating word order: 90th Anniversary Buick LeSabre (2x), Shadow ES - The New Dodge</i> | 16 | 9.0 |
| 2 | year + series (1x) manufacturer + series (16x) manufacturer + body type (1x) series + model (13x) series + body type (6x) model + model (2x) | <i>1994 Corvette Buick Park Avenue, Chevrolet Corvette, Chevy Camaro (2x), Eagle Vision, Ford Mustang, Ford Ranger, Lincoln Mark VIII (3x), Oldsmobile Achieva, Saturn SL1 (3x); with deviating word order: Intrepid - The New Dodge, Achieva by Oldsmobile Saturn car Camaro Z28 (3x), Escort GT, Grand Am GT, Intrepid ES, Mustang GT (2x), Seville STS (2x), Taurus SHO; with deviating word order: 90th Anniversary LeSabre, ES Shadow Mustang Convertible, Mustang Coupe, Regal Sedan (4x) Splash 4x2, Splash 4x4</i> | 39 | 22.0 |
| 1 | year (0x) manufacturer (65x) series (36x) model (8x) body type(9x) | - e.g. <i>Buick, Eagle, Ford</i> e.g. <i>Achieva, Corvette, LeSabre</i> e.g. <i>Highrider, SHO, Z28</i> e.g. <i>car, compact pickup, Sports Sedan</i> | 118 | 66.7 |
| total: | | | 177 | 100 |

In a total of 177 names no single instance of all five constituents occurring together in one name could be recorded. Names made up of four constituents are also rare, they account for 2.3% of all the names, that is a total of 4 names (all the names are given in Table 2-5). 16 names or 9.0% have three constituents, 39 names or 22.0% two, and the vast majority, namely 118 or 66.7% have only one constituent. Thus, it can be said that the fewer constituents a name has the more

likely it is to occur in an advertisement. Figure 2-8 provides a summary of these figures.

FIGURE 2-8: CONSTITUENT USAGE IN ADVERTISEMENTS



The high portion of automobile names with only one constituent in the ads justifies the question which of the constituents should be regarded as the "real" automobile name. Schippan (1989: 51), who asks the same question, reaches the conclusion that it is one of the major features of today's trade names to consist of a number of elements:

Nicht zuletzt die Mehrgliedrigkeit macht die Spezifik heutiger Markennamen aus. Immer wird versucht, die beiden wesentlichen Nominationsbedürfnisse - Identifizierung und Standardisierung einerseits und Werbewirksamkeit andererseits - zu befriedigen.

But obviously these polynominal strings are only of very restricted occurrence and they get reduced in many contexts. If I were to analyze the usage of names not only in the tiny sample of advertisements reported in Table 2-5 but also in fan-literature, in the numerous car magazines or even more so in speech I would almost certainly get the same results. Automobile designations are not part of everyday language - but automobile names are. Table 2-5 shows clearly which constituents have to be regarded as core elements of the designations, as automobile names. The reason for the restricted occurrence of the model year designation is that it cannot be used on its own - but it is also rare in polynominal phrases: it occurs nine times in a total of 59 polynominal uses which is in 15.3% of all the names with more than one constituent. The portion of the model year designation among all the constituents is 3.5% (the total of constituents in the 177 names is 260). I therefore do not regard model year designation as part of the automobile name proper. The same holds true of the body type designation. It

occurs nine times on its own and eight times in combination, adding up to a mere 6.5% of all the constituents. The occurrence of the core elements of automobile designations, those that I would like to regard as automobile names proper, manufacturer, series and model designation, on the other hand, is rather high. On their own, manufacturer and series designation occur most often, 65 times and 36 times respectively. The high frequency of manufacturer designations is due to the polysemous nature ("division" and "car built by that division") of these terms. As it would not have been possible in the majority of cases to decide unarbitrarily in which of the two senses a manufacturer designation was used - especially when the term is not part of a sentence but is stated on its own or when it is part of the division's emblem - all occurrences were included. Manufacturer designations make up 38.1% of all the constituents, the absolute number being 99, series designation 35.4%, the absolute number being 92. It is especially important to note that the series designation forms part of 94.9% of all the polynominal forms as it occurs in 56 of these. The model designation is quite rarely used independently, eight times, but makes a stronger showing in combination, 35 times, being thus part of 24.3% of all the names. Again, the percentage within complex forms only is higher, namely 59.3%. Table 2-6 provides a summary of these figures, which may indicate tendencies of constituent usage in advertisements.

TABLE 2-6: FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCES OF CONSTITUENTS

| constituent | occurrence on its own | | occurrence in combination | | total occurrences | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|------|--------------------------------------|------|---------------------------------------|------|
| | total (118) | % | total (142 constituents in 59 names) | % | total (260 constituents in 177 names) | % |
| model year designation | 0 | 0 | 9 | 6.3 | 9 | 3.5 |
| manufacturer designation | 65 | 55.1 | 34 | 23.9 | 99 | 38.1 |
| series designation | 36 | 30.5 | 56 | 39.4 | 92 | 35.4 |
| model designation | 8 | 6.8 | 35 | 24.7 | 43 | 16.5 |
| body type designation | 9 | 7.6 | 8 | 5.6 | 17 | 6.5 |

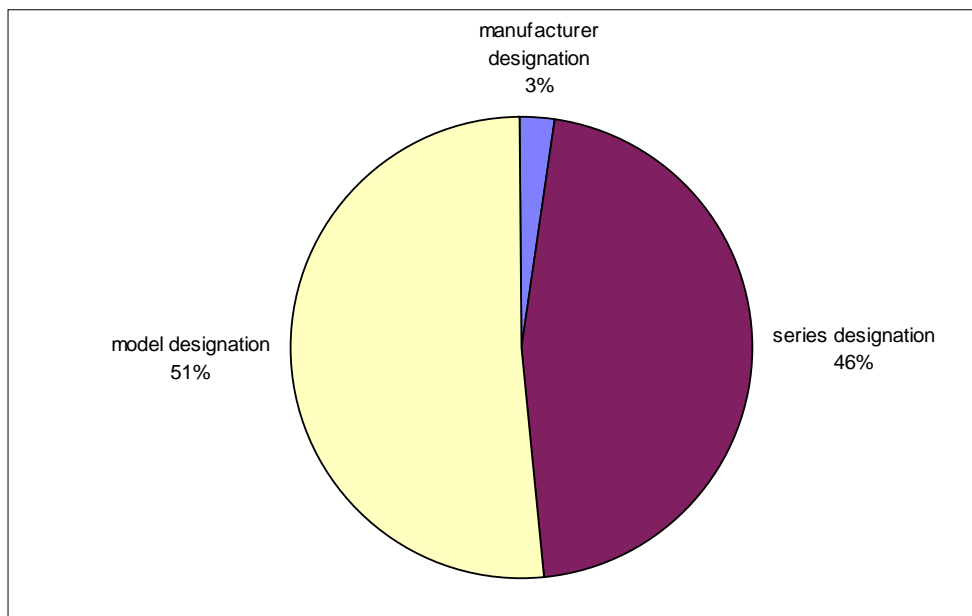
Moreover, every advertisement contains the manufacturer and series designation and they even occur more than once in each ad, ranging from two to ten times. On the other hand, 13 out of the twenty advertisements do without year and body type designations, and when they are used they are used less frequently, so that no ad contains more than two or four of them. Again, the reason for this is a pragmatic one. As regards the model year designation, no reader would expect to find the cars of yesteryear advertised. The use of body type designations is

limited because advertisers do not aim to sell body types which are to be had with every other manufacturer, too, but their specific brand, although they might sometimes wish to indicate in which body types a given series is available. Model designations occupy an intermediate position, being used in 14 of the twenty ads and ranging in number of occurrence from one to eight.

I shall therefore, on semantic grounds and grounds of frequency of occurrence, regard manufacturer, series and model designations as automobile names proper with model designations being of less importance in most contexts than manufacturer and series designation. Year and body type designations will normally not be covered by the term "automobile name". This decision is also supported by the judgement of native speakers: Bogart/Lehman (1973: 22) report that in their study, in which subjects were asked to mention as many brand names as they could recall in a four-minute period, only designations which are here referred to as series and manufacturer designation were mentioned⁸⁹.

Figure 2-9 shows that of the 2241 names in the corpus 59 (2.6%) are manufacturer designations, 1024 (45.7%) series designations and 1158 (51.7%) model designations. Names that have been used as series designations as well as as model designations are listed with each function separately.

FIGURE 2-9: FUNCTIONS OF THE NAMES IN THE CORPUS



⁸⁹ Only 4% or 407 out of all the 5.706 mentions in this experiment were automobiles and accessories brand names. The authors, who only interviewed women, explain this underrepresentation with "the male orientation of these heavily advertised products." (Bogart/Lehman, 1973: 21).

2.2.3 The use of articles with automobile designations

The consideration of automobile designations as syntagmas, or more specifically as complex nominals, would not be complete if we were not to consider the use of the article in these phrases. Table 2-7 shows the use of articles in the names of the twenty automobile advertisements that have already been considered in ch. 2.2.2 (cf. fn. 88).

TABLE 2-7: ARTICLE USE IN ADVERTISEMENTS

| automobile advertised | definite article | | indefinite article | zero article | |
|-----------------------|--|--------------------|---|-----------------------|--------------------|
| | without plural marker | with plural marker | | without plural marker | with plural marker |
| Buick LeSabre | 2 | | | 9 | |
| Buick Park Avenue | 1 | | | 7 | |
| Buick Regal | | | | 8 | |
| Buick Regal | 3 | | | 8 | |
| Cadillac Seville | 1 | | | 6 | |
| Chevrolet Corvette | 1 | | 3 (includes one instance of <i>no other</i>) | 7 | 1 |
| Chevy Camaro | 4 | | | 7 | |
| Dodge Intrepid | | | | 4 ⁹⁰ | |
| Dodge Shadow | 1 (=this) | | | 2 (cf. fn. 90) | |
| Eagle Vision | | | 1 | 5 | |
| Ford Escort | 3 | | 1 | 3 | |
| Ford Mustang | 5 | | 1 | 2 | |
| Ford Ranger | 6 (includes one instance of <i>this</i>) | | 2 | 4 | |
| Ford Taurus | 3 | | 2 | 5 | |
| GMC Sonoma | 2 | | | 8 | |
| GMC Yukon | 1 | | | 8 | |
| Lincoln Mark VIII | 5 | | | 3 | |
| Oldsmobile Achieva | 7 | | | 3 | 1 |
| Pontiac Grand Am | 1 | | | 6 | |
| Saturn SL1 | 5 (includes one instance of <i>their</i> and one of <i>his</i>) | | 1 | 4 | 4 |
| total: | 51 | 0 | 11 | 109 | 6 |

⁹⁰ Includes the phrases *Intrepid - The New Dodge* and *Shadow ES - The New Dodge* as the definite article does not determine the whole phrase.

The indefinite article is used most rarely, it occurs eleven times with the noun phrase in the singular (*a/an*) and six times with the noun phrase in the plural (zero-article), accounting together for 9.6% of all the cases (177). A fair number of these occur in the Ford slogan *HAVE YOU DRIVEN A FORD LATELY?*, the rest with body type designations. Apart from the Ford slogan, there are only three instances in which the reference of manufacturer or series designation is indefinite:

Despite all the secrecy, one thing Jim will talk about is his patrol car - a stock Saturn SL1. [...] they tell anyone who asks - their word of mouth has sold six Saturns already.

We drove Honda Accords, Toyota Camrys and Oldsmobile Achievas in six-hour shifts, for 100.000 miles.

You can still drive a Corvette. [...] So, even though you've wanted a Corvette for as long as you could reach the accelerator [...].

The use of the definite article is much more frequent, it occurs in 28.8% of the cases, a total of 51, although never with a plural form. It is interesting to note that in almost all of these the reference is generic - as was the case with the indefinite article, too -, which again points out the special grammatical status of automobile names, or rather brand names in general. Quirk et al. (1985: 282) note: "*The* is rather limited in its generic function. With singular heads, it is often formal or literary in tone indicating THE CLASS AS REPRESENTED BY ITS TYPICAL SPECIMEN." Examples like the following, however, are the rule not the exception in automobile language:

Because the 1993 Regal Sedan already meets the 1997 federal standards for side-impact collisions.

You're looking at the complete reinvention of the Camaro Z28.

The Splash 4x2 hits the street with a special handling suspension, while the Splash 4x4 takes to the road - and off it - with the ease of push-button 4WD.

Ease into the leather-trimmed driver's seat of the new Mark VIII and survey your environment.

In our rental fleet we have all sorts of cars and I think the Achieva would hold up really well.

The only instances of specific definite reference I found were actually those in which a demonstrative (*this*) or a possessive (*his*, *their*) pronoun was used. This was the case with the exceptional Saturn SL1 advertisement in which a story about a security guard and *his Saturn* is told and in the Dodge Shadow advertisement where the picture is referred to ("You can take this sporty looking Dodge Shadow ES."). In one case even the reference of *this* is generic: "With its

cool new look and refreshing new lines, this very special Ford Ranger is making quite a splash."

The use of the zero article with a singular head is more difficult to account for. While the automobile name behaves like a common noun with the indefinite (*an/an* with a singular and zero article with a plural head) and the definite article, it behaves like a proper noun, which lacks article contrast, with the use of the zero article in connection with a singular head. The reference of a proper noun is by definition specific, however, while it is generic in most of the examples from the advertisements:

Park Avenue could be the best luxury car buy in America.

So Intrepid is now available with a speed sensitive steering system that's the best of both worlds.

Motor Trend says Taurus SHO embellishes your most vivid sports car fantasies.

And with its available 195 HP Enhanced Vortec V6, Highrider is more powerful than anything in its class.

Grand Am[®] GT has a made-to-measure feeling: [...]

This ambiguity has often been put forward as an argument for regarding brand names as a special class of nouns (cf. ch. 1.2.3). In the examples given the automobile name always forms part of a sentence but in the advertisements it is actually much more common to find it on its own: "Buick.", "Ford Taurus SHO.", "Achieva by Oldsmobile." and so on. A kind of "quotational use" in which the automobile name does not denote the car but refers to itself occurs in the GM advertisements which always point out the registered trademark status of the various terms used in a subscript at the bottom of the ad: "Regal is a registered trademark of GM Corp.", etc. Figure 2-10 reprints such a subscript in enlarged form.

FIGURE 2-10: SUBSCRIPT OF A GM AD



2.3 Non-verbal automobile designations

Identification of an automobile is often not only achieved through verbal designations but also through extralinguistic signs, namely the trademarks and the characteristic lettering of a name. Although these do, strictly speaking, not fall into the domain of this study, I think they deserve a passing mention as they

often co-occur with the tradenames proper⁹¹ or might in some cases even be used to substitute them⁹². The trademark and the characteristic lettering of a name, which is often incorporated in the mark, are supposed to facilitate the identification of a brand. The origins of trademarks have already been outlined above (cf. ch. 1.2), with marks sometimes an additional influence of heraldry is claimed (cf. e.g. Leasor, 1980: 91). European brands sometimes bear the coat-of-arms of their hometown or country. The trademark of Alfa Romeo, for instance, is the coat-of-arms of Milan, the one of Ferrari modifies the arms of Modena and the one of Porsche those of Württemberg (cf. Leasor, 1980: 91; 93; 95). The Porsche trademark is reproduced in Figure 2-11, the line in the centre of the mark reads "Stuttgart". With the lettering an influence of cattle brands is occasionally assumed (cf. Werkman, 1974: 315). The lettering of modern American trade names is, according to Werkman (1974: 315), shaped after cattle brands:

The mark of the ranch, the cattle-brand, became a mark of origin and a token of quality. [...] It is by their own merit, and not through artificial media such as novels or films, that these cattle-brands have survived in the commercial ideas of certain groups in the U.S.A.

FIGURE 2-11: THE PORSCHE TRADEMARK



The similarity with cattle brands is supposedly the reason why Americans feel more confident when a trade name is placed in a circle (cf. Werkman, 1974: 316f), an example in the automobile industry being the blue Ford oval (cf. Figure 2-12).

⁹¹ It might even be considered that there are symbols for the model year designation, too, such as tailfins, which have come to be considered a symbol of the American car of the 50s. Styling features are certainly beyond the topic at hand, however, although some styling features such as e.g. the Buick portholes (cf. Georgano, 1992: 166) or the Lincoln Continental spare wheel motif (cf. Georgano, 1992: 202) may be closely related to the identification of a certain brand.

⁹² This chapter can provide only very few pictures of automobile marks. Those readers who are interested in a fairly comprehensive collection of American automobile marks and their historical development are referred to Burness (1986).

FIGURE 2-12: THE FORD OVAL



The lettering may become so integral a part of the name that it is perceived more as an icon than a lettered word. An interesting instance of this is the symbol of Chevrolet, which looks like an irregularly shaped cross - this used to be the outline of the word *Chevrolet* which has become so characteristic that the actual wording is no longer deemed necessary for instant recognition (cf. Herman, 1971: 144). Figure 2-13 compares the former Chevrolet mark with its current form.

FIGURE 2-13: THE CHEVROLET MARK IN A 1924⁹³ AND A 1994 AD⁹⁴



This constant factor in advertising which is welcomed by advertisers is also sometimes taken advantage of by trade name "pirates": a slight alteration in the wording but a reproduction of the lettering which is as close to the original as possible might trick consumers into taking the imitation for the original brand. Figure 2-14 shows such imitations of the Ford script.

FIGURE 2-14: IMITATIONS OF THE FORD MARK (SOURCE: PARCELS, 1981: 207)



Car badges, which are most often placed on the hood of the car, can be said to fall into two general groups: they either show a "stock symbol" that can, in slightly varied form, be found on all kinds of products or even be regarded as a general cultural symbol, or they exhibit a special relationship with the history or the name of a given automobile. Capitman (1976: xii) says about the first group:

[...] trademarks have traditionally relied on symbolism. Early trademarks drew heavily on the imagery of the sea and agriculture -

⁹³ quoted from Stern/Stern, 1978: 20

⁹⁴ *automobile* 1, 1994: 31

anchors, clipper ships, tridents, mermaids, wheat stalks, leaves, barns, farmyard animals - and on heraldic devices. The associations were thought to be automatic: farm symbols meant purity; heraldic symbols implied status. This was true for butter or beer, a car or a can of paint. This basic vocabulary of symbolism still forms much of the stock-in-trade of the designer.

Werkman (1974: 393ff) gives seven generally recognized and respected symbols that are used on all kinds of products: the sun, the eye, the female figure, stars, crowns, hands and horses. While no eye or hand symbol could be found for American automobiles, there is the star symbol, which is not easily distinguished from the sun symbol, in the Chrysler star (cf. Figure 2-15).

FIGURE 2-15: THE CHRYSLER STAR



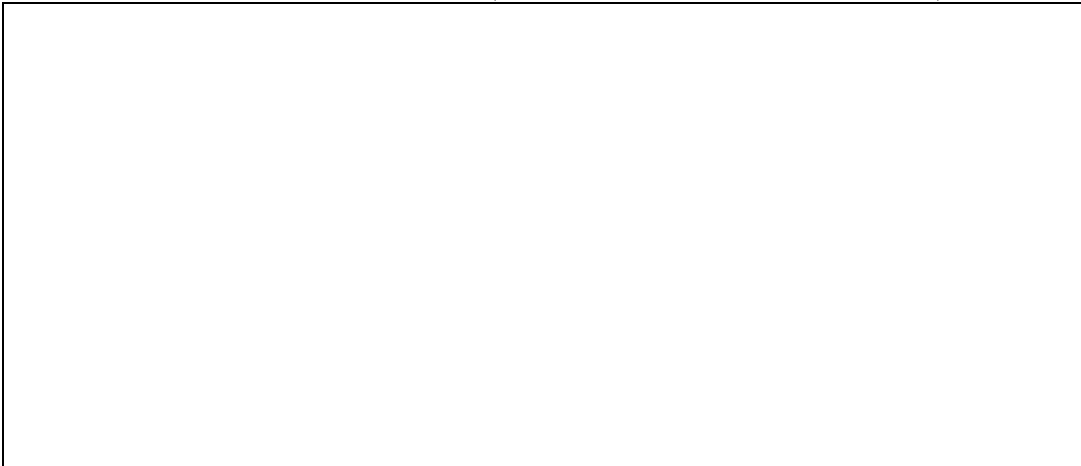
The female figure was used as a symbol for Auburn (cf. Figure 2-16) and Packard (cf. Figure 2-16), the crown is to be found in the Cadillac crest (cf. Figure 2-17) or in the former Chrysler badge (cf. Dammann, 1974: front cover) and the most famous symbol of a horse maybe found on Ford's Mustang (cf. Figure 1-2), where it is also related to the name.

FIGURE 2-16: THE AUBURN EMBLEM⁹⁵ AND THE PACKARD FLYING LADY⁹⁶



⁹⁵ Georgano, 1992: 99

FIGURE 2-17: THE CADILLAC CREST (SOURCE: *CAR&DRIVER* 9, 1993: 87)



A typical motif for cars as distinct from other products but not confined to one single brand are figures indicating speed and movement often by the use of wings such as Packard's Flying Lady, which has also been called Packard Goddess of Speed (cf. Figure 2-16), the Stutz emblem, in which the name is carried by a pair of wings (cf. Figure 2-18) or the Imperial symbol, where a stylized bird with disproportionately large wings is sitting in a ring (cf. Figure 2-18). One of the most famous of these flying figures is Rolls-Royce's emblem, which was designed by Charles Sykes and has been in use since 1911. It bears a close resemblance to the Victory of Samothrake (cf. Petsch, 1982: 184).

FIGURE 2-18: THE STUTZ EMBLEM⁹⁷ AND THE ONE OF IMPERIAL⁹⁸



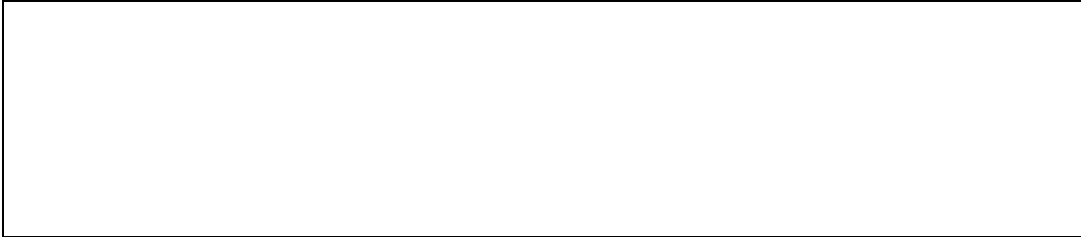
⁹⁶ Georgano, 1992: 138

⁹⁷ Georgano, 1992: 96

⁹⁸ Georgano, 1992: 189

The bird symbol is often supported by the name. Examples of such coincidences are the Eagle emblem (cf. Figure 2-19), a huge bird painted on the hood of the Pontiac Firebird (cf. Georgano, 1992: 244), a stylized bird on the hood of the Ford Thunderbird (cf. Georgano, 1992: 198) or the cock on the American Bantam, which does not give the impression of being capable of flight, however (cf. Georgano, 1992: 144).

FIGURE 2-19: THE EAGLE EMBLEM (SOURCE: *CAR&DRIVER* 6, 1993: 66)



Other examples of a connection between the mark and the name are the archer on the hood of Pierce-Arrows (cf. Robson, 1981: 186), the lettering of this name in ads showed the words *Pierce* with an arrow running through this word (cf. Figure 2-20). The head of a Native American was in various forms used on Pontiacs (cf. Georgano, 1992: 90; 120) as the city of Pontiac, Michigan, where the make was formerly produced, was named after an Indian chief. For some time, this emblem has been replaced by a red triangle (cf. Figure 2-21).

FIGURE 2-20: THE LETTERING OF THE PIERCE ARROWS NAME IN A 1935 AD⁹⁹



FIGURE 2-21: THE CURRENT PONTIAC EMBLEM TOGETHER WITH NAME AND SLOGAN¹⁰⁰



⁹⁹ Stern/Stern, 1978: 35

¹⁰⁰ *car&driver* 6, 1993: 80

That customers are aware of these connections between symbol and name even if the symbol is of a more abstract kind is exemplified by a scene in the novel *Machine Dreams* by Jayne Anne Phillips (1984: 93) in which an uncle who takes his ten-year-old niece for a trip in his new Pontiac in 1946 asks her:

'And why is it called a Silver Streak?' 'Because of the chrome strips. Like right there.' She pointed in front of them to the silvered midline of the hood. 'Runs right down to the grill. Those are the streaks. But you know too [...] if the Pontiac was going real fast, like in a comic, the chrome would shine like lights. The car would look like a blur, but the chrome would be all streaks.'

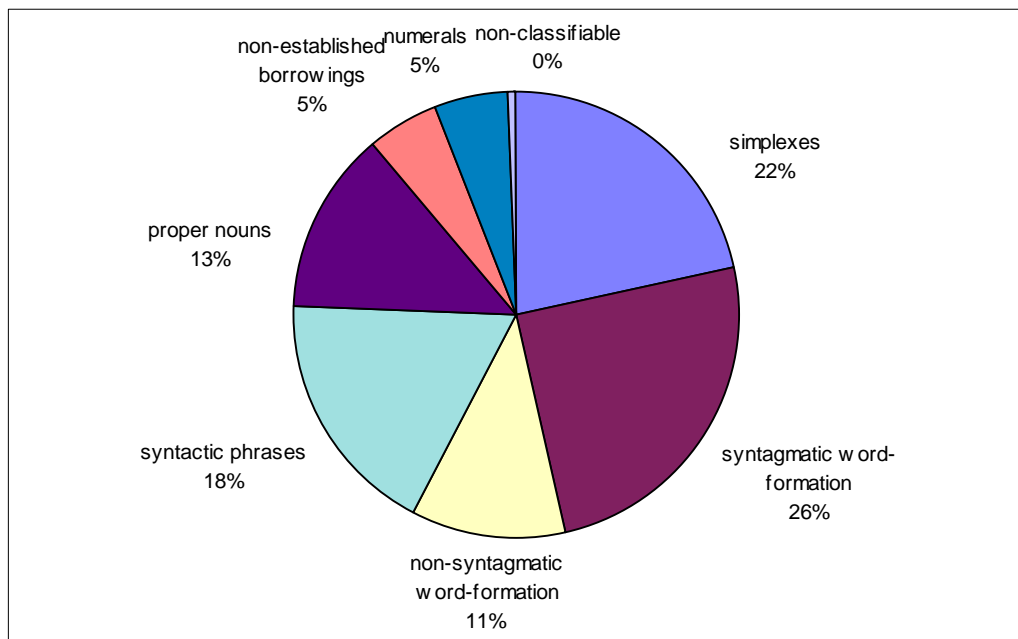
Automobile marks are not only interesting from the point-of-view of their relation to the names but also because through their ubiquitous presence¹⁰¹ they "have come to perform an important integrative function in a still heterogenous society." (Spiggle, 1985: 11). The average American is more likely to encounter the Ford logo, the Chrysler star or any other brand mark for that matter than the symbols of the major religions, or of governmental and cultural institutions.

¹⁰¹ There are rare cases in which the *absence* of a symbol or script on the automobile is regarded as more desirable than the presence thereof as with the Packards of 1946-47: "In a case of subtle prestige, Packard's top-flight cars appeared without front door scripts to identify their upper crust status." (Gunnell, 1992: 521).

3 The form of American automobile names

This chapter has a two-fold purpose: first, it wants to establish the linguistic sources of automobile names, and second, it wants to ask how these sources are altered, truncated or combined in order to form an automobile name. American automobile names are taken from one of the following categories of linguistic items: English simplexes, word-formation syntagmas - syntagmatic and non-syntagmatic¹⁰²-, phrases, proper nouns, non-established borrowings and numerals.

FIGURE 3-1: LINGUISTIC ITEMS USED AS AUTOMOBILE NAMES¹⁰³



The majority of the 2241 automobile names in my corpus are taken from word-formations of the syntagmatic type, e.g. *Airway*, *Airstream*, *Bearcat* or *Skyhawk*: 555 or 24.8%¹⁰⁴. The second largest group are simplexes, e.g. *Ace*, *Alliance*, *Eagle* or *Cricket* (492 or 22.0%) followed by phrases, e.g. *American Buckboard*, *Golden Rocket*, *Z-28 Commemorative Edition* or *Town&Country* (407 or 18.2%),

¹⁰² I take the terms from Marchand (1969: 2f), cf. ch. 3.2.

¹⁰³ The difference between the figures given in the text and those given in the Figures is, here and elsewhere, due to rounding.

¹⁰⁴ All percentages counted together yield a figure a little above 100 as 22 names were grouped into more than one class. *Cimarron* for instance can be classed as general English word (²OED: "A Spanish-American name of the Rocky Mountain sheep or bighorn", as proper noun (name of a Spanish explorer and a river in Oklahoma) and as non-established borrowing (Spanish for "wild, untamed" and "mustang"). It has also been the title of a novel by Edna Ferber and of a Western movie.

and proper nouns, e.g. *Cambridge*, *Charles*, *LeMans* or *Pierre Cardin*, (302 or 13.5%). Non-syntagmatic word-formations, e.g. *AMX*, *GTO*, *Firearri* or *Rambo Lambo* account for 253 items or 11.3% of the total. The two other groups are of roughly equal size: non-established borrowings, e.g. *Avanti*, *El Camino*, *Maharani* or *Valiente* (124 or 5.5%) and numerals, e.g. *300*, *999* or *Eight* (120 or 5.4%). A small remainder of 10 names (0.4%) could not be classified in any of these groups. Figure 3-1 shows from which linguistic items the automobile names in the corpus are taken.

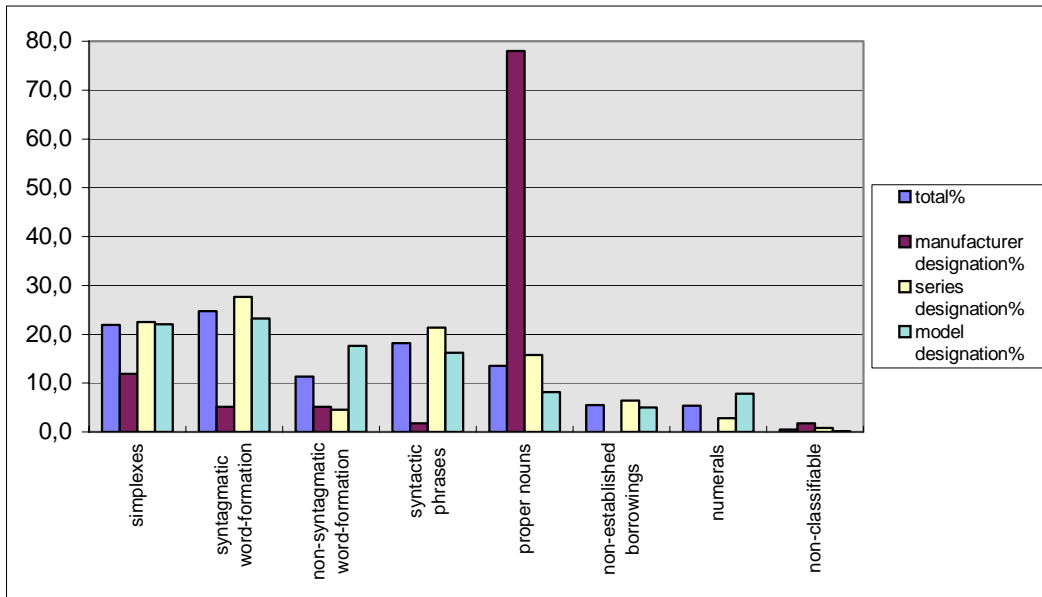
The ten names I cannot account for are the manufacturer designation *Doval*, the series designations *Camaro* (2x), *Glasspar*, *Goff*, *Toronado*, *Tridon*, *Vokaro* and *Moya*, and the model designation *Ciera*. *Doval* and *Goff* could be proper nouns but I could not find any person of these names related to the firms that produced these two cars. They might also be acronyms but I do not know what they would stand for. The first part of *Glasspar* probably relates to fiberglass, the material that was used to build these sports cars (cf. Gunnell, 1992: 689), I cannot explain *par*, however. *Toronado* might be related to *tornado* (cf. ch. 4.3.4.2 on automobiles named after violent winds) and might have been given additional "weight" by the introduction of a further vowel - but I can only speculate about these possibilities. *Tridon* and *Ciera* could be said to be similar to two groups I recognize in automobile names, prefixations with *tri-* (cf. ch. 3.2.3) and suffixations with *-a* (cf. ch. 3.2.4). However, prefixes and suffixes are only joined to free lexical morphemes and neither *-don* nor *Cier-* are something like that. All these names I cannot explain might have been devised by a computer, a procedure that is increasingly common with many other trade names (cf. e.g. Gotta, 1987b: 110) or they might be creations of the *Kodak*-type, which means to say arbitrarily concocted letters. It is reported that

George Eastman, the inventor of the Kodak, coined the word *Kodak* for its visual appeal. Starting with a fondness for the letter K, Eastman took a stack of children's letter cards and kept experimenting until he came up with a combination that pleased his eye. (Nolan, 1961: 6)

Of the two instances of *Camaro* in fact the source of only one cannot be determined: while I do not know anything about the source of *Chevrolet Camaro*, the *Yenko Camaro* is named after the first, and the name is thus taken from another automobile name.

The frequency of the use of the various items differs considerably according to whether we look at automobile names used as manufacturer designation, as series designation or as model designation. Figure 3-2 compares the use of the various linguistic items in the whole corpus with their use in the three sub-corpora.

FIGURE 3-2: LINGUISTIC ITEMS USED IN THE VARIOUS SLOTS OF AN AUTOMOBILE DESIGNATION



The items used as manufacturer designation differ most notably from those used as model or series designations. While simplexes, for instance, account for 22.5% of the series designations and 22% of the model designations they are only used for 11.9% of the 59 manufacturer designations. The difference is most conspicuous with proper nouns, which account for 46 or 78.0% of all the manufacturer designations but only for 161 out of 1024 series designations, i.e. 15.7%, and 95 out of 1158 model designations, i.e. 8.2%. Numerals and non-established borrowings are not used as manufacturer designation at all, while they account for 2.8% and 6.4% of the series and 7.9% and 5.0% of the model designations. Table 3-1 gives these differences in detail.

The linguistic items American automobile names are taken from will be examined in detail in chs. 3.1.-3.7. In the arrangement of the groups two different principles have been followed: generally, I thought it best to arrange the various groups of automobile names - the major ones as well as the subclassifications within these groups - according to their frequency of occurrence but in some cases a systematic principle was thought to be more important. Thus, chapters 3.1. to 3.4. treat simplexes before grammatical and non-grammatical wordformation syntagmas and syntactic phrases, although frequency of occurrence would demand another order, or chapters 3.2.1. to 3.2.4. treat composition on a native basis before composition on a neo-classical basis, prefixation and suffixation although, again, frequency of occurrence would demand another order.

TABLE 3-1: FREQUENCIES OF THE VARIOUS ITEMS USED AS AUTOMOBILE NAMES¹⁰⁵

| | total (2241) | | manufacturer designation (59) | | series designation (1024) | | model designation (1158) | |
|--------------------------------|--------------|------|-------------------------------|------|---------------------------|------|--------------------------|------|
| | total | % | total | % | total | % | total | % |
| simplexes | 492 | 22.0 | 7 | 11.9 | 230 | 22.5 | 255 | 22.0 |
| syntagmatic word-formation | 555 | 24.8 | 3 | 5.1 | 283 | 27.6 | 269 | 23.2 |
| non-syntagmatic word-formation | 253 | 11.3 | 3 | 5.1 | 46 | 4.5 | 204 | 17.6 |
| syntactic phrases | 407 | 18.2 | 1 | 1.7 | 218 | 21.3 | 188 | 16.2 |
| proper nouns | 302 | 13.5 | 46 | 78.0 | 161 | 15.7 | 95 | 8.2 |
| non-established borrowings | 124 | 5.5 | 0 | 0 | 66 | 6.4 | 58 | 5.0 |
| numerals | 120 | 5.4 | 0 | 0 | 29 | 2.8 | 91 | 7.9 |
| non-classifiable | 10 | 0.4 | 1 | 1.7 | 8 | 0.8 | 1 | 0.1 |

3.1 Simplexes: the type *Eagle*

492 names in the corpus have an English simplex as their source. Thus, simplexes account for 22.0% of all the automobile names. Seven of the 59 manufacturer designations are simplexes (11.9%), 230 of the 1024 series designations (22.5%) and 255 of the 1158 model designations (22.0%).

A simplex is any simple un-compounded or underived word. The meaning of a simplex is usually totally arbitrary while complexes are motivated to a certain extent:

Simplexes are usually unmotivated, but complex words are morphologically motivated, i.e. the meanings of the constituents usually form, or at least contribute towards, the meaning of the entire formation. (Sauer, 1992b: 397)

English simplexes may well be complex words in another language or may have been complex at an earlier stage of the English language but in the absence of two or more signifiers they are regarded as synchronically simple (cf. Marchand, 1969: 5f). Thus, as there is no linguistic unit *ac-* that carries meaning in modern English, the automobile name *Acclaim*, for instance, is regarded as being formed on the basis of an English simplex, *acclaim*, verb and noun, although historically speaking *acclaim* is formed after Latin *acclama-re* from *ac-* = *ad-* "to, at" and *clama-re* "to shout". Similar problems are posed by *Dynamic*, *Electric*, *Imperial*, *Regal*, or *Terraplane*. Both *-ic* and *-al* are established suffixes of English (cf. Marchand, 1969: 294ff and 238ff) but neither *dynam-*, *electr-*, *imperi-* or *reg-* can be said to carry meaning in English. *Imperi-* might be regarded as an

¹⁰⁵ The totals counted together slightly exceed the total of items actually in the corpus and the percentages counted together yield a number slightly higher than 100 (cf. fn. 104).

allomorph of *empire* or *emperor*. Marchand (1969: 216) speaks in these cases of "word-formation on a foreign or Neo-Latin basis of coining":

The suffix is tacked on not to an English word but on to a Latin stem which, however, closely resembles the word that stands for it in English, as *scient-ist* from *science*.

The suffix is tacked on to a Latin or Greek stem which has, however, no adapted English equivalent, as *lingual* from Latin *lingua*, *chronic* from Greek *chrónos*.

For the purpose of studying the source of automobile names, suffixations and prefixations on a Neo-Latin basis are grouped with the simplexes¹⁰⁶. The criterion for this decision was productivity: all the names where the question arises - as with *Dynamic*, *Electric* or *Imperial* - are well-established English words and no automobile name has been found to be newly formed as a suffixation or prefixation on a Neo-Latin basis. The formation process "compounding on a neo-classical basis", on the other hand, is occasionally used to form names that are not established in the English lexicon and is therefore treated separately (cf. ch. 3.2.2). Another problem is posed by the name *Terraplane* which is a variant form of *terreplein*¹⁰⁷ which is taken from Italian *terrapieno*, in that language a compound from *terra* 'earth' and *pieno* 'full'. As *terra* or *terre* do not exist in English - although *plane* does -, *terraplane* cannot be regarded as a compound in this language and as it neither conforms to the patterns of compounding on a foreign basis it is best treated like a simplex.

Not all the items in this group are free lexemes, although the vast majority are. Automobile names such as *Astro*, *Aero*, *Euro* or *Turbo* are taken from items that according to the ²OED only occur in neo-classical compounds in general language but not as free forms. They might thus be classified among the automobile names derived by a non-syntagmatic word-formation process, namely clipping. I am hesitant to say that these names are taken from clippings because I would not be able to name the source. Would *Astro*, for instance, be based on *astrology*, *astronaut*, *astronomy* or *astrophysics*? Rather, I think that their use as free forms in automobile names points to a tendency that they might increasingly be perceived as free forms: a similar process to the one that occurred when *burger* came into existence as a free lexical morpheme (cf. Marchand, 1969: 213).

For 13 names out of those that are regarded as being taken from simplexes this classification is not the only possible one: *Checker* might equally well be taken

¹⁰⁶ On other possible classifications cf. e.g. Sauer, 1986.

¹⁰⁷ All information about the meaning and etymology of a word is, if not indicated otherwise, taken from the ²OED.

from a suffixation as the simplex *checker*, a spelling variant of *chequer* with the meaning "a chess-board, the Exchequer, a chequered pattern" has a homonym *check+er* meaning "one who checks". As many of the cars for which this name was used display a line of chequered pattern running along both sides (cf. Figure 4-6; p. 198) the simplex is the more likely source, however. In the cases of *Mercury*, *Saturn*, *Aurora*, *Cabana*, *Ceres*, *Cimarron*, *Cordoba*, *Marathon*, *Merlin*, *Phoenix* and *Zephyr* (2x) a proper noun is another possible source, in the case of *Cimarron* it might even be equally well a loan word. In most of these cases the homonymy was probably a further reason for the choice of these linguistic items. Thus, it enhances the value of *Mercury* as a car name that it can be interpreted as a metaphor from the common noun denoting a certain planet or a certain metal or as a metonymy from the name of a Roman deity. Table 3-2 shows this ambiguity for all the general English words that have a homonymous proper noun that could also have motivated their choice. Two of these, *Mercury* and *Saturn*, are manufacturer designations, while the rest are series designations.

TABLE 3-2: CROSS-CLASSIFICATION BETWEEN COMMON NOUNS AND PROPER NOUNS¹⁰⁸

| automobile name | common noun or adjective | proper noun |
|--------------------|---|--|
| <i>Aurora</i> | the dawn, a luminous atmospheric phenomenon popularly called the Northern (or Southern) Lights and various kinds of animals and flowers | Roman goddess |
| <i>Cabana</i> | a cabin; especially a hut or shelter at a beach or swimming-pool (especially in American English) | beach of Rio de Janeiro |
| <i>Ceres</i> | "a moderate orange that is slightly yellower and paler than honeydew and redder and paler than Persian orange" (WT) | Roman goddess of grain |
| <i>Cimarron</i> | a Spanish-American name of the Rocky Mountain sheep or bighorn | Spanish explorer, Oklahoma river, novel and film title |
| <i>Cordoba</i> | the principal monetary unit of Nicaragua | Spanish explorer, Spanish city |
| <i>Marathon</i> | long distance foot-race, any race or competition calling for endurance | Greek town |
| <i>Mercury</i> | a planet and a metal | Roman deity |
| <i>Merlin</i> | bird of prey, Welsh pony | soothsayer of Arthurian legend |
| <i>Phoenix</i> | various figurative uses of the name | mythical bird, American city |
| <i>Saturn</i> | a planet and a metal | Roman deity, moon rocket |
| <i>Valiant</i> | stalwart, courageous, bold; a person with these attributes | prince of mediaeval legend |
| <i>Zephyr</i> (2x) | wind, fabric, butterfly | God of the West wind |

A number of common nouns that are originally derived from proper nouns are not classified in both groups, however, as the person or place after which the item is named does no longer come to mind immediately. With the eponyms

¹⁰⁸ cf. fn. 107

given in Table 3-3 the proper noun is only etymologically relevant but not in the consideration of automobile terms as it is neither used for an exceptional personality such as the deities mentioned above nor for a person connected with a certain automobile enterprise. They are therefore treated as common nouns only.

TABLE 3-3: EPONYMS USED AS AUTOMOBILE NAMES

| automobile name | etymology of the common noun used as source ¹⁰⁹ |
|-------------------|--|
| <i>Brougham</i> | from the name of Lord <i>Brougham</i> , a one-horse closed carriage, with two or four wheels, for two or four persons |
| <i>Conestoga</i> | from the name of a town in Pennsylvania and of a local Indian people, 1. An Iroquoian North American Indian people formerly inhabiting parts of Pennsylvania and Maryland; a member of this people. 2. A large travelling-wagon formerly in use |
| <i>Croydon</i> | named from <i>Croydon</i> in Surrey, a kind of two-wheeled carriage of the gig class, introduced about 1850, originally of wicker-work, but afterwards made of wood |
| <i>Landau</i> | from <i>Landau</i> , the name of a town in Germany, where the vehicle was first made, a four-wheeled carriage, the top of which, being made in two parts, may be closed or thrown open |
| <i>Maverick</i> | from Samuel A. <i>Maverick</i> (1803-1870), a Texas cattle-owner who left the calves of his herd unbranded, 1. U.S. In the cattle-breeding districts, a calf or yearling found without an owner's brand, 2. A masterless person; one who is roving and casual; an independent person; an individualist |
| <i>Pullman</i> | from the name of the designer, George M. <i>Pullman</i> of Chicago, a railway carriage constructed and arranged as a saloon, and (usually) with special arrangements for use as a sleeping-car |
| <i>Silhouette</i> | from the name of Étienne de <i>Silhouette</i> (1709-67), a French author and politician |
| <i>Surrey</i> | an American four-wheeled two-seated pleasure carriage, the seats being of similar design and facing forwards; also, a motor-carriage of similar structure. Originally applied to an adaptation of the <i>Surrey cart</i> (an English pleasure cart with an open spindle seat first built in the county of <i>Surrey</i>) introduced into the U.S.A. by J. B. Brewster & Co. of New York in 1872 |
| <i>Victoria</i> | the name of the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, etc., from 1837 to 1901, employed attributively or by itself as a designation of various things. 1. A light, low, four-wheeled carriage having a collapsible hood, with seats (usually) for two persons and an elevated seat in front for the driver; 2. other senses |

Another interesting aspect is the question of which parts of the English vocabulary the simplexes are taken from. Generally it can be said that roughly one half of the English vocabulary is of Germanic origin, while the other half is derived from a Romance language (cf. Scheler, 1977: 70f). It has already been noted that trade names are frequently formed from Latin or Greek elements such

¹⁰⁹ cf. fn. 107.

as *aqua, audio, dent, dorm, flor, lact, luci, plex, sulf, therm, tri, uni, vox* etc. (cf. e.g. Gläser, 1973b: 235ff or Praninskas, 1968: 15f) but hardly anybody has commented on the etymology of general English words that are used unaltered or only graphemically altered as trade names. The question is, however, not only interesting from an etymological point of view but also with regard to stylistic aspects. It is generally said that words of Greek and Romance origin belong to higher stylistic levels and registers than those of Anglo-Saxon provenience. Scheler (1977: 97f), for example, claims:

Der Engländer empfindet das heimische Wort gewöhnlich als das persönlichere, lebendigere und stärker gefühlsbeladene, das romanische als das nüchternere, unpersönlichere, gewähltere und schwerere. [...] Auf der Ebene des Registers [...] konzentrieren sich die romanisch-lateinischen Wörter im Bereich der formellen Ausdrucksweise. [...] Schließlich widerspiegelt die Wortwahl die persönliche Stilgestaltung: manche Autoren neigen zu einer schweren, mit Romanismen und Latinismen beladenen, andere zu einer einfacheren, leichteren und mehr germanischen Ausdrucksweise.

The 492 simplexes that are used as automobile names came into English from the following languages¹¹⁰: the vast majority, 270 or 54.9% are of French origin¹¹¹,

¹¹⁰ The basis for this count is the etymological information of the ²OED. The immediate source language was counted, so that a word like *caravan* is taken to be of French origin or *demon* of Latin as they came into English via French or Latin. The words are borrowings in these languages themselves, however. Of course, I do not want to claim that the average language user is aware of the etymology of every single word, and that every word of Romance origin is stylistically marked.

¹¹¹ Three manufacturer designations: *Checker, Eagle, Imperial*. 115 series designations: *Ace, Alliance, Aspire, Bolide, Cadet, Caprice, Caravan, Caravelle, Cavalier* (3x), *Centurion, Century, Champion, Chieftain, Commodore, Concord* (2x), *Conquest* (3x), *Contour, Coronet, Corsair, Corvette, Cougar, Cricket, Crown, Custom* (10x), *Cutlass, Dart* (2x), *Diamond, Diplomat, Dragon, Dynamic, Dynasty, Eagle* (2x), *Elite, Encore, Escort, Falcon* (2x), *Fury, Galaxie, Gazelle, Horizon, Imperial* (2x), *Improved, Javelin, Jet, Lance, Limited* (2x), *Marquis, Merlin, Panther, Phantom, Premier, President, Pup, Rebel* (2x), *Regal, Reliant, Request, Rocket, Royal* (2x), *Sable, Satellite, Savage, Saxon, Scarab, Sceptre, Scorpion, Signet, Silhouette, Skorpion, Special* (6x), *Spirit* (2x), *Squire, Standard* (3x), *Sterling, Summit, Superior, Talon, Tempest, Tiger, Topaz, Trans Sport, Turbine, Vagabond, Valiant, Viper, Vision*. 152 model designations: *Ace, Baron, Bolide, Cabriolet* (3x), *Cadet, Centurion, Chief, Colonnade* (4x), *Crown, Custom* (40x), *Cutlass, Diplomat* (3x), *Dragon, Eagle, Estate* (2x), *Euro, Falcon* (2x), *Fury, Grand* (4x), *Heritage, Limited* (14x), *Luxury* (3x), *Machine, Mariner, Marshal* (2x), *Medallion* (2x), *Police, Premier* (2x), *Rallye* (2x), *Regal* (2x), *Regent, Renaissance, Royal* (2x), *Salon*, (5x), *Satellite, Signet, Special* (11x), *Sport* (14x), *Sports, Squire* (4x), *Stallion* (3x), *Standard* (2x), *State, Talisman* (2x), *Vagabond* (2x). *Improved* and *Limited* are classed among the simplexes as with the participle no word-formation process is involved, and *Trans Sport* is classed here because it is regarded as a graphemic variant of *transport* (cf. ch. 3.8).

the second largest group are those of Latin origin¹¹², 69 or 14.0%. 28 simplexes, or 5.7%, came from another Romance language into English, sixteen from Spanish¹¹³, eight from Italian¹¹⁴ and four from Portuguese¹¹⁵. Thus, 367 or 75.6% of the simplexes used as automobile names came into English from a Romance language. 17 words or 3.5% came from Germanic languages other than Anglo-Saxon, namely Sandinavian¹¹⁶, German¹¹⁷ and North American Dutch¹¹⁸, 14 or 2.8% came from Greek¹¹⁹, and fifteen or 3.1% from other languages: Algonquian (*Cheyenne*), Cherokee (*Cherokee*), Gaelic (*Banshee*), Iroquois (*Conestoga*), Java (*Bantam*), Nepal (*Panda*), Swahili [*Safari* (3x)], Urdu [*Thyphoon* (3x)], US-American¹²⁰ (*Jamboree*) and Zulu [*Impala* (2x)]. The borrowings from the Native American languages form a small sub-group within these varied borrowings but with only three borrowings counted together, *Cheyenne*, *Cherokee* and *Conestoga*, their portion is still extremely low: 0.6%. Thus, a total of 413 or 83.9% are borrowings, and not even all the others are

¹¹² Three manufacturer designations: *Mercury*, *Reminiscent*, *Saturn*. 38 series designations: *Acclaim*, *Aries*, *Aurora*, *Capitol*, *Celebrity* (2x), *Centaur*, *Ceres*, *Comet* (5x), *Confederate*, *Corporate*, *Demon*, *Electric* (2x), *Lynx*, *Master*, *Meteor*, *Monarch*, *Nomad*, *Omni*, *Phoenix*, *Pirate*, *Prizm*, *Probe*, *Quantum*, *Spectrum*, *Super* (2x), *Torpedo* (3x), *Zephyr* (2x). 29 model designations: *Demon*, *Electric*, *Formula* (3x), *Miser* (3x), *Nomad* (2x), *Pacific*, *Phoenix*, *Premium*, *Rose*, *Signature*, *Super* (10x), *Supreme*, *Turbo* (2x), *Ultra*.

¹¹³ Fourteen series designations: *Apache*, *Barracuda*, *Bronco*, *Buckaroo*, *Cabana*, *Cimarron*, *Cordoba*, *Fiesta*, *Matador* (2x), *Mustang* (2x), *Plaza*, *Puma*. Two model designations: *Fiesta*, *Poncho*.

¹¹⁴ Three series designations: *Beretta*, *Tempo*, *Terraplane*. Five model designations: *Bandit*, *Vista* (4x).

¹¹⁵ One series designation: *Cobra*. Three model designations: *Cobra* (3x).

¹¹⁶ Four series designations: *Sprint*, *Thrif-T*, *Valkyrie*, *Viking*. Six model designations: *Pony*, *Sprint* (4x), *Wing*.

¹¹⁷ Six model designations: *Landau* (6x).

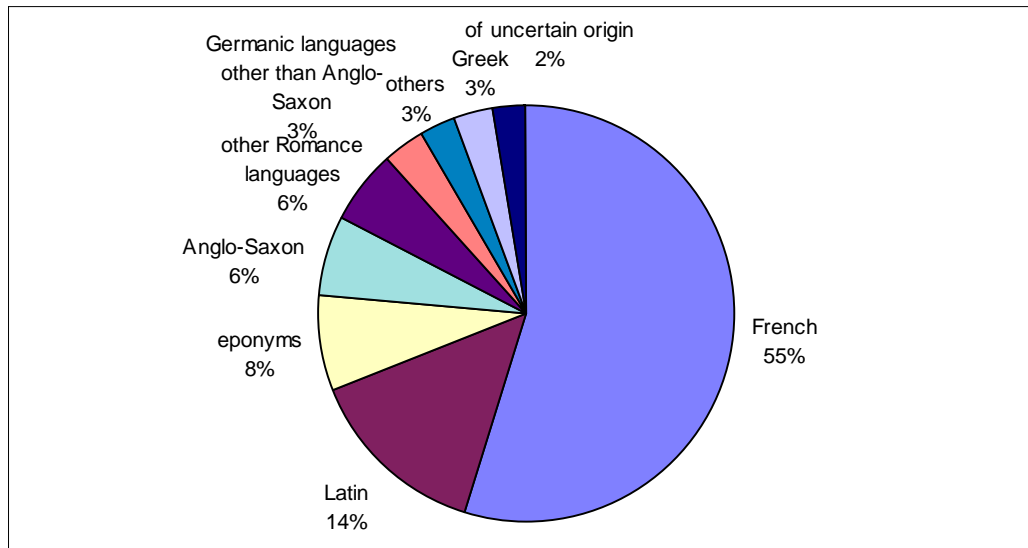
¹¹⁸ One model designation: *Seneca*. I follow the ²OED in its etymological explanation: "Also *Senacar*, *Senecke*, *Sineque*, etc. After North American Dutch *Sennecas*, *Sennecaas*, collective name for the Upper Iroquois tribes, perhaps originally a Mahican name for the Oneida or their village." Bryson (1994: 126), however, regards the designation as an eponym after the classical philosopher, which might be a later popular etymology.

¹¹⁹ One manufacturer designation: *Geo*. Ten series designations: *Aero*, *Astro*, *Cyclone* (2x), *Delta*, *Marathon*, *Neon* (2x), *Omega* (2x). Three model designations: *Cyclone*, *Delta*, *Phaeton*.

¹²⁰ The classification of "US-American" among "other donor languages" demands a comment: The ²OED designates *Jamboree* as "originally U.S. slang" with the first quotation dating from 1868. It is therefore a relatively young word in General English and should not be grouped with the Anglo-Saxon words, and as it is possible to say that a standard language has borrowed a word from a dialect or other variant, I feel justified to group *Jamboree* among the borrowings of miscellaneous origin.

Anglo-Saxon words as 38 or 7.7% are eponyms¹²¹ and 12 or 2.5% are of uncertain origin¹²². The rest, a meagre 29 or 5.9% are of native stock, Anglo-Saxon¹²³ and one item (*Yeoman*) designated as "Middle English" by the ²OED. Figure 3-3 shows the relative portion of the various donor languages.

FIGURE 3-3: ETYMOLOGY OF THE SIMPLEXES USED AS AUTOMOBILE NAMES



These figures are in marked contrast both to general language and to other trade names. Table 3-4 shows a comparison of the etymology of simplexes used as automobile names with the etymology of standard language words. The comparison shows that borrowings from the Romance languages and from elsewhere are far more frequent with automobile names than with general vocabulary. Obviously, the stylistic markedness of the borrowed vocabulary is preferred over the more "homely" native stock vocabulary.

One might suppose that trade names in general exhibit a tendency towards the more "exclusive" vocabulary of foreign provenance. A comparison with the results of Praninskas (1968: 16), however, shows that this is not true:

¹²¹ Nine series designations: *Brougham* (2x), *Croydon*, *Maverick*, *Surrey* (2x), *Victoria* (3x). 29 model designations: *Brougham* (22x), *Pullman*, *Victoria* (6x).

¹²² Ten series designations: *Baby*, *Gremlin*, *Gyron*, *Marlin* (2x), *Rogue* (3x), *Scamp*, *Yankee*. Two model designations: *Rogue*, *Sedan*. Again, I follow the etymological information given in the ²OED although Kluge/Seebold (1989, s. v. "Yankee") believe that *Yankee* derives from Dutch *Janke*, which is also one of the various unascertained origins given in the ²OED.

¹²³ 21 series designations: *Arrow* (3x), *Colt* (3x), *Hawk* (2x), *Hornet* (2x), *Imp*, *Lark*, *Shadow*, *Silver*, *Star*, *Storm* (2x), *Sun*, *Swift*, *Vixen*, *Wasp*. Seven model designations: *Cat*, *Feather*, *Lark*, *Lightning*, *Lite*, *Silver*, *Spyder*.

Notable in our corpus is the fact that, of the non-compounded trade names, considerably more than half are of Anglo-Saxon origin [...]. Among them we find such 'vigorous' monosyllabics as ALL, BAN, BOAT, BRAKE, CLUE, DAB, DEFT, FLIT, GLADE, LARK, LILT, MELT, STRIDE, TAME, THRILL, THEM, TREND. Perhaps it is their monosyllabic nature that is their strength. A maximum of information is communicated in a minimum of time, or space, depending upon the medium.

It is not even true that monosyllabics make up the largest part of the few Anglo-Saxon words that there are. Only fourteen out of the 29 native words are monosyllabics: *Cat*, *Lark* (2x), *Lite*, *Colt* (3x), *Hawk* (2x), *Imp*, *Star*, *Sun*, *Swift* and *Wasp*¹²⁴. I think that a possible explanation for this marked difference lies in the nature of the consumer goods they are used for. While the majority of the names in Praninskas' (1968) corpus are used on low-cost items, automobiles belong to that class of consumer goods that ask for a higher investment, and this difference might be marked stylistically: "every-day words" for every-day goods and "special words" for special goods. Thus, there is, for instance, no car of the name *Kingly* in my corpus but there is *Regal* (3x), *Royal* (4x) and even the non-integrated French feminine form, *Royale* (3x).

TABLE 3-4: THE ETYMOLOGY OF AUTOMOBILE NAMES IN COMPARISON WITH GENERAL VOCABULARY

| donor language | percentage of automobile names (simplexes) | | percentage of the general vocabulary ¹²⁵ |
|---------------------------|--|---|---|
| Romance languages (total) | 74.6 | > | 55.29 |
| French | 54.9 | > | 34.09 |
| Latin | 14.0 | < | 19.98 |
| Others | 5.7 | > | 1.22 |
| Greek | 2.8 | > | 2.39 |
| Germanic (total) | 9.4 | < | 36.33 |
| Anglo-Saxon | 5.9 | < | 32.24 |
| Others | 3.5 | < | 4.09 |
| Others | 3.1 | > | 0.97 |
| Origin uncertain | 2.4 | < | 2.95 |
| Eponyms | 7.7 | > | 2.62 |

Generally, English for specific purposes seems to exhibit a greater tendency towards the use of borrowed words than general language. Thus, Sauer (1992b: 385f), for instance, found in his study of Old English plant names that the

¹²⁴ The others are given in fn. 123.

¹²⁵ These numbers are taken from Scheler (1977: 72). Scheler relates the results of three counts, of which I have formed the mean value.

proportion of (Latin) loan-words and loan-formations is a lot higher among these than among the general vocabulary.

3.2 Syntagmatic word-formation

According to Marchand (1969: 2f) there are two fundamentally different word formation processes: the syntagmatic one results in "words formed as grammatical syntagmas, i.e. combinations of full linguistic signs" (Marchand, 1969: 2) and the non-syntagmatic one in "words which are not grammatical syntagmas, i.e. which are composites not made up of full linguistic signs." (Marchand, 1969: 2). The first group comprises compounding and derivation processes, the second one blending, clipping, word manufacture and some other minor groups. While the automobile names based on grammatical syntagmas will be treated in this chapter, the non-syntagmatic ones will be dealt with in the following chapter. The first group is far more frequent with automobile names than the second one: there are 555 automobile names that are either compounds or derivatives, that is 24.8% of the total, but only 253 or 11.3% that are formed by acronymy, blending or clipping etc.

Generally, it should be noted that one pattern of word-formation is present with every linguistic item except common and proper nouns or noun phrases, be it simplex or complex, that is used as an automobile name: zero-derivation or conversion. Zero-derivation is generally regarded as a word-formation process whereby a word changes the word class it belongs to without any change in its form (cf. e.g. Marchand, 1969: 359ff). Any lexical item except nouns undergoes such a process of conversion when used as trade name. A very clear case of this is the verb *aspire*, for instance, which yields the automobile name *Ford Aspire*, and thus shows the syntactic properties of a trade name, i.e. a noun, now, such as being able to take a determiner (*The Aspire over there ...*) or a modifier (*Her new Aspire ...*). The same process applies when a numeral, e.g. *220*, *225*, *100 four*, or an adjective, e.g. *reliant*, *classic*, *swift*, is used as an automobile name. Many adjectives already have established conversions into nouns, however, so that it usually cannot be determined whether the adjective is converted into the trade name or whether the substantive derived from it is used metaphorically. There is, for instance, the established noun *classic*, "A writer, or a literary work, of the first rank and of acknowledged excellence" and other senses, or the noun *swift*, "A light kind of reel, usually of adjustable diameter, upon which a skein of silk, yarn, etc. is placed in order to be wound off." and other senses, and also used for various birds and lizards. Generally it can be said that the vast majority of automobile names are taken from nouns; within the simplexes, for instance, there is only one word that is established only as verb (without any established conversions to deverbal noun), *Aspire*. 23 items are used only as adjectives in the

standard language: *Corporate*, *Grand* (4x), *Improved*, *Limited* (16x) and *Supreme*, and five, *Astro*, *Aero*, *Euro*, and *Turbo* (2x), only as combining forms. The rest are nouns or have established zero-derivations into nouns, although they might primarily belong to another word class.

The vast majority of the items resulting from a syntagmatic word-formation process are compounds, 349, they are followed by the suffixations, 152, the prefixations, 33, and 21 neoclassical compounds. Their distribution among series and model designations is roughly the same. The manufacturer designations can hardly be taken into account here as only 3 syntagmatic word-formations occur. Table 3-5 shows how often each formation process occurs, and with which frequency in the whole corpus and the three subcorpora.

TABLE 3-5: FREQUENCY OF THE VARIOUS SYNTAGMATIC WORD-FORMATION PROCESSES

| | total (2241) | | manufacturer designation (59) | | series designation (1024) | | model designation (1158) | |
|-------------------------|--------------|-------|-------------------------------|------|---------------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|
| compounds | 350 | 15,6% | 0 | 0,0% | 160 | 15,6% | 190 | 16,4% |
| suffixations | 151 | 6,7% | 2 | 3,4% | 90 | 8,8% | 59 | 5,1% |
| prefixations | 33 | 1,5% | 0 | 0,0% | 18 | 1,8% | 15 | 1,3% |
| neo-classical compounds | 21 | 0,9% | 1 | 1,7% | 15 | 1,5% | 5 | 0,4% |
| total | 555 | 24,8% | 3 | 5,1% | 283 | 27,6% | 269 | 23,2% |

3.2.1 Compounds

350 automobile names in the corpus are compounds. Thus, 15.6% of all the automobile names are compounds. No manufacturer designation is a compound, though, but 160 or 15.6% of the series designations and 190 or 16.4% of the model designations are. One item, *Tudor* (2x), is classed as compound as well as as proper noun. As proper noun it refers to a line of English sovereigns, its homophon, *two-door*, to a vehicle type (cf. ch. 3.8 on graphemic variation). A notorious problem is the distinction between free syntactic phrases and compounds. Generally, I do not think - as for instance Marchand (1969: 20ff) does - that the two can be unambiguously distinguished in all cases but rather that there is a certain amount of overlap which can be described by theoretical notions such as "der Wortverband als Wort" (Leisi, 1985: 116ff) or Levi's (1978: 39ff) "complex nominals". Nevertheless I thought it necessary for the study at hand to be able to draw a line between automobile names taken from words and those taken from phrases. In order to be able to handle the large number of peripheral items I therefore eschewed the theoretical debate and classified items as compounds or phrases along the following principles:

1. A complex nominal is a phrase if one or more of its constituents are numerals or acronyms (e.g. *Charger SE, LTD Crown Victoria, 2000 Sunbird* or *Avanti II*).¹²⁶
2. If a determiner, a preposition or a conjunction is part of the name the combination is a phrase (e.g. *The Free Spirit Hawk, The Judge, T.C. by Maserati* or *Town&Country*).
3. Complex nominals that exhibit one of the following constituent structures are compounds:
 - (1) "noun¹²⁷+noun", type *steamboat*¹²⁸ (e.g. *Country Club, Luxury Liner, Firebird* or *Diamond Edition*)
 - (2) "noun+*/s,z/*+noun", type *craftsman* (e.g. *Plainsman, Sportsman, Sportsroof* or *Statesman*)
 - (3) "deverbal *-ing* +noun", type *writing table* (*Hummingbird, Cruising Sedan, Cruising Wagon* or *Touring Coupe*)
 - (4) "verb+noun", type *whetstone* (e.g. *Playboy*)
 - (5) "pronoun *all* + noun", type *all-soul* (e.g. *Allstate*)
 - (6) "noun + noun in *-ing*", type *house-keeping* (e.g. *Turnpike Cruising*)
 - (7) "noun + zero derived deverbal noun", type *earthquake* (e.g. *Airflow, Firesweep* or *Tempest Sprint*)
 - (8) "noun + deverbal agent noun", type *watchmaker* (*Pacemaker, Streamliner, Turnpiker Cruiser* or *Cutlass Cruiser*)
 - (9) or "agent noun from a verbal phrase whose second element is an adverbial complement", type *showoff* (e.g. *Gadabout, Runabout* or *Sportabout*). These zero-derivations from phrasal verbs will be treated among the compounds as they consist of two free lexical morphemes as compounds do.
4. The biggest problems for the classification were posed by items of the constituent structures "adjective + noun" (e.g. *Quicksilver, Wildcat, Lost Cause* or *Little Runabout*) and "noun + adjective" (e.g. *Somerset Regal, Custom Limited, Malibu Classic* or *Olympia Limited*). If the meaning of these items is not the same as that of its parts I classed them as compounds,

¹²⁶ One inconsistency this decision results in is that the names *Super 88, Super Clipper Eight* or *Super-Duty 421* are classed as phrases while *Super Bee, Super Coupe, Super-Duty* or *Super Special* are classed among the prefixations.

¹²⁷ Any of these constituents may well be complex in turn: *Bonneville Custom Safari, Falcon Station Wagon, Crown Victoria Country Squire* etc.

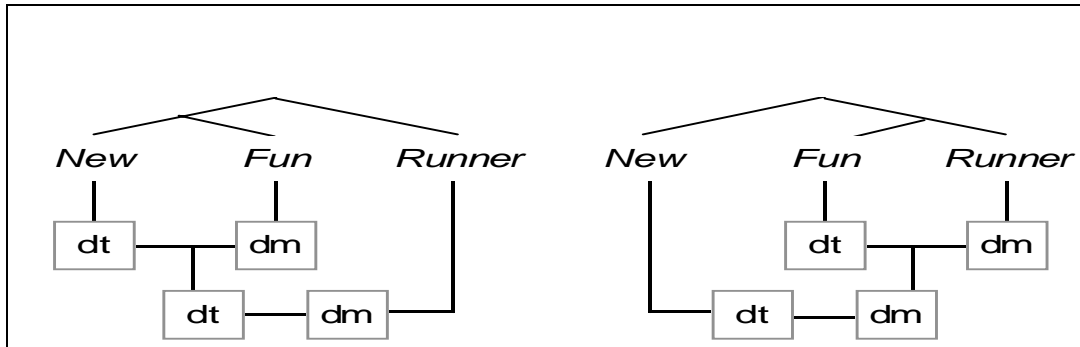
¹²⁸ I take the types from Marchand (1969: 60ff).

otherwise as free syntactic phrases¹²⁹. Thus, *Quicksilver* and *Wildcat* are compounds in my corpus because the underlying sentences *"the silver is quick" and *"the cat is wild" are not necessarily true as a wildcat may well be tame. All the other examples given are regarded as phrases. The result is, of course, that only established (cf. next paragraph below) complexes of this structure will be found among the compounds.

5. Adjectives of the shape "noun + second participle" (e.g. *Copper Cooled*) or "adjective + second participle" (e.g. *Thoroughbred*) are compounds.

With these guidelines followed, only two items had to be classed as compounds as well as as phrases: *Valiant Duster* and *New Fun Runner*. The ambiguity of *Valiant Duster* arises from the ambiguity of its first constituent (cf. Table 3-2; p. 104): if *Valiant* is regarded as a proper noun, the complex item is a compound, if it is regarded as an adjective *Valiant Duster* should be classed among the phrases. With *New Fun Runner* the constituent structure can be analyzed in two different ways, the first analysis, in which a noun phrase, *New Fun*, functions as determinant of a noun, *Runner*, yields a compound, the second, in which an adjective, *New*, modifies a nominal, *Fun Runner*, a free phrase (cf. Figure 3-4).

FIGURE 3-4: ALTERNATIVE CONSTITUENT STRUCTURES OF *NEW FUN RUNNER*



Of the 350 compounds used as automobile names I found in my corpus after this classification procedure had been followed, 110 are established while the rest, 240, are not. At this point the term "established" as it is used here has to be explained. Following Bauer (1983: 50) I use the attribute "established" for compounds that are either institutionalized or lexicalized in contrast to nonce-formations. From a diachronic point of view a new compound may start out as nonce-formation, i.e. it may be "coined by a speaker/writer on the spur of the moment to cover some immediate need" (Bauer, 1983: 45). The initial nonce-formation may be taken up by a larger portion of the speech community and henceforth speakers will not only recognize the formation type but also the item.

¹²⁹ The criteria of spelling and stress are of too little help to be taken further into consideration.

It is now an institutionalized formation as it has been "accepted by other speakers as a known lexical item" (Bauer, 1983: 48). The next stage in the life cycle of the compound may be its lexicalization "when, because of some change in the language system, the lexeme has, or takes on, a form which it could not have if it had arisen by the application of productive rules." (Bauer, 1983: 48). Actually, this process of increasing establishment does not only apply to compounds but also to all the other processes of word-formation, affixation, conversion and the non-syntagmatic formation types. At least the two initial stages, non-formation, or "nonce-introduction", and institutionalization can also be said to form the life-cycle of borrowings: a "nonce-borrowing" is one that is, for instance, used in the code-switching speech of bilingual persons, an institutionalized borrowing is one that has been accepted by larger portions of the language community. The distinction between established and non-established lexical items is crucial for this study as with established ones a new automobile name is coined by picking an item from the lexicon and applying it metaphorically or by some other semantic process to the automobile, while with non-established items a genuine formation or borrowing process is involved. As with other questions I took the ²OED as a guideline for the decision whether a particular lexical item that is used as an automobile name is established or not. I followed the ²OED with every item although I am aware that by consulting dictionaries no more than "some kind of guess can be made about whether a word is established or not" (Bauer, 1983: 85) and that different dictionaries regard different lexical items as established. *Skyliner*, for example, is not given in the ²OED but in WT as a synonym of *airliner*, *Dual Cowl Phaeton* is given neither in the ²OED nor in WT but is given in an automobile dictionary, Schrader et al. (1991), and translated into German as "Tourenwagen mit zwei Cockpits"¹³⁰ and *Indy Pace Car* is given in none of these dictionaries but it can be found in almost any issue of such magazines as *Automobile*, *Car and Driver* or *Autocourse*. Table 3-6 shows the ratio of established and non-established compounds used as automobile names, roughly one third are established and two thirds are not.

The various morphological types of compounds that are used as automobile names will now be examined in detail. Figure 3-5 shows a summary of their frequencies of occurrence - the order in which the types are presented is determined by their frequency¹³¹. The most conspicuous feature is the high

¹³⁰ In these two examples the reasons why different dictionaries give different items are easy to guess: *skyliner* might be an Americanism although it is not indicated as such by WT and *dual cowl phaeton* is not part of general language but rather of English for the specific purpose of automobilism.

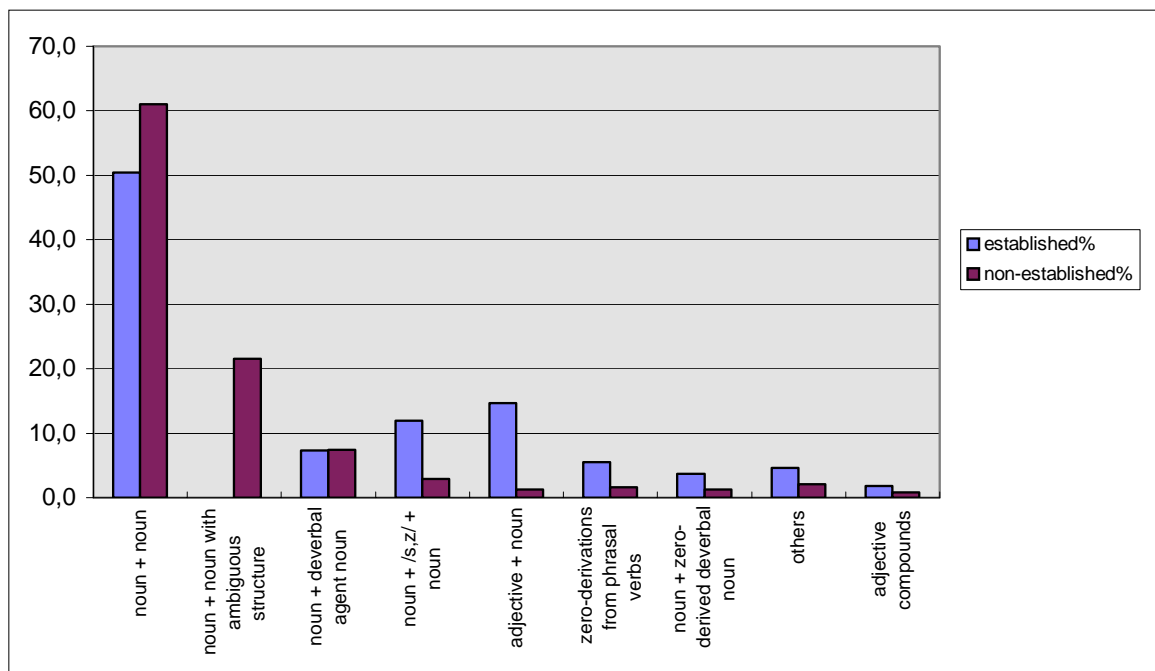
¹³¹ cf. Sauer (1992a: 125ff) on other possibilities of ordering the various types of compounds.

frequency of compounds of the type "noun+noun" for which the structure can not be determined (cf. ch. 3.2.1.2). With 52 items or 14.9% of all the compounds this class in which only non-established items are found is the second-largest group of automobile names that are taken from compounds.

TABLE 3-6: ESTABLISHED AND NON-ESTABLISHED COMPOUNDS IN THE SUB-CORPORA

| | established compounds | | non-established-compounds | | total |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|------|---------------------------|------|-------|
| | total | % | total | % | |
| manufacturer designation | - | - | - | - | - |
| series designation | 59 | 36.9 | 101 | 63.1 | 160 |
| model designation | 50 | 26.3 | 140 | 73.7 | 190 |
| total | 109 | 31.1 | 241 | 68.9 | 350 |

FIGURE 3-5: FREQUENCY OF THE VARIOUS SHAPES OF COMPOUNDS



3.2.1.1 Noun + Noun: the type *Country Club*

This is with 202 items, or 57.7% of all the compounds, the most common type. It occurs more often with the non-established compounds than with the established ones: 50.5% of all the established compounds belong to this type as against 61.0% of all the non-established ones (cf. Table 3-7). It is thus not only the most important but also the most productive type. This result is hardly surprising as this formation type is also the most frequent one in general language [cf. e. g. Marchand (1969: 60); or Sauer (1992a: 150f), who shows that this type has been the most productive one throughout the history of the English language]. In this

type the constituent that functions as head comes second and is determined by the stem of another noun preceding it. This constituent structure differentiates this formation type from the second most common one in which the determinant-determinatum order cannot be established conclusively (cf. ch. 3.2.1.2).

TABLE 3-7: FREQUENCY OF THE COMPOUNDING TYPE "NOUN + NOUN"

| | series designation | | model designation | | total | |
|-----------------|----------------------|------|-------------------|------|---------|------|
| | total ¹³² | % | total | % | total | % |
| established | 31133/59 | 54.2 | 24134/50 | 48.0 | 55/109 | 50.5 |
| non-established | 54135/101 | 53.5 | 93136/140 | 66.4 | 147/241 | 61.0 |
| total | 85/160 | 53.8 | 117/190 | 61.6 | 202/350 | 57.7 |

In most cases the two constituents of a compound of this type used as automobile name are two simplexes: *Star Dust*, *Skylark*, *Town Coupe*, *Firebird* etc. In a number of cases the determining constituent is a proper noun as in *Fina Sport*,

¹³² In this and the other totals sections the second figure gives the total of compounds for the respective group (cf. Table 3-5). The percentages take this figure as their basis.

¹³³ *Airstream* (2x), *Airway*, *Bearcat* (2x), *Bobcat*, *Buckboard*, *Country Club*, *Crestline*, *Dogcart*, *Estate Carrriage*, *Estate Wagon*, *Firearrow*, *Firebird*, *Gaslight*, *Honey Bee*, *Luxury Liner*, *Skylark*, *Skyline*, *Star Dust*, *Starlite*, *Station Wagon* (5x), *Streamliner*, *Sunbird*, *Thunderbird*, *Thunderbolt*, *Town Car*.

¹³⁴ *Bearcat*, *Breezeway* (2x), *City Marshal*, *Country Club* (4x), *Estate Wagon* (4x), *Firebird* (2x), *Jetliner*, *Ranch Wagon* (3x), *Silver Anniversary*, *Skylark*, *Starlight*, *Sting Ray*, *Thunderbolt*, *Town Car*.

¹³⁵ *Auto Cub*, *Beechcraft*, *Bobbi-Kar*, *Cab Pick-Up*, *Cherokee Chief*, *Citicar*, *Colt Vista*, *Comuta-Car* (cf. ch. 3.8 on graphemic variation), *Crown Victoria*, *Custom Bonneville*, *Custom Imperial Airflow*, *Customline*, *Custom Torpedo*, *Diamond Star*, *Fibersport*, *Fina Sport*, *Firedome*, *Fireflite*, *Fitchbird*, *Fleetline*, *Fleetmaster*, *Flight Hawk*, *Flitewing*, *France Jet*, *Glascar*, *Gran Turismo Hawk*, *Hot Rod Beetle*, *King-Midget*, *Master Eagle*, *Mile-A-Minute Roadster*, *Monocoque Box*, *Palace Touring*, *Power Hawk*, *Powermaster*, *Ranchero Squire*, *Roadking*, *Roadmaster*, *Rumbleseat Roadster*, *Safarikar*, *Silver Hawk*, *Silver Streak*, *Silver Volt*, *Sky Hawk*, *Skyhawk*, *Skyway Champion*, *Sport Fury*, *Sport Satellite*, *Sportwagon*, *Standard Mercury*, *Star Chief*, *Starfire*, *State President*, *Stylemaster*, *Yankee Clipper*.

¹³⁶ *Airflyte*, *Carroll Shelby edition*, *Club Sedan* (2x), *Club Victoria* (2x), *Club Wagon*, *Collector Edition*, *Country Sedan* (2x), *Country Squire* (4x), *Crestliner*, *Crown Coupe*, *Custom Biarritz*, *Custom Colony Park*, *Custom Country Club* (2x), *Custom Phaeton*, *Custom Safari* (2x), *Custom Virginian*, *Custom Wagonaire*, *Designer Series*, *Designers' Accent Edition*, *Diamond Crown*, *Diamond Edition* (2x), *Diamond Jubilee Edition* (2x), *Dual Cowl Phaeton*, *Family Club Sedan*, *Fifth Avenue Edition*, *Flair Fashion*, *Fleetline* (2x), *Fleetmaster*, *Gucci Sportabout*, *Holiday Fiesta*, *Indy Pace Car*, *Jetfire* (2x), *Limited Edition Landau*, *New Fun Runner*, *Pace Car*, *Parkview*, *Patrol Marshal*, *Pursuit Marshal*, *Rebel Line*, *Road Hawk*, *Signature Series*, *Silver Arrow*, *Silver Streak*, *Silvercrest*, *Skyliner* (2x), *Speedline* (3x), *Sport Coupe* (3x), *Sport Sedan*, *Sport Suburban* (2x), *Sport Tone*, *Sport-Hatch*, *Sportmaster*, *Squire Wagon*, *Starfire*, *Starliner* (2x), *Styleline* (2x), *Sun Roof Landau*, *Sun Valley* (2x), *Sunliner* (4x), *Sunrise Coupe*, *Touring Coupe*, *Touring Edition*, *Town Coupe*, *Town Landau*, *Town Sedan*, *Town Victoria*, *Towne Coupe*, *Utility Sedan*, *Utility Sedanette*.

Fitchbird or *Beechcraft* where *Fina*, *Fitch* and *Beech* are the surnames of the manufacturers. In one case the first element is a first name, *Bobbi-Kar*, and there is also one example of the determinant being a full name: *Carroll Shelby edition*¹³⁷. There are three items in which the second element, the determinatum, is a proper noun: *Custom Biarritz*, *Custom Bonneville* and *Custom Colony Park*. These are, of course, non-established compounds as it is normally impossible to find a proper noun, the reference of which is by definition unique, limited in its meaning by a determining item. The explanation for these cases is that the second constituent in both cases is not a place name but rather an automobile name, the underlying sentence is not "the town of the name *Biarritz* is custom-built" but rather "a car of the name *Biarritz* is custom-built". Thus, an automobile name is already taken as basis for the formation of another one. That the second element is no longer taken from the general lexicon but already from another car name seems to be true in most cases in which the determinant is *custom* as in *Custom Imperial Airflow*, *Custom Torpedo*, *Custom Safari* or *Custom Country Club*, not with *Custom Phaeton*, however.

In the instances of *Custom Imperial Airflow* and *Custom Country Club* the determinatum is complex, in the first case, *Imperial Airflow*, a phrase of the structure "adjective as premodifier + compound noun of the type 'noun+deverbal noun' as head", in the second, *Country Club*, a compound of the type "noun+noun". A phrase as immediate constituent of a compound seems to be rather rare in general language¹³⁸ but is not that uncommon with automobile names. Apart from the above-mentioned *Custom Imperial Airflow* there are a number of examples in which not the determinatum but the determinant is a phrase: *New Fun/Runner*, *Limited Edition/Landau*, *Dual Cowl/Phaeton* and *Fifth Avenue/Edition*. Needless to say all these compounds are not taken from established items already in the lexicon but are newly formed for the purpose of naming an automobile. Another example is *The Free Spirit Hawk*, which is classed among the phrases (cf. ch. 3.4.5) because of its article: the head of the phrase is also a compound the first constituent of which, *Free Spirit*, is a phrase. Items of a similar structure are *Gran Turismo Hawk* and *Hot Rod Beetle*, in

¹³⁷ Carroll Shelby is a famous American race driver.

¹³⁸ I do not find this pattern described in such standard introductions to English word formation as Adams (1973), Bauer (1983), Marchand (1969) or Quirk et al. (1985; Appendix 1). From a theoretical point of view I do not see any obstacle against considering a phrase as part of a word, however, because it is common to find a unit that is higher in the grammatical hierarchy than another one as part of that lower one. A case in point is the relative clause as part of the noun phrase.

which the determinant is a non-established borrowed phrase¹³⁹ or a compound, however. *Hot rod* has a lexicalized meaning as "a motor vehicle specially modified to give high power and speed". Again, *Beetle* in this combination is not a common noun but a trade name as a *Hot Rod Beetle* is a customized *VW Beetle*.

In other cases the compound structure gets even more complicated as with *Mile-A-Minute Roadster*, the underlying sentence of which is "the roadster goes a mile a minute". The two adverbials *a mile* and *a minute* have been transformed into one single constituent. With the indefinite article preserved this element has more clause than phrase character. It determines another complex element, the suffixation *Roadster*. Apart from this rather exceptional name there are also a number of polynominal strings that exhibit a more common "complex noun + complex noun" structure such as *Diamond Jubilee Edition*, *Rumbleseat Roadster* etc. (cf. Table 3-8). The most frequent of these patterns is the one exhibited by *Luxury Liner*. Other examples are *Streamliner*, *Yankee Clipper*, *Jetliner*, *Skyliner*, *Crestliner*, *Starliner* and *Sunliner*. This type is not identical to compounds of the *watchmaker*-type as discussed in ch. 3.2.1.3 as *liner* and *clipper* are no deverbal agent nouns but rather denominal nouns denoting a thing (cf. Marchand, 1969: 280). The second element *cruiser* might also belong here - although formed on a verbal basis - but is discussed in ch. 3.2.1.3 because of its polysemy.

TABLE 3-8: THE STRUCTURE OF POLYNOMINAL COMPOUNDS OF THE "NOUN+NOUN" TYPE

| | structure of the first constituent (determinant) | structure of the second constituent (determinatum) |
|----------------------------------|---|---|
| <i>Cab/Pick-Up</i> | back-clipping from <i>cabriolet</i> | exocentric compound ¹⁴⁰ (verb + particle) |
| <i>Comuta-/Car</i> | suffixation ¹⁴¹ (deverbal noun) | simplex |
| <i>Designers' Accent/Edition</i> | compound (noun + /s,z/ + noun) | suffixation (deverbal noun) |
| <i>Diamond Jubilee/Edition</i> | compound (noun + noun) | suffixation (deverbal noun) |
| <i>Gucci/Sportabout</i> | simplex (proper noun) | exocentric compound (verb + particle) |
| <i>Indy/Pace Car</i> | back-clipping (proper noun) from <i>Indianapolis</i> | compound (noun + noun) |
| <i>Luxury Liner</i> | simplex | suffixation (denominal noun) |
| <i>Rumbleseat/Roadster</i> | compound (verb + noun) | suffixation (denominal noun) |

¹³⁹ *Gran Turismo* is termed "not naturalized" by the ²OED. It denotes "originally a car designed particularly for covering long distances at high speeds, now sometimes used to describe a sporty version of an ordinary car."

¹⁴⁰ In an exocentric compound the determinatum is a zero-element (cf. Marchand, 1969: 15).

¹⁴¹ i.e. commuter, cf. ch. 3.8 on "Graphemic variation"

| | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| <i>Sport/Suburban</i> | simplex | zero-derivation of a suffixation (denominal adjective) the basis of which is in turn a prefixation (<i>suburb</i>) |
| <i>Sun Roof/Landau</i> | compound (noun + noun) | simplex |
| <i>Sunrise/Coupe</i> | compound (noun + verb) | simplex |
| <i>Utility/Sedanette</i> | suffixation (deadjectival noun) | suffixation (denominal noun) |

3.2.1.2 Noun + Noun with ambiguous structure: the type *Catalina Brougham*

With 52 items, or 14.9% of all the compounds, this is the second most common type. 29 series designations and 23 model designations exhibit this pattern. It is interesting to note that none of the compounds in this class is an established one. Thus, the uncommon item order type that was noted for automobile designations as a whole (cf. ch. 2.2.1) in which the determinatum precedes the determinant can, to a certain extent, also be found in the names themselves. Actually, this group presents even further problems as the semantic relation between the two constituents can, as far as I can see, not be established with absolute certainty. Various sub-groups may be distinguished:

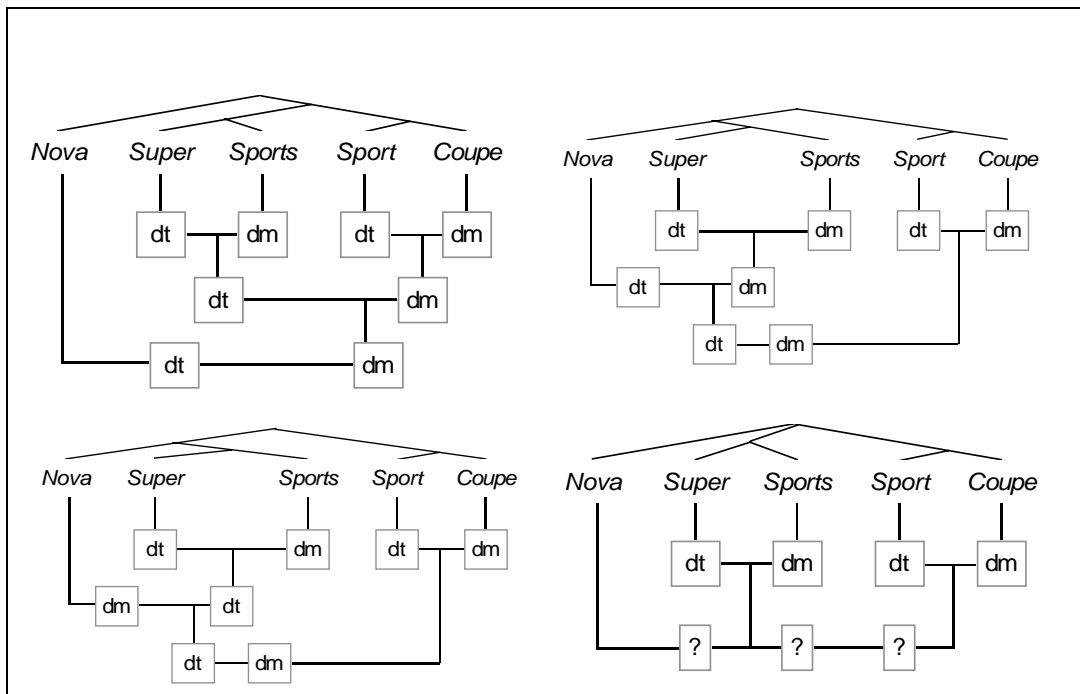
1. In 20 complexes of this type the second element denotes a vehicle type: *Caprice Custom Sedan, Catalina Brougham, Crown Victoria (2x), Eldorado Brougham (2x), Falcon Station Wagon, Fleetwood Brougham, Fleetwood Eldorado Brougham, Fleetwood Limousine, Kingswood Estate (2x), Landau Sedan, Landau Victoria, Montage Grand Touring, Monza Spyder, New Yorker Brougham, Nova Super Sport Sports Coupe, Regency Brougham* and *Sportabout Touring*. In most of these names the first constituent is another automobile name, and it is impossible to decide whether the underlying relation between the two elements is:

- ? the car is a *Brougham (Limousine, Victoria)* of the *Catalina (Eldorado, Fleetwood etc.)* type or
- ? the car is a *Catalina (Eldorado, Fleetwood etc.)* and a *Brougham (Limousine, Victoria)* or
- ? the car is a *Catalina (Eldorado, Fleetwood etc.)* of the *Brougham (Limousine, Victoria)* type

In the others, *Landau Sedan, Landau Victoria* and *Sportabout Touring* both constituents denote a vehicle type. With these I doubt whether there is any underlying relation at all as the vehicle types are mutually exclusive: a car is either a *sportabout* or a *touring car*, which makes it quite probable that the two lexemes were arbitrarily concocted. This impression that words are arbitrarily taken and "pinned together" to form a new car name is also supported by those polynominal strings which are rather rare in general language (cf. Quirk et al., 1985: 1567) but make up a fair number of automobile names. Apart from the above-mentioned *Caprice Custom Sedan, Fleetwood Eldorado Brougham* etc.

there are also *Bonneville Custom Safari*, *Riviera Silver Arrow*, *Marathon Town Custom* or *Crown Victoria Country Squire* to name but the longest. The claim to the status of longest automobile name can probably be put forward by *Nova Super Sport Sports Coupe*. The unusual phenomenon with these names is not only that they consist of two constituents which in turn might be complexes but rather that we cannot even be sure what the constituents are: two complexes or are we dealing with compounds that have more than two immediate constituents? I think that it can be reasonably maintained that any of the four constituent structures given in Figure 3-6 is valid for the complex *Nova Super Sports Sport Coupe*. The underlying paraphrase for the rather unusual option with three constituents would be: "the car is a *Nova* and a *Super Sports* and a *Sport Coupe*."

FIGURE 3-6: ALTERNATIVE CONSTITUENT STRUCTURES OF *NOVA SUPER SPORTS SPORT COUPE*



2. Seven other complexes are quite similar to the first group in that the second element might be a vehicle type but the difference is that it might also be an attribute denoting a quality or purpose: *Bonneville Custom Safari*, *Dart Sport*, *Impala Super Sport*, *LeMans Sport*, *Rally Sport* (2x) and *Tempest Safari*. *Sport* might denote the vehicle type *sports car* or it might be an attribute denoting a particularly sporty version of the head. *Safari* is used as a synonym of *station wagon* by Pontiac so that - like *Sport* - it might denote a vehicle type or again be an attribute denoting the purpose to which the referent of the head can be put ("a *Tempest* for a *Safari*"). If the first interpretation is favoured the same

considerations as regards the structural relation of first and second constituent as discussed above apply. If the second interpretation is taken as the basis for the structural analysis these items are inversion compounds of the type *court martial* in which the determinatum precedes the determinant.

3. 13 items have an automobile name as their first constituent: *Fairmont Futura*, *Electra-King*, *Torino Cobra* (2x), *Thunderbird Saturn*, *Torino Machete*, *King Cobra*, *President Speedway*, *Riviera Silver Arrow*, *Newport Custom*, *Landau Silvercrest*, *Marathon Town Custom*, *Mustang Milano*. The automobile name functions as head and is postmodified by some attribute: *Futura* is a commercial suffixation (cf. ch. 3.2.4), and the underlying sentence is obviously something like "a *Fairmont* for the future", with *King* it is something like "*Electra* for a king" or "the best *Electra*", *Cobra* is the name of a motor, so that a *Torino Cobra* is "a *Torino* with a *Cobra*" etc. These items are inversion compounds without doubt.

4. Then there are seven complexes in which both constituents are automobile names: *Crown Victoria Country Squire*, *Crown Victoria Skyliner*, *Mustang Mach I*, *New Yorker Fifth Avenue*, *Tempest Monte Carlo*, *Streamliner Torpedo* and *Valiant Duster*. As with both constituents designating vehicle types I do not think that the two constituents can be in any structural relationship with each other, rather one item is "heaped on the other" and together they are put on a car.

5. The last five complexes in this group (*Cartier Designer*, *Derham Custom*, *Luxury LeMans*, *Panther Daytona* and *Syrtis Roof-O-Matic*) exhibit various constituent structures: in *Derham Custom* and *Syrtis Roof-O-Matic* a proper noun functioning as head is modified by a common noun (a simplex and a non-syntagmatic word formation). For *Syrtis Roof-O-Matic* I cannot offer the explanation that the proper noun is not a "real" proper noun but rather an automobile name, however, as there is, as far as I know, no car of the name *Derham* or *Syrtis*. *Derham* is a name of a coachbuilder, however, so that the underlying sentence in this case is "car custom-built by *Derham*". The name might thus be an example of ellipsis, *Derham Custom[-built car]*. *Luxury LeMans* and *Panther Daytona* could either be "a *LeMans* (*Daytona*) car that offers *luxury* (is like a *Panther*)" or "*Luxury* (*Panther*) à la *LeMans* (*Daytona*)". Thus, it depends once again on the semantic interpretation whether the item order of the compound is determinant-determinatum or vice versa. *Cartier Designer* could be an inverted appositive syntagma after *Designer Cartier* but the semantic interpretation makes postmodification more likely: "a *designer* car of the *Cartier* type".

3.2.1.3 Noun + deverbal agent noun: the type *Pacemaker*

With 26 items, or 7.4% of all the compounds, this is also a rather frequent formation type, and also a productive one as 18 automobile names of this type are newly formed, while the other nine lexemes are established ones. There are six established series designations, *Pacemaker* (3x), *Pacesetter*, *Road Runner* and *Wayfarer*, and two established model designations: *Road Runner* and *Sandpiper*. The non-established series designations of this type are *Beauty Winner*, *Century Cruiser*, *Country Cruiser*, *Custom Cruiser*, *Cutlass Cruiser*, *Gashopper*, *State Commander*, *Sundancer*, *Towne Shopper*, *Turnpike Cruiser* and *Vista Cruiser*. *Gashopper* is obviously a playful formation on *grashopper*. The seven non-established model designations are: *Cyclone Spoiler*, *Front Runner*, *Gold Duster*, *Land Cruiser*, *Silver Challenger*, *Sun Runner* and *Town Traveler*. The second element *cruiser* is polysemous, it denotes either a ship or a human agent ("one who cruises").

3.2.1.4 Noun + /s, z/ + noun: the type *Scotsman*

20 items belong to this formation type, or 5.7% of all the compounds. In words of this type the /s, z/ is used to link the determinant and the determinatum, it is thus a linking element rather than a genitive or plural marker (cf. Marchand, 1969: 27). 13 compounds in this group are well established in the general English lexicon: the series designations *Plainsman*, *Scotsman*, *Sportsman* and *Statesman* and the model designations *Plainsman*, *Scotsman*, *Sportsman* (6x) and *Townsmen*. One item of this type is formed to get a series designation, *Kingsway*, which might actually also be an ellipted form ("Klammerform") of *King's Highway*, in which the middle element would be left out [cf. Marchand (1969: 39) on this phenomenon and especially Sauer (1992a: 33 and 333ff)]. According to Sauer (1992a: 333) it is commonly the second element of the determinant which is left out (*licence plate* from *licence number plate* or *call house* from *call girl house*) - which would not hold true of *Kingsway* where the first element of the determinatum is left out if it is interpreted as ellipted compound. The six non-established model designations of this type are all formed with *sports* as a first constituent: *Sports Accent*, *Sports Compact*, *Sports Rallye* and *Sportsroof* (3x).

3.2.1.5 Adjective + noun: the type *Quicksilver*

19 compounds, or 5.4% are of this pattern. Of these, 16 are established items, seven series designations, *Blackhawk*, *Gray Wolf*, *Mainline*, *Norseman*, *Quicksilver*, *Wildcat* and *Wildfire*, and nine model designations, *Handyman*, *Holiday* (4x), *Redbird*, *Rural Route*, *Wildfire* and *Yellow Bird*. The three non-established items are *Double Dater*, *Heavy-Duty* and *Highrider*. Two of these, *Doble Dater* and *Highrider* are synthetic compounds, i. e. derived from a free

syntactic phrase: one who double dates, one who rides high (cf. ch. 3.2.1.3 on compounds of this type in which the first constituent is a noun).

3.2.1.6 Zero-derivations from phrasal verbs: the type *Runabout*

Exocentric nouns from verbal phrases occur ten times, that is 2.9% of all the compounds. One might actually dispute whether these exocentric nouns from verbal phrases of the type *Runabout* should be classed among the compounds. In fact, they are zero-derivations (cf. e.g. Marchand, 1969: 382 or Quirk et al., 1985: 1560) but as two free lexical morphemes are joined in this pattern I feel justified in treating them under the heading "compounds" for the present purpose. Six automobile names of this type are taken from established lexemes, the series designations *Gadabout* and *Runabout* (2x) and the model designations *Roundup* and *Runabout* (2x). Non-established formations of this type are *Speedabout* and *Sportabout* (3x). The formations with *-about* form a whole group of vehicle designations, a further example is the *Mercedes Raceabout* (1911-1914) that is not part of the corpus (cf. ch. 1.4).

3.2.1.7 Noun + zero-derived deverbal noun: the type *Sunshine*

Seven compounds, that is 2.0% of all the compounds, show the pattern "noun + zero-derived deverbal noun", four of them are established, *Airflow* (2x), *Sundance* and *Sunshine*, three are not, *Airscoot*, *Firesweep* and *Tempest Sprint*. All these combinations are based on a subject-predicate relation ("the air flows" etc.) except for *Airscoot* and *Sundance*, which are based on a predicate-adverbial relation ("somebody scoots on/like air; dances in honor of the sun"). A few other compounds such as *Airstream* or *Parkview*, which I have grouped among the compounds of the type "noun+noun", resemble this type - or might even belong to it - but from a synchronic point of view it can no longer be established whether the second constituent belongs primarily to the noun or verb class.

3.2.1.8 Other compound nouns

Ten compounds, that is 2.9% of all the compounds belong to classes of compounds that do not occur often enough to warrant separate treatment. The type "deverbal noun in *-ing* + noun" accounts for three compounds, the established *Hummingbird* and the non-established *Cruising Sedan* and *Cruising Wagon*. One compound that occurs twice is formed according to the pattern "numeral + noun": *Tudor* (cf. ch. 3.8 on graphemic variation). This is a bahuvrihi compound (cf. Marchand, 1969: 387) as the underlying sentence is "car with *two doors*", which means that the determinatum *car* is not expressed in the

compound¹⁴². All the following formation types account for one car name each: "verb + noun", *Playboy*, "pronoun *all* + noun", *Allstate* and "noun + predicating noun in *-ing*", *Turnpike Cruising*. Two more items are again difficult to account for: *Cross-Country* is formed from a preposition and a noun, the underlying sentence is "car to go *across* the *country* with", which meaning is not established. There is an established adjective *cross-country*, however, so that we might speak of a zero-derivation from a compounded adjective. *Sebring-Plus* is formed from a proper noun and a quasi-preposition.

¹⁴² Actually, one might speculate that as car name many of these items are exocentrics: "an *Airflow* is a car that *flows* in the *air*", "an *Allstate* is a car for *all states*", "a *Turnpike Cruising* is a car for *turnpike cruising*" and so on.

3.2.1.9 Compound adjectives: the type *Thoroughbred*

In my corpus there are four complex adjectives that are converted into automobile names: *Thorobred*, *Thoroughbred*, *Copper Cooled* and *Premium Wood-Grained*. The established one, *Thoroughbred* and its spelling variant, is formed according to the pattern "adjective + second participle" in which the first element represents historically speaking an adverb: *thoroughly bred* (cf. Marchand, 1969: 94f). *Copper Cooled* has the shape "noun + second participle", the underlying sentence is "*copper cools* the engine" so that the passive participle is determined by a converted subject, which is according to Marchand (1969: 93) the most common underlying relation for adjectives of this shape. *Premium Wood-Grained* also has the shape "noun + second participle" but the noun is in this case a noun phrase, *premium*¹⁴³ *wood*, which yields the underlying sentence "*grained* like (in imitation of) *premium wood*" so that the determinant stands to the participle in the syntactic relation of prepositional adverbial. Thus, all the compound adjectives have a past participle rather than an adjective proper as determinatum.

3.2.2 Neo-classical compounds: the type *Argonaut*

Neo-classical compounds are lexemes formed with elements that the ²OED terms as "combining forms". There are initial combining forms such as *astro-*, *aero-* or *electro-* and final combining forms such as *-crat*, *-naut* or *-mobile*. Actually, it is much debated whether these complexes form a legitimate part of English word formation. As I do not think that this is the place to review the theoretical debate I shall adopt Bauer's (1983: 216) functional view:

[...] to accept these combining forms for what they are etymologically: elements of the classical languages which are used in English word-formation. It must be stressed that they are used in English: the ancient Greeks never needed the word *telephone* although it is made up of Greek elements. It is because these elements are put together by speakers of English that it is possible for coiners to mix Greek and Latin as in *television*. [...] neo-classical compounds have some things in common with ordinary compounds, and [...] they have also something in common with derivatives.

The word *automobile* itself is another example of this English type of word-formation. Actually, the fact that some of these combining forms such as *Geo*,

¹⁴³ The ²OED describes this attributive usage of *premium* as originally American: "Passing into adjective. Of a commodity, etc., especially petrol: superior in quality and therefore commanding a higher price; of a price: such as befits an article of superior quality; higher than usual."

Turbo or *Aero* are used on their own as automobile names (cf. ch. 3.1) might indicate that they are increasingly perceived as independent elements.

There are 21 formations in my corpus that make use of these combining forms, which means 0.9% of all the automobile names or 3.8% of the syntagmatic word-formations. One of these is a manufacturer designation, 15 are series designations and 5 model designations. Only three of them are established (*Argonaut*, *Autocrat* and *Triplex*¹⁴⁴) which means that the formation type is rather productive with automobile names. Table 3-9 shows the initial combining forms that are used in the non-established formations. Interestingly no initial combining form is joined with a final combining form which is the more common pattern in general language (cf. Bauer, 1983: 213ff).

TABLE 3-9: INITIAL COMBINING FORMS

| initial combining form | car names | second constituent |
|------------------------|--|--------------------|
| <i>aero-</i> | <i>Aerosedan</i> , and the pleonastic <i>Aerostar</i> | common noun |
| <i>dual-</i> | <i>Dual-Ghia</i> | proper noun |
| <i>electro-</i> | <i>Electro-Master</i> , <i>Electromotion</i> | common noun |
| <i>euro-</i> | <i>Eurosedan</i> (2x), <i>Eurosport</i> | common noun |
| <i>pedi-</i> | <i>Pedicar</i> | common noun |
| <i>quadri-</i> | <i>Quadricycle</i> | common noun |
| <i>strato-</i> | <i>Strato Star</i> , <i>Strato Streak</i> | common noun |
| <i>turbo-</i> | <i>Turbo Coupe</i> , <i>TurboFlite</i> | common noun |

Only one final combining form occurs: *-mobile*, which might be a shortening from *automobile*. Twice it is used in combination with a proper noun, the manufacturer's surname: *Diehlmobile* and *Oldsmobile*, once in combination with a common noun, *Monkeemobile*, and once in combination with a verb: *Scootmobile*. In its advertising Oldsmobile tried occasionally to introduce *-mobile* as a kind of synonym for *automobile* or *car* generally. Thus, in 1968 the Toronado was advertised as "The front-wheel-drive *youngmobile* from Oldsmobile." (Stern, 1978: 112; my italics). The German *Papamobil* for the car of the pope suggests a similar development.

3.2.3 Prefixations: the type *Bicentennial*

There are 33 prefix formations in my corpus. They account thus for 1.5% of all the automobile names or 5.9% of the syntagmatic word-formations. No manufacturer designation is formed with a prefix but 18 series designations and

¹⁴⁴ In fact, these three formations are not English but classical as they were taken over as a whole from Greek (*Argonaut*, *Autocrat*) and Latin (*Triplex*). This is only etymologically relevant, however, as there is no structural difference between these "real" classical formations and neo-classical i.e. English formations such as *astronaut*, *cosmonaut* etc. or *Eurocrat*, *technocrat* etc.

15 model designations are. All the prefixes used, whether with established or non-established items are loan-prefixes from the classical tongues - which again supports the findings of ch. 3.1 where it turned out that an extraordinarily high number of simplexes are loans. Only eight prefix formations are established (cf. Table 3-10), of these only one, *Supercharged*, is a model designation.

TABLE 3-10: ESTABLISHED PREFIX FORMATIONS

| prefix | car names | base |
|---------------|------------------------------------|--|
| <i>bi-</i> | <i>Bicentennial</i> | adjective or noun (cf. Marchand, 1969: 148f) |
| <i>in-</i> | <i>Independence</i> ¹⁴⁵ | derived noun |
| | <i>Intrepid</i> | adjective |
| <i>inter-</i> | <i>International</i> | derived adjective |
| <i>pan-</i> | <i>Pan American</i> | derived adjective |
| <i>super-</i> | <i>Supercharged</i> | second participle |
| | <i>Supersonic</i> | adjective |
| <i>tri-</i> | <i>Trident</i> | noun |

The non-established prefixations are less diverse. Only two prefixes occur, *super-* and *tri-*. Especially *super-* is highly productive (cf. Table 3-11).

TABLE 3-11: NON-ESTABLISHED PREFIX FORMATIONS

| prefix | car names | base |
|---------------|---------------------------|---|
| <i>super-</i> | <i>Super Bee</i> | noun |
| | <i>Super Chief</i> (2x) | noun |
| | <i>Super Clipper</i> | derived noun |
| | <i>Super Cobra</i> | noun |
| | <i>Super Coupe</i> (2x) | noun |
| | <i>Super Deluxe</i> (2x) | adjective (not naturalized French prepositional phrase functioning as adjective in English) |
| | <i>Super Hot Shot</i> | noun phrase (<i>Super/Hot Shot</i>) or adjective (<i>Super Hot/Shot</i>) |
| | <i>Super Kar</i> | noun (cf. ch. 3.8 on "Graphemic variation") |
| | <i>Super Marauder</i> | derived noun |
| | <i>Super Pak</i> | noun (cf. ch. 3.8 on "Graphemic variation") |
| | <i>Super Road Runner</i> | compounded noun |
| | <i>Super Special</i> (2x) | adjective or noun |
| | <i>Super Spoiler</i> | derived noun |
| | <i>Super Sports</i> | noun (plural) |
| | <i>Super Spyder</i> | noun |
| | <i>Super Wagon</i> | noun |
| | <i>Super-Duty</i> | noun |
| | <i>Superbird</i> (2x) | noun |
| <i>tri-</i> | <i>Tri-Car</i> | noun |
| | <i>Trihawk</i> | noun |

¹⁴⁵ In fact, it cannot be unambiguously established whether *Independence* is the result of a prefixation or a suffixation process. The prefix might have been added to a deverbal noun (*in-dependence*) but a prefixed adjective might just as well have been derived into a noun by suffixation (*independ(ent)-ence*).

3.2.4 Suffixations: the type *Adventurer*

151 automobile names are suffixations, that is 6.7% of all the names or 27.2% of the syntagmatic word-formations. *Electra*, which occurs twice, is also classed as a proper noun. The two cases of *Electra* might actually ask for different treatment: in one case *Electra* is used for an electric car and a suffix formation is more likely while in the case of the *Buick Electra* no semantic connection with *electric* is obvious. Therefore it is as likely that the name is taken from the proper noun, the name of a mythical Greek figure (cf. ch. 3.5.2).

As with prefixations one single suffix accounts for the vast majority of the formations. 74 are formed with *-er* or one of its spelling variants¹⁴⁶ that is 49.0% of all the suffixations, the rest is distributed over 18 other suffixations. But unlike prefix formations the vast majority of suffix formations are established. Only 21 have no entry in the ²OED: *Asymmetrica*, *Autoette*, *Berlina*, *Berlinetta*, *Broganette*, *Chevelle*, *Chevette*, *Electra* (2x), *Futura* (4x), *Futuramic*, *Jeepster*, *Polara*, *Publix*, *Superba*, *Techna*, *Voltra* and *Wagoneer*¹⁴⁷. The majority of these, the formations in *-a*, *-elle* and *-ix* are so-called "commercial suffixations". Commercial suffixes are one of the best-studied areas of trade names (cf. e.g. Seeba, 1986; Toorn, 1987) as the interesting thing about them is that in using them trade names exhibit a certain creativity, that is to say we do not find these suffixes anywhere else in general language. Praninskas (1968: 44) defines commercial suffixes as:

recurrent final elements not found in non-trade language which appear to have little semantic content, yet serve to loosely knit groups of consumer products such as synthetic fabrics, cleaning agents, drugs. [...] we may find common suffixes which, though retaining their full semantic content, demonstrate a variety of relationships between suffix and base which are not the traditional ones. In the extreme case the commercial suffix merely serves the purpose of transforming a word, or the retained portion of a truncated word, into a trade name. Its presence merely signifies to the consumer 'This is a product which is for sale'.

Commercial suffixes do not have the same qualitative and quantitative importance for automobile names as they have for other trade names. There is no suffix that identifies the product group as such. The one that comes closest to such a meaning is *-ster* which is a common language suffix, however: it is mainly used to denote, often depreciatively, persons as in *gangster*, *trickster*,

¹⁴⁶ These include the "regular" spelling variant *-or* (cf. Marchand, 1969: 281) as in *Ambassador* and the unconventional *-a* (cf. ch. 3.8) as in *Achieva*.

¹⁴⁷ *Autoette* is mentioned by Marchand (1969: 290) as a creation of "the language of trade", however, and *jeepster* is given as an example of a formation in *-ster* by Adams (1973: 174).

youngster. More recent formations of this type that clearly show the depreciative connotation are *fraudster* (the first use of this word recorded in the ²OED dates from 1975) and *scamster* (not recorded in the ²OED)¹⁴⁸. Occasionally it also denotes objects and animals as in *roadster* which was originally applied to a ship, then to a horse, a man and also a vehicle (cf. Marchand, 1969: 348f). In the names formed with this suffix the meaning "vehicle" seems to have become the dominant one, a *Jeepster* is "a vehicle of the *Jeep* type", a *speedster* "a fast car" and a *Sportster* "a sport car". A further one is *dragster* that occurs in the phrase *Boss 427 Dragster*: the established formation denotes "a 'hot rod', or car constructed from spare parts and designed to exhibit the maximum of engine efficiency and the minimum of elegance" (²OED). Furthermore, Porsche uses the designation *boxster* for one of its cars but I could not find out what the specific properties of a *boxster* are, if it has any. Additionally, the personal meaning is present with these formations, however, (cf. ch. 4.3 on metaphor), with *speedster* it is even established as "fast driver".

The following suffixes used with automobile names are not common language suffixes:

1) *-a* occurs 12 times in the following names: *Asymmetrica*, *Berlina*, *Electra* (2x), *Futura* (4x), *Polara*, *Superba*, *Techna* and *Voltra*. For six of these formations the base is an adjective. It is either present in its entirety as in *Asymmetrica*, *Polara* and *Superba* or only as truncated allomorph as in *Electra* and *Techna*. In both truncated forms *-a* substitutes the derivational ending *-ic*. The base for the other six is a common noun¹⁴⁹. In the name *Voltra*, for an electric car, a linking sound, /r/, is introduced. *-a* is also a frequently occurring suffix in Praninskas' (1968: 49) corpus. She reasons that it might be motivated by its exotic sound. This hypothesis is supported by my corpus as not only these suffixations in *-a* occur (cf. also *Achieva*, *Berlinetta*) but also simplexes (e.g. *Barracuda*, *Beretta*, *Cobra*), proper nouns (e.g. *Balboa*, *Bermuda*, *Cinderella*) and borrowings (e.g. *Astra*, *Bravada*, *Fiera*). In total 142 automobile names end in *-a*, that is 6.3% of all the names¹⁵⁰.

¹⁴⁸ It is e.g. used in *The Economist* 07/01/1995: 40.

¹⁴⁹ In the cases of *Berlina* and *Voltra* it is the eponym *berlin(e)*, "an old-fashioned four-wheeled covered carriage, with a seat behind covered with a hood" (²OED), and *volt*, "the standard measure of the amount of electrical force needed to produce one amp of electrical current where the resistance is one ohm" (DCE) after the name of the Italian scientist *Alessandro Volta*.

¹⁵⁰ Koß (1976: 416) finds a similar preference for names ending in *-a* in German trade names, especially in those taken from female christian names, a formation type that seems to be particularly frequent in names for textiles, shoes, cosmetics, china and glas.

- 2) *-elle* occurs once in *Chevelle*. The basis for this formation is *Chev-*, an allomorph of *Chevy*, a nickname of *Chevrolet* that is also used as an "official" car name.
- 3) *-ix* occurs once in *Publix*. *-ix* might either be a variation of *-ex*, a frequently used commercial suffix (cf. Seeba, 1986), or it is taken from the Celtic ending *-(r)ix*¹⁵¹, which occurs in proper names in some Celtic languages and has gained a certain fame because of the comic strip figures *Asterix* and *Obelix*.

Of the common language suffixes twelve are used for the derivation of nouns (cf. Table 3-12), the other four form primarily adjectives but also nouns (cf. Table 3-13). All the adjective formations have established zero-derivations into nouns.

TABLE 3-12: NOMINAL SUFFIXATIONS

| suffix | frequency | formations |
|-------------------------|-----------|---|
| <i>-al</i> ₁ | 1 | <i>Sir Vival</i> (cf. ch. 3.8 on "Graphemic variation") |
| <i>-ation</i> | 2 | <i>Citation</i> (2x) |
| <i>-cy</i> | 1 | <i>Regency</i> |
| <i>-eer</i> | 4 | <i>Marketeer, Pioneer</i> (2x), <i>Wagoneer</i> |
| <i>-er (-or)</i> | 74 | <i>Achieva</i> ¹⁵² , <i>Adventurer, Ambassador</i> (3x), <i>Blazer, Challenger</i> (3x), <i>Charger</i> (3x), <i>Clipper, Commander, Commuter</i> (2x), <i>Cruiser, Defender, Designer, Detroit, Dictator, Duster</i> (3x), <i>Explorer</i> (3x), <i>Forerunner, Grabber, Highlander</i> (3x), <i>Islander, Lancer</i> (4x), <i>Marauder, New Yorker, Pacer</i> (2x), <i>Predictor, Projector, Prowler, Rambler</i> (4x), <i>Ranger, Scooter, Shopper, Sizzler, Stinger, Swinger, Topper, Tracer, Tracker, Traveler</i> (5x), <i>Villager</i> (6x), <i>Voyager</i> (3x), <i>Warrior, Westerner, Wrangler</i> |
| <i>-ette (-etta)</i> | 4 | <i>Autoette, Berlinetta, Broganette, Chevette</i> (cf. <i>Chevelle</i> above) |
| <i>-(i)an</i> | 22 | <i>American, Chicagoan, Caribbean</i> (3x), <i>Cosmopolitan, Metropolitan</i> (2x), <i>Patrician</i> (2x), <i>Suburban</i> (10x), <i>Virginian</i> (2x) |
| <i>-ist</i> | 1 | <i>Medalist</i> |
| <i>-ness</i> | 2 | <i>Business</i> (2x) |
| <i>-ster</i> | 3 | <i>Jeepster, Speedster, Sportster</i> |
| <i>-th</i> | 1 | <i>Stealth</i> |

Six of the nominal suffixes denote a state, position, condition, fact or quality: *-al*, *-cy*, *-ence*, *-ation*, *-ness* and *-th*. Two denote either an animate or an inanimate object: *-ette* and *-ster*. *-ette* is either a diminutive suffix or denotes female sex with personal nouns or cloth with the implication "imitation resembling -" (cf. Marchand, 1969: 289f). In *Autoette*, "small auto" and *Broganette*, "small car of the name *Brogan*"¹⁵³ the diminutive meaning is dominant although the feminine

¹⁵¹ The original suffix is *-rix* but *Obelix* indicates that it might be (etymologically) erroneously perceived as *-ix*.

¹⁵² cf. ch. 3.8 on "Graphemic variation".

¹⁵³ Brogan is the surname of an Ohio manufacturer of automobiles. His company, also known as B&B Speciality Company built cars from 1946 to 1950 (cf. Gunnell, 1992: 662).

one might also be present. With the other suffixes, *-eer*, *-er*, *-(i)an* and *-ist*, which form a much larger number of automobile names, the personal meaning is the most important one. *-eer* is characterized by Marchand (1969: 269f) as being mainly used with terms belonging to the military sphere (e.g. *Pioneer*) but also as an American "vogue suffix" as in *basketeer*, *motorneer*, *picketeer*. *Wagoneer*, "driver of a wagon", might belong into this group. *-ist* is used to form denominal personal nouns of the meaning "one connected with-" (cf. Marchand, 1969: 308ff) so that *Medalist* denotes "one winning (connected with) a medal". The majority of the *-er* derivations are deverbal agent nouns (cf. Marchand, 1969: 273ff) as in *Achieva*¹⁵⁴, *Blazer*, *Challenger* or *Charger*. Another group of *-er* derivations are formed on a nominal basis, again all the derivations are agent nouns which means that the suffix represents the subject of the underlying sentence. Examples with common nouns are *Highlander*, *Islander*, *Villager* and *Warrior*, examples with proper nouns are *Detroit* and *New Yorker*. Except for *Warrior* they denote "an inhabitant of -". The automobile names in *-er* formed on a proprial basis are semantically connected with the automobile names that are simply taken from place names (cf. 3.5.1) and also with the suffixations in *-(i)an* such as *American*, *Chicagoan* and *Caribbean*. This is the second most frequent suffix in the corpus. Its derivatives are either adjectives or nouns. All the examples in the corpus are taken from lexemes that have a noun denoting a town, country or other geographical entity as their basis. The suffix denotes appurtenance to or provenance from these entities (cf. Marchand, 1969: 245ff). As with *-(i)an* the basis of many derivations with the adjective-forming *-al* is also a noun denoting a geographical entity. So, the automobile names *Continental*, *National* and *Universal* can be said to be related to *Cosmopolitan*, *Metropolitan* and *Suburban*.

TABLE 3-13: ADJECTIVAL SUFFIXATIONS

| suffix | frequency | formations |
|-------------------------|-----------|---|
| <i>-al</i> ₂ | 5 | <i>Commercial</i> , <i>Continental</i> (2x), <i>National</i> , <i>Universal</i> |
| <i>-ic</i> | 10 | <i>Classic</i> (6x), <i>Glassic</i> ¹⁵⁵ , <i>Electronic</i> (2x), <i>Futuramic</i> |
| <i>-ive</i> | 5 | <i>Executive</i> (5x) |
| <i>-y</i> | 1 | <i>Woody</i> |

The most interesting adjectival suffixation is *Futuramic* as it is already based on another suffixation, *Futurama*, which is a typical formation of the language of trade. *Futuramic* demonstrates nicely that word formation processes can be repeated and that different processes can follow each other. Praninskas (1968: 55) still treats *-rama* as a final combining form while Bauer (1983: 236),

¹⁵⁴ cf. ch. 3.8 on "Graphemic variation".

¹⁵⁵ cf. ch. 3.8 on "Graphemic variation".

Marchand (1968: 213) and the ²OED think that it became an English suffix after a re-interpretation of the elements in *panorama* had taken place. It is used to denote "considerable size and expanse" (²OED) or to suggest "comprehensiveness and view" (Praninskas, 1968: 55). *Futurama* was an exhibition of the world as it was envisioned to be 25 years hence at the 1939 New York World's fair. One of the most central elements of this vision were superhighways (cf. Bryson, 1994: 212). Other exhibitions, particularly of automobiles, have been named after the Futurama: e.g. *Autorama* and *Motorama*.

3.3 Non-syntagmatic word formation (coinages)

Non-syntagmatic word formations are formations that are arrived at by processes such as clipping, blending, acronyming or word-manufacture - no underlying grammatical syntagma for these items can be established, they are not made up of full linguistic signs (cf. Marchand, 1969: 2). Bauer (1983: 232) groups them under the heading "unpredictable formations" because

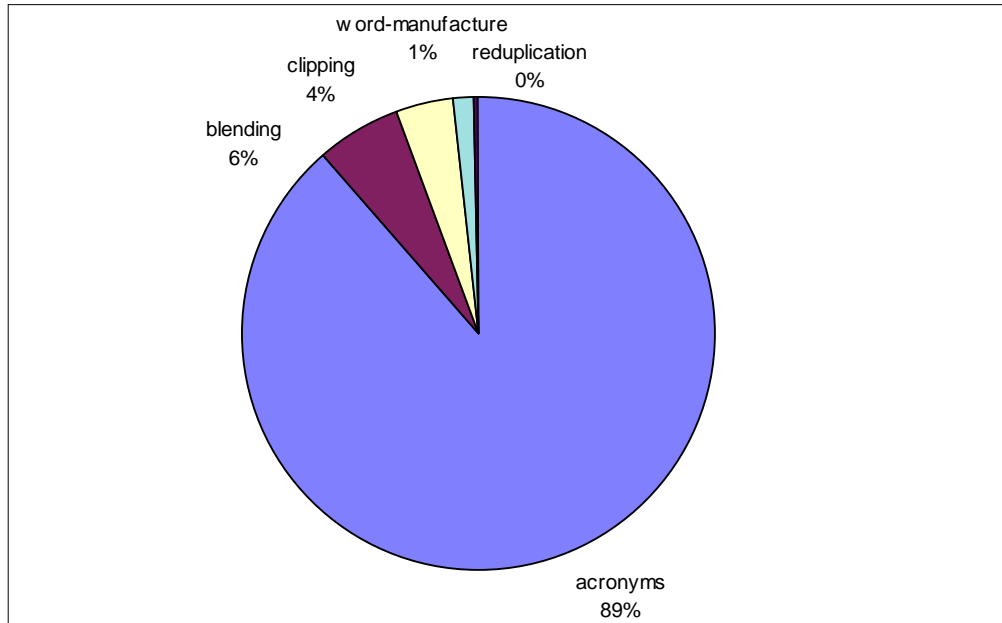
they are very awkward from the point of view of generative grammar: it is by no means clear that the forms of these words can be predicted by rules without appealing to such ill-understood notions as euphony. Certainly it is true that if these formations can be predicted by rule, the rules will have to take a far wider range of factors into account than other rules of word-formation, [...].

In total, there are 253 automobile names in my corpus that are formed by acronymy, blending or clipping etc., that is 11.3% of the total. Of these only a very small number is established in the general English lexicon: six series designations and two model designations. They account thus for only 0.4% of all the names in my corpus and for 3.2% of those that are taken from non-syntagmatic word-formations. Four of these are back-clippings: *Champ* (< *champion*), *Metro* (< *metropolitan*), *Mod* (< *modern*) and *Yank* (< *Yankee*) and four are acronyms, *Laser* (2x) and *VIP* (2x).

All the other non-syntagmatic formations are non-established: 245, that is 10.9% of all the automobile names or 96.8% of the non-syntagmatic formations. They are rather unequally distributed among the various parts of an automobile designation: Only three of the 59 manufacturer designations, that is 5.1%, are coinages. Their share of the series designations is roughly the same, 40, which is 3.8% of all the 1024 series designations, but it is a lot higher with the model designations: 202 out of 1158, or 17.4%, model designations are coinages. The distribution of the various types of non-syntagmatic formations is similarly unequal as 220 of all the coinages are acronyms. Acronyms account thus for 89.8% of all the non-established coinages. The other non-syntagmatic formation

processes found in automobile names are blends, clippings, word manufacture and reduplication. Figure 3-7 shows their distribution.

FIGURE 3-7: NON-SYNTAGMATIC WORD-FORMATIONS



3.3.1 Acronyms: the type *GTO*

Bauer (1983: 237) gives the following definition of an acronym:

An **acronym** is a word coined by taking the initial letters of the words in a title or phrase and using them as a new word, for example *Strategic Arms Limitation Talks* gives *SALT*.

Bauer (1983: 237) only admits items that are pronounced "not [...] as a series of letters, but as a word" as "acronyms". "Series of letters" are "abbreviations" in his terminology. This distinction is not generally made, however (cf. e.g. Adams, 1973: 136f). Adams (1973: 136f) extends her definition of acronyms even further: she also counts items in which more than one letter of the full expression is included as acronyms such as *binac* from *binary automatic computer* and also pronunciation spellings such as *okay* after *O.K.* These processes are dubbed "word manufacture" by Bauer (1983: 239) and Marchand (1969: 452). As I would like to "reserve" this term for automobile names of the type *Bugetta* (cf. 3.3.3) I follow the wider definition of acronyms as given by Adams (1973: 136f). I extend the term "acronym" even further to items that look like abbreviations but do not stand for a basis. Automobile names that are made up of two or three letters, capital letters, are intended to be interpreted as abbreviations by the people who coin them and they are perceived as abbreviations - albeit as

unexplained ones - by the consumer. This intention and perception justifies calling items such as *X* on four-wheel drive BMWs an acronym. This *X* does not stand for anything in particular but is generally interpreted as an acronym and people come forward with all kinds of explanations (cf. Anonymous, 1993a). The same holds true of the letter names used by Citroën such as *ZX*, *BX*, *XM*, *AX* and *C15* (oral information of a Citroën dealer)¹⁵⁶. I do not want to claim that all the letter combinations in my corpus for which I cannot give a basis (cf. Table 3-14 and Table 3-15) are "acronyms" of this kind as in some cases an existing basis might not have come to my attention. However, I claim that automobile names of one, two or three letters, usually spelt as capitals, are best regarded as acronyms even if a basis is unknown as the prime intention of these items is to *suggest* the presence of some highly complicated technical specifications¹⁵⁷ (cf. ch. 4.4.1). Actually, I think that the basis is unknown to the average consumer even if there is one: in chance interviews with nine males (four Americans, four Germans, one British), who claimed to be interested in automobiles, only two knew what *GT* stands for, and none had an idea about such common abbreviations as *GL*, *GTO*, *LS* and *SS*¹⁵⁸. Two Germans knew that *i* in *GSi* stands for *Einspritzmotor* although they could not explain why it was *i* and not *e* - actually it stands for the English word for *Einspritzmotor*, *injection*.

Apart from the four established acronyms mentioned above the following ones occur: Of the three manufacturer designations that are formed by a coinage process all three are acronyms. *American Motors Corporation* gives *AMC*, *GMC* is in a similar way concocted from *General Motors Corporation*. While these two items are pronounced as a series of letters, *Jeep* is pronounced as one word. It is generally said to be a pronunciation spelling of *GP* standing for *General Purpose (Vehicle)* (cf. e.g. Whyte, 1985: 83). The ²OED assumes an additional influence of "the name 'Eugene the Jeep', a creature of amazing resource and power, first introduced into the cartoon strip 'Popeye' on 16 March 1936 by his creator E. C. Segar."

¹⁵⁶ In an article on corporate names a marketing expert identifies 158 letter names such as *UV Industries*, *NVF Company* or *APL Corporation*, all of which are "meaningless" in his words. However, it is not specified what "meaning" in the context means so that the letter names might either have no basis or the companies so named might lack corporate image (cf. Urang, 1979).

¹⁵⁷ This method of trade naming does not only occur with automobiles, although it seems to be particularly frequent with these. Bryson (1994: 291), for instance, relates of a toothpaste: "Gleem toothpaste contained a mysterious piece of alchemy called GL-70. Consumers were never given the slightest hint what GL-70 was, but it would, according to the advertising, not only rout odour-causing bacteria but 'wipe out their enzymes!'."

¹⁵⁸ *SS* does not occur on German cars for obvious reasons.

TABLE 3-14: ACRONYMS USED AS SERIES DESIGNATIONS

| acronym | title or phrase it stands for ¹⁵⁹ |
|---------|--|
| AMX | <u>A</u> merican <u>M</u> otors <u>E</u> xperimental |
| Asardo | <u>A</u> merican <u>S</u> pecial <u>A</u> utomotive <u>R</u> esearch & <u>D</u> esign <u>O</u> rganization |
| BMC | <u>B</u> ritish ¹⁶⁰ <u>M</u> otor <u>C</u> ar Company |
| Bocar | <u>B</u> ob <u>C</u> arnes |
| DTL | <u>D</u> etroit <u>T</u> esting <u>L</u> aboratories |
| EXP | <u>e</u> xperimental |
| GM-X | <u>G</u> eneral <u>M</u> otors <u>E</u> xperimental |
| GS | <u>G</u> ran <u>S</u> port |
| GSX | <u>G</u> ran <u>S</u> port <u>E</u> xtra |
| GTO | <u>G</u> ran <u>T</u> urismo <u>O</u> mologato |
| GTX | <u>G</u> ran <u>T</u> urismo <u>E</u> xtra or <u>G</u> rand <u>T</u> ouring <u>E</u> xtra |
| H.C.S. | <u>H</u> arry <u>C</u> . <u>S</u> tutz |
| J | <u>H</u> enry <u>J</u> . <u>K</u> aiser ¹⁶¹ |
| LHS | |
| LTD | |
| NXI | <u>N</u> ash <u>E</u> xperimental <u>I</u> nternational (cf. Sobel, 1984: 60) |
| Scat | <u>S</u> aviano <u>C</u> argo <u>a</u> nd <u>T</u> ouring |
| Tasco | <u>T</u> he <u>A</u> merican <u>S</u> ports <u>C</u> ar <u>C</u> ompany |
| XL | |
| XNR | |
| XP-VIP | <u>E</u> xperimental - <u>v</u> ery <u>i</u> mportant <u>p</u> erson |

Of the 40 series designations that are formed by a non-syntagmatic word-formation process 21 are acronyms. Table 3-14 gives all of them. Only four of them are pronounced as one word (*Asardo*, *Bocar*, *Scat* and *Tasco*), in all cases this pronunciation is also indicated by the spelling in which only the first letter is capitalized. The other acronyms that are not pronounced as one word but as a series of letters could not even be pronounced as one word as all of them violate certain constraints on the phonological structure of English words. I do not know the basis of four acronyms, of the others eight consist of the first letters of every item of their basis. In two cases (*BMC* and *J*) the first letters of only some items of the basis are incorporated into the acronym. The other acronyms consist not

¹⁵⁹ If not otherwise indicated this information here and in Table 3-15 is taken from *The Standard Catalog of American Cars*, vol. I-III (Flammang, 1989; Gunnell, 1992; Kimes/Clark, 1989). If the basis is marked with a question mark, I do not quote any reference but I only give my own suggestion what a possible basis might be.

¹⁶⁰ The attribute *British* should not be taken to indicate British origin. Rather the car is a Singer 1500 re-bodied by a small Californian car maker. Singer was a British automobile manufacturer (cf. Gunnell, 1992: 660).

¹⁶¹ The name asks for further explanation: the *Excalibur J* is a two-passenger sports car using the *Henry J* chassis. (cf. Gunnell, 1992: 679). The *Henry J* is a car built by *Kaiser*. The manufacturer designation is taken from the manufacturer's surname, the model designation from his first name which consists of the christian name and a second name in the form of an initial. I do not know which personal name *J* stands for.

only of the initial letters. In the case of *Bocar* this has obviously phonological and semantic reasons: The ⟨o⟩, /★ʊ/, is essential for an English syllable structure and ⟨ar⟩ yield together with the initial ⟨c⟩ the word *car*. It is a common phenomenon with acronyms that certain letters are chosen for the already existing word they result in. In the case of the acronyms that contain an *x* this, at first sight, stands for a non-initial letter, the second in *experimental* as well as in *extra*. If not only graphemes are considered, however, but the pronunciation is also taken into account, ⟨x⟩, /eks/, can be said to represent the first two letters that are also pronounced /eks/. The name *EXP* could also be regarded as a clipping as the second part *-erimental* is simply dropped but its pronunciation as a letter sequence, /i: eks pi:/ supports its classification among the acronyms. Another name of special interest is *XP-VIP* in which an unestablished acronym is joined by an established one. The two stand in a head-modifier-relation with each other so that *XP-VIP* can be paraphrased as "*XP for VIPs*".

Of the 202 model designations that are formed by a non-established coinage process 196 are acronyms. They are shown in Table 3-15. Although there are 196 acronyms altogether, some of them are used as frequently as model designations so that the number of types is a lot smaller: there are only 64 different acronyms. The most frequent of them is *GT*. The internationalism stands either for the Italian *Gran Turismo* or the English *Grand Touring*. Other frequent acronyms are *S*, *SE*, *SS*, *ES* and *GS*. In all of them *S* stands for *sport* or *sports*. *Sport(s)* also occurs in a number of other acronyms and generally the various combination of only a restricted number of extensions is conspicuous. Thus, *Extra*, *Gran(d)*, *Luxury* and *Super* show a high frequency of occurrence. Particularly interesting acronyms are *DPL* and *SHO* in which the acronym-forming letters are not the initial ones but taken arbitrarily from somewhere in the word or phrase. No explanation such as pronouncability, for instance, seems likely, however. Rather, the motivation for these acronyms should be looked for in their form, the "appeal of the acronym" (cf. ch. 4.4.1).

TABLE 3-15: ACRONYMS USED AS MODEL DESIGNATION

| acronym | frequency | title or phrase it stands for |
|------------|-----------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>AAR</i> | 1 | <i>All-American Race</i> |
| <i>AMX</i> | 2 | <i>American Motors Experimental</i> |
| <i>APV</i> | 1 | |
| <i>AWD</i> | 1 | <i>All-Wheel Drive</i> |
| <i>CJ</i> | 1 | |
| <i>CL</i> | 1 | |
| <i>CMX</i> | 1 | |
| <i>CS</i> | 2 | |
| <i>DL</i> | 6 | |

| | | |
|-----------------|----|--|
| <i>DPL</i> | 1 | <i>Diplomat</i> ¹⁶² |
| <i>E</i> | 1 | |
| <i>ES</i> | 8 | <i>Eurosedan</i> or <i>Euro-Sport</i> or <i>extra series</i> |
| <i>ESS</i> | 2 | <i>European Sports Sedan</i> |
| <i>F/E</i> | 1 | |
| <i>FS</i> | 1 | |
| <i>GL</i> | 6 | <i>Grand Luxury</i> |
| <i>GLH</i> | 1 | |
| <i>GLX</i> | 2 | <i>Grand Luxury Extra</i> |
| <i>GS</i> | 8 | <i>Gran Sport</i> |
| <i>G SX</i> | 3 | <i>Gran Sport Extra</i> |
| <i>GT</i> | 24 | <i>Gran Turismo</i> or <i>Grand Touring</i> |
| <i>GTO</i> | 2 | <i>Gran Turismo Omologato</i> |
| <i>GTS</i> | 2 | <i>Grand Touring Sport</i> |
| <i>GTX</i> | 1 | <i>Grand Touring Extra</i> |
| <i>GTZ</i> | 1 | |
| <i>IROC</i> | 1 | <i>International Race of Champions</i> |
| <i>IROC R/T</i> | 1 | <i>International Race of Champions Rally Turbo</i> |
| <i>IROC-Z</i> | 1 | <i>International Race of Champions Z28</i> ¹⁶³ |
| <i>L</i> | 5 | <i>Luxury</i> |
| <i>LE</i> | 6 | <i>Luxury Equipment</i> |
| <i>LJ</i> | 3 | <i>Luxury Jet</i> |
| <i>LS</i> | 7 | <i>Luxury Sport</i> or <i>Luxury Sedan</i> |
| <i>LSC</i> | 1 | ? <i>Luxury Sports Car/Coupe</i> |
| <i>LT</i> | 1 | <i>Luxury Touring</i> |
| <i>LTD</i> | 1 | |
| <i>LTS</i> | 1 | <i>Luxury Touring Sport</i> |
| <i>LX</i> | 7 | <i>Luxury Extra</i> |
| <i>LX-E</i> | 1 | |
| <i>MPG</i> | 1 | <i>miles per gallon</i> ¹⁶⁴ |
| <i>MT</i> | 1 | |
| <i>MX</i> | 1 | ? <i>Miles Extra</i> |
| <i>R/T</i> | 5 | <i>Rally Turbo</i> |
| <i>RS</i> | 4 | <i>Rally Sport</i> or <i>Rally Sports</i> |
| <i>S</i> | 16 | <i>Sport</i> |
| <i>S/E</i> | 1 | <i>Sport Equipment</i> |
| <i>S/R</i> | 2 | <i>sun roof</i> |
| <i>SE</i> | 12 | <i>Sport Equipment</i> |
| <i>SHO</i> | 1 | <i>special high performance</i> (cf. Luckner, 1993: 115) |
| <i>SJ</i> | 4 | <i>Super Jet</i> |
| <i>SS</i> | 9 | <i>Super Sport</i> or <i>Super Sports</i> ¹⁶⁵ |
| <i>SST</i> | 4 | <i>Super Sport Touring</i> ¹⁶⁶ |

¹⁶² If *DPL* were pronounced as one word, /d^hpl/, it might also be regarded as a clipping.

¹⁶³ *Z28* is another model name. The *IROC* is a trim option styled along the lines of the racing models that performed in the International Race of Champions. In the *IROC-Z* both options are packaged together (cf. Flammang, 1989: 131).

¹⁶⁴ This improbable-sounding explanation is taken from Gunnell (1992: 386).

¹⁶⁵ This acronym is not related to *SS*, as *Jaguar* was called until 1939 (cf. ch. 1.2.1).

| | | |
|----------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| <i>STE</i> | 1 | ? <i>Super Touring Extra</i> |
| <i>STS</i> | 1 | ? <i>Super Touring Sport</i> |
| <i>SVO</i> | 1 | |
| <i>SX</i> | 2 | <i>Sport Extra</i> |
| <i>T</i> | 1 | |
| <i>T&C</i> | 1 | <i>Town&Country</i> |
| <i>U</i> | 1 | |
| <i>VL</i> | 1 | |
| <i>X</i> | 6 | <i>Extra</i> or <i>Experimental</i> |
| <i>XE</i> | 1 | <i>experimental engine</i> |
| <i>XS</i> | 1 | <i>Extra Sport</i> |
| <i>XSR</i> | 1 | <i>Extra Sport Rally</i> |
| <i>XT</i> | 1 | ? <i>Extra Touring</i> |

3.3.2 Blends: the type *Studillac*

Blends or portmanteau words can be defined as "a new lexeme formed from parts of two (or possibly more) other words in such a way that there is no transparent analysis into morphs." (Bauer, 1983: 234). It should be added that the beginning of one word is blended into the end of another. An example from standard language is *chunnel* from *channel* and *tunnel*. 15 automobile names in the corpus are formed by a blending process, that is 6.2% of all the non-established coinages. Various sub-types occur:

- (1) Four automobile names are made up of parts of two other lexemes: *Ambulet* (3x) from *ambulance* and *cabriolet* and *Studillac* from *Studebaker* and *Cadillac*¹⁶⁷. In both cases there is an overlap in one letter, *l* and *d*. The overlap occurs in writing as well as in pronunciation.
- (2) In one name, *Amitron* from *AMC* and *electron*, an intermediate element, the vowel /ɪ/ is introduced. The introduction of linking sounds is frequent in the formation of other trade names. In Praninskas' (1968: 61) corpus of 2000 trade names 153 formations have a vowel placed between the first and second element. With automobile names *Amitron*, *Econ-O-Miler* (cf. next paragraph), *Farm-O-Road* (cf. ch. 3.4.5 and ch. 3.8) and *Syrtis Roof-O-Matic* (cf. ch. 3.2.1.2) are the only instances of this practice.
- (3) In two names both elements that form the blend are present in their entirety but there is an overlap. *Electricar* is formed from *electric* and *car*, *Marketour* from *market* and *tour*. With these and the following items it is difficult or impossible to distinguish between blends and clipping-compounds in which

¹⁶⁶ According to Gunnell (1992: 27) it is often thought erroneously that the abbreviation stands for *Super Sonic Transport* (cf. ch. 4.4.3)

¹⁶⁷ The car carries a Cadillac engine in a Studebaker Starliner hardtop body (cf. Gunnell, 1992: 719).

"one part of the original combination most often remains intact." (Marchand, 1969: 445)

- (4) In three names the first part of the blend is a lexeme that is present in its entirety while the second is a clipped one. All three, *Grand Ville*, *Sedan de Ville* and *Wagon de Ville*, contain a foreclipping of *coupé de ville* as a second element. *Coupé de ville* is a borrowing from French with the meaning "a type of motor car in which the passenger seats are covered but with the driver's compartment open or adapted to fold down" (²OED). According to the ²OED it is not naturalized so that the free phrase in French is best treated as one element in English¹⁶⁸.
- (5) In another three names the first part of the blend is a clipping while the second is an entire lexeme. *Corvair* is formed from *Corvette* and *air*. The similarity with *Corsair*, an Edsel series designation, might also have played a role in the choice of this name. *Elcar* is formed from *electric* and *car* and *Econ-O-Miler* from *economical*¹⁶⁹ and *miler*. The spelling of *Econ-O-Miler* seems to indicate the presence of a linking sound as in *Amitron*. There is no "real" intermediate element present, however, as the *o* is a natural part of *economical*.
- (6) In two blends a bound lexical morpheme is present in its entirety. Therefore they resemble neo-classical compounds but as they are joined to a clipping I regard them as blends. The initial combining form *astro-* is joined with the fore-clipping *Vette* from *Chevyette* in *AstroVette* and the final combining form *-mobile* is joined with the back-clipping *Rolls* from *Rolls-Royce* in *Rollsmobile*. *Rolls* actually exists as a proper noun in English - and *Rolls-Royce* is a compound from the surnames of the two founders of *Rolls-Royce*, Charles Rolls and Henry Royce. I take *Rolls* to be a reduced element¹⁷⁰ in *Rollsmobile* on semantic grounds: like *Vette* in *AstroVette* the formation relationship is with another automobile name, and not with a surname.

¹⁶⁸ As there is also the automobile name *DeVille* (cf. ch. 3.3.3), *Sedan de Ville* and *Wagon de Ville* might also be regarded as compounds in which this automobile name determines *sedan/wagon*. The paraphrase of such a compound would be "*sedan/wagon* of the *DeVille* type". As the first use of *DeVille* as a car name (1959) predates the first use of *Grand Ville* (1971), *Sedan de Ville* (model designation on the Series 62) and *Wagon de Ville* (1965) it is as likely a base as *coupé de ville*. *Gran Ville* would still be a blend, however.

¹⁶⁹ The overlap in *i* occurs only in spelling not in pronunciation.

¹⁷⁰ Rather than calling *Royce* a clipped element it should be denoted an ellipped one as the shortening occurs at a morphological boundary.

3.3.3 Clipping, word manufacture and reduplication

"**Clipping** refers to the process whereby a lexeme (simplex or complex) is shortened, while still retaining the same meaning and still being a member of the same form class." (Bauer, 1983: 233). In contrast with back-formation this shortening takes place without regarding morphological boundaries. Apart from the four established clippings mentioned above (*Champ*, *Metro*, *Mod* and *Yank*; cf. initial paragraphs of ch. 3.3), three automobile names are formed by a back-clipping process in which a final part of the base lexeme is clipped and three are formed by a fore-clipping process in which an initial part is clipped. The three back-clippings are *Touring* (2x) from *touring car*¹⁷¹ and *Fergus* from *Ferguson*¹⁷², the three fore-clippings are '*Cuda* (2x) from *Barracuda* and *DeVille* from *coupé de ville* (cf. ch. 3.3.2). In '*Cuda* the formation process is also indicated graphically by the apostrophe. Actually, '*Cuda* was initially a nickname for the *Barracuda* and as such later "raised" to the status of an official name.

Three automobile names are formed by a word manufacture process. I use the term for names that are formed from other automobile names by the alteration of one or more letters but in which the base is still clearly recognizable. The alteration takes place on the graphemic as well as on the phonemic plane. Thus, *Bugetta* is formed from *Bugatti* by replacing ⟨a⟩, /ɒ/, with ⟨e⟩, /e/, and ⟨i⟩, /i/, with ⟨a⟩, /★/. Similarly, *Firearri* is formed from *Ferrari* by replacing ⟨e⟩, /e/ with ⟨i...e⟩, /a★/. This results in an additional word-play as a connection with *fire* is established. The insertion of a second ⟨r⟩ has no correlate in pronunciation. *Veep* is formed from *Jeep* by replacing ⟨j⟩ with ⟨v⟩. The choice of ⟨v⟩ might have been influenced by the pronunciation spelling of *V.P.* for *vice-president* that can be found in American English or by *VIP* which is also found as automobile names (cf. initial paragraphs of ch. 3.3 above).

Rambo Lambo is formed by reduplicating the base and changing the first sound. This is the only instance of a rime combination (cf. Marchand, 1968: 432).

3.4 Phrases

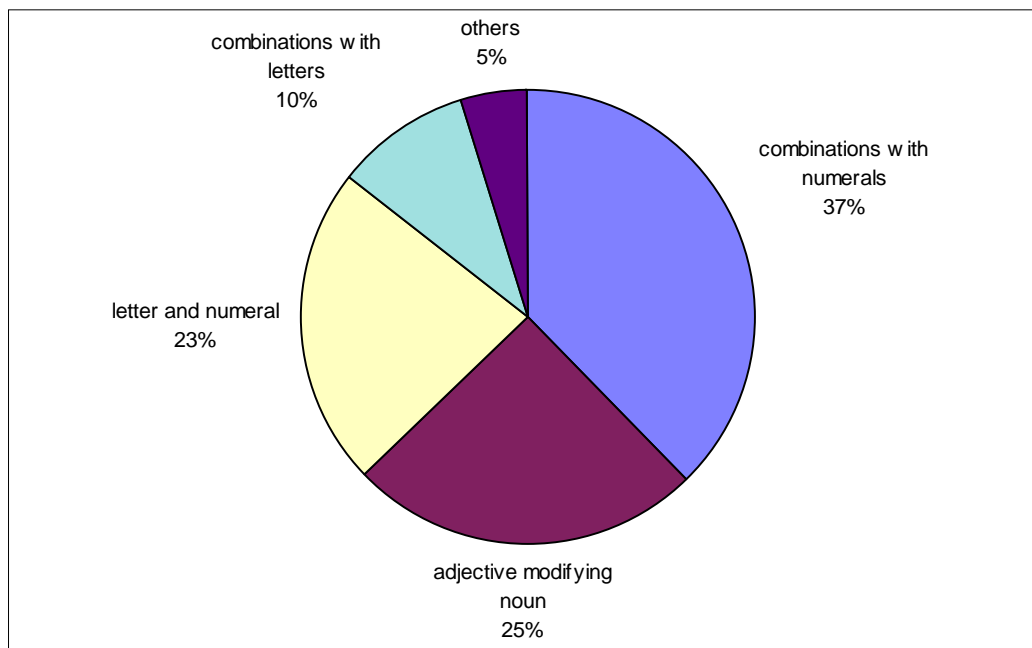
Up to now all the automobile names dealt with were taken from words and thus mainly morphological questions have been raised. With 407 items there is a large group of automobile names that are taken from items that surpass the level of the word, however, and therefore have to be treated syntactically. All these larger

¹⁷¹ In this case the shortening takes place with regard for the morphological boundary between *touring* and *car*. As a free lexical morpheme is left out it results more from an ellipsis than a clipping process.

¹⁷² The surname of the man who had the idea for the car (cf. Flammang, 1989: 538).

units are noun phrases¹⁷³. 18.2% of all the names in the corpus are phrases, hence, they form the third largest group after the syntagmatic word-formations and the simplexes. Phrases are distributed rather unevenly among the various categories of automobile names: while only one manufacturer designation is taken from a phrase, 218 series designations and 188 model designations are. Thus, only 1.7% of the 59 manufacturer designations are phrases as against 21.3% of the 1024 series and 16.2% of the 1158 model designations. The syntactic patterns exhibited by these automobile names will be examined in detail in the following chapters. The principle of ordering is frequency of occurrence. The patterns shown, namely "combinations with numerals", "adjective modifying noun", "letter and numeral", "combinations with letter(s)" and a variety of smaller groups, occur in the portions shown in Figure 3-8.

FIGURE 3-8: THE SYNTACTIC PATTERNS EXHIBITED BY PHRASES



¹⁷³ There are a few items such as *Big Bad* or *Special Deluxe* that consist of two adjectives but rather than interpret these as adjective phrases, I think that one of these is converted into a noun and thus head of a noun phrase.

3.4.1 Combinations with numerals: the type 024 De Tomaso

This is with 154 items or 37.7% of the 407 phrases the most frequent pattern exhibited by automobile names taken from phrases. Its syntactic structure, however, is in many cases ambiguous. The following sub-classes can be distinguished:

1. The numeral quantifies the head in post-head position:

Here, a cardinal following the head substitutes an ordinal in pre-head position. This is to say that *Adventurer I*, for instance, substitutes the more "normal" **First Adventurer* that would be used more readily in general language. Quirk et al. (1985: 1317) suggest that these phrases imply the ellipsis of the word *number* (or *letter* in cases such as *Aries K* below; cf. ch. 3.4.4) and thus contain appositional constructions as the numeral is in apposition to the ellipted *number*. 70 phrases of this structure occur, 44 series designations¹⁷⁴ and 26 model designations¹⁷⁵. Unlike the phrases in which a letter is used as quantor (*Aries K* etc.; cf. ch. 3.4.4) with numbers the quantification is in some cases not purely arbitrary as some complete series occur (e.g. *Charger II* and *Charger III* - the first one is not numbered: *Charger*).

2. The structural relationship cannot be established unambiguously:

The structural relationship that holds between numeral and "general word" cannot be established for 49 phrases, 34 series designations¹⁷⁶ and 15 model designations¹⁷⁷. Thus, a *Custom 300* might be just as well a "*Custom Number 300*", in which the numeral functions as quantor, as a "*custom-built car with a 300 cid engine*", in which the numeral represents a noun phrase, part of which

¹⁷⁴ *Adventurer I, Adventurer II, Astro III, Avanti II, Banshee III, Charger II, Charger III, Chevy II, Citation II, Continental Mark II, Continental Mark III, Continental Mark IV, Continental Mark V, Daroo II, Firearrow I, Firearrow II, Firebird I, Firebird II, Firebird III, Firebird IV, Flight Sweep I, Flight Sweep II, Grey Wolf II, Jetstar I, La Salle II, Mach 2, Mark IV, Mark V (2x), Mark VI, Mark VII, Mark VIII, Mars II, Mustang I, Mustang II, Series II, Series III, Series IV, Transformer I, U.S. Mark II, Ventura II, Wildcat I, Wildcat II, Wildcat III*

¹⁷⁵ *Alembic I, Cobra II, DL Series 40, DL Series 50, DL Series 60, GT II Gull-Wing, GT Series 40, Limited Series 30, Mach I, Mark II, S Series 90, Series 01 (3x), Series 10, Series 30, Series 40 (3x), Series 50, Series 60, Series 80, Series 90 (2x), Six Series 10, Spoiler II*

¹⁷⁶ *2000 Sunbird, 60 Special Fleetwood, 6400 Eldorado, 6700 Fleetwood 75, 75 Fleetwood, Classic 98, Custom 300, Custom 500, Custom 880, Custom Super Clipper Eight, Delmont 88, Delta 88, Deluxe 88, Dynamic 70, Dynamic 88, Electra 225, Fairlane 500, Fleetwood 60 Special Brougham, Fleetwood 75 Limousine, Galaxie 500, Golden Rocket 88, Jetstar 88, Rocket 88, Seattle-ite XXI, Starfire 98, Super 88, Super Clipper Eight, Super Eight, Super Six (2x), Super-Duty 421, Traveler Six, Victory Six, Westcoaster Super 36*

¹⁷⁷ *024 De Tomaso, 30 Limited, 300 Deluxe, 60 Special, 6900 Brougham, Boss 351, Boss 427 Dragster, Custom Eight, Custom Six, Delta 88, Deluxe Six, Nova 400, Nova 400 Sports SS, Super Eight, Super Six*

has been ellipted, and which functions as head. It might seem to be a bit of an inconsistency that a number of phrases with *Six* and *Eight* have been classed in this group while others are assigned to that group in which the numeral functions as head (cf. paragraph below, "type 3") but here these two numerals are combined with an item that is already used as automobile names while with the items below this is not the case. Thus, a *Super Eight* might be explained as "car of the name *Super* that has an *eight-cylinder engine*" (the numeral functions as modifier) but just as well as "(car with an) *eight-cylinder engine* which is *super*" (the numeral functions as head).

3. The numeral is the head of the phrase:

In 23 phrases¹⁷⁸, all of which are series designations, a numeral functions as head. Only three numerals occur, *Four*, *Six* and *Eight*. All three are based on a noun phrase, *four-cylinder engine*, *six-cylinder engine* and *eight-cylinder engine*, of which the better part - the determinatum of the whole phrase, *engine*, and the determinatum of the compound functioning as modifier, *cylinder*, - is ellipted. This nominal usage of *Four*, *Six* and *Eight* is established. The attribute in these phrases is mostly a preceding adjective (e.g. *Advanced Six*, *Big Six*, *Classic Six* or *Fast Four*) but a postposed adjective also occurs, *Six Deluxe*, and also a preceding compound noun as in *Twin Ignition Six*.

4. The numeral quantifies the head in pre-head position:

Although this is in general language one of the most common functions of numerals it only occurs seven times in the corpus: in the model designations *40th Anniversary Package*, *50th Anniversary 1903-1953*, *Signature 20th Anniversary* and *XX Anniversary Edition*. These are the only ordinals to be found. In three further model designations a quantifier precedes the head but in the form of an ordinal: *500 Series Lakewood*, *550 Line* and *770 Line*.

5. The numeral functions as modifier:

Generally a numeral does not function as modifier but as a result of an ellipsis it can. It was explained above that *Eight* is based on *eight-cylinder engine*. Likewise 2.2 in *Charger 2.2* is based on *2.2 liter engine*. Thus, a *Charger 2.2* is in full a "*Charger* with a 2.2 liter engine" and *Formula 400* is the "(race) formula for cars with 400 cid engines". So it should be understood that not really the numeral but rather a larger (noun) phrase it is based on modifies another item. Only in five phrases can such a numeral be said to be a modifier with certainty: in the series designations *Catalina 2+2* and *Charger 2.2*, and

¹⁷⁸ *Advanced Six*, *Big Six* (2x), *Classic Six*, *Fast Four*, *Light Four*, *Light Six* (2x), *Major Eight*, *Senior Six*, *Single Eight*, *Single Six* (2x), *Six Deluxe*, *Special Deluxe Six*, *Special Six* (2x), *Standard Eight*, *Standard Six* (2x), *Twin Ignition Eight*, *Twin Ignition Six*, *Twin Six*

in the model designations *Charger 2.2*, *Formula 400* and *Turismo 2.2*. Numerals based on a noun phrase the head of which is ellipped occur far more frequently, however, but in the majority of these cases it cannot be established unambiguously whether they are the head or the modifier in the resulting phrase (cf. paragraph above; "type 2").

3.4.2 Adjective modifying noun: the types *American Buckboard* and *Baby Grand*

The basis on which I distinguish between compounds of the type "adjective + noun" and free phrases was outlined above (cf. ch. 3.2.1). 103 phrases, or 25.2%, exhibit this pattern. Of these the adjective premodifies the noun in 69 cases¹⁷⁹ and postmodifies it in 29 cases¹⁸⁰. The structure of five items¹⁸¹ is ambiguous. Thus, we find once again that roughly one-third of all the phrases exhibit an item order in which the modifier follows the head and which is rather uncommon in general English language (cf. chs. 2.2.1 and 3.2.1.2). The number of adjectives that occur as modifiers is rather limited, only eight adjectives, *Classic*, *Deluxe*, *Golden*, *Gran*, *Grand*, *Regal*, *Royal* and *Special*, account for 74.8% of all the phrases in this group. *Special* is with an occurrence in 19 items the most frequent one, followed by *Gran*, *Grand* and *Deluxe* with 11 each. The frequent occurrence of these adjectives is partly due to the fact that - except for *Golden* - all of them can occur as premodifiers and as postmodifiers. The same holds true of *Imperial*¹⁸². As was already noted with compounds (cf. ch. 3.2.1.1) proper nouns

¹⁷⁹ The manufacturer designation *Classic Roadster*, the series designations *American Buckboard*, *Big Boy*, *Commercial Car*, *Continental Sportster*, *Curved Dash*, *Deluxe Torpedo*, *Electric Shopper*, *Flying Roadster*, *Golden Eagle*, *Golden Hawk*, *Golden Rocket*, *Golden Spirit*, *Gran Fury*, *Gran LeBaron*, *Gran Torino*, *Grand Am*, *Grand Caravan*, *Grand Cherokee*, *Grand Marquis*, *Grand Safari*, *Grand Wagoneer*, *Imperial Airflow*, *Light Tonneau*, *Little Runabout*, *Lost Cause*, *New Value*, *Regal Lancer*, *Regal Somerset*, *Royal Monaco*, *Royal Monaco Brougham*, *Straight Dash* and *Valiant Duster*, and the model designations *Big Bad*, *Black Magic*, *Caribbean Coral*, *Classic Landau*, *Commemorative Edition*, *Corinthian Edition*, *Deluxe Business*, *DeLuxe Super Chief*, *Executive Green*, *First Level*, *Gold Special Edition*, *Golden Airflyte*, *Golden Anniversary*, *Golden Jubilee*, *Golden Lancer*, *Gran Coupe* (3x), *Gran Sedan*, *Gran Sport* (3x), *Gran Touring*, *Grand Ghia*, *Grand National*, *Grand Safari*, *High-Performance*, *Highline*, *New Fun Runner*, *Royal Bobcat*, *Royal Clipper*, *Special Edition* (4x) and *Special Eldorado Coupe*.

¹⁸⁰ The series designations *Baby Grand*, *Bonneville Special*, *Crown Imperial*, *Custom Deluxe*, *Custom Royal*, *Cutlass Supreme*, *Galaxie Special*, *Malibu Classic*, *Master Deluxe*, *Minimark Classic*, *New York Special*, *New Yorker Deluxe*, *Pinconning Special*, *Somerset Regal*, *Trifon Special* and *Windsor Deluxe*, and the model designations *California Special*, *Craig Breedlove Special*, *Custom Limited*, *Fleet Special* (2x) *GTElectric*, *High-Country Special*, *Malibu Classic*, *Olympia Limited*, *Sport Dynamic* (2x), *Sunshine Special* and *Swinger Special*.

¹⁸¹ The series designations *Grand National Regal* and *Special Deluxe* (2x), and the model designation *Regal Deluxe* (2x).

¹⁸² One might speculate that this is so because of their Romance origin.

may be modified in automobile names (e.g. *Bonneville Special*, *Malibu Classic* or *Windsor Deluxe*). Again, the explanation is that not the proper noun but an already existing automobile name taken from a proper noun is modified. In some phrases of this type, especially *Pinconning Special*¹⁸³, another explanation has also to be considered: *Special*, an adjective converted into noun, is the head of the phrase, and the proper noun functions as an attribute.

3.4.3 Letter and numeral: the type 300 SS

The items in this group are usually a rather peripheral object of linguistic study. It is even debatable whether they are legitimately classed among the phrases. Generally, a phrase is a combination of words classed around a central item, the head. This head can normally only be a member of a limited number of word classes, namely verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs and prepositions. A number of names that I have grouped here clearly do not fulfill this criterion. There are a number of items such as *300B*, *300C*, *300D* etc. that are phrases because an already existing automobile name, *300*, functions as head of a phrase that is quantified by a numeral-like letter in postposition. However, these phrasal names are in the minority here. All the others, for which no similar explanation can be forwarded, are grouped in here only because they resemble the first in shape. In total 91 names consist of a numeral combined with a letter or letter combination, that is 22.4% of all the phrases. Twelve of these are further combined with a "general word"¹⁸⁴ - with these the problem "phrase or not" does not arise as the *Bonneville X-400*, for instance, is a "*Bonneville* that has the additional property of *X-400*" or a *Z-28 Commemorative Edition* is a "*Commemorative Edition* for a car of the name *Z-28*". The other 79 names in this group are almost equally distributed among series and model designations: there are 40 series designations¹⁸⁵ and 39 model designations¹⁸⁶.

¹⁸³ There is no car of the name *Pinconning*. The 1948 *Kaiser Pinconning Special*, of which only one sample was built, is named after Pinconning, Michigan, the hometown of Edward Hunt, once director of Kaiser's engine division in Detroit.

¹⁸⁴ The series designations *Bonneville X-400*, *Concept 70X*, *Cutlass F-88*, *Galaxie 500 XL*, *Grand Prix X-400*, *Mercur XR4Ti* and the model designations *76R Riviera*, *Custom S-55*, *Laguna S3*, *SX/4 Series 50*, *TC3 Turismo*, *Z-28 Commemorative Edition*.

¹⁸⁵ *300B*, *300C*, *300D*, *300E*, *300F*, *300G*, *300H*, *300J*, *300K*, *300L*, *600 ES*, *CJ-7*, *DV32*, *F-85*, *F-88*, *GS 350*, *GS 400*, *GS 445*, *GT-40*, *J2000*, *LN7*, *LTD II*, *S-22*, *S-55*, *SC2*, *SL2*, *SW2*, *T1000*, *TC3*, *X-100*, *X-1000*, *X-400*, *X-600*, *XK-1*, *XK-120*, *XL-500*, *XM-800*, *XP-300*, *XR-6*, *XX-500*

¹⁸⁶ *300 SS*, *326-HO*, *383-S*, *429 SCJ* (2x), *50 DL*, *56C*, *76C*, *79R*, *990-H*, *D-500*, *F-85*, *K 1500*, *LT1*, *MS4*, *RT/10*, *S-22* (2x), *S-23*, *S-33*, *S10*, *SC360*, *SX/4*, *SX/4 DL*, *T-37*, *TC3*, *TS1*, *V-100*, *V-200*, *X11*, *XR-3*, *XR-7*, *XR3*, *Z 24* (2x), *Z-28*, *Z34*, *ZL-I*, *ZR-1*

3.4.4 Combinations with letter(s): the types *E Class* and *Aries K*

40 items or 9.8% of all the phrases follow this pattern. In 15 items the letter or letter combination precedes the "general word"¹⁸⁷, in 24 it follows it¹⁸⁸ and in one phrase, *Hurst SSJ Grand Prix*, the letter combination is inserted between a noun and a noun phrase. The letters are either letter combinations, i.e. acronyms (cf. ch. 3.3.1), as in *Brougham LS* or *ES Limited* or only a single letter as in *Aries K* or *Bearcat S*. In the case of the acronyms the structural relationship between acronym and noun is one of modification, i.e. a *Charger SE* is a "*Sport Edition of the Charger*" or an *Impala SS* is an "*Impala which has some kind of Super Sport equipment*". It is by no means clear that the acronym is always modifying the word used with it. In the case of *ES Limited*, the participle may well modify *ES*, which stands for the noun *Eurosedan* or *Euro Sport*, and in the case of *Brougham LS* the existence of any structural relationship may be doubted if *LS* stands for *Luxury Sedan*¹⁸⁹ as the vehicle types *brougham* and *sedan* are mutually exclusive. This example also demonstrates quite clearly that the acronym is not usually intended to "be solved" as the result might quite often be a tautological combination - an even better example is *R/T Turbo* where *R/T* stands for *Rally Turbo* anyway.

In the case of the single letters occurring with a "general word" the relationship between the two items is rather one of quantification than of modification. Single letters are similar to numerals in quantifying a head so that *K* and *S* quantify *Aries* and *Bearcat* like a numeral in postposition would (cf. ch. 3.4.1). However, it should be noted that the occurrence of *Aries K* does not mean that there is also **Aries J*, **Aries I* or **Aries H*. The most famous example of this is the *Ford Model T*¹⁹⁰ which was preceded by *Model A, C, B, F, K, N, R, S* (in this order) and followed by *Model A* (cf. Kimes/Clark, 1989: 547ff). Thus, the quantifying relationship is purely "symbolic".

¹⁸⁷ The series designations *E Class*, *FX-Atmos* and *LTD Crown Victoria*, and the model designations *ES Limited*, *LX Sport*, *MX Brougham*, *MX Villager*, *R/T Sport Pak*, *R/T Turbo*, *SJ Cordova Landau*, *SST Trans Am*, *T Type* (3x) and *W-car*.

¹⁸⁸ The series designations *Aries K*, *Bonneville G*, *Charger SE*, *Cutlass S*, *Impala SS*, *LeBaron GTS*, *Magnum XE*, *Shadow B* and *Tri-Muter G*, and the model designations *Bearcat S*, *Brougham LS* (2x), *Cobra R*, *Formula S*, *Hurst SC*, *Malibu SS*, *Mark Donohue SST*, *Model M*, *Nova SS*, *Pony MPG*, *Super R/T*, *Torino GT*, *Turbo RS* and *Turbo Z*.

¹⁸⁹ It might also stand for *Luxury Sport*.

¹⁹⁰ *Model T* is not part of the corpus for reasons outlined in ch. 1.4.

3.4.5 Others

The following other phrase structure types occur:

(1) two heads (coordination):

There are eleven phrases of this pattern with two occurring so often that only three different types occur: 2+2 (4x), *Farm-O-Road* and *Town&Country* (6x). Of these only *Farm-O-Road* and *Town&Country* (1x) are series designations, the others are model designations. In two of them *and* is not written but substituted with a graphic symbol, + and &, and in *Farm-O-Road* it is substituted with *-o-*. *-o-* is a standard trade name connective (cf. Pound, 1951: 167) but in few cases does it so obviously substitute for *and* as in *Farm-O-Road* where it connects two free lexical morphemes. The name indicates the location where the car can be used and is totally parallel with *Town&Country*. In most other trade names in which *-o-* is used as a medial sound the items it joins together are not free morphemes but rather bound morphemes or items more difficult to account for in traditional morphological terminology. Examples given by Pound (1951: 167) are *Cor-O-net*, *Flex-O-Lators*, *Heatolators* or *Len-O-Lastic*. The only automobile name where *-o-* is such a medial connector is *Syrtis Roof-O-Matic* where it links a free lexical morpheme with a commercial suffix¹⁹¹.

(2) determiner and head:

Four phrases of this pattern occur: the two series designations *The Challenger* and *The Free Spirit Hawk* and the two model designations *The Deputy* and *The Judge*. In all of them the determiner is the definite article.

(3) head postmodified by prepositional phrase:

There is a series designation of this pattern, *T.C. by Maserati*, and a model designation, *Brougham d'Elegance*. In the second the preposition is a French one.

(4) genitive premodifying head:

Only one phrase that occurs twice exhibits this pattern: the model designation *Collector's Series*.

¹⁹¹ *-matic* is group-forming for automobile equipment, especially steering devices. It is derived from *automatic* (cf. Pound, 1951: 166f). Examples of such names are *Hydramatic*, *Ford-O-Matic*, *Gyro-Matic* or *Speeda-Matic*. The use of *-matic* was in vogue in the late 40s and early 50s (cf. Bryson, 1994: 286).

3.5 Proper nouns

When proper nouns are used as automobile names, or trade names generally, they lose their original property of unique reference and are converted into designations for things with all the syntactic and semantic properties of trade names outlined above (cf. ch. 1.2.3). Proper nouns are the source of 302 automobile names, that is 13.5% of the total. For 19 of these names a proper noun is not the only possible source. 13 could also be simplexes¹⁹², two compounds¹⁹³, two suffixations¹⁹⁴ and two non-established borrowings. The two names that are at the same time loans are *Cordoba de Oro* and *El Morocco*. They are place names but at the same time non-established elements are used in the formation of these phrases: the Spanish prepositional phrase *de Oro* as a postmodifier and the Spanish definite article *el* as determiner. The portion of automobile names taken from proper nouns varies a great deal with manufacturer designation, series designation and model designation. Table 3-16 shows that the portion of proper nouns used as car names is steadily declining from manufacturer to model designation.

TABLE 3-16: PROPER NOUNS USED IN THE VARIOUS SLOTS OF AN AUTOMOBILE DESIGNATION

| | total (2241) | manufacturer designation (59) | series designation (1024) | model designation (1158) |
|-------|--------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| total | 302 | 46 | 161 | 95 |
| % | 13.5 | 78.0 | 15.7 | 8.2 |

The high number of proper nouns used as manufacturer designation is due to the fact that it is often taken from the surname of the founder of a certain company. The marketing idea behind using surnames as trade names was laid down by Hopkins (1923: 92):

When a product must be called by a common name, the best auxiliary name is a man's name. It is much better than a coined name, for it shows that some man is proud of his creation.

Table 3-17 shows the distribution of personal names, place names and others for the three categories of automobile names. While the number of place names and personal names is roughly equal for the whole sample, the three designations behave quite differently to each other. The portion of place names increases from manufacturer to model designation but the portion of personal names declines from manufacturer to model designation. The portion of other names is almost

¹⁹² e.g. *Merlin*, cf. ch. 3.1, especially Table 3-2.

¹⁹³ e.g. *Tudor*, cf. ch. 3.2.1, especially ch. 3.2.1.8.

¹⁹⁴ e.g. *Electra*, cf. ch. 3.2.4

equal for series and model designation but a lot lower for the manufacturer designation. The three categories of proper nouns will now be examined in some more detail.

TABLE 3-17: CATEGORIES OF PROPER NOUNS IN THE VARIOUS SLOTS OF AN AUTOMOBILE DESIGNATION

| | manufacturer designation (59) | | series designation (1024) | | model designation (1158) | | total (2241) | |
|----------------|-------------------------------|------|---------------------------|------|--------------------------|------|--------------|------|
| | total | % | total | % | total | % | total | % |
| place names | 4 | 8.7 | 75 | 46.6 | 65 | 68.4 | 144 | 47.7 |
| personal names | 41 | 89.1 | 76 | 47.2 | 23 | 24.2 | 140 | 46.3 |
| others | 1 | 2.2 | 10 | 6.2 | 7 | 7.4 | 18 | 6.0 |
| total | 46 | 100 | 161 | 100 | 95 | 100 | 302 | 100 |

3.5.1 Place names: the type *Aspen*

The use of place names as car names is with 144 items a little bit more frequent than the use of personal names (140). Only four of these are manufacturer designations: *Daytona*, *Essex*, *Plymouth* and *Pontiac*. The city of *Pontiac* is in turn named after an Indian chief (cf. ch. 2.3). 75 place names are used as series designations¹⁹⁵ and 65 as model designations¹⁹⁶.

The places automobiles are named after are in their majority fashionable resorts (e.g. *Aspen*, *Bel Air*, *Biarritz* or *Catalina*), sites of car races (*Bonneville*, *LeMans*, *Monza* or *Monaco*) and sites of automobile factories (*Belvedere*, *Kew* or *Pontiac*) (cf. ch. 4.2.1.1). One name is used as an automobile name in the form of a prepositional phrase: *DiNapoli*. This one is, alongside *Italia* and *Firenza*, the only form where not the English but an indigenous form of the name in question is used. With *Firenza* this is not the Italian form, either, as the Italian form of *Florence* is *Firenze*. The change of the final vowel is probably due to the general

¹⁹⁵ *Aspen*, *Bel Air*, *Belmont*, *Belvedere*, *Bermuda*, *Biarritz*, *Biscayne*, *Bonneville*, *Bristol*, *Brookwood*, *Cabana*, *Calais* (2x), *Cambridge*, *Capri* (2x), *Carolina*, *Catalina*, *Cordoba*, *Cordoba de Oro*, *Coronado*, *Corsica*, *Cranbrook*, *Daytona* (2x), *DiNapoli*, *Eldorado*, *El Morocco*, *Fairlane*, *Fairmont*, *Firenza*, *Granada* (2x), *Italia*, *Kew*, *Kingswood*, *LeMans* (2x), *Malibu*, *Manhattan* (2x), *Marathon*, *Mayfair*, *Meadowbrook*, *Monaco*, *Montclair*, *Monte Carlo* (2x), *Montego*, *Monterey*, *Monza*, *Newport*, *Orleans*, *Palm Beach* (2x), *Palomar*, *Panama*, *Parkwood*, *Phoenix*, *Richmond*, *Riviera*, *Sapporo*, *Saratoga*, *Savoy*, *Seville*, *Somerset*, *Sonoma*, *Southampton*, *St. Regis*, *Torino*, *Ventura*, *Versailles* (2x), *Wimbledon*, *Windsor*

¹⁹⁶ *Ascot*, *Barcelona*, *Beauville*, *Bel Air* (2x), *Belvedere*, *Bermuda* (2x), *Biarritz* (3x), *Briarcliff*, *Broadmoor*, *Calais*, *Capri* (2x), *Catalina* (2x), *Colony Park* (3x), *Crestwood* (2x), *Daytona* (3x), *Eldorado*, *Firenza*, *Greenbrier*, *Hollywood* (3x), *Laguna*, *Laredo*, *LeMans*, *Lido*, *Malibu*, *Mayfair* (3x), *Monaco*, *Monterey*, *Monza*, *Nassau*, *Newport* (3x), *Panama*, *Pelham*, *Pinehurst*, *Riviera* (3x), *Savoy*, *Sebring*, *Seville* (3x), *St. Regis* (3x), *Talladega*, *Torino*, *Torino*, *Ventura*, *Williamsburg*

appeal of the vowel /a/ that was noted above (cf. ch. 3.2.4). A particularly strange combination is the name *Talladega Torino* in which the first part is taken from a city in Alabama, the second from an Italian one.

3.5.2 Personal Names: the type *Ford*

Four forms of personal names can be distinguished in the use as car names. The car name is either taken from a surname, from a first name, from a combination of first name and surname or it is a personal name from a naming system in which first and second name are not distinguished. The names of Roman deities, for instance, are simply called "personal names" as they cannot be related to the present-day system of first or second names.

The vast majority of car names taken from personal names are taken from surnames. 38 of these are manufacturer designations¹⁹⁷, 58 are series designations¹⁹⁸ and 17 model designations¹⁹⁹. These surnames are used in the common case except for *Basson's* and *Levi's*. Most of the surnames are, synchronically speaking, simplexes, although some complex forms also occur. A few are compounded from two surnames such as *Flintridge-Darrin*, *Nash-Healey* or *Hurst/Olds*. A few other names contain either a preposition such as *DeLorean*, *DeSoto* or *De Courville* or an article such as *La Fayette*, *La Salle* or *LeBaron*. All the names that contain such elements are of French origin. The second largest group are those personal names for which a difference between first and second name cannot be established because they belong to another naming systems. Two of these are manufacturer designations, *Mercury* and *Saturn*, and 14 series designations²⁰⁰. No such general personal name occurs as model designation. First name and the combination of first and second name occur six and five times respectively. The christian names used as automobile names are the manufacturer designation *Edsel*, the series designations *Charles*, *Henry J*, *Jimmy* and *Mona Lisa* and the model designation *Valentina*. All the five

¹⁹⁷ *Arnolt, Basson's, Buick, Burley, Cadillac, Chevrolet, Chrysler, Crosley, DeLorean, DeSoto, Dodge, Dow, Flajole, Ford, Frazer, Gordon, Hudson, Johnson, Kaiser, La Salle, Lincoln, Lyon, Marquette, Mohs, Nash, Packard, Piper, Rockefeller, Saviano, Shelby, Studebaker, Stutz, Tucker, Weitz, Willys, Woodill, Yenko, Zimmer*

¹⁹⁸ *Balboa, Bangert, Blakely, Bloomquist, Bosley, Bradford, Bradley, Brogan, Chadwick, Cimarron, Clenet, Crofton, Crosley, Cunningham, Custer, Darrin (2x), Davis, De Courville, Derham, DeSoto, Detrick, Doray, Edwards, Eshelman, Fageol, Ferrer, Fisher, Fitch, Fleetwood, Flintridge-Darrin, Frazen, Frick, Gatsby, Gaylord, Gregory, Griffith, Hunt, Kanzler, Keen, Keller, La Fayette, LeBaron (2x), Lindberg, Markette, Nash-Healey, Palmeri, Paxton, Powell, Rowan, Ruger, Russell, Story, Stuart, Taylor-Dunn, Tiffany, Williams*

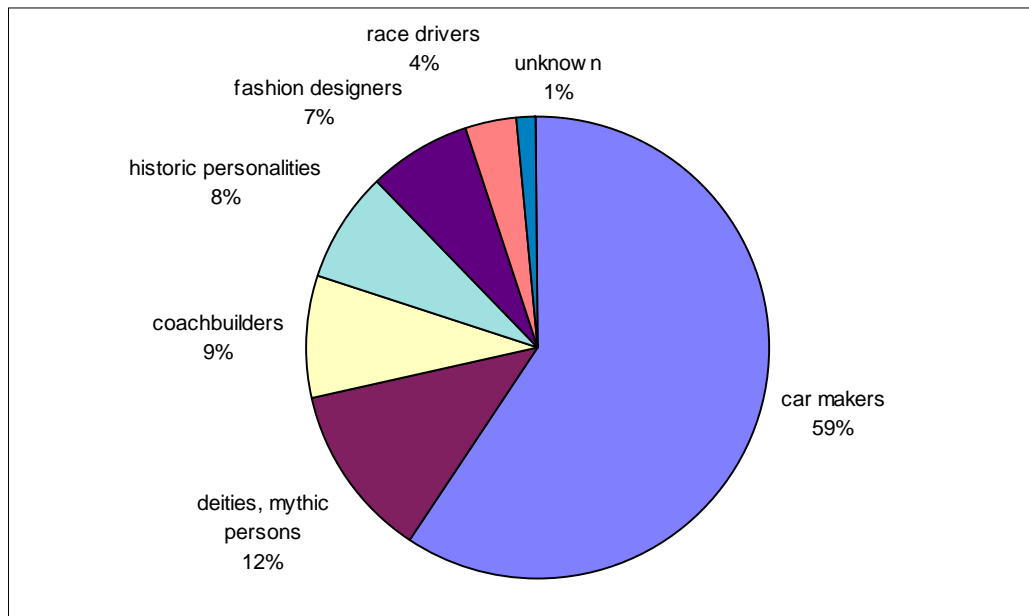
¹⁹⁹ *Cartier, Cassini, Cosworth, De Tomaso, Derham (2x), Dietrich, Ghia (4x), Hurst/Olds, Levi's (2x), McLaren, Tudor (2x)*

²⁰⁰ *Ajax, Apollo (3x), Aurora, Ceres, Cinderella, Electra (2x), Merlin, Romulus, Valiant, Zephyr (2x)*

"complete" names are model designations: *Bill Blass*, *Craig Breedlove*, *Emilio Pucci*, *Hubert de Givenchy* and *Pierre Cardin*.

The persons after whom the cars are named are in their majority the founders of the respective companies such as *Buick*, *Chrysler*, *Dodge*, *Ford* or *Kaiser* or they are in some other way connected with these enterprises, for example as investor (*Hudson*) or as son of the founder (*Edsel*). In one case a car is named after the founder of another automobile company: *Dodge Omni De Tomaso*. *De Tomaso* is an Italian sports car maker. 83 names are taken from car makers, that is 59.3% of all the personal names. The second largest group with 17 items are the names of deities or mythic persons. This group is basically identical to the "general personal names", *Mona Lisa* being the only exception. They are mainly taken from Greek and Roman legend (*Ajax*, *Apollo*, *Romulus* etc.) but also from English legend (*Merlin*) and fairy tales (*Cinderella*). For some of these names the deity or mythical figure might not be the primary reason for naming the car but rather another vehicle. Thus, *Saturn* is said to be named "in tribute to the rocket that carried America to the moon" (Georgano, 1992: 262). Other persons that have cars named after them are the founders of coach maker companies such as *Derham*, *Ghia*, *Fisher* or *Fleetwood*. Cars are named after them because a custom-built body has always been regarded as especially luxurious but of course such a name does not indicate that the car in question really is custom-built. Twelve names are taken from coach-makers, followed by eleven taken from famous historic personalities. The majority of these are French or Spanish explorers of America, such as *Balboa*, *Cadillac*, *Cimarron*, *DeSoto* or *Marquette*, - after whom in turn places might be named such as the city of Balboa, Panama, or the Cimarron river, Oklahoma, - and one car, the *Lincoln*, is named after an American president, another after an English royal family (*Tudor*). Ten cars are named after fashion designers, *Cartier*, *Cassini*, *Pierre Cardin* etc. All the names of fashion designers are used as model designations. Only five cars are named after race drivers (*Chevrolet*, *Shelby* or *Darrin*) and the source of two (*Jimmy* and *Valentina*) has not been discovered. Figure 3-9 shows the portion of the various groups of people after whom cars have been named. Of course, some overlap between the various groups is inevitable. Thus, Bryson (1994: 199), for instance, states that *Hudson* is named after an explorer although every other source I know of (cf. e.g. Kimes/Clark, 1989: 690 or Ludvigsen, 1990: 264) maintains that it is named after Joseph L. Hudson, a Detroit merchant who put up the money for the enterprise. If the person after whom a car is named is not known car names taken from personal names are - along with acronyms - particularly prone to folk etymological reinterpretation (cf. ch. 4.4.3). In a cartoon a little boy asks his father "Are Gerald Ford and Abraham Lincoln the only presidents to have cars named after them?" (cf. *The Stars and Stripes* 05/05/1994, 23).

FIGURE 3-9: PERSONS AFTER WHOM CARS ARE NAMED



3.5.3 Others

18 proper nouns are neither personal nor place names. Eight cars are named after streets²⁰¹: *Fifth Avenue* (2x), *Park Avenue* (3x), *Park Lane*, and, with another spelling, *Parklane* (2x). All three are famous streets, *Fifth Avenue* and *Park Avenue* in New York, *Park Lane* in London, that are usually associated with fashion, wealth and a luxurious life-style. Five cars are named after famous car races: *Can Am* (2x), *Grand Prix* and *Trans Am* (2x). One car is named after a river, *Moselle* (maybe not so much in tribute to this German river but to an early Mercedes that had been named after it, the Mercedes Mosel), two after the sword of Arthurian legend, *Excalibur*, one car is named after another brand name, *Fila*²⁰², and the name *Fleetwood Eldorado* is a combination of a surname and a place name.

3.6 Non-established borrowings: the type *Allante*

The problem of established versus non-established items in a language has already been treated above (cf. ch. 3.2.1). As with compounds I take the ²OED as a guideline for distinguishing between established and non-established borrowings. Items that have no entry in the ²OED are regarded as non-established, as well as words that have an entry there but are marked as "not

²⁰¹ In a sense street names are place names, too.

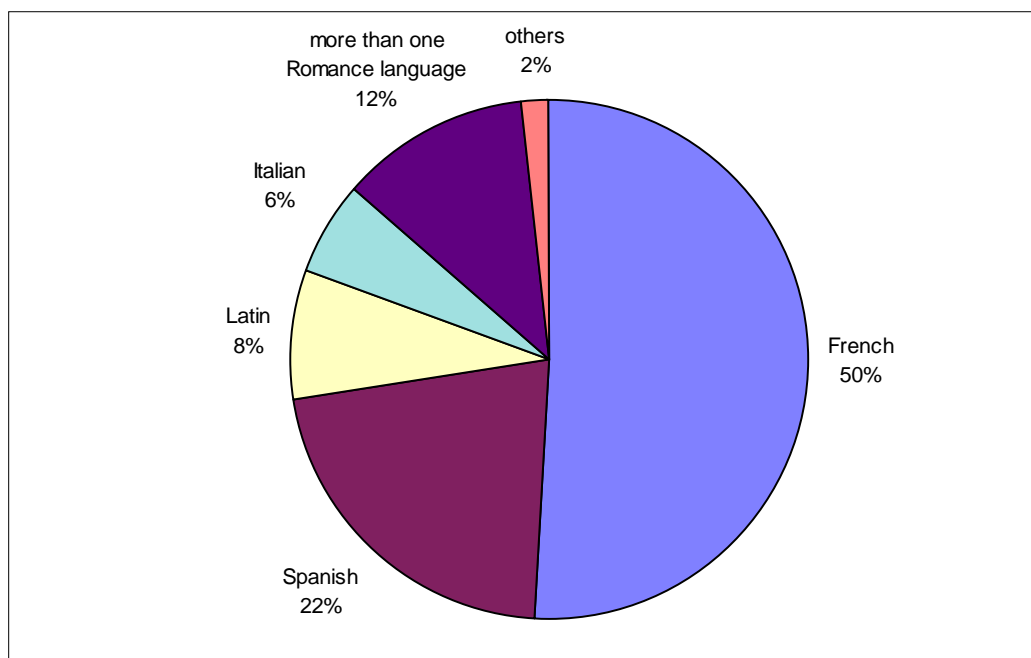
²⁰² The *Ford Thunderbird Fila* was developed in conjunction with Fila Sports Inc., an Italian manufacturer of apparel for active leisure sports (cf. Flammang, 1989: 238).

naturalized". The authors of the ²OED use the label "not naturalized" for "denizens, aliens and casuals":

DENIZENS are words fully naturalized as to use, but not as to *form, inflexion, or pronunciation*, as *aide-de-camp, locus, carte-de-visite, table d'hôte*. ALIENS are names of foreign objects, titles, etc., which we require often to use, and for which we have no native equivalents, as *shah, geyser, cicerone, targum, backsheesh, sepoy*. CASUALS are foreign words of the same class, not in habitual use, which for special purposes occur in books of foreign travel, letters of foreign correspondents, and the like (²OED, "general explanations", vol. I, xxvi).

Thus, 66 of all the non-established loans used as automobile names have an entry in the ²OED and are therefore at least occasionally used in general English, that is 53.2% of the total of 124 (e.g. *Cirrus, Deluxe, Comtesse* or *Maharani*), the rest, 58 or 46.8% are not mentioned in the ²OED (e.g. *Allante, Astre, Avanti* or *Caliente*)²⁰³.

FIGURE 3-10: THE SOURCE LANGUAGES OF NON-ESTABLISHED BORROWINGS



²⁰³ Some items that in fact have an entry in the ²OED are not counted as such if the meaning given there is totally irrelevant in connection with automobile names. Thus, *luxus* is described as "not naturalized. A normal excess of proteid material supposed to exist in the blood. Only attributively." or *astre* "not naturalized, alien. A hearth, a home". These two items and a few others are treated as if they were not mentioned at all in the ²OED.

There are 124 non-established borrowings in the corpus, that is 5.5% of the total. The pointed difference between manufacturer designation and the other parts of an automobile designation becomes once more obvious in that no non-established borrowing is used in the former. 66 of the loans are series designations, that is 6.4% of all the 1024 series designations, and 58 model designations, that is 5.0% of all the 1158 model designations. All the donor languages are Romance languages with only two exceptions: *Maharani*, "the wife of a maharajah" is a Hindi word and *Piranha*, "a carnivorous freshwater fish" comes from Tupi, an indigenous language of Brazil albeit via Portuguese. Both these words occur in the ²OED as "not naturalized". All the other borrowings are from French, Spanish, Latin or Italian, or they occur in the same form in more than one of these languages or are mixed from two of them. Figure 3-10 shows the portions of these languages of all the loans. The dominance of the Romance languages and especially French confirms the results that were obtained above where it was found that indigenous simplexes used as automobile names are to a large extent of Romance, and particularly French origin (cf. ch. 3.1, especially Figure 3-3).

Table 3-18 shows the borrowings from French. With 63 items this is the largest group of loans. The frequency of French borrowings is partly due to the frequent use as an automobile name of one single item only, *Deluxe*. The borrowings from Spanish²⁰⁴, Latin and Italian are shown in Table 3-19, Table 3-20 and Table 3-21. The borrowings that occur in this form in more than one Romance language or that are formed from elements of more than one Romance language are shown in Table 3-22. The starred items occur as "not naturalized" in the ²OED, the others do not.

TABLE 3-18: THE BORROWINGS FROM FRENCH

| automobile name | meaning ²⁰⁵ |
|-----------------------------|--|
| <i>Allante</i> | 'agile, lively, vigorous' |
| <i>Astre</i> | 'star, heavenly body' |
| <i>Club de Mer</i> | 'sea club' |
| <i>Concorde</i> | 'concord, harmony' |
| <i>Concours</i> * (2x) | 'contest', especially <i>concours d'élégance</i> , 'a parade of vehicles in which the entrants are judged according to the elegance of their appearance' |
| <i>Coupe DeVille</i> * (2x) | 'a type of motor car in which the passenger seats are covered but with the driver's compartment open or adapted to fold down' |

²⁰⁴ More accurately from the Ibero-Romance languages as the Portuguese form of the words occurring is usually the same.

²⁰⁵ The meaning of items that have an entry in the ²OED is taken from that dictionary (in shortened form), otherwise I take the meaning from Weis/Mattutat, 1991. The translations of the entries there into English are mine.

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| <i>d'Elegance</i> (6x) | 'of the elegance' |
| <i>Deluxe</i> * (33x) | 'of luxury', 'luxurious, sumptuous; of a superior kind' |
| <i>elan</i> * | 'an impetuous rush, ardour, impetuosity, vivacity' |
| <i>Espirit</i> | 'spirit, mind', 'sprightliness, vivacious wit' |
| <i>La Comtesse</i> * | 'the countess' |
| <i>La Galaxie</i> | 'the galaxy' |
| <i>LaCrosse</i> | 'the rifle butt', 'the crook, crosier' |
| <i>LaFemme</i> | 'the woman' |
| <i>Le Cabriolet</i> * | 'the cabriolet' |
| <i>Le Comte</i> * | 'the count' |
| <i>LeSabre</i> | 'the sabre, scimitar' |
| <i>Madame X</i> * | 'Mrs. X' |
| <i>Mystere</i> | 'mystery, enigma' |
| <i>Parisienne</i> * | 'female Parisian' |
| <i>Premiere</i> * | 'first', 'highest, most important' |
| <i>Royale</i> (3x) | 'royal' |

TABLE 3-19: THE BORROWINGS FROM SPANISH

| automobile name | meaning ²⁰⁶ |
|-------------------------|---|
| <i>Bravada</i> * | 'boastful or threatening behaviour; ostentatious display of courage or boldness; bold or daring action intended to intimidate or to express defiance; often, an assumption of courage or hardihood to conceal felt timidity, or to carry one out of a doubtful or difficult position' |
| <i>Caballero</i> * (2x) | 'knight, gentleman' |
| <i>Caliente</i> (2x) | 'warm, hot' |
| <i>Cimarron</i> | 'wild, untamed', 'mustang' |
| <i>Cordoba de Oro</i> | 'golden Cordoba' |
| <i>Del Mar</i> | 'of, from the sea' |
| <i>Del Rio</i> (2x) | 'of, from the river' |
| <i>El Camino</i> (2x) | 'the way, road' |
| <i>El Gato</i> | 'cat', especially 'tom-cat' |
| <i>Festiva</i> | 'festive, splendid, magnificent' |
| <i>La Espada</i> * | 'the sword, rapier' |
| <i>LaSaetta</i> | 'the arrow' |
| <i>Manta</i> * | 1. 'wrap, cloak' 2. 'a very large ray, also called devil-fish' |
| <i>Mirada</i> | 'view, look, glance' |
| <i>Pinto</i> * | 'painted, mottled' ²⁰⁷ , 'splodge, splotch', 'mark, characteristic feature'. In the American West used for horses of such a colouring. |
| <i>Reatta</i> * | 'rope, string' |
| <i>Sierra</i> * (5x) | 'saw', 'a range of hills or mountains, rising in peaks which suggest the teeth of a saw' |
| <i>Valiente</i> | 'courageous, brave, capable, efficient' |
| <i>Vega</i> * | 'extensive, fertile, and grass-covered plain or tract of land' |

²⁰⁶ The meaning of items that have an entry in the ²OED is taken from that dictionary (in shortened form), otherwise I take the meaning from Müller/Haensch, 1987. The translations of the entries there into English are mine.

²⁰⁷ The adjective *pinto* is also found in Italian but not the noun.

TABLE 3-20: THE BORROWINGS FROM LATIN

| automobile name | meaning ²⁰⁸ |
|-------------------|---|
| <i>Astra</i> | 'stars, heavenly bodies' |
| <i>Cirrus</i> * | 'curl, fringe' |
| <i>Invicta</i> | 'invincible', 'undefeated' |
| <i>Lumina</i> | 'light; an opening' |
| <i>Luxus</i> (3x) | 'luxuriance, opulence, lavishness', 'fertility' |
| <i>Nova</i> * | 'new', 'star that becomes visible or brighter because of an explosion' |
| <i>Taurus</i> * | 'bull', 'second of the zodiacal constellations, the Bull, in which are included the groups of the Pleiades and Hyades; person born under the zodiacal sign of Taurus' |
| <i>Volare</i> | 'to fly', 'to hurry' |

TABLE 3-21: THE BORROWINGS FROM ITALIAN

| automobile name | meaning ²⁰⁹ |
|-----------------------|--|
| <i>Avanti</i> | 'front', 'forward' (adverb and noun) |
| <i>Corsa</i> | 'race, run'. Viedebantt (1982) seems to regard the name <i>Corsa</i> used by Opel as a variant of <i>Corsair</i> because he states: "Nur in der unteren Wagenklasse bleibt Opel dem Meer verbunden, mit dem 'Kadett' und dem neuen 'Corsa', der klanglich an Piraterie gemahnt." |
| <i>d'Oro</i> | 'of gold' (the Spanish word for 'gold' is also <i>oro</i> but elision is not common so that the Spanish form would be <i>del oro</i>) |
| <i>Gran Turismo</i> * | 'great touring', 'touring-car' ²¹⁰ |
| <i>La Tosca</i> | 'the female Toscan' |
| <i>Turismo</i> * (2x) | 'touring', 'touring-car' |

TABLE 3-22: THE BORROWINGS FROM VARIOUS ROMANCE LANGUAGES

| automobile name | meaning ²¹¹ and comment |
|---------------------|--|
| <i>Del Ray</i> (3x) | the English common noun <i>ray</i> as complement of the Spanish preposition <i>del</i> , 'of, from the' (preposition + definite article) |
| <i>Diamante</i> * | Italian and Spanish, 'diamond' |
| <i>Elegante</i> * | French, Italian and Spanish adjective meaning 'elegant', in French <i>elegante</i> is the feminine form |
| <i>El Morocco</i> * | the English proper noun <i>Morocco</i> as head determined by the Spanish definite article <i>el</i> |
| <i>Espirit</i> | obviously supposed to resemble French <i>esprit</i> , 'spirit, mind', 'sprightliness, vivacious wit' although this form exists in neither of the |

²⁰⁸ The meaning of items that have an entry in the ²OED is taken from that dictionary (in shortened form), otherwise I take the meaning from *Langenscheidts...*, 1982. The translations of the entries there into English are mine.

²⁰⁹ The meaning of items that have an entry in the ²OED is taken from that dictionary (in shortened form), otherwise I take the meaning from *Lexikographisches Institut Sansoni*, 1987. The translations of the entries there into English are mine.

²¹⁰ In fact, *gran turismo* and *turismo* occur in the same form in Spanish but the development of the touring-car in Italy precludes that the lexemes are borrowed from Spanish.

²¹¹ cf. fn. 205, fn. 206, fn. 208, and fn. 209.

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| | major Romance languages (it is Latin <i>spiritus</i> , Italian <i>spiritu</i> , Portuguese <i>espírito</i> and Spanish <i>espíritu</i>) |
| <i>Fiera</i> | Italian and Spanish noun, 'predator, beast of prey', and adjective in the feminine genus, 'wild, cruel, terrible, monstrous' |
| <i>Fiero</i> | Italian and Spanish adjective in the masculine genus, 'wild, cruel, terrible, monstrous' |
| <i>Gran</i> | Spanish and Italian adjective 'great, strong' |
| <i>Grande</i> | French, Italian and Spanish adjective 'great, strong', in French <i>grande</i> is the feminine form |
| <i>Ostentatienna Opera</i> | the nominal head of this phrase, <i>opera</i> , is used in English as well as in French, Italian and Spanish to denote a certain vehicle type, while the modifier, <i>ostentatienna</i> , exists in this form in none of these languages. The English form of the adjective - which has in all these languages roughly the same meaning - is <i>ostentatious</i> , the French <i>ostentatoire</i> , the Italian <i>ostentato</i> and the Spanish <i>ostensivo</i> or <i>ostentoso</i> . Obviously it was not lingual precision that prompted the choice of <i>ostatienna</i> but rather that <i>-ienna</i> is an ending that sounds French enough (cf. <i>Parisienne</i> above). |
| <i>Pinto* Sportiva</i> | The Italian adjective <i>sportiva</i> , 'sporty, sporting', (French <i>sportive</i> but Spanish <i>deportiva</i> or <i>deportista</i>) postmodifies <i>Pinto</i> (Spanish; cf. Table 3-19). The two words are not only from two different languages but an adjective in the feminine form is used to modify a noun of masculine genus. |
| <i>Urba Centurian</i> | This combination is a similar horror to the purist, as Latin <i>urbs</i> , 'town, city', belongs to the nouns of the consonantal declensions and therefore never ends in <i>-a</i> in that language. <i>Centurian</i> is probably intended as postmodifying adjective formed with the suffix <i>-(i)an</i> from <i>century</i> . It might also be a graphemic variation of <i>centurion</i> - which is used as series designation elsewhere (cf. ch. 3.1) - although that would mean that <i>urba</i> is intended as premodifying adjective - maybe a shortening from <i>urban</i> ?-, 'city centurion'. |
| <i>Wagonaire</i> | The French ending <i>-aire</i> is added to (English or French) <i>wagon</i> . The formation does not exist in French. |

The most notable feature of the items classed as "non-established borrowings" is that most of them are easily recognizable for a speaker of English because an established English word has a similar form. Thus, *Concorde*, *Elegante* and *Royale*, for instance, differ from their English counterparts only in their final letter, ⟨e⟩, which is not pronounced anyway. Nevertheless, form and especially pronunciation might present the consumer with a problem. At least, journalists seem to assume that as the following quotation indicates: "Cadillac's de Ville Concours (not to be confused with Chrysler's Concorde [...] The Concours (say KAHN-coor) [...]" (Smith, 1993a: 86)

A further striking feature is the comparative frequency of adjectives and especially adjectives in the feminine form (e.g. French *Allante*, *Premiere*, *Royale*, Spanish *Festiva* and Latin *Invicta*, *Nova*). *Fiero* is the only adjective - of course, only of those for which the distinction applies - used in the masculine form. Often the insertion of a foreign preposition or article is used to indicate the exotic

status of a name. Thus, *d'Elegance* or *Le Cabriolet*, become French items - in contrast to English *elegance* and *cabriolet* - only by virtue of the French preposition and article. This strategy is even more apparent with *Del Ray*, in which the preposition *del* is used to convey the impression that the phrase with a perfectly English noun as a complement is Spanish. In others, such as *Del Mar*, *d'Oro* or *La Espada*, the preposition or article is used to further highlight the exotic nature of the nominal complement or head. In total, 45 of all the non-established borrowings occur as prepositional phrase introduced by *de*, *del* or reduced *d'* and 14 as noun phrase introduced by a definite article, *el*, *la* and *le*. Thus, 47.6% of all the items in this class are phrases of the structure "preposition + definite article + noun" or "definite article + noun". The comparative frequency of the foreign definite articles is particularly interesting when seen against a mere four automobile names with *the* (cf. ch. 3.4.5). With nine further phrases in which a nominal head is pre- or post-modified by an adjective or prepositional phrase, phrases are more frequent with non-established borrowings than words.

3.7 Numerals: the type 210

Numerals, cardinals as well as ordinals, are usually either said to belong to the word class of determiners (cf. e.g. Gramley/Pätzold, 1992: 134) or to constitute a separate class (cf. e.g. Quirk et al., 1985: 73f), as part of word-formation syntagmas they are also sometimes treated as adjectives (cf. e.g. Marchand, 1969: 63, but not Sauer, 1992a: 128). While they resemble open-class words in being a class of infinite membership, they resemble closed-class words "in that the semantic relations among them are mutually exclusive and mutually defining" (Quirk et al., 1985: 73f). In their function of identifying and individualizing their extralinguistic referent they are similar to proper nouns. This, along with the fact that they "constitute a miniature syntax of their own, within the larger syntax of the English language" (Quirk et al., 1985: 74) warrants their classification as an extra class along with general words and proper nouns.

Grammarians as well as trade name specialists tend to ignore the role numerals play in a large number of trade names. Quirk et al. (1985: 395ff), for instance, comment on numerals only in their functions as dates, fractions, mathematical symbols and currency statements and Praninskas (1968: 13) rules out "names containing numbers as peripheral to our theme". However, they occur as frequently as trade names so that Naumann (1975: 7f) speaks of numerals as competitors of proper nouns and in Steenbergen's (1965: 333f) corpus of Dutch trade names they account for 19.20% of all the trade names. Especially cars and electric appliances bear numerical names in his corpus. The number of cars with numerals as names is comparatively high in his corpus because there are a

number of European automobile manufacturers that use exclusively numerals as series designations (e.g BMW or Mercedes) while no American manufacturer does so²¹². In my corpus 120 automobile names are numerals, that is 5.4% of the total. These are names that consist of a numeral only but there is even a larger group of automobile names in which numerals occur as part of a phrase. If the names that contain numerals as part of a phrase are also taken into account, their portion increases considerably: 246 phrases contain a numeral, thus in total 366 automobile names, that is 16.3%, consist - at least partly - of a numeral²¹³. Interestingly no numeral is used as manufacturer designation but 29 are used as series designations²¹⁴, that is 2.8% of all the series designations, and 91, or 7.9%, are used as model designations²¹⁵. The reason for this increase in the use of numerals from manufacturer to model designation is probably a legal one: numerals on their own can not be registered as the public has a vital interest that numerals can be used by everyone without restrictions (cf. Kalverkämper, 1978: 373). Companies usually are interested in registering manufacturer and series designations as these are used for longer periods while model designations on the

212 The only exception is Saturn, which was only founded in 1990, however. It uses exclusively names that consist only of a letter-numeral-combination (*SL2*, *SC2* and *SW2*).

213 Numerals as part of a phrase are treated above in ch. 3.4.1 and 3.4.3.

214 *Cadillac 61, 62, 6200, 70, Chevrolet 490, One-Fifty, Two-Ten, Chrysler 300, Dodge 330, 400, 440, 600, 880, Ford 300, 999, Nash 600, Oldsmobile 4-4-2, 76, 88, 98, Sixty, Packard 120, 200, 250, 300, Eight, Pontiac 1000, 2000, 6000*

215 *AMC Rambler American 220, AMC Rambler American 440, Buick Electra 225, Buick Riviera LXXV, Buick Roadmaster Eight, Buick Super Eight, Checker Marathon Eight, Checker Marathon Six, Chevrolet Chevelle 300, Chevrolet Chevy II 100 four, Chevrolet Chevy II 100 six, Chevrolet Chevy II 300 four, Chevrolet Chevy II 300 six, Chevrolet Deluxe Two-Ten, Chevrolet Special One-Fifty, Chrysler Cordoba 300, DeSoto Firedome 8, Dodge Coronet 440, Dodge Coronet 500, Dodge Dart 270, Dodge Dart 330, Dodge Dart 440, Dodge Lancer 770, Dodge Monaco 500, Dodge Omni 024, Dodge Polara 500, Dodge Royal 500, Ford Fairlane 500, Ford Galaxie 500, Hudson Commodore Eight, Hudson Commodore Six, Hudson Country Club Eight, Hudson Country Club Six, Hudson Jet Six, Hudson Super Six, Mercury Comet 202, Mercury Comet 404, Mercury Meteor 600, Mercury Meteor 800, Oldsmobile Calais 500, Oldsmobile Cutlass 4-4-2, Oldsmobile Cutlass S 4-4-2, Oldsmobile Cutlass Supreme 4-4-2, Oldsmobile Delmont 88 330, Oldsmobile Delmont 88 425, Oldsmobile Dynamic 60, Oldsmobile Dynamic 70, Oldsmobile Dynamic Seventy 76, Oldsmobile Dynamic Seventy 78, Oldsmobile F-85 4-4-2, Oldsmobile Special 66, Oldsmobile Special 68, Packard Clipper Eight, Packard Clipper Six, Packard Custom Eight, Packard 400, Plymouth Barracuda 318, Plymouth Barracuda 340, Plymouth Barracuda 383, Plymouth Belvedere I, Plymouth Belvedere II, Plymouth Belvedere III, Plymouth Duster 340, Plymouth Duster 360, Plymouth Fury I, Plymouth Fury II, Plymouth Fury III, Plymouth Turismo 2.2, Pontiac Catalina 421, Pontiac Chieftain 860, Pontiac Chieftain 870, Pontiac Chieftain Eight, Pontiac Chieftain Six, Pontiac Firebird 326, Pontiac Firebird 400, Pontiac Streamliner Eight, Pontiac Streamliner Six, Pontiac Torpedo Eight, Pontiac Torpedo Six, Rambler Ambassador 990, Rambler Ambassador 880, Rambler American 220, Rambler American 330, Rambler American 440, Rambler Classic 400, Rambler Classic 550, Rambler Classic 660, Rambler Classic 770, Rambler Classic Eight, Studebaker Lark VI, Studebaker Lark VIII*

other hand are often used only briefly so that registration is not deemed necessary.

All the numerals are cardinals. The graphic representation of the numerals varies. Most often the Arabic numbers are used (e.g. *1000*, *300*, *98* etc.) but occasionally pronunciation spellings occur (e.g. *Eighty*, *One-Fifty*, *Two-Ten* etc.) and Latin numbers (e.g. *I*, *LXXV*, *VI* etc.) are even rarer²¹⁶.

The most frequently occurring numerals are *Six* (10x) and *Eight* (14x), they represent the number of cylinders on a car's engine. Other numerals also refer to the engine, many represent the piston displacement. Most of these indicate the displacement in cubic inches (e.g. *318*, *326*, *340*, *360*, *383*, *421* or *425*), only rarely in liters (e.g. *2.2*). Generally, it should be noted that the technical specification a numeral stands for might not necessarily be true for all the cars that bear that numeric name. Thus, *4-4-2* (5x) translated in 1964, when it was used as model designation, as "4=four barrel, 4=four-speed, and 2=dual exhausts" (Gunnell, 1992: 500) but later on it was used as series as well as as model designation on cars without these technical specifications. Other technical specifications numerals stand for are the brake horsepower (*Packard 300*), the length of the wheelbase in inches (*Packard 120*) or the miles a car can go per fill (*Nash 600*). The numerals do not only stand for technical specifications but also the price tag the car carried when first sold (*Chevrolet 490*), the years the company had existed when the model was issued (*Buick Riviera LXXV*), the first three digits of the numerical series code²¹⁷ (*Chevrolet Deluxe Two-Ten*, i.e. *210*) or the name of a famous train admired by the inventor (*Ford 999*; cf. ch. 1.1). The comparatively frequent occurrence of *500* as a model designation is probably a tribute to the 500 miles of Indianapolis, a famous race course. As with coinages most of these explanations are only known to the specialist and their diversity makes systematic explanations difficult anyway. Apart from that many of the numerical names do not stand for anything in particular at all. They might acquire a systematic meaning, however, when the number is the higher the larger the series is (e.g. *Pontiac 1000*, *2000*, *6000*). In model designations this systematic meaning might imply increasing numbers of extra equipment as in *I*, *II* and *III*, which were used simultaneously as model designations on the Plymouth Fury from 1971 to 1976.

In some cases one numeral combines such a systematic meaning with the representation of a technical specification as in *66*, *68*, *76*, *78*, *88* and *98* used by Oldsmobile. The first part of these numbers has a systematic meaning, 7 is

²¹⁶ I follow the practice established by *The Standard Catalog of American Cars* vol. I-III (Kimes/Clark, 1989; Gunnell, 1992; Flammang, 1989). If the spelling there varies, I chose the representation in Arabic numbers.

²¹⁷ cf. ch. 2

smaller than 8 which in turn is smaller than 9, but the second part stands for the engine's number of cylinders.

3.8 Graphemic variation

The unorthodox spelling of trade names is a rather conspicuous feature and has been studied at some length (cf. e.g. Gläser, 1972; Jacobson, 1966; Praninskas, 1968: 21ff). As noted elsewhere (cf. e.g. ch. 3.2.4 on "commercial suffixes" and especially ch. 3.9) automobile names comply with the patterns shown by other trade names only to a certain extent. The same holds true of graphemic variation. Thus, it is significant that Jacobson's (1966: 33ff) "alphabetical list of words affected by unorthodox American trademark spellings", which contains about 800 trade names, does not contain a single automobile name. The spelling of only 41 car names in my corpus deviates from the norm, that is a mere 1.8% of the total. Three of these names (*Bobbi-Kar* and *Tudor* (2x)) show more than one of the following deviating spelling patterns.

The following deviating spellings occur:

1. In 27 cases the normal graphemes are substituted with deviating ones. The following substitutions occur:

- ⟨and⟩⟨o⟩: *Farm-O-Road*
- ⟨c⟩⟨g⟩: *Classic*²¹⁸
- ⟨c⟩⟨k⟩: *Bobbi-Kar*, *Safarikar*, *Skorpion*, *Super Kar*
- ⟨er⟩⟨a⟩: *Achieva*, *Comuta-Car*
- ⟨gh⟩⟨-⟩⟨e⟩: *Fireflite*, *Flitewing*, *Starlite*, *TurboFlite*, *Lite*²¹⁹
- ⟨gh⟩⟨-⟩⟨e⟩ + ⟨i⟩⟨y⟩: *Airflyte*, *Golden Airflyte*
- ⟨o⟩⟨a⟩: *Scorpian*
- ⟨qu⟩⟨k⟩: *Markette* (after *Marquette*)²²⁰
- ⟨s⟩⟨z⟩: *Prizm*

²¹⁸ Instead of showing graphemic variation, the name *Classic* could also be the result of a blending process from *glass* (a shortening from *fiberglass*) and *classic*.

²¹⁹ This phenomenon is classed as reduction of graphemes by Gläser (1972: 189) but although ⟨gh⟩ is left out, a mute ⟨e⟩ is inserted at the end of the word in order to preserve the pronunciation. Thus, substitution takes place albeit not at the same place: the more frequent spelling for /a^ʷ/, ⟨i...e⟩ is substituted for the less frequent one, ⟨igh⟩. Alternative notations such as ⟨ght⟩ > ⟨te⟩, or ⟨ight⟩ > ⟨ite⟩, or ⟨igh⟩ > ⟨i...e⟩ show this even more clearly.

²²⁰ With *market* as basis *Markette* could also be interpreted as an example of a name in which the number of graphemes has been increased.

- ⟨u⟩>⟨i⟩: *Sir Vival* (after *survival*). The graphic unity of the word is additionally interrupted to make the pun with *Sir* more readily recognizable.
- ⟨wo⟩>⟨u⟩: *Tudor* (after *two-door*) (2x)
- ⟨y⟩>⟨i⟩ or ⟨ie⟩: *Bobbi-Kar*, *Citīcar*, *Galaxie* (4x)

Only in four of these names the change in spelling is accompanied by a change in pronunciation. In the case of *Achieva* and *Comuta-Car* the deviating spelling is based on regional variation in pronunciation. While the standard pronunciation of the suffix {-er} is /★r/ in General American, in some regions such as Eastern New England, New York City and its vicinity, and parts of the South it is pronounced like in Received Pronunciation, /★/ (cf. Gramley/Pätzold, 1992: 374). The spelling ⟨-a⟩ represents the pronunciation in these non-rhotic regions. The spelling of *Farm-O-Road* is either based on a non-standard pronunciation of *and* in which it is reduced to the schwa-sound or *and* is not the "basis" of ⟨o⟩ but rather ⟨o⟩ should be interpreted as linking sound. The meaning of {o} is that of a conjunction in any case, i.e. {o} substitutes *and*. The spelling of *Glassic* is probably based on nonce or fancy pronunciation (cf. Jacobson, 1966: 14). The name for a replicar of the *Ford Model A* is supposed to intimate a certain similarity with a famous replicar manufacturer, *Classic*, while being different from this name for legal reasons. *Sir Vival* might be identical in pronunciation with its "base", *survival*, or different from it depending on the stress pattern used by the speaker. Normally the unaccented form of *Sir* is used in address (cf. Gimson, 1989: 267) which would yield the same pronunciation, /s★(r)'va^hv(★)l/. It is different, however, if the accented form is used: /s^h★(r)'va^hv(★)l/.

2. Reduction of graphemes occurs ten times. It is in no case connected with a change in pronunciation.
 - ⟨ough⟩>⟨o⟩: *Thorobred*
 - ⟨oo⟩>⟨o⟩: *Salon* (5x), *Tudor* (2x)
 - ⟨ck⟩>⟨k⟩: *R/T Sport Pak*, *Super Pak*
3. In four cases the number of graphemes is increased. No variation in pronunciation accompanies these deviations in spelling. The following graphemes are introduced:
 - ⟨e⟩: *Towne Coupe*, *Towne Shopper*
 - ⟨le⟩: *Caravelle* (after *caravel*)
 - ⟨s⟩: *Trans Sport*. At the same time the word is interrupted in order to make the word play with *sport* more obvious.

4. Capitalization and hyphenization are also used to create an unusual graphic image. Normally, automobile names are spelt with an initial capital letter followed by small letters. In word formations and phrases the second and further constituents are capitalized after a space that denotes a constituent boundary. Occasionally this space is missing as in *AstroVette*, *GTElectric* or *TurboFlite*²²¹. Only three automobile names deviate from this general practice. *elan* is the only automobile name that is not capitalized and in *Thrif-T* and *Econ-O-Miler* elements that are not immediate constituents are capitalized. These changes are purely visual and do not affect the pronunciation of the names.

The purpose of graphemic variation in trademarks is either to achieve distinctiveness from other trade names or to attract the interest of the consumer. The first purpose is most obvious in *Classic* and in *Markette*. *Marquette* is another automobile name taken from the surname of a French explorer (cf. ch. 3.5.2). Here it is quite obvious that the purpose of the variation in spelling is to differentiate the name from another trade name for legal reasons but at the same time to establish a certain similarity to it. At the same time the new spelling results in a pun as *Markette* also looks like a suffix formation with another automobile name, "*Mark* + various numbers". The *Mark* is a full-size *Lincoln* and the *-ette* yields a diminutive - the *Markette* was a small electric car offered by Westinghouse. Additionally, the name indicates a location of possible use of the car when seen as graphemic variation of *market*²²². The second purpose, the arousal of interest in the consumer, is best exemplified by those names for which the new spelling creates a word play: *Sir Vival*, *Trans Sport* and *Tudor*²²³. *Caravelle* is also quite apt to create interest as the new spelling is suggestive of exclusiveness: on the one hand it is the French spelling of the word and on the other hand the word is now similar with a commercial suffix formation as in *Chevelle*. The two spellings of *town* in which an additional ⟨e⟩ is introduced at the end of the word might have the purpose to suggest old-fashioned homeliness as it is also found in a shop sign like *Ye Olde Shoppe*. With all the other variations it is simply the unusual visual image that is supposed to catch the eye of the consumer. Many of them, especially the substitutions of ⟨gh⟩ with ⟨-⟩+⟨e⟩, are not that uncommon in general American English, however (cf. Gramley/Pätzold, 1992: 346). They occur frequently in informal writing, and

²²¹ This practice in tradenames such as *WordPerfect*, *NetManage* or *CompuServe* was recently dubbed "intercapping" by Newsweek (04/09/1995: 4).

²²² While with *Marquette* as basis no change in pronunciation is involved, it is with *market* as the position of the stress would change from the first syllable in *market* to the the second in *markette*.

²²³ cf. ch. 3.2.1.8

might therefore simply be said to represent a general variation pattern rather than one peculiar to trade names. Of course, the American variant is used if there is an established difference in spelling between British English and American English such as *Traveler*, which is never spelt with double ⟨l⟩. Instances like these, which are few anyway, have not been regarded as examples of graphemic variation for the present purpose.

3.9 Comparison with other trade names

It is desirable to compare the formation of automobile names with those of other trade names. The problem with this undertaking is, however, that the various studies of trade names do not easily lend themselves to comparison as different methodical approaches have been taken. Praninskas (1968), for instance, does not include any "unaltered personal names" (Praninskas, 1968: 13) and also tried to exclude numbers used as trade names even though a few made it into her corpus. Therefore only the results of Steenbergen (1968) as a corpus of trade names of all kinds of products and of Wehking (1984) as a corpus of trade names of another specific group of products, drugs, will be compared in detail. The results of Steenbergen's (1965: 338) corpus of Dutch trade names are compared with American automobile names in Table 3-23. The patterns exhibited in these two groups are highly similar. Generally, the fact that Dutch or German trade names are involved in the comparisons does not invalidate them as many trade names are internationalisms, i.e. also used in English-speaking countries.

TABLE 3-23: COMPARISON OF A CORPUS OF GENERAL DUTCH TRADE NAMES WITH AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE NAMES

| Steenbergen (1965) | | | automobile names | | |
|------------------------------|-------|-------|---|------------------|-------|
| category | % | total | equivalent category | % ²²⁴ | total |
| defining and fancy names | 48.65 | 233 | simplexes, syntagmatic word-formation | 46.7 | 1047 |
| names with a scientific ring | 8.56 | 41 | non-syntagmatic word-formations | 11.3 | 253 |
| place names | 6.89 | 33 | place names | 6.4 | 144 |
| others | 16.70 | 80 | proper nouns other than place names, non-established borrowings, phrases that do not contain a numeral and non-classifiable items | 20.3 | 454 |
| numbers | 19.20 | 92 | numerals, phrases that contain a numeral | 16.3 | 365 |

²²⁴ The sum of the percentages slightly exceeds 100%, cf. fn. 104, p.99.

As far as comparison is possible Praninskas' (1968) analysis of general American brand names also yields similar patterns. Without proper nouns and numerals her result is that

the usual method of creating a new name is to use words or morphemes already in the language, either by expanding the semantic range of some word or by recombining morphemes. (Praninskas, 1968: 13)

This would roughly coincide with my results as only the non-established borrowings, which make up 5.5% of all the automobile names, cannot be said to be already "in the language".

While automobile names do not obviously show too great differences from a general sample of trade names, a comparison with the names of specific groups of products yields different results. Voigt (1982: 15) states that the tradenames of synthetic substances are hardly ever taken from unaltered or only graphemically altered words of the standard language, which account for 83.7% of the automobile names (simplexes, syntagmatic word-formation, phrases, proper nouns and numerals), but rather from coinages. The predominant pattern with synthetic fibres (cf. Voigt, 1982: 50ff) are items formed with commercial "sequences" such as *atra-*, *cond-*, *coro-* and *-ess*, *-on*, *-ose* etc. These results are confirmed by Sialm-Bossard's (1975: 221ff) study of the names of chemical fibres in German. The pattern in automobile names that comes closest to this phenomenon are the commercial suffixes which only account for 14 names, that is a mere 0.6%.

Table 3-24 shows the striking differences between automobile names and trade names for another group of products, drugs, in detail. All the important patterns in English as well as in German drug names are only of minor importance for automobile names and vice versa. Even that pattern that seems to be of almost equal importance, compounds and syntactic groups, shows great qualitative differences. While the constituents of compounds and phrases in automobile names are almost exclusively general English words, proper nouns or numerals, this is not the case with drug names. No compounded or phrasal drug name in Wehking's (1984: 32ff) corpus consists of more than one such constituent (with the exception of *Augenspezialitäten 'Dr. Winzer'*). Some examples of compounded and phrasal German and English drug names should make the difference obvious: there are German compounds and phrases such as *Effortil Depot Pergonetten*, *spasmo gallo sanol*, *Dilcoran 80* or *Novodigal mite*, and English ones such as *Azo Gantanol*, *Darvocet-N 100*, *Maalox Plus* or *Medrol 4mg Dosepak*.

TABLE 3-24: COMPARISON OF A CORPUS OF ENGLISH AND GERMAN DRUG NAMES WITH AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE NAMES

| Wehking (1984: 48) | | | | | automobile names | | |
|--|--------|-------|---------|-------|---|------------------|-------|
| category | German | | English | | equivalent category | % ²²⁵ | total |
| | % | total | | total | | | |
| derivations with commercial pre- and suffixes | 24.4 | 30 | 33.0 | 28 | derivations with commercial suffixes ²²⁶ | 0.6 | 14 |
| compounds and syntactic groups | 36.6 | 45 | 17.6 | 15 | compounds and phrases | 33.8 | 757 |
| shrinkings, rearrangement and word manufacture | 39.0 | 48 | 49.4 | 42 | non-syntagmatic word-formations and non-classifiables | 11.7 | 263 |
| others | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | simplexes, syntagmatic word-formation (except for compounds and commercial suffixations), proper nouns, numerals and borrowings | 54.8 | 1229 |

With the names of chemical fibres, synthetics and drugs etc. in mind it has occasionally been noted that the terms of traditional morphology and word formation are no longer a valid instrument of description with trade names. Sialm-Bossard (1976: 274f), for instance, notes:

Werden die Markennamen mit der traditionellen Wortbildungslehre konfrontiert, zeigt sich sofort, dass deren Begriffe nur beschränkt verwendet werden können, weil ihre konventionale Einheit von Formativ und Inhalt, die ein Appellativum zeigt und auf der die traditionelle Wortbildungslehre aufbaut, gestört ist. [...] Die traditionellen Begriffe müssten allenfalls den Zusatz 'formal' tragen; aber neue Begriffe erweisen sich als nützlicher.

This is certainly not true for automobile names. The only formal group of automobile names for which difficulties with traditional linguistic terminology might be said to have arisen are those compounds and phrases for which structural relationships between the various constituents could not be established unambiguously such as *Catalina Brougham* (cf. ch. 3.2.1.2), *Custom 300* (cf. ch. 3.4.1) or *300 SS* (cf. ch. 3.4.3).

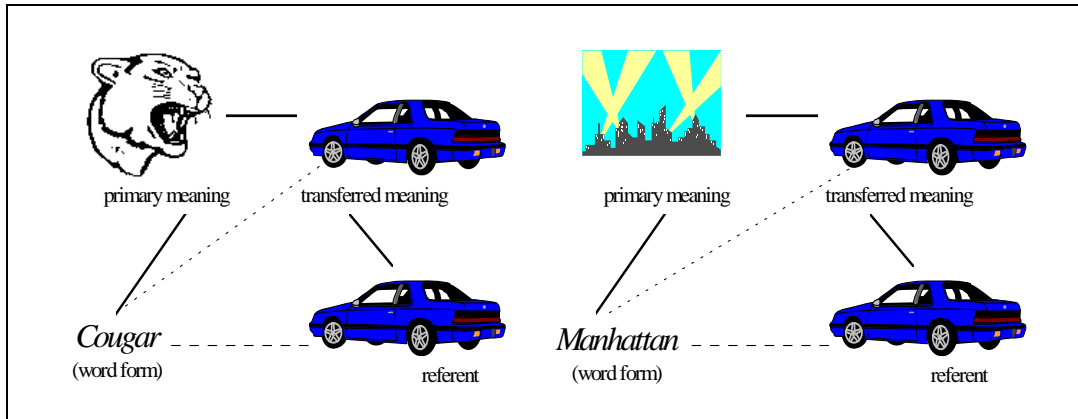
²²⁵ The sum of the percentages slightly exceeds 100%, cf. fn. 104, p.99.

²²⁶ Possibly the one or two items that are made up of foreign formatives without existing in a particular language such as *Urba Centurian* and *Wagonaire* which I have grouped among the non-established borrowings would also be classed here by Wehking. However, these few names would not change the overall results.

4 The meaning of American automobile names

4.1 Meaning in consumer products

FIGURE 4-1: MEANING IN AUTOMOBILE NAMES



The referent (or denotatum) of all the names in my corpus needs little discussion: it is a certain group of automobiles to which the name is appended by the manufacturers (or their marketing experts). To many of us who lack expert knowledge of cars these denotata are pretty similar, one car seems like the other²²⁷. Therefore, the semantic differences between the various car names reside to a large extent in the sense of the names²²⁸. The sense of a word is "its place in the system of relationships which it contracts with other words in the vocabulary" (Lyons, 1968: 427). The sense of a given car name is not only "car by this or that manufacturer of this or that body type, design, mechanical properties etc." but additionally the primary sense of the linguistic item that is used as car name comes into play. Thus, the sense of the car name *Cougar*, for instance, is "subcompact produced by Mercury in the late 60s which has something in common with a cougar" or that of *Manhattan* is "car of a certain design produced by Kaiser in the early 50s which is somehow related to Manhattan". Following suggestions by a number of semanticists, for instance Görlach (1982: 111ff), the famous Ogden/Richards semiotic triangle (cf. e.g. Lyons, 1968: 404) has here been adapted into a trapezoid diagram (cf. Figure 4-1) to take the important role of the primary meaning and the transferred meaning in automobile names into account. Figure 4-1 shows that the meaning

²²⁷ However, it is often stressed that as cars have clearly visible differences rationalizing choice is easier than with other consumer goods such as detergents, cigarettes or instant coffee (cf. e.g. Gardner/Levy, 1955: 35).

²²⁸ As discussed in ch. 1.2.3 trade names differ from other proper nouns in possessing sense.

"automobile" of the word forms *Cougar* and *Manhattan* is only a secondary one (dotted line) which is mediated by the primary one.

Before dealing with the meaning of automobile names as a relation to the primary meaning of the linguistic item used as automobile name, the meaning of the cars themselves should be discussed briefly. Like any other consumer product cars do not only have a certain functional value but they are additionally invested with a number of further abstract uses - product use is non-verbal communication (cf. e.g. Holman, 1981). Some scholars even assume that it is the functional value of a good that is of least importance. In his book on *Die Botschaft der Markenartikel* Fritz (1994: 32), for instance, bluntly heads one of his chapters: "Zur Irrelevanz des Grundnutzens in der aktuellen Konsumkultur". This means that an automobile is not merely an instrument of transportation but also an instrument to fulfill conscious or unconscious emotional needs. That people expect more of a car than mere functionality was demonstrated early by the way GM outsold Ford. Until 1927 Ford had always promoted the functionality of the Model T and it had advertised very little on a national level but when its competitors at GM with their planned-in obsolescence became more and more successful Ford ran a defiant, no-frills advertisement:

The stability of the substantial bulk of the American people is most definitely evidenced by the continued leadership of Ford. Despite confusion, in the minds of many, of extravagance with progress, a vast majority cling to the old-fashioned idea of living within their incomes. From these came and are coming the millions of Ford owners. [...] They possess or are buying efficient, satisfactory transportation. (quoted from Marchand, 1985: 157)

But despite this manifesto, Ford had to arrange itself with the "confusion" of the public that wanted more than "satisfactory transportation", and advertised its new Model A as "smart and stylish" because "consumers were voting in the marketplace every day for style, beauty, 'extravagance', and the installment plan. They were voting against automobiles defined simply as 'satisfactory transportation'." (Marchand, 1985: 157).

Ford's initial marketing strategy had been based on the assumption that people's consumption choices are rationally based, his competitors at GM had realized earlier that people are not exclusively rational creatures. Instead of buying mere transportation they want to buy freedom, speed, comfort, prestige, modernity and power (cf. e.g. Sachs, 1984: 107ff). Cars are marketed as something that has a significance that goes beyond their utilitarian character and commercial value, and this additional meaning is usually accepted by consumers. Csikszentmihalyi/Rochberg-Halton (1981: 27) regard vehicles as the symbolically most significant object in modern Western society. For them,

attention devoted to cars symbolizes a lot indeed: "an expression of Eros in the broadest sense, a need to demonstrate that one is alive, that one matters, that one makes a difference in the world". In an attempt to find modern Western society's equivalent of medicine bundles or sacred power objects in preliterate societies they asked subjects the question "What are your most private or personal objects?" - adult males actually named their cars (cf. Csikszentmihalyi/Rochberg-Halton, 1981: 141f)²²⁹. Other studies have confirmed that one's vehicle is, together with dwelling and clothing, an object that is very central to one's perception and expression of oneself (cf. e.g. Belk, 1987). Many consumers view their car as an extension of their body (cf. e.g. Herzog, 1968: 354) and they therefore prefer products with images similar to their images of themselves²³⁰. Advertising may try to reinforce such notions of the car as a symbol:

It says more about you than you'd ever say about yourself. When you drive a car, you drive a reflection of yourself. And, in the case of the 1971 MGB, it's a reflection of someone very special. [...] the 1971 MGB. The one that speaks for itself - and for you. (quoted from Cohen, 1972: 153)

As many consumers accept that the car one drives says something about one's personality, i.e. is a symbol of one's personality, they also draw inferences about another's character from the car he or she drives. Belk et al. (1982: 8) found that males attribute a far higher symbolic value to someone's car than females, they therefore also draw stronger person inferences from automobiles. These inferences have a basis in reality as a number of studies have shown that make, model, age, condition, and foreign versus domestic car ownership differ among different types of owners (cf. Belk et al, 1982: 6)²³¹.

The brand name contributes to the image of an automobile. It certainly is not the most influential determinant of its image, which is always the price of a commodity (cf. Leiss et al., 1986: 267) but together with other marketing techniques it may mitigate the impact of the price:

In automobile models a 'sporty' or 'racing' package may be acquired at various points on the price scale. The terms 'luxury' and 'luxurious' often are employed indiscriminately in advertising copy for goods of undistinguished quality in an attempt to persuade the consumer of modest means that even he or she can acquire

²²⁹ Being a qualitative rather than a quantitative psychological study no percentages are given.

²³⁰ This consumption pattern could be shown in a number of studies (cf. Belk et al., 1982: 5).

²³¹ Evans (1959) found in his study of "Psychological and objective factors in the prediction of brand choice, Ford versus Chevrolet" that the product image was of no importance in the choice of an automobile. Belk et al. (1982: 6) argue against his findings that the types of cars he studied were not distinctive enough.

something special and need not rest content with the ordinary things of life. (Leiss et al., 1986: 267f)

Apart from the name it is also design, color and tactile qualities of the material that differentiate cars (cf. Hoshino, 1987: 41f). Hoshino (1987: 45) argues that - as the car is a symbol - the brand name is part of the signifier of that symbol. This would mean that an automobile name has a double semantic structure: on the one hand it is a (linguistic) sign in its own right consisting of signifier and signified (with a certain class of cars as denotatum and a number of connotations evoked by various semantic processes), and on the other hand it is part of the signifier of another (non-verbal) sign (= the automobile) and as such contributes to the signified of that sign.

It is the aim of this chapter to find out what differentiates automobile names, all of which have a more or less similar referential meaning, and which means are used in the "struggle of mark against mark, of word against word" (Werkman, 1974: 82). The most popular technique among market researchers to determine the connotations of trade names is, according to Hisrich/Peters (1978: 239), the semantic differential devised by Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum (1957). Subjects are asked to mark their associations with a certain name on a scale like the one given in Table 4-1. As this instrument is obviously used longum et latum before introducing a new name to the marketplace, little that is new could be gained from trying to find out the connotations of automobile names this way. What is rather more interesting from a linguistic point of view is the way these connotations are created, i.e which semantic processes are used, and which connotations are the dominant ones. Placing the semantic processes by which automobile names are created at the center of attention means taking into account that one body of associations will escape me: "the body of associations it [=the brand name-I.P.] has built up and acquired as a public object over a period of time" (Gardner /Levy, 1955:35). With a sustained advertising effort even names with no inherent meaning such as *Kodak* can acquire a number of associations when they are used on certain products for a long enough time. These associations will, like the general meaning of cars (as contrasted with car names), not be the object of this study.

TABLE 4-1: SCALING EXAMPLE TO MEASURE BRAND NAME IMAGE
(HISRICH/PETERS, 1978: 240)

| | |
|---------------|-----------|
| Old fashioned | Modern |
| Bland | Spicy |
| Frigid | Sensual |
| Aggressive | Passive |
| Feminine | Masculine |
| Powerful | Weak |

Descriptive designations of the type *car*, *sedan*, *hardtop* etc. are comparatively unsuitable to suggest the fulfillment of all kinds of needs apart from transportation²³². This is reflected by their relatively scarce occurrence (cf. ch. 4.5). A figurative use of language on the other hand may create names that are very rich in associations. Traditionally, metaphor and metonymy have been regarded as the most fundamental forms of figurative language. In his *Fundamentals of Language* Jakobson (quoted from Hawkes, 1972: 78), for example, links the two fundamental dimensions of language, the paradigmatic and the syntagmatic one, with metaphor and metonymy respectively. Utterances are constructed by selecting signs from an inventory, the paradigmatic process, and joining them together in the syntagmatic process. According to Jakobson the combinative process manifests itself in sequence or contiguity and is therefore metonymic. Selection on the other hand is based on similarity, it is therefore metaphoric.

The various metaphorical and metonymic concepts²³³ within which automobiles are understood and experienced - or rather within which brand namers want consumers to understand and experience cars - will be outlined in the following chapters. Before doing so one central problem of any semantic analysis has to be mentioned in our context, however: while it is quite easy to establish what the concepts that occur (place for car, personification, the car is an animal etc.) are, it can be terribly difficult to say of a certain name which concept it belongs to. This problem is due to a central property of language, the polysemy or even homonymy of many lexemes used as automobile names. Almost any of the car names in my corpus could serve as an example: take *Colt*, for instance, which designates either "a young male horse" or "a kind of pistol" (LDELC). As I wanted to avoid an enormous amount of cross-classification, I established the following two principles on which I decided to which metonymic or metaphorical concept a specific car name belongs:

- (1) As there are central and peripheral meanings of an item it can be assumed that the consumer is not aware of every possible sense with which a given item is used. Central meanings are therefore more relevant for the conceptualization of a given name than peripheral ones. The problem is of course to decide what the central and what a peripheral meaning of a given car name is. The best way to do this would be to gather statistical information with a large number of native speakers. To do this was not possible for me because of the number of data already collected - interviews would have multiplied the size of my

²³² Of course, they also carry connotations: in contrast with the figurative names they may, for instance, acquire a "no-frills"-image.

²³³ I take the term "concept" from Lakoff/ Johnson (1980), cf. ch. 4.3 for a detailed discussion.

corpus. I therefore rely on the information of dictionaries of various sizes and regard senses given in smaller ones (the DCE of 56.000 entries and the LDELIC of 95.000 entries) as central and senses given additionally in larger dictionaries (²OED of 290.500 entries and WT of 450.000 entries) as peripheral. LDELIC gives for *Centaur*, for instance, "in CLASSICAL MYTHOLOGY, a creature with the head, chest, and arms of a man and the body and legs of a horse", while ²OED gives additionally "one of the southern constellations", or for *Commodore* LDELIC has "1. a naval rank 2. the captain in charge of a fleet of merchant ships [...] 3. the president of a club for people who go sailing", while ²OED has additionally "the commodore's ship", or for *Torpedo* LDELIC gives "a long narrow explosive apparatus that is driven along under the surface of the sea by its own motors and aimed at ships in order to destroy them", while ²OED has additionally "a flat fish of the genus *Torpedo* or family *Torpedinidæ*, having an almost circular body with tapering tail, and characterized by the faculty of emitting electric discharges; the electric ray; also called cramp-fish, cramp-ray, numb-fish", "a shell furnished with a percussion or friction device buried in the ground, which explodes when the ground is trodden upon; a petard", "a toy consisting of fulminating powder and fine gravel wrapped in thin paper, which explodes when thrown on a hard surface", "a cartridge exploded in an oil-well to cause a renewal or increase of the flow", "a detonator placed on a railway line, as a fog-signal", "a professional gunman", "a tablet or capsule of a narcotic drug" and "a torpedo-body. Also, a car with such a body". A torpedo-body is "an open touring car with an unbroken line from bonnet to windscreen, and from windscreen right through to the back of the car, the seats being flush with the body sides. Bodies of this design began to appear in about 1910." This list of examples could be carried on almost endlessly. The decision to consider only the central meaning as relevant for my classification results in *Centaur* being regarded only as an instance of the metaphorical concept "the car is a supernatural being" but not one of the metaphorical concept "the car is an element or phenomenon of unanimated nature", *Commodore* only as personification and not as an instance of "the car is a man-made object" and *Torpedo* only as one of "the car is a man-made object" and not as one of "the car is an animal" or as a descriptive designation for a type of automobile.

- (2) Even if only the central meaning of the designations used as automobile names as defined in (1) is taken into account there are still numerous items that are homonymous. An example is *Colt* mentioned above or *Cricket* for which LDELIC has "an outdoor game, popular in Britain, played in summer [...]" and "a small brown insect, the male of which makes loud short noises by rubbing its leathery wings together". As it is essential for claiming the existence of a concept in terms of which name-makers want consumers to

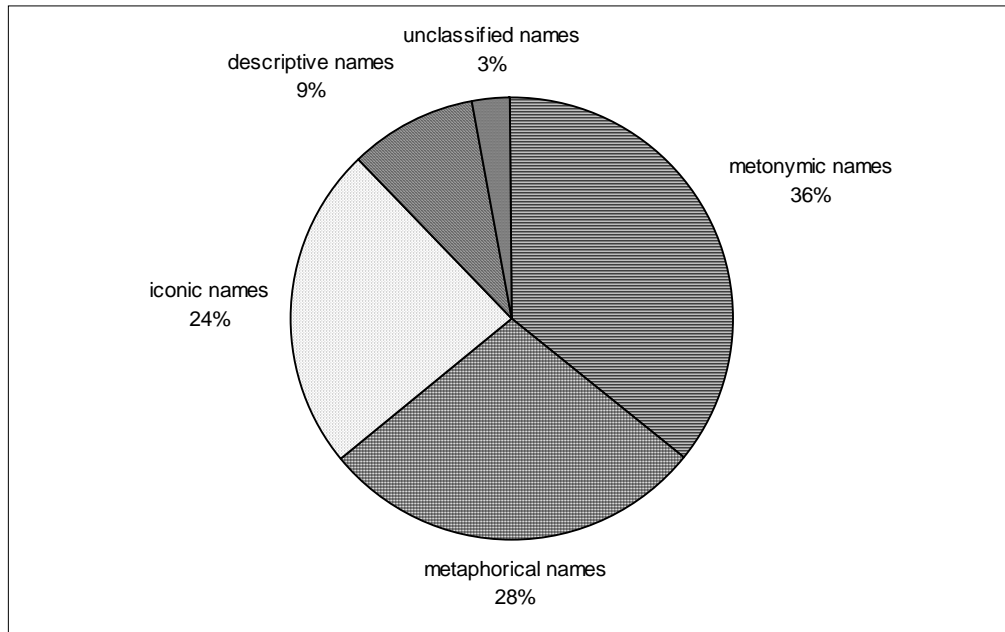
understand and experience cars that there is a certain number of names that fall into that concept, I decided that unique meanings could be excluded. In other words, a given meaning should be part of a larger pattern in order to be taken into account. I thus regard *Colt* as an example of the metaphorical concept "the car is an animal" as there are a number of other animal designations used as automobile names but not as example of a concept "the car is a pistol"²³⁴ as it would be the only item in such a group, and *Cricket* is taken to be an instance of the concept "the car is an animal", too, but not as one for a possible concept "the car is a game" as I find no other examples for such a group (the archilexeme of such a group, *Sport* and *Sports*, however, occurs 15 times as a model designation, cf. ch. 4.2.4).

Even with these guidelines followed a certain amount of overlap remains, and two groups of items my classification of which might be challenged have to be mentioned separately: the first are the suffixations in *-er*. I regard every suffixation in *-er* (and variations thereof, cf. ch. 3.2.4) as an instance of personification (cf. ch. 4.3.1) because the meaning of these formations is "someone or something connected with what the basis denotes" (Marchand, 1969: 273) - except for the following items or for compounds headed by these items: *Cruiser*, *Clipper*, *Designer*, *Liner*, *Road Runner*, *Sandpiper* and *Scooter*. In the majority of cases (e.g. *Adventurer*, *Ambassador*, *Commander*) this decision is fairly uncontroversial as the human agent is the central meaning of the institutionalized syntagma. In a few cases, however, an inanimate agent or even no agent at all is the central meaning. *Blazer*, for instance, is given as "a loose-fitting jacket sometimes with the special sign of a school, club etc. on it" by LDELIC and *Topper* as "top hat". As these meanings do not form a pattern such as *"the car is a garment", which would be a rather odd one anyway, I classed them among the personifications because of peripheral (as used above) meanings: ²OED has "someone or something that attracts attention" for *Blazer* and "a top thing or person; a person or thing surpassingly or exceptionally good or excellent; the best or one of the best of the kind" for *Topper*. *Liner*, on the other hand, which LDELIC gives as "a large passenger ship especially one of several owned by a company", has a central meaning that does not designate a human agent but that falls into another metaphorical concept, namely "the car is another means of transport" (cf. ch. 4.3.3.1). The same holds true of the other ship designations *Clipper* and *Cruiser*, the designation *Scooter*, which is used for various vehicles, and the bird designations *Road Runner* and *Sandpiper* (cf. ch. 4.3.2.1). *Designer* is metonymically transferred on the car because a *Designer* "authorized" that specific version of the Lincoln Continental (cf. ch. 4.2.3).

²³⁴ There is a metaphorical concept "the car is a weapon" (cf. ch. 4.3.3.2) but all of its members are historical weapons and/or of phallic shape.

The second group of items the classification of which might raise objections are suffixations in *-an* and *-al*. Names such as *American*, *Caribbean*, *Continental* or *National* are regarded as personifications. Although they are as centrally adjectives as they are nouns, I chose to ignore their being adjectives for simplicity's sake on the ground that automobile names taken from adjectives occur extremely rarely (cf. ch. 3.2).

FIGURE 4-2: SEMANTIC PROCESSES USED IN NAMING AUTOMOBILES



When interpreting the figures given in this chapter the grounds of classification should be born in mind so that the figures are taken for what they are: tendencies or indications of patterns. To claim anything else would be to mistake the nature of linguistic meaning²³⁵. Figure 4-2 shows the portions of the various semantic processes that occur.

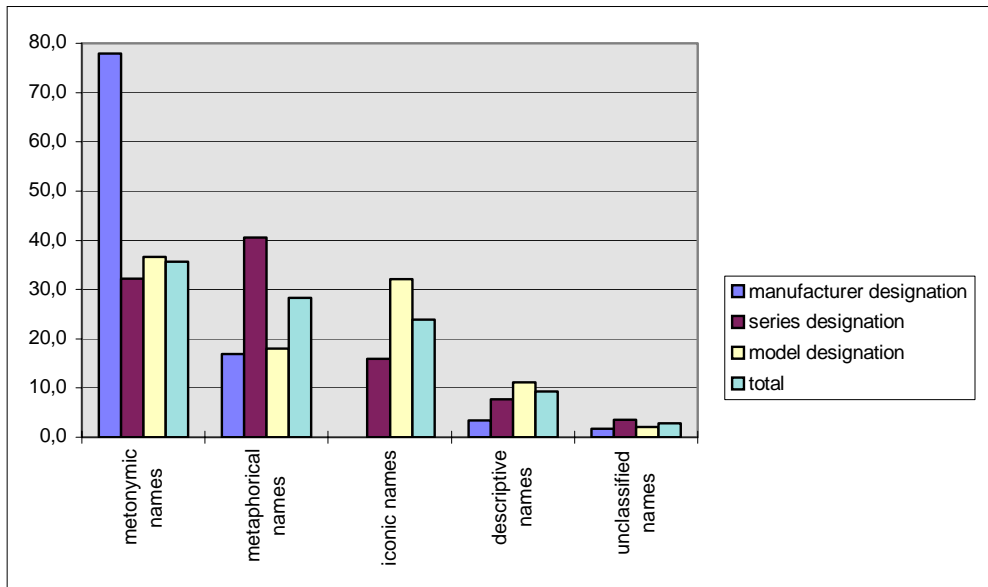
Figurative and iconic (cf. ch. 4.4) transfers account for the vast majority of names. Counted together there are 1969 metonymic, metaphorical and iconic names, that is 87.9% of all the names. Descriptive names are with only 210 items, or 9.4% of the total, comparatively minor players. Leiss et al. (1986: 239f) explain the frequent use of figurative language in advertising generally:

²³⁵ The literature on polysemy, homonymy and the fuzziness of meaning as central issues of semantics is immense. A recent study that deals with these questions in connection with lexicography, i.e. the problems that arise when relying on the semantic information of dictionaries, is Schneider (1988: especially chs. 3-5; 83ff).

Modern advertising is so fascinated with the communicative tools of symbol, image, and icon because they are ideal for such constructions [= successive waves of associations between persons, products, and images of well-being in an endless series of suggestions about the possible routes to happiness and success-I.P.]. They work by allusion, free association, suggestion, and analogy rather than by literal and logical rule. One possible interpretive scheme or specific instance of a correspondence between a product, a setting and a type of person does not exclude another, or indeed many others. And this is the precise intention: that the whole ensemble of goods and messages should be as 'versatile' as possible, should appeal simultaneously to the entire spectrum of personality types and lawful urges, including those half-formed, inarticulate yearnings that individuals can be brought to recognize and express only through the very play of such images.

The semantic process on which 62 of the names, or 2.8%, are based has not been classified. These are the 10 names that I could not account for formally either (cf. initial paragraphs of ch. 3) and the 52 names that are formally compounds and the determinant-determinatum-structure of which is ambiguous (cf. ch. 3.2.1.2). As the head of these compounds cannot be determined all of them would have to be classified at least twice to account for all the possible semantic transfers. This would be very tedious and little would be gained because the constituents of almost all of them also occur on their own or in other combinations. I therefore feel justified in ignoring them from the semantic point of view.

FIGURE 4-3: THE SEMANTIC PROCESSES USED IN THE VARIOUS SLOTS OF AN AUTOMOBILE DESIGNATION



The occurrence of the various processes that are relevant for the motivation of automobile names differs notably across the various slots of an automobile designation (cf. Figure 4-3). As was already the case in the formal analysis, the difference between the manufacturer designation and the two other designations is the biggest. The manufacturer designation is marked off by a very high incidence of metonymic names, mainly of the type "producer for car". Metonymies with 46 items account for 78.0% of the 59 manufacturer designations but only for 32.2% of the series designations (330 out of 1024) and 36.6% of the model designations (424 out of 1158). Iconic names on the other hand do not occur as manufacturer designation at all, while they account for 15.9% of the series designations (163) and 32.1% of the model designations (372). Iconic names are thus of the greatest importance with model designations. The portion of descriptive names also increases from manufacturer designation to model designation: while only two, or 3.4%, of the manufacturer designations are descriptive designations, 79 or 7.7% of the series designations are and 129 or 11.1% of the model designations. The use of metaphor is highest in series designations: 415 or 40.5% of the series designations are based on a metaphor but only 10 or 16.9% of the manufacturer designations and 209 or 18.0% of the model designations. The percentage of the unclassified names is roughly equal in the three slots.

The following chapters describe the use of metonymy, metaphor, iconic and descriptive names in detail. The chapters are ordered according to the frequency of occurrence of the four types.

4.2 Metonymy

While metaphor is based on similarity, metonymy is based on temporal, spatial or causal contiguity. Lakoff (1987: 84f) gives a detailed account of the characteristics of a metonymic model: any metonymic model involves a target concept A, which is to be understood for some purpose in some context. This target concept is in any metonymic automobile name the car itself. For metonymy to work there has to exist a conceptual structure, which contains both A and another concept B, and in which B is either part of A or closely associated with it. Such conceptual structures that are relevant to automobile names are:

- (1) Places where the car might be used are associated with the target concept "automobile" (cf. ch. 4.2.1).
- (2) Characteristics of the car are associated with it (cf. ch. 4.2.2).
- (3) Producers of cars or of parts of cars are associated with their products (cf. ch. 4.2.3).
- (4) Purposes a car might serve are associated with it (cf. ch. 4.2.4).
- (5) Parts of cars are associated with it²³⁶. (cf. ch. 4.2.5).
- (6) Groups, lines or editions the car is part of are associated with it²³⁷ (cf. ch. 4.2.6).

A further characteristic of a metonymic concept is that "compared to A, B is either easier to understand, easier to remember, easier to recognize, or immediately useful for the given purpose in the given context" (Lakoff, 1987: 84). The last-mentioned aspect, "immediately useful for the given purpose" is particularly important with automobile names. The most salient "given purpose" of an automobile name is to advertise the product it refers to. *Malibu* will exemplify this: being the name of a beach in California, which is famous for surfing and where many rich and famous people, especially filmstars, live (cf. LDELIC), it is an example of a metonymic name that uses a place name, where the car might be driven or is (as the name wants to suggest) most properly driven, for the car. The metonymy associates the car with the pleasant and for the average consumer desirable image of the place and thus serves the "given purpose". It is especially important to bear in mind that automobile names have to serve an advertising purpose because discussions of metonymy often state that the semantic connection between the substitutional element and the element it is

²³⁶ In traditional rhetoric the concept "part for whole" (*pars pro toto*) is not regarded as metonymy but as a special case of synecdoche (cf. e.g. Bußmann, 1990: 761). Many scholars do not make such a distinction, however (cf. e.g. Lakoff/ Johnson, 1980: 36; nor Lakoff (1987: 84) in including "part for whole" in his definition of a metonymic concept).

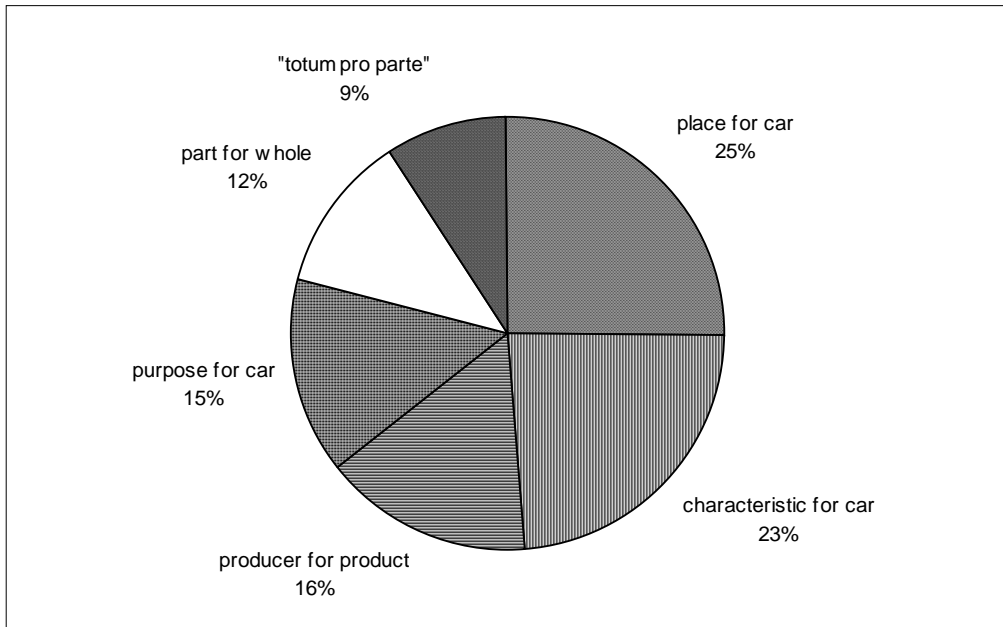
²³⁷ The traditional trope *totum pro parte* might also be considered a synecdoche (cf. fn. 236).

substituted for is a lot closer in metonymy than in metaphor (cf. e.g. Bußmann, 1990: 487). It is pointed out that metonymy like metaphor is grounded in human experience but "the grounding of metonymic concepts is in general more obvious than is the case with metaphoric concepts, since it usually involves direct physical or causal associations" (Lakoff/Johnson, 1980: 39). These direct physical associations are not necessarily present in automobile names: a car of the name *Malibu* might never come anywhere near that place. Thus, the name *creates* an associative link between the place and the car. Not all the conceptual structures relied on in metonymic automobile names are artificially created, however. Some of the referents of another name that also relies on the concept "place for car", *Belvedere*, were actually produced at the Chrysler plant in Belvedere, Illinois. On the other hand, the name of the production site might not have been chosen if its name were not French-sounding and identical to the name of some more famous castles.

Metonymic concepts that are typically found in general language are "the part for the whole", "producer for product", "object used for user", "controller for controlled", "institution for people responsible", "the place for the institution" and "the place for the event" (cf. Lakoff/Johnson, 1980: 38f). Ullmann (1962: 188ff; quoted from Lipka, 1990a: 1209) additionally has "spatial connections", "content and container", "place of origin for foods and drinks", "typical garments for persons", "characteristic qualities for persons and objects" and "names of actions for their concrete results". Four of these concepts occur in automobile names (spatial connection, characteristic qualities, producer for product, part for whole), one that occurs is not mentioned here but has been known since classical rhetoric as *totum pro parte*, and only one seems to be peculiar to automobile names, "purpose for car".

In total there are 800 metonymic names, that is 35.7% of the total. 46 of these are manufacturer designations, 330 series designations and 424 model designations. Figure 4-4 shows the portions of the various metonymic concepts, chs. 4.2.1 to 4.2.6 discuss them in detail.

FIGURE 4-4: METONYMIC CONCEPTS USED IN AUTOMOBILE NAMES



4.2.1 Place for car

In 203 names, that is 9.1% of all the names and 25.4% of the metonymic names a designation for a place is used to stand for the car. Table 4-2 shows their distribution over the various slots of an automobile designation. The majority of these names are a proper noun (or a phrase headed by a proper noun) but a few common nouns that designate a place but do not identify it unambiguously also occur (cf. ch. 4.2.1.2). There are 173 proper nouns, that is 85.2% of all the names that are metonymically related with a designation for a place, but only 30 common nouns, which is 14.8%.

TABLE 4-2: METONYMIC NAMES BASED ON THE CONCEPT "PLACE FOR CAR"

| | manufacturer designations (total: 59; metonymies: 46) | series designations (total: 1024; metonymies: 330) | model designations (total: 1158; metonymies: 424) | total: 2241; metonymies: 800 |
|---------------------|---|--|--|------------------------------------|
| total | 4 | 102 | 97 | 203 |
| % of the total | 6,8 | 10,0 | 8,4 | 9,1 |
| % of the metonymies | 8,7 | 30,9 | 22,9 | 25,4 |

4.2.1.1 Proper nouns: the type *Manhattan*

Of the 173 names in this group four are manufacturer designations, 95 series designations and 74 model designations. The place of origin or (potential) use of the car is associated with the car itself. As has already been outlined above (cf. *Malibu*) the metonymic relationship is not necessarily a material one but rather one often arbitrarily created: the car is related with a place of potential or

supposedly suitable use. This can be done because many places carry specific connotations for consumers - car namers try to evoke the same connotations with the cars so named²³⁸.

Occasionally it is very difficult to locate the places because they are either little known (e.g. *Cranbrook*, *Delmont* or *Pinehurst*) or because more than one place of such a name exists. As a fair group of American place names have been taken from the places of origin of the first settlers especially from places in England (cf. Stewart, 1970: xxxii), there are a number of places that identify an American and a European place. Examples are the automobile names taken from the location of two Chrysler plants, *Belvedere*, Illinois and *Windsor*, Ontario, which have more famous name sakes in Europe. If there is more than one place after which a car might have been named, it usually should be possible to establish the model on three (conflicting) principles:

1. a "principle of contiguity", according to which a closer place is a more likely model than a remoter one. Thus, the car *Nassau* could be named after the capital of the Bahamas or after a historic region of Germany - the capital of the Bahamas as the place nearer to the place where the car name is used is the more likely source.
2. a "principle of eminence", according to which a more famous place is a more likely model than a less famous one. Thus, the car *Cambridge* could be named after the British university town, the one in Massachusetts or the one in New Zealand - the British town as the most famous location is the most likely source. Fame, of course, is relative and it will depend on one's point of view which of the various Cambridges one regards as the most important one. In the American perspective Cambridge, Massachusetts might come first.
3. a "principle of direct, material relationship", according to which a place where the car is produced or where a producer is born or lives is a more likely model than any other location of the same name. Thus, the car *Windsor* could be named after the site of the Chrysler plant in Ontario or the ancestral castle of the British royal family - the first one is the more likely source.

Of course, an automobile name may be the better for advertising purposes the more of the above-mentioned connections it is associated with but with these guidelines followed it can be said that the cars in my corpus are named after places in the following regions: 94 cars are named after places located in the USA (including one place in Canada, *Windsor*), 64 after European places, 9 after

²³⁸ Koß (1981: 667) thinks that connotations of place names that aid the marketing of a product are only of secondary importance in the use of place names. He suggests that their easy memorability is the main reason for their use.

Middle- and South American places²³⁹, 5 after fantastic locations²⁴⁰ and one, the series designation *Sapporo*, after an Asian place. Of the 94 American place names three, *Plymouth*, *Pontiac* and *Daytona*, are used as manufacturer designations, 50 as series designations²⁴¹ and 41 as model designations²⁴². Of the 64 European place names one, *Essex*, is used as manufacturer designation, 35 as series designations²⁴³ and 28 as model designations²⁴⁴. Assuming that the trade name should aid the marketing, these numbers demonstrate clearly that car namers assume that places in the US carry the highest prestige for consumers in the US. Figure 4-5 shows the portions of the various regions, places of which are used as car names.

²³⁹ Five series designations: *Bermuda*, *Granada* (2x), *Montego*, *Panama*. Four model designations: *Bermuda* (2x), *Nassau*, *Panama*

²⁴⁰ Four series designations: *6400 Eldorado*, *Cordoba de Oro* (while there is a real city of the name *Cordoba*, *Cordoba de Oro* is fantastic), *El Morocco* (cf. p. 181 on the reason for not classifying it as African), *Eldorado*, and one model designation, *Eldorado*.

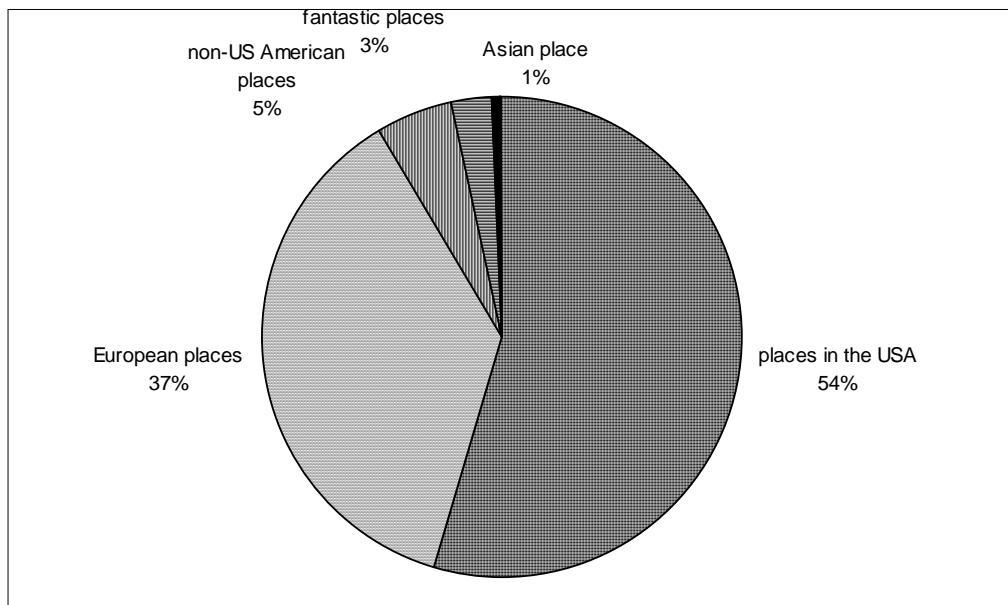
²⁴¹ *Aspen*, *Bel Air*, *Belmont*, *Belvedere*, *Biscayne*, *Bonneville*, *Bonneville G*, *Bonneville Special*, *Bonneville X-400*, *Brookwood*, *Capitol*, *Carolina*, *Catalina*, *Catalina 2+2*, *Coronado*, *Cranbrook*, *Custom Bonneville*, *Daytona* (2x), *Delmont 88*, *Fairlane*, *Fairlane 500*, *Fairmont*, *Fifth Avenue*, *Kingswood*, *Malibu*, *Malibu Classic*, *Manhattan* (2x), *Meadowbrook*, *Montclair*, *Monterey*, *New York Special*, *Newport*, *Orleans*, *Palm Beach* (2x), *Palomar*, *Park Avenue* (2x), *Parkwood*, *Pinconning Special*, *Richmond*, *Saratoga*, *Sonoma*, *St. Regis*, *Ventura*, *Ventura II*, *Windsor*, *Windsor Deluxe*

²⁴² *Beauville*, *Bel Air* (2x), *Belvedere*, *Briarcliff*, *Broadmoor*, *California Special*, *Catalina* (2x), *Crestwood* (2x), *Daytona* (3x), *Fifth Avenue*, *Greenbrier*, *Hollywood* (3x), *Laguna*, *Laguna S3*, *Laredo*, *Malibu*, *Malibu Classic*, *Malibu SS*, *Monterey*, *Newport* (3x), *Pacific*, *Park Avenue*, *Pelham*, *Pinehurst*, *Sebring*, *Sebring-Plus*, *St. Regis* (3x), *Talladega Torino*, *Ventura*, *Williamsburg*

²⁴³ *Biarritz*, *Bristol*, *Calais* (2x), *Cambridge*, *Capri* (2x), *Corsica*, *DiNapoli*, *Firenza*, *Gran Torino*, *Italia*, *Kew*, *LeMans* (2x), *Mayfair*, *Monaco*, *Monte Carlo* (2x), *Monza*, *Moselle*, *Park Lane*, *Parklane*, *Regal Somerset*, *Riviera*, *Royal Monaco*, *Savoy*, *Seville*, *Somerset*, *Somerset Regal*, *Southampton*, *Torino*, *Versailles* (2x), *Wimbledon*

²⁴⁴ *76R Riviera*, *Ascot*, *Barcelona*, *Biarritz* (3x), *Calais*, *Capri* (2x), *Custom Biarritz*, *Firenza*, *LeMans*, *Lido*, *Mayfair* (3x), *Monaco*, *Monza*, *Parklane*, *Riviera* (3x), *Savoy*, *Seville* (3x), *Torino*, *Torino GT*

FIGURE 4-5: PLACES AFTER WHICH AUTOMOBILES ARE NAMED



While US-American and European places figure comparatively highly, the rest of the world seems to carry rather little prestige. The only Asian name in the corpus, *Sapporo*, was used on a Mitsubishi rebadged as Plymouth (cf. Flammang, 1989: 344) - so the name might not have been bestowed by US-American car namers but by Japanese ones. However, Japanese car namers do not seem to regard Asian places as very prestigious for American consumers either. In Eisiminger's (1991) collection of 80 automobile names of the Japanese automobile makers who export their vehicles to the US only one Japanese place-name, the river name *Isuzu*, occurs (1.25% of his corpus). Only one further car name in his list evokes the frame (cf. ch. 4.3.1.1) of (traditional) Japanese society, the personifying metaphor *Samurai*. A further group of names, especially the manufacturer designations, are - for American consumers - iconic names (cf. ch. 4.4.2) suggestive of Japanese origin because they are unestablished borrowings from Japanese. These are *Camry*, *Honda*, *Mazda*, *Mitsubishi*, *Nissan*, *Subaru*, *Suzuki*, *Toyota*, and also maybe *Isuzu*²⁴⁵. Thus, in total only 10 of Eisiminger's (1991) 80 names of Japanese cars (12.5%) are suggestive of the Japanese origin, all the other names are taken from European

²⁴⁵ If the consumer does not identify the proper noun used as automobile name as such because of a lack of knowledge of the world the name may become iconic for him or her. Gläser (1978: 23), for instance, writes about the names *Plymouth Belvedere* and *Pontiac Bonneville*: "Der französische Name verleiht einem Erzeugnis 'eine besondere Note', ein 'gewisses Flair', d.h. Konnotationen des Exklusiven, Erlesenen und Mondänen." While the place names after which the cars are named are French borrowings, the automobile names are not but regarding them as borrowings instead of place names makes them iconic.

languages, apart from English mainly from Spanish and Italian. Despite the importance of the Japanese automobile industry only few car names of Japanese producers and only one of an American producer indicate a connection with Japan. Furthermore, *Sapporo* was the site of Olympic games in 1972, and thus it might for many consumers be more suggestive of that competitive event than of the Japanese "connection" of the car.

The place after which the car is named is usually a desirable one but the nature of that desire, the reason why people would want a car that "is best driven in ..." varies. In many cases the cars are named after fashionable resorts for the famous and the rich, which are very often located by the sea. American places of this type are the Californian places *Bel Air, Catalina, Coronado, Hollywood, Laguna, Malibu, Sonoma, Ventura* and the east-coast places *Biscayne, Newport, Palm Beach*. *Aspen* is a skiing resort of this type and *Fifth Avenue* and *Park Avenue* are streets where the rich and famous shop. The European places *Ascot, Biarritz, Capri, Lido, Mayfair, Monaco, Monte Carlo, Park Lane* and *Riviera* hold out similar promises of the good life. If *Cabana* (cf. Table 3-2; p. 104) is regarded as a place name it also falls into this pattern. A place where every possible expectation of the good life will be fulfilled is the fantastic *Eldorado*:

Eldorado - ein Name, bei dem Vorstellungen von einem unerreichbaren Eden lebendig werden, einem Land unvorstellbarer Schätze, in dem sogar der Ärmste mühelos zum Nabob wird. Am erstaunlichsten war, daß der Namengebung diesmal keine langen Forschungsarbeiten und Diskussionen vorausgegangen waren. Bei einem von der Firmenleitung organisierten Wettbewerb hatte eine Sekretärin der Vertriebsleitung den Namen vorgeschlagen, der sofort allgemeinen Beifall fand. (Emptas/Lemeunier, 1989: 56ff)

El Morocco seems to have been intended as a similarly fantastic place name because the cars of this name produced by a small independent manufacturer were made to look like Eldorados and the name was supposed to reflect this similarity, too (cf. Gunnell, 1991: 678). Just recently Toyota has introduced a new model that is also named after a fantastic location: *Avalon*. In the advertising for this car the notion of an unrealistic world beyond compare is expanded:

Introducing AVALON. It is an experience above ALL ELSE. It is a world of superior COMFORT, room and refined driving performance. [...] (*car&driver*, 12, 1994: 196)

Another promise is held out by cars named after places at which a respected, often ancient and powerful institution is located as in *Cambridge, Capitol, Fairlane* (the mansion of Henry Ford in Dearborn, Michigan), *Plymouth* and *Versailles*. *Plymouth*, the place in Massachusetts where the Pilgrim Fathers are said to have landed, gave its name to a car because

it typified 'the endurance and strength, the rugged honesty, the enterprise, that determination of achievement and the freedom from old limitations of that Pilgrim band who were the first American colonists.'" (Kimes/Rae, 1989:1156)

Technical prestige was the reason why the *Ford Palomar* was named after Mount Palomar: it has one of the largest telescopes on earth and houses a very renowned institution for observing outer space.

Cars named after racing sites promise that they will satisfy the desire for speed because the name indicates "the car was, is or could be used in ...". Such names taken from racing sites are *Bonneville*, *Daytona*, *Italia*, *LeMans*, *Monaco*, *Monte Carlo*, *Monza* and *Sebring*. Places like *Ascot*, *Belmont* and *Wimbledon* regularly house competitive sport events other than automobile racing. *Ascot* and *Belmont*²⁴⁶ have famous horse races, *Wimbledon* a tennis competition. As the Italian automobile industry is particularly famous for its racing cars Italian place names in general may be used on cars to indicate that they are in some way connected with or can compete with the famous racing cars stereotypically driven in those places. Apart from *Italia* the names *Capri*, *DiNapoli*, *Firenza*, *Monza*, *Lido* and *Torino* occur. Not only Italian but European place names generally may be indicative of a certain design style:

Because much about the new Stutz was more European than prevailing American practice, many of the new body styles were given chic European designations, Monte Carlo, Biarritz, Versailles. (Kimes/Clark, 1989: 1395)

Apart from this group it is rather rare that names of places of a certain region are used on cars of similar style. With names for china Koß (1976: 415f) found that names from a certain region coincide with a certain design:

[...] können moderne Formen mit ausländischen geographischen Namen (*Teneriffa*, *Hawaii*, *Brasilia*, *Jamaika*, *Florida*), barocke mit bayerischen oder österreichischen Städtenamen (*Würzburg*, *Rosenheim*, *Linz*, *Grinzing*) oder rustikale Formen mit Orten aus dem Voralpenland beziehungsweise Orten in den Alpen (*Arlberg*, *Füssen*, *Kempten*, *Kufstein*) bezeichnet sein. Namen von Schlössern (*Belvedere*, *Westminster*) werden anspruchsvollerem Porzellan gegeben.

Place names used as trade names on furniture frequently also provide some information about the style of the furniture, *Gent* and *Brügge*, for example, are used on furniture in Flemish style (cf. Koß, 1990: 104). Such patterns are not

²⁴⁶ The Belmont Stakes, a race for three-year old horses held in the state of New York (cf. LDELIC).

found with car names. Although the names of coastal resorts seem to be frequent on convertibles (*Cadillac Eldorado Biarritz*, *Lincoln Lido*, *Pontiac Chieftain Catalina*, *Hudson Super Hollywood*, *Chevrolet Chevelle Laguna*) they are just as frequently used on other body types and all kinds of other names occur on convertibles, too. Between the off-road vehicle *Jeep Wrangler Laredo* and the city of *Laredo*, Texas (named for *Laredo* in Spain), which is frequently connected with the feeling of the frontier (cf. *Encyclopedia Britannica* s.v. "Laredo") a similar relation of style might hold but *Laredo* is the only such place name used on a four-wheel drive vehicle.

Not all the occurring place names are as unambiguously connected with one certain association as those mentioned so far are connected with fun and wealth, prestige or speed. *Carolina*, *Panama* or *Pinehurst*, for instance, are as far as I can see not connected with one generally dominant association. Sometimes the decision in favour of a certain name seems to have been taken on a very individual basis. Seidler (1976: 34), for instance, relates that the name *Torino* was chosen because the product managers wanted to please their head, Lee Iaccoca. Iaccoca is of Italian descent and his parents came from that city. Or to name the *Essex* "Hudson officials let their fingers walk over a map of England in pursuit of a name with snob appeal" (Kimes/Clark, 1989: 517). The *Arnolt Bristol* was named *Bristol* because of the "Bristol racing engine it used" (Gunnell, 1991: 653) - I have not found out what kind of engine the Bristol is or why it is named *Bristol*.

The metonymic relationships between car and place discussed so far are more or less artificially created by the car namers but in some cases a more "objective" or material relationship holds. This is especially true if the car is named after its production site as in *Belvedere*, *Italia*²⁴⁷, *Kew*, *Pontiac* and *Windsor* but it should be noted that not every car called *Pontiac* etc. was or is really produced in Pontiac, Michigan. An objective relation also holds when the place after which the car is named is the place where the car is exclusively sold as in *California Special*. The 1968 *Ford Mustang California Special* was only marketed in California, a similar car called *High-Country Special* (cf. ch. 4.2.1.2) was produced exclusively for the Colorado Sales Zone (cf. Gunnell, 1991: 382).

4.2.1.2 Descriptive place designations: the type *Farm-O-Road*

30 automobile names, 7 series designations²⁴⁸ and 23 model designations²⁴⁹, are named after a place that is not identified by a proper noun but is a common noun

²⁴⁷ The *Hudson Italia* was built by Carrozzeria Touring of Milan.

²⁴⁸ *Airway*, *Allstate*, *Country Club*, *Farm-O-Road*, *Kingsway*, *Plaza*, *Town&Country*

designation for a location. The metonymic relationship is again one of purpose: the name states where the car can be driven or is most suitably driven. As with proper nouns the name may either convey some factual information about the relation of car and place or the place designation is arbitrarily chosen to confer the prestige or other desirable property of the place on the car. Names in the first group are *Allstate* and *State* ["the car can be driven in all states" - ironically, the *Kaiser-Frazer Allstate* was not sold in all states but only in Sears, Roebuck and Co. departments in the South and Southwest (cf. Gunnell, 1991: 651)], *Cross Country* ("can be driven across the country"), *Farm-O-Road* ("can be driven on the farm and on the road" - used on a light Jeep-like vehicle), *High-Country Special* ("can be driven in Colorado" - cf. ch. 4.2.1.1, "California Special"), *Rural Route* ("can be driven on a rural route" - these special heavy-duty vehicles very available for rural route mail carriers) and *Town&Country* ("can be driven in the town and in the country").

The names taken from places that are commonly associated with the fulfillment of some kind of desire fall in the same classes as the proper nouns of this type: the place is either associated with the good life, with prestige or with speed. Car names taken from places where the good life is supposedly found are *Plaza* and *Sun Valley*, those promising the prestige associated with a place are *Colony Park* and *Country Club*, and those promising the speed to be found there are *Airway*, *Breezeway* and *Kingsway*. The latter combines the promise of speed and prestige.

4.2.2 Characteristic for car

TABLE 4-3: METONYMIC NAMES BASED ON THE CONCEPT "CHARACTERISTIC FOR CAR"

| | manufacturer designations (total: 59; metonymies: 46) | series designations (total: 1024; metonymies: 330) | model designations (total: 1158; metonymies: 424) | total: 2241; metonymies: 800 |
|---------------------|---|--|---|------------------------------------|
| total | 4 | 65 | 116 | 185 |
| % of the total | 6,8 | 6,3 | 10,0 | 8,3 |
| % of the metonymies | 8,7 | 19,7 | 27,4 | 23,1 |

When an attribute of the car is used as a name, the fact that "metonymy can be regarded as a kind of ellipsis" (Leech, 1969: 152) becomes most obvious. In 185 names, that is 8.3% of all the names and 23.1% of the metonymic names a characteristic of the car is used to stand for the car itself. Table 4-3 shows their distribution over the various slots of an automobile designation.

²⁴⁹ *Breezeway* (2x), *Colony Park* (3x), *Country Club* (4x), *Cross Country*, *Custom Colony Park*, *Custom Country Club* (2x), *High-Country Special*, *Rural Route*, *State*, *Sun Valley* (2x), *Town&Country* (5x)

A peculiar feature of the names in this group is that a number of items that have a very high frequency in my corpus belong to it: *Custom* (unmodified) with 50 tokens (10 series designations and 40 model designations), *Special* (unmodified) with 17 tokens (6 series designations and 11 model designations), *Limited* (unmodified) with 16 tokens (2 series designations and 14 model designations), *Super* (unmodified) with 12 tokens (2 series designations and 10 model designations). Only *GT* (cf. ch. 4.4.1) and *Deluxe* (cf. ch. 4.4.2) have with 33 (9 series designations and 24 model designations) and 24 (24 model designations) items a similarly high occurrence. From this, one can draw the conclusion that the names in this group are among the "worst" because they lack discriminatory power - in the mostly short-lived model designation discriminatory power is not that essential, however (cf. ch. 2.1.3).

4.2.2.1 The car is named after a technical characteristic: the type *Electric*

The characteristic from which the name is taken specifies in 70 names, 21 series designations²⁵⁰ and 49 model designations²⁵¹, a technical property of the automobile. The most frequently-occurring of these specifications is *Custom*, which is used as an automobile name 50 times in unmodified and seven times in modified form. The attribute *Custom* states that the car so named is individually *custom-built*. Because of its frequent occurrence and because it is mainly used on cars that are not in fact custom-built, it could also be regarded as a kind of general intensifier in connection with automobiles. The modifiers accompanying *Custom* are either numerals or other attributes of a car, namely general (*Deluxe*, *Limited*) or specific intensifiers (*Royal*). The other names based on a technical characteristic of the car provide in their majority some information about the way the car is powered as in *Copper Cooled*, *Electric* (3x), *Electromotion*, *Electronic* (2x), *GTElectric* and *Supercharged*. Only unusual ways of powering a car occur. The unusual air-cooled engine of the *Chevrolet Copper Cooled*, of which 759 specimens were built in 1923, "evolved from two years of experimentation with the air-cooled concept" (Kimes/Clark, 1989: 276), *Electric* cars are still extremely uncommon, and the *1954 Supercharged Kaiser Manhattans* had "McCulloch centrifugal superchargers" (Gunnell, 1992: 414) under their hoods. The names *Caribbean Coral*, *Ceres* and *Executive Green* derive from the color of the car, and a *Premium Wood-Grained* car is one parts of which look as if they had been made of wood.

4.2.2.2 The car is named after a general intensifier: the type *Super*

²⁵⁰ *Ceres*, *Copper Cooled*, *Custom* (10x), *Custom 300*, *Custom 500*, *Custom 880*, *Custom Deluxe*, *Custom Royal*, *Electric* (2x), *Electromotion*, *Electronic*

²⁵¹ *Caribbean Coral*, *Custom* (40x), *Custom Limited*, *Custom S-55*, *Electric*, *Electronic*, *Executive Green*, *GTElectric*, *Premium Wood-Grained*, *Supercharged*

61 names, 17 series designations²⁵² and 44 model designations²⁵³, are taken from general intensifiers that can function as attribute to an ellipted head such as *car*. A general intensifier is a lexical item that states that the head it applies to is "better than average, very good" without specifying in which respect it is better. The most frequently occurring of these general intensifiers is *Special*, which occurs 17 times on its own and 5 times in combination. Like *Special* neither *Improved*, *Premium*, *Super*, *Supreme* or *Ultra* specify which particular aspect of the car it is that is better than average, or even best as in *Premium* and *Supreme*. An *Omni-car* is supposedly good in every conceivable aspect. *Limited*, which occurs 16 times on its own and twice in combination is a little bit more specific in stating that there are only a *Limited* number of cars so named but limited-edition cars usually display some *Special* features that distinguish them from non-limited-edition cars. As the name does not express what the nature of this special feature or these special features is, *Limited* is also best regarded as a general intensifier.

4.2.2.3 The car is named after a specific intensifier: the type *Intrepid*

44 automobile names, three manufacturer designations, *Classic*, *Imperial* and *Reminiscent*, 21 series designations²⁵⁴ and 20 model designations²⁵⁵, take their name from a specific intensifier. I use the term "specific intensifier" for an attribute that enhances the meaning of its head in a positive way but unlike the general intensifiers specializes in a particular aspect. This particular aspect is either prestige, power and size, or tradition. Highlighting the unusual quality of a car in a certain respect can be used as a marketing strategy to target different consumer groups:

Die Varianten 'Esprit' und 'Sport' sollen die sportlichen Fahrer locken. 'Classic' und 'Elegance' setzen mit mehr Komfort und gediegener Behaglichkeit auf die reifere Kundschaft. (Sommer, 1994: 28)

Attributes of prestige are used in the names that consist of an adjective that relates to a powerful person. Such names are *Executive* (5x), *Imperial* (3x), *Regal* (3x) and its combinations (3x). They identify the car as one "that is typical of,

²⁵² *Deluxe* 88, *Improved*, *Limited* (2x), *Omni*, *Special* (6x), *Special Deluxe* (2x), *Super* (2x), *Super* 88, *Super Deluxe*

²⁵³ 30 *Limited*, 60 *Special*, *ES Limited*, *Limited* (14x), *Premium*, *Special* (11x), *Super* (10x), *Super Deluxe*, *Super Special* (2x), *Supreme*, *Ultra*

²⁵⁴ *Bicentennial*, *Classic* (2x), *Classic* 98, *Dynamic*, *Dynamic* 70, *Dynamic* 88, *Executive* (3x), *Classicc*, *Golden*, *Grand National Regal*, *Imperial* (2x), *Intrepid*, *Magnum XE*, *Regal*, *Reliant*, *Supersonic*, *Valiant*

²⁵⁵ *Classic* (3x), *Executive* (2x), *Grand* (4x), *R/T Turbo*, *Regal* (2x), *Regal Deluxe* (2x), *Sport Dynamic* (2x), *Turbo* (2x), *Turbo RS*, *Turbo Z*

suitable for" an executive, an emperor or a king. In the name *Grand* the meanings "especially prestigious" and "especially large, powerful" overlap. Because of its readily perceptible French origin it carries "extra" prestige (cf. ch. 4.4.2), and its sense relates it with names such as *Magnum XE*, that also stresses the size and maybe power of the car. It, too, does so with a very uncommon term. The more common terms *big*, *great*, *large* etc. do not occur at all as automobile names, at least not on their own²⁵⁶. Two names that are used as attributes of power and occur quite often are *Dynamic* (once on its own and four times in combination) and *Turbo* (twice on its own and three times in combination with a letter). One can expect a car called *Dynamic* to be "full of activity, new ideas, the will to succeed etc.; forceful" (LDELIC) and one called *Turbo* to be "driven by and directly coupled to a turbine" (²OED). Names that also provide information about the performance of the car are *Intrepid* and *Valiant*. These names are metonymic because a supposed characteristic of the car is used to stand for the car itself but at the same time they are metaphorical because they denote properties that normally only apply to human beings. An *Intrepid* person is one that is brave and shows no fear, a *Valiant* one is "very brave, especially in war" (LDELIC). Thus, these names characterize the car but at the same time they personify it (cf. ch. 4.3.1). The *Supersonic* is a car that - it is imputed - attains an enormous speed - in fact, the car was, according to Gunnell (1992: 682), who does not provide a picture, however, styled to look like a bomber fighter. *Reliant* is the name of a car "having reliance or confidence", one that is "confident, trustful" (²OED). The attributes *Bicentennial*, *Classic/Glassic* (7 times on its own and once accompanied by a numeral), *Golden* and *Reminiscent* are further attributes used metonymically as names that focus on the extraordinary quality of the cars so named. At the same time they imply the source of this quality: a recourse to tradition. The two manufacturer designations in this group are used by firms that exclusively produce replicars.

4.2.2.4 The car is named after another characteristic

10 names, one manufacturer designation, *Geo*, six series designations²⁵⁷ and three model designations, *Commercial*, *Euro* and *Futuramic*, are taken from characteristics that fall in none of the above-mentioned groups. The majority of these refer to a kind of location: *Aero*, *Astro*, *Astro III*, *Euro*, *Geo*, *International*, *Pan American*, *Universal*. Their connotations differ widely, however. *Aero* and *Astro* can be paraphrased as "heavenly cars". Thus, these names are not only metonymic but at the same time metaphoric because *heavenly* is no "real" characteristic of a car, which means that these names are also connected with

²⁵⁶ cf. also the use of *Royal* and *Regal* but not **Kingly*, ch. 3.1

²⁵⁷ *Aero*, *Astro*, *Astro III*, *International*, *Pan American*, *Universal*

those that rely on the metaphorical concept "the car is a celestial body" (cf. ch. 4.3.4.3). A *Euro* is a continental-style car (cf. *Continental Mark*, ch. 4.2.5.2) and a *Geo* "a car 'concerning the earth or its surface' (LDELC)" - it eludes me what this is supposed to say about the car. *International*, *Pan American* and *Universal* designate where the car can be driven: an *International* car is a car that can be driven in the whole world, a *Pan American* car one that is suitable for both the Americas, etc. In being very comprehensive attributes they also state that the car so named is a very good one, it fits everywhere (cf. *Omni*; ch. 4.2.2.2). A *Pan American* car is at the same time a racing car, one that can be driven in the Pan American endurance race. Characteristics that are non-locative are *Commercial*, which gives the purpose of the car and *Futuramic*, a model designation on the Oldsmobile 98, states that the model is fit for the Futurama (cf. ch. 3.2.4)

4.2.3 Producer for car: the type *Ford*

In 126 names, that is 5.6% of all the names and 15.8% of the metonymic names a designation of a car producer is used instead of a car designation. Table 4-4 shows their distribution over the various slots of an automobile designation. It is particularly noteworthy here that the percentage of this metonymic concept of all the manufacturer designations differs enormously from its percentage in the other two slots. While it is the most important semantic process in creating manufacturer designations, it is only of minor importance for series designations and of even less importance for model designations. It should be further noted that I have not only included the names of founders of automobile concerns but also names of persons that are only responsible for parts of a car. If it were not for these, there would be no model designation based on the concept "producer for car" at all.

TABLE 4-4: METONYMIC NAMES BASED ON THE CONCEPT "PRODUCER FOR CAR"

| | manufacturer designations (total: 59; metonymies: 46) | series designations (total: 1024; metonymies: 330) | model designations (total: 1158; metonymies: 424) | total: 2241; metonymies: 800 |
|---------------------|---|--|--|------------------------------------|
| total | 36 | 63 | 27 | 126 |
| % of the total | 61,0 | 6,2 | 2,3 | 5,6 |
| % of the metonymies | 78,3 | 19,1 | 6,4 | 15,8 |

Names that are based on the metonymic concept "producer for car" are largely identical with names taken from proper nouns that are personal names (cf. ch. 3.5.2), although some of the personal names are semantically metaphors (cf. ch. 4.3.1). Of the 36 manufacturer designations²⁵⁸ based on the concept "producer

²⁵⁸ *AMC, Arnolt, Basson's, Buick, Burley, Chevrolet, Chrysler, Crosley, DeLorean, Dodge, Dow, Edsel, Flajole, Ford, Frazer, GMC, Gordon, Hudson, Johnson, Kaiser, Lyon, Mohs,*

for car" only two, *AMC* and *GMC*, are not taken from proper nouns. All of the 63 series designations²⁵⁹ in this group are taken from personal names but seven of them do not occur independently but as head of a phrase, and 21 of the 27 model designations²⁶⁰ are independently occurring proper nouns, five head a phrase and only one, *Designer*, is no proper noun. The concept "producer" is fuzzier than it may appear at first sight. *Ford*, for instance, seems to be a relatively clear case: Henry *Ford* (1863-1947) founded the Henry Ford Company in 1901 (after he had left his first luckless foundation, the Detroit Automobile Company). The first cars with the *Ford* name saw production in 1903, since then all cars of the company have borne this name, although Henry Ford left the company in 1945. For almost forty years his grandson Henry Ford II headed the enterprise as president but since then no member of the Ford family has been actively involved in the company or the cars it produces. So, it is important to note that albeit most of the names in this group are taken from personal names, the metonymic concept does not really rely on a person but rather on a company - only the names *AMC* and *GMC* show this clearly²⁶¹. An even more striking example is *Buick*: David Dunbar Buick organized the Buick Motor Company in 1903 but was forced to sell it to William C. Durant, the person who assembled a number of those enterprises that would eventually make up General Motors, in 1904. No person of the name *Buick* ever again played an important role in this company. The reason why the name of cars (and of many other products) that is taken metonymically from a designation for their producer, is a personal name rather than the more precise designation including *company* or one of its synonyms, was already noted in 1923 by the advertising expert Hopkins: people will prefer a personalized product to one that is related with an anonymous organization (cf. ch. 3.5). An early Ford advertisement argues along the same

Nash, Packard, Piper, Rockefeller, Saviano, Shelby, Studebaker, Stutz, Tucker, Weitz, Willys, Woodill, Yenke, Zimmer

²⁵⁹ 60 *Special Fleetwood, 6700 Fleetwood 75, 75 Fleetwood, Bangert, Blakely, Bloomquist, Bosley, Bradford, Bradley, Brogan, Chadwick, Charles, Clenet, Crofton, Crosley, Cunningham, Custer, Darrin (2x), Davis, De Courville, Derham, Detrick, Doray, Dual-Ghia, Edwards, Eshelman, Fageol, Fergus, Ferrer, Fisher, Fitch, Fleetwood, Fleetwood Eldorado, Flintridge-Darrin, Frazen, Frick, Gatsby, Gaylord, Gran LeBaron, Gregory, Griffith, Henry J, Hunt, Kanzler, Keen, Keller, LeBaron (2x), LeBaron GTS, Lindberg, Nash-Healey, Palmeri, Paxton, Powell, Rowan, Ruger, Russell, Story, Stuart, Taylor-Dunn, Tiffany, Williams*

²⁶⁰ 024 *De Tomaso, Bill Blass, Cartier, Cassini, Cosworth, Craig Breedlove, Craig Breedlove Special, De Tomaso, Derham (2x), Designer, Dietrich, Emilio Pucci, Fila, Ghia (4x), Grand Ghia, Hubert de Givenchy, Hurst SC, Hurst/Olds, Levi's (2x), Mark Donohue SST, McLaren, Pierre Cardin*

²⁶¹ Actually, each manufacturer designation derives from the name of a company and is thus an instance of the metonymic concept "producer for car" - even those that are in turn taken from a place name or an attribute and which I have discussed elsewhere (cf. chs. 4.2.1 and 4.2.2). In doing so I ignored the company in between.

lines: "A good name is better than promises." (quoted from Campbell, 1964: 179).

The various ways in which a person after whom an enterprise is named can be related to it has already been outlined above (cf. ch. 3.5.2). On the grounds that the producer after whom the car is named might be such a marginally important person as an owner for one year, *Buick*, or the son of the company founder, who was involved in the styling of a number of cars, *Edsel*, I decided to include all the other automobile names taken from persons who were at some stage, however slightly, involved in the company as instances of the metonymic concept "producer for car", too. With the names of coach makers who at one stage or other produced parts of cars for the company that uses their name, not necessarily parts of the car actually named after them, this decision is fairly uncontroversial. These are for instance *Derham*, *Fleetwood* or *LeBaron*. The grouping of the names of race drivers such as *Chevrolet*²⁶², *Darrin*, *Craig Breedlove* or *Shelby* here may be less evident, but I did so because they at some time or other entered into a contract with the firm that uses their names and became thus part of the company. Basically there is not much difference between the way they gave their name to cars of a certain company and the way certain automobiles have come to be called *Buick*. The same holds true of the names of fashion designers such as *Bill Blass*, *Cartier*, *Cassini* or *Hubert de Givenchy*: these people produced their signature on certain special models of the Lincoln Mark IV and these were then named after them (cf. Flammang, 1989: 260). That is also why the name *Designer* - unlike all the other formations in *-er*, which are metaphors (cf. ch. 4.3) - is also an instance of the metonymic model "producer for car": it was used as a model designation on the Lincoln Continental.

4.2.4 Purpose for car

In 118 names, that is 5.3% of all the names and 14.8% of the metonymic names a designation for the purpose that a car serves is used instead of a car designation. Table 4-5 shows their distribution over the various slots of an automobile designation.

²⁶² For the choice of *Chevrolet* not only his fame as a racing driver but also the French sound of his name seems to have played a role: "Because race drivers were heroes of the day and also because he [= William C. Durant, the founder of the General Motors group - I.P.] felt the name Chevrolet 'had a musical sound and the romance of foreign origin' Durant called his new car - and the company organized to make it - *Chevrolet*." (Campbell, 1964: 175).

TABLE 4-5: METONYMIC NAMES BASED ON THE CONCEPT "PURPOSE FOR CAR"

| | manufacturer designations (total: 59; metonymies: 46) | series designations (total: 1024; metonymies: 330) | model designations (total: 1158; metonymies: 424) | total: 2241; metonymies: 800 |
|---------------------|---|--|--|------------------------------------|
| total | 1 | 43 | 74 | 118 |
| % of the total | 1,7 | 4,2 | 6,4 | 5,3 |
| % of the metonymies | 2,2 | 13,0 | 17,5 | 14,8 |

Designations for a purpose a car might serve are in their majority designations for actions or events. The metonymic names are based on sentences like "the car can be used for ... /will serve the purpose of ... /will achieve ..." etc. Thus, a car called *Acclaim* is "one that will win *Acclaim*", *Holiday* "one that can be used for/on a *Holiday*" or a *Turnpike Cruising* "one that can be used for *Turnpike Cruising*".

4.2.4.1 The purpose is racing: the type *Grand Prix*

50 names, that is almost half of all the names that are based on the metonymic concept "purpose for car", indicate that the car in question is best used for racing purposes. There are 13 such series designations²⁶³ and 37 model designations²⁶⁴. Many of these automobile names are taken from the designation for a famous race such as *Can Am* (2x), *Grand Am*, *Grand Prix*, *Grand Prix X-400*, *Hurst SSJ Grand Prix*, *SST Trans Am* and *Trans Am* (2x). These names are based on a sentence such as "the car so named can be used in the *Can Am/Grand Am* etc." The names *Marathon*, *Olympia Limited*, *Rallye* (2x) and *Sports Rallye* are similar but they are generic designations for races. The names *Sport* (14x) and *Sports* and the combinations they occur in (*Eurosport*, *Fibersport*, *Fina Sport*, *Gran Sport* (3x), *LX Sport*, *Nova 400 Sports SS* and *Super Sports*) also suggest that "the car is best used for *Sport(s)*", i.e. racy driving. The high incidence of names that are taken metonymically from a designation for a racing purpose is partly due to the high frequency of this single item only. The name *Trans Sport* combines two purposes: the car can be used for *Sport* - *Trans* is a kind of intensifying prefix here - and for *Trans Sport* i.e. for transporting goods (cf. ch. 3.8 on graphemic variation). The car this name is used for is actually a minivan or family wagon. A specific type of speedy movement is indicated in the names *Sprint* (5x), *Tempest Sprint* and *Turnpike Cruising*. Three names, *Mach I*, *Mach 2* and *Tempo*, are designations for the speed the car will supposedly

²⁶³ *Fibersport*, *Fina Sport*, *Grand Am*, *Grand Prix*, *Grand Prix X-400*, *Hurst SSJ Grand Prix*, *Mach 2*, *Marathon*, *Sprint*, *Tempest Sprint*, *Tempo*, *Trans Am*, *Trans Sport*

²⁶⁴ *Can Am* (2x), *Eurosport*, *Gran Sport* (3x), *High-Performance*, *LX Sport*, *Mach I*, *Nova 400 Sports SS*, *Olympia Limited*, *Rallye* (2x), *Sport* (14x), *Sports*, *Sports Rallye*, *Sprint* (4x), *SST Trans Am*, *Super Sports*, *Trans Am*, *Turnpike Cruising*

achieve. *Mach* is "the speed of an aircraft in relation to the speed of sound" (DCE) so that a car that can achieve *Mach 1* will supposedly move at the speed of sound, and *Mach 2* indicates that it can travel at twice the speed of sound. Like *Mach 1* and *Mach 2*, *Tempo* is also a designation for a type of speed that is not normally used of cars. In general English it is used to designate the speed of music. A car that can achieve *High-Performance* is also a racing car as performance in a car is most commonly needed for driving at high speeds.

4.2.4.2 Purpose other than racing: the type *Heavy-Duty*

68 names, one manufacturer designation, *Jeep*, 30 series designations²⁶⁵ and 37 model designations²⁶⁶, are taken from a designation for another purpose than racing. *Jeep* - if interpreted as an acronym based on *General Purpose* (cf. ch. 3.3.1) - is an archilexeme for the names in this group. The other names are taken from five different classes of purposes the car might serve. The metonymic name can suggest that the car is best used for practical purposes, or for purposes of fun, prestige, power, celebratory purposes, and a few others.

24 names of this type promise that the car will be useful in a more or less practical purpose: they either denote the enterprise in which the car will be useful like *Business* (2x), *Deluxe Business*, *Heavy-Duty*, *Marketour*, *Roundup* and *Super-Duty*, or they may promise to be economical like *New Value* and *Thrif-T*, or to save your life in the dangerous occupation of driving like *Sir Vival* (cf. ch. 3.8 on graphemic variation). At the same time, *Sir Vival* personifies the car as a person of distinguished rank (cf. ch. 4.3.1.1). Names of this type may be used profitably for special editions that target specific consumer groups. The Subaru Impreza *Pirsch*, a special edition for huntsmen marketed in Germany, exemplifies this. On its release the name was expressly explained as deriving from the purpose the car should serve:

'Pirsch' heißt der allradgetriebene Kompakte, dessen Spezial-Ausrüstung ihn nicht nur für die Pirsch auf den Hirsch qualifiziert."
(*Subaru drive Magazin* 15, October 1994: 5)²⁶⁷

²⁶⁵ *Acclaim, Alliance, Aspire, Business, Caprice, Century, Citation (2x), Citation II, Colt Vista, Concord (2x), Conquest (3x), Dynasty, Elite, Encore, Fiesta, Grand Safari, Independence, Lost Cause, Marketour, New Value, Quantum, Request, Sir Vival, Sundance, Thrif-T, Vision*

²⁶⁶ *50th Anniversary 1903-1953, Black Magic, Business, Custom Safari (2x), Deluxe Business, Fiesta, Flair Fashion, Golden Anniversary, Golden Jubilee, Grand Safari, Heavy-Duty, Heritage, Holiday (4x), Holiday Fiesta, Jamboree, Luxury (3x), Parkview, Police, Regency, Renaissance, Roundup, Safari (3x), Signature 20th Anniversary, Silver Anniversary, Super-Duty, Vista (4x)*

²⁶⁷ Of course, other types of names may also be used in targeting specific consumer groups. Another Subaru model, also aimed at huntsmen, is called *Hubertus*, the name deriving

The names *Colt Vista*, *Parkview* and *Vista* (4x), which denotes "a view or prospect, especially one seen through an avenue of trees or other long and narrow opening" (²OED), suggest that one will only come across particularly pleasant views when driving the car so named. *Vision* is similar with these names as it can also be used to denote "a thing actually seen; an object of sight" (²OED) but more commonly it is used for

"1. a. Something which is apparently seen otherwise than by ordinary sight; [...] 1.c. A mental concept of a distinct or vivid kind; an object of mental contemplation, especially of an attractive or fantastic character; a highly imaginative scheme or anticipation. [...] 2.b. Ability to conceive what might be attempted or achieved, especially in the realm of politics; statesmanlike foresight." (²OED)

Thus, it is more likely that the name is based on a sentence such as "the car was created with a *Vision*", which means that it does not metonymically derive from a purpose promised to the consumer. Likewise *Police* does not denote such a purpose but the group whom it might serve.

While the purposes mentioned so far have a more or less tangible nature, the following are of a more elusive character. The names *Custom Safari* (2x), *Fiesta* (2x), *Grand Safari* (2x), *Holiday* (4x), *Holiday Fiesta*, *Jamboree*, *Safari* (3x) and *Sundance* are all based on a sentence like "the car can be used in a *Safari*, *Fiesta*, *Jamboree* etc." or "using this car is like taking part in a *Safari*, *Fiesta*, *Jamboree*/having a *Holiday* etc." So, the names suggest that the car will bring its owner fun. *Safari* and maybe also *Holiday* additionally contain the idea of fun through travel and adventure (especially *Safari*), *Fiesta* is usually situated in a Spanish-speaking country and *Sundance* is a religious festival. It is "a solo or group solstice rite of American Indians" (WT).

Some other names suggest that the possession of the car so named will win its owner some kind of prestige. *Acclaim*, *Citation* (2x), *Citation II* and *Encore* indicate the car so named is the right one for people who are looking for general recognition. All of them are based on a sentence such as "the car will win (you) *Acclaim/Citation/Encore*". *Citation* has a number of meanings, the only one that makes sense as an automobile name is one given as American English by ²OED: "mention in an official dispatch", the quoted example is "[He] holds the Congressional Medal of Honor, nine *citations* and the highest decorations of the Allied Governments"²⁶⁸. *Encore* is "a request usually indicative of approbation

metaphorically from the patron saint of hunters and gamekeepers (cf. *Subaru drive Magazin* 15, October 1994: 4ff).

²⁶⁸ The other senses given in the ²OED are "1.a. A citing or summoning to a court of justice, a summons; b. The written form of summons, or the document containing it. c. generally. A summons. 2. (obsolete; rare) Enumeration, recital, mention. 3. The action of citing or quoting

made by an audience [...] for the further appearance of a performer or the repetition of a particular performance" (WT). People who aspire to such honours can also drive a car called *Aspire*. The names *Dynasty* and *Elite* suggest that "the car is member of a *Dynasty/Elite*" or that "it will win its owner membership in a *Dynasty/Elite*". *Flair Fashion, Luxury* (3x) and *Regency* are names denoting what a consumer can expect to get out of driving these cars.

Names indicating that the car is built on a celebratory occasion or with a celebratory purpose in mind are *50th Anniversary 1903-1953*, *Golden Anniversary*, *Golden Jubilee*, *Heritage*, *Renaissance*, *Signature 20th Anniversary*, *Silver Anniversary* and possibly *Century*. *Century* also suggests that the car is or will be extremely long-lived: "a car that will last for a *Century*". A further group of names is metonymically taken from designations for social purposes other than fun, prestige and celebration. They suggest that the car so named will serve in ventures connected with issues of power. *Alliance*²⁶⁹ and *Concord* are names of cars that supposedly serve similar purposes: "a combination for a common object, confederation, union offensive and defensive" and an "agreement or harmony between things; especially said in reference to sounds and rhythmical movements, and in uses thence derived" (²OED). The name *Concord* might also be taken from the homonym of the *Concord* already given: the capital of New Hampshire has this name so that the name might also have been created by a metonymic process in which a place is used for the car (cf. ch. 4.2.1). As a special type of coach called *Concord coach* or elliptically *Concord* originated from that city and as there is also a special type of airplane called *Concord* (which is unrelated with that city) this name could also be a metaphor in which the car is interpreted as another means of transport (cf. ch. 4.3.3.1). The name may also promise that one can make a *Conquest* (3x) with it, that it will win its owner *Independence*, that it will satisfy his or her *Caprice* or gratify any other *Request* one might ask of the car (which again is at the same time personified because normally a request can only be uttered in address to a person). One car promises nothing whatsoever: anything the consumer (or the producer) might want to use the car for is doomed to be a *Lost Cause* from the outset.

A last name that fits into this group only very marginally is *Quantum*. *Quantum* denotes

any words or written passage, quotation; in Law, a reference to decided cases or books of authority. 4. concrete. A passage cited, a quotation."

²⁶⁹ The *AMC Alliance* and the above-mentioned *AMC Encore* are actually the *Renault Alliance* and the *Renault Encore* built by AMC after Renault had acquired a 41.6% interest in AMC in 1980 (cf. Ludvigsen, 1990: 39). According to Sobel (1984: 309) the name *Alliance* was chosen to indicate "the first product of the partnership with Renault".

1. a. Sum, amount; specifically in Law, an amount, a sum (of money payable in damages, etc.). [...] 3. One's share or portion.
4. a. A (specified) amount. 5. Physics. A minimum amount of a physical quantity which can exist and by multiples of which changes in the quantity occur. [...] b. An analogous discrete amount of any other physical quantity (as momentum, electric charge). c. More fully quantum of action. = Planck's constant. 6. Physiology. Originally, a small voltage of which integral multiples go to make up the end-plate potential measured at a neuromuscular junction; hence, the unit quantity of acetylcholine corresponding to this, multiples of which are released to transmit a nerve impulse across the junction. (²OED)

The name might be based on a sentence like "the car will give the consumer his or her share or portion of whatever he or she thinks her due", and might thus give the purpose the car supposedly serves. As the various senses of *Quantum* are rather technical ones (which are not connected with automobile technology, however) which might be unknown to many speakers - this name could also be regarded as an iconic one (cf. ch. 4.4.1).

4.2.5 Part for whole

In 94 names, that is 4.2% of all the names and 11.8% of the metonymic names a designation for a part of the car is used to stand for the whole. Table 4-6 shows their distribution over the various slots of an automobile designation.

TABLE 4-6: METONYMIC NAMES BASED ON THE CONCEPT "PART FOR WHOLE"

| | manufacturer designations (total: 59; metonymies: 46) | series designations (total: 1024; metonymies: 330) | model designations (total: 1158; metonymies: 424) | total: 2241; metonymies: 800 |
|---------------------|---|--|--|------------------------------------|
| total | 1 | 50 | 43 | 94 |
| % of the total | 1,7 | 4,9 | 3,7 | 4,2 |
| % of the metonymies | 2,2 | 15,2 | 10,1 | 11,8 |

4.2.5.1 The car is named after its engine: the type *Advanced Six*

61 of the 92 designations in this group, 32 series designations²⁷⁰ and 29 model designations²⁷¹, derive from the engine type. This means that engine

²⁷⁰ *Advanced Six, Big Six (2x), Classic Six, Custom Super Clipper Eight, Eight, Fast Four, Light Four, Light Six (2x), Major Eight, Senior Six, Single Eight, Single Six (2x), Six Deluxe, Special Deluxe Six, Special Six (2x), Standard Eight, Standard Six (2x), Super Clipper Eight, Super Eight, Super Six (2x), Super-Duty 421, Turbine, Twin Ignition Eight, Twin Ignition Six, Twin Six, Victory Six*

²⁷¹ *100 four, 100 six, 300 four, 300 six, Custom Eight, Custom Six, Deluxe Six, Eight (11x), Six (9x), Super Eight, Super Six*

designations account for roughly two thirds of all the metonymic names relying on the concept "part for whole". The metonymic names thus reflect the technical reality that the engine is the central component of a car²⁷². Metaphorical descriptions of the engine as the "heart" or "soul" of the car (cf. ch. 4.3.1) also reflect the importance of this part of the machine. Of course, there is no car called *engine* - as every automobile has an engine such a name would not have any discriminatory power. Rather the majority of the occurring engine designations state the number of cylinders the engine has, i.e. they are metonymic in themselves. 21 names consist of this number only, *Eight* occurs 12 times, *Six* nine times. Only one of these is a series designation. In 37 names, 28 series designations and 9 model designations, the number of cylinders that stands for the engine that stands for the car is modified by an attribute. The most frequently-occurring of these attributes is *Super*, which states that a car called *Super Six* etc. is "a car with a very good, powerful engine". The majority of the other attributes are intensifiers, too. *Deluxe*, *Special* and *Special Deluxe* are similar to *Super* in being intensifiers of a very general nature, while others such as *Big* and *Major* provide information on the specific aspect that is extraordinary in a particular engine, namely its size. An *Advanced Six* is a car the engine of which is particularly modern in its engineering, a *Senior Six* is something like its opposite, one which has a long tradition of engineering to show for. *Custom* has in automobile names an intensifier-like meaning (cf. ch. 4.2.2.1). *Victory* in *Victory Six* is also a kind of intensifier, a modifier that focuses on the positive qualities of its head, because it either states that this car has an engine that is better than other engines ("the six is a victory over the competition") or that this car will be successful (in racing?) because it has an "engine for victories". The modifiers *Light*, *Single*, *Twin* and *Twin Ignition* are no intensifiers but state some technical property of the engines. A *Standard Six/Eight* is nothing out of the ordinary - these names have to be seen in connection with other cars sold by their company at the same time: thus, the *Hudson Standard Eight* is distinguished from the *Hudson Major Eight* (1933), the *Dodge Standard Six* from the *Dodge Victory Six* (1928-1929), and the *Nash Standard Six* from the *Nash Special Six* (1928-1929). *Fast* in *Fast Four* is a metaphorical name since it is not the engine that is fast but the car it powers. One metonymic name that is based on an engine designation states not the number of cylinders of that engine but the cubic inch capacity, *Super-Duty 421*. It is also preceded by an intensifying modifier: "a car

²⁷² It should be noted that the number of automobile names that provide information about the engine type of the car is actually much larger. Whenever this information is provided by a number instead of a numeral spelt out, the designation is regarded as an iconic name and discussed in ch. 4.4.1 below. In distinguishing between these two types of names I rely on the spelling conventions of the *Standard Catalog of American Cars*, vol. 1-3 (Kimes/Clark, 1989; Gunnell, 1992; Flammang, 1989).

with an engine that will do its duty in a very good way". *Turbine* was the name of the 1963 Chrysler dream car, that was powered by a turbine engine. Additionally, the 50 cars built of this type came in a color that was dubbed *Turbine Bronze*. The name *Turbine* once more exemplifies the principle that only uncommon engine types get their designations on the cars they power. This principle also explains why only few cars with four cylinders are named after their engine.

4.2.5.2 The car is named after a part other than the engine: the type *Mark IV*

The 33 names in this group, i.e. metonymic names based on the concept "part for whole" that are not taken from an engine designation, all highlight some exceptional feature of the car they refer to. There is one manufacturer designation, *Checker*, 18 series designations²⁷³ and 14 model designations²⁷⁴. In 19 names the part the name is taken from is a material part, while in 13 cases it is a less tangible one. These names that highlight an "abstract" part of the car so named, all contain one single item only as their head: *Mark*. *Mark* is an extremely polysemous item but the meaning of all these car names can be paraphrased as "the car has a mark, i.e. as special sign of distinction, quality etc." All the *Mark*-names are numbered (*Mark IV*, *Mark V*, *Mark VI* etc.), some contain a further modifier, *Continental* (*Continental Mark II*, *Continental Mark III*, *Continental Mark IV* etc.), which identifies the *Mark* as European-style, and *U.S.* (*U.S. Mark II*), which is probably intended as a kind of "American" opposition to the *Continental Marks* since the car was a kit car offered by an independent manufacturer in 1956, a time, when the *Lincoln Continentals* had been established for almost twenty years. A further *Mark*-car is the *Minimark Classic*, also an independently manufactured kit car of 1980, that is styled like a car of the 20s or 30s, i.e. a *Classic* car.

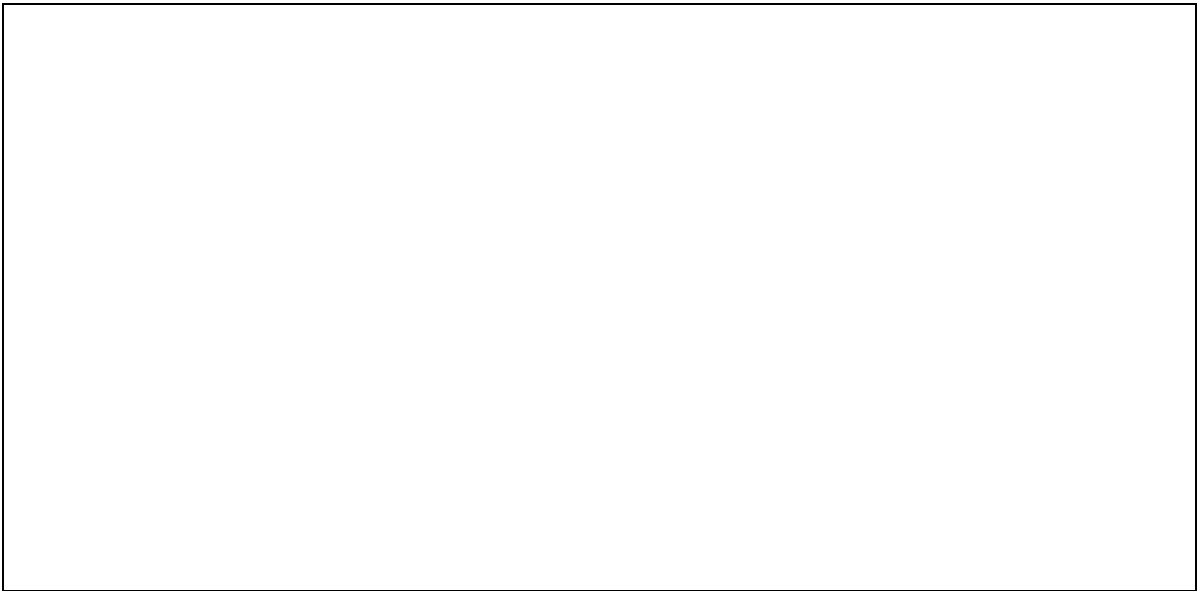
The cars that take their name from a "real" part instead of a hypothetical *Mark* may have a number of special features, "a set of related things sold or offered as a unit" (LCELC, s.v. "package"), as in *40th Anniversary Package*, *R/T Sport Pak*, *Sport Tone*, *Sports Accent* and *Super Pak*. A Mercury Comet, for instance, that "has a *Sports Accent*", has "wide lower bodyside moldings, lower body two-tone paint, dual racing mirrors, belt moldings, styled steel wheels with trim rings, and whitewalls" (Flammang, 1989: 279). The highlighted part may be a special

²⁷³ *Continental Mark II*, *Continental Mark III*, *Continental Mark IV*, *Continental Mark V*, *Curved Dash*, *Mark IV*, *Mark V* (2x), *Mark VI*, *Mark VII*, *Mark VIII*, *Minimark Classic*, *Monocoque Box*, *Silver Streak*, *Straight Dash*, *Stuillac*, *Triplex*, *U.S. Mark II*

²⁷⁴ *40th Anniversary Package*, *GT II Gull-Wing*, *Mark II*, *R/T Sport Pak*, *Silver Streak*, *Sport Tone*, *Sport-Hatch*, *Sports Accent*, *Sportsroof* (3x), *Super Pak*, *Tudor* (2x)

chassis type as in *Monocoque Box*, "an underframe and body built as a single rigid structure (or in racing cars as a number of box-like sections) throughout which the stresses are distributed" (²OED), *Sport Hatch*, and *Studillac*, a Studebaker Starliner hardtop with a Cadillac engine. Many cars of the name *Checker*, especially those built in the early days of the company, had a line of checkered pattern painted on them (cf. Figure 4-6), and those called *Silver Streak* (2x) a silver-colored streak. Three cars take their name from the type of door they have, *GT II Gull-Wing* and *Tudor* (2x; cf. ch. 3.8 on graphemic variation). *Gull-wings* open upwards instead of sideways. Cars that have a sunroof can be named after that part: *Sportsroof* (3x). *Triplex* is named after the special material it is made up of, and two of the oldest names in my corpus are taken from the form of the dash board they employed: *Curved Dash* (cf. Figure 4-6) and *Straight Dash*.

FIGURE 4-6: 1901 OLDSMOBILE CURVED DASH RUNABOUT²⁷⁵; 1926 CHECKER MODEL F²⁷⁶



4.2.6 "Totum pro parte": the type *Rebel Line*

²⁷⁵ Source: Kimes/Clark, 1989: 1018.

²⁷⁶ Source: Kimes/Clark, 1989: 266.

TABLE 4-7: METONYMIC NAMES BASED ON THE CONCEPT "TOTUM PRO PARTE"

| | manufacturer designations (total: 59; metonymies: 46) | series designations (total: 1024; metonymies: 330) | model designations (total: 1158; metonymies: 424) | total: 2241; metonymies: 800 |
|---------------------|---|--|--|------------------------------------|
| total | 0 | 7 | 67 | 74 |
| % of the total | 0,0 | 0,7 | 5,8 | 3,3 |
| % of the metonymies | 0,0 | 2,1 | 15,8 | 9,3 |

In 74 names, that is 3.3% of all the names and 9.3% of the metonymic names a designation of a larger unit the car is part of is used as an automobile name. Table 4-7 shows their distribution over the various slots of an automobile designation.

With seven series designations²⁷⁷ and 67 model designations²⁷⁸ this metonymic concept is the one that occurs least often. The reason for that is probably that it is the only type of name that does not conceal the fact that a given car is usually not an individual but one of a large group, all members of which are identical. Names that present the car as one of a group are items headed by *Series* (29x), "a group of usually three or more things or events standing or succeeding in order and having a like relationship to each other" (WT), *Edition* (18x), "the whole number of articles of one style put out at one time" (WT), *Line* (14x), "any of various things that are or may be considered as arranged in a row or sequence" (WT), *Formula*, "the class or specification of a racing car, usually expressed in terms of engine capacity" (²OED), *Type* (3x), "a group or category exhibiting [...] qualities common to a number of individuals that serve to distinguish them as an identifiable class or kind" (WT), *Fleet* (2x), "a number of vehicles or aircraft forming a definite group or unit" (²OED), *Class* (1x), "a group, set, or kind marked by common attributes or a common attribute" (WT), *Level* (1x), "a natural or fit position in relation to others" (WT), and *Model* (1x), "a specific type or design of car" (WT). Apart from *Formula*, none of these items occurs on its own as the information conveyed would not be specific enough to identify a car. In the three instances, in which *Formula* occurs on its own one actually cannot help the impression that some necessary piece of information is missing.

²⁷⁷ *Customline, E Class, Fleetline, Mainline, Series II, Series III, Series IV*

²⁷⁸ *500 Series Lakewood, 550 Line, 770 Line, Carroll Shelby edition, Collector Edition, Collector's Series (2x), Commemorative Edition, Corinthian Edition, Designer Series, Designers' Accent Edition, Diamond Edition (2x), Diamond Jubilee Edition (2x), DL Series 40, DL Series 50, DL Series 60, Fifth Avenue Edition, First Level, Fleetline (2x), Fleet Special (2x), Formula (3x), Formula 400, Formula S, Gold Special Edition, GT Series 40, Highline, Limited Series 30, Model M, Rebel Line, S Series 90, Series 01 (3x), Series 10, Series 30, Series 40 (3x), Series 50, Series 60, Series 80, Series 90 (2x), Signature Series, Six Series 10, Special Edition (4x), Speedline (3x), Styleline (2x), SX/4 Series 50, T Type (3x), Touring Edition, XX Anniversary Edition, Z-28 Commemorative Edition*

The only explanation I can offer for this is that *Formula* is, together with *Fleet*, the only one that is a designation specifically for groups of vehicles, and that *Formula* is a designation that will almost certainly be associated with car racing.

33 of the modifiers are numerals or letter combinations. The other modifiers are quite diverse in semantic content. A small pattern is formed by those modifiers that relate the car with an anniversary, be it one of the producer or one of the edition of a specific car. Modifiers of this type are *Collector's*, *Commemorative*, *Diamond*, *Diamond Jubilee*, *Gold Special*, *Z-28 Commemorative* and *XX Anniversary*. They are related with names such as *40th Anniversary Package* (cf. ch. 4.2.5.2) or *50th Anniversary 1903-1953*, *Golden Anniversary*, *Golden Jubilee* etc. (cf. ch. 4.2.4), in which these items occur independently and not as modifiers. The other modifiers are either general intensifiers (cf. ch. 4.2.2.2) such as *Special*, *Main* or *High*, or denote typical qualities of automobiles such as being built in honor of a race driver, *Carroll Shelby*, being *Custom-built*, being part of a *Fleet*, having the power to *Speed* or being used for *Touring*. Other modifiers highlight the distinctive quality of the group the car is part of: *Corinthian*, "a fashionable man-about-town" (WT), *Designer*, *Designer's Accent*, *Signature* and *Style*. *Rebel* in *Rebel Line* does not fall in any pattern but it is related with metaphorical names such as *Confederate* or *Rebel* (cf. ch. 4.3.1.2).

4.3 Metaphor

Every metaphor consists of three elements: the item that is compared, the item it is compared to and the ground(s) on which the two are compared. Leech (1969: 151) gives this general formula for metaphor: "X is like Y in respect of Z", where X is the tenor, Y the vehicle, and Z the ground [of comparison]. The "tenor" of all the metaphors used as automobile names is a certain type of car so that the formula can be modified to "this car is like Y in respect of Z". Y, the "vehicle" of metaphor are the various automobile names. About the nature of Z, the ground of comparison Lakoff/Johnson (1980: 154) maintain in a book with the programmatic title *Metaphors We Live By*, one of the most influential ones on metaphor to be published in recent years:

We argue [...] that the only similarities relevant to metaphor are *similarities as experienced by people*. The difference between *objective similarities and experiential similarities* is all-important [...]."

Lakoff/Johnson's (1980: 153) argument runs that metaphor is "primarily a matter of thought and action and only derivatively a matter of language" and that "the primary function of metaphor is to provide a partial understanding of one kind of experience in terms of another kind of experience." They are less interested in single metaphors but rather in the general concepts to which these metaphors

belong: thus, a single metaphor is understood because it is part of a larger concept and not because of any inherent properties. To illustrate their point I will quote their examples for the metaphorical concept "TIME IS MONEY" in full:

You're *wasting* my time.
This gadget will *save* you hours.
I don't *have* the time to *give* you.
How do you *spend* your time these days?
That flat tire *cost* me an hour.
I've *invested* a lot of time in her.
I don't *have enough* time to *spare* for that.
You're *running out* of time.
You need to *budget* your time.
Put aside some time for ping pong.
Is that *worth your while*?
Do you *have* much time *left*?
He's living on *borrowed* time.
You don't *use* your time *profitably*.
I *lost* a lot of time when I got sick.
Thank you for your time. (Lakoff/Johnson, 1980: 7f)

Likewise cars are understood and experienced as animals, human beings, weapons etc. The most interesting thing about the metaphorical car names is that they are not metaphors of longstanding existence in our culture as most metaphorical concepts are (cf. Lakoff/Johnson, 1980: 159) but that they are rather imposed by brand namers, manufacturers and advertisers etc. As Lakoff/Johnson (1980: 157; 159) put it:

"[...] people in power get to impose their metaphors [...] In a culture where the myth of objectivism is very much alive and truth is always absolute truth, the people who get to impose their metaphors on the culture get to define what we consider to be true - absolutely and objectively true. (Lakoff/Johnson, 1980: 159f)

This *creation of similarities* by metaphors could be demonstrated with almost any of the metaphorical car names in my corpus. Take, *Cougar*, for instance: which "objective" similarity is there between a car and cougar? As far as I can see, none - but as there is a metaphorical concept "the car is an animal" in our culture (cf. 4.3.2) we are ready to understand that what this specific car distinguishes from comparable cars is the same as that which distinguishes cougars from other animals. The salient features of a cougar are that it is a large powerful wild cat native of the Americas (cf. DCE and WT). Thus, a car of the name *Cougar* promises to be powerful and fierce (a quality generally attributed to beasts of prey like the big cats), to roam freely in nature, to be independent and freedom-loving (qualities generally attributed to wild animals), and to be

indigenously American. Except for "powerful" and "American" neither of these attributes could be used of a car if it were called a car. This is exactly the power of metaphor: it is "the rhetorical process by which discourse unleashes the power that certain fictions have to redescribe reality" (Ricoeur, 1977: 7). Because the interpretation of a metaphorical name is thus open to a certain extent everybody can "choose" the association he or she prefers, those that suit the emotional needs of a certain consumer. Of course, metaphorical structuring is only partial, not total (cf. Lakoff/Johnson, 1980: 13), not every part of the metaphorical concept fits. A further distinguishing feature of the cougar, for instance, is that it is of a tawny brown colour, while cars of the name *Cougar* come in all kinds of colours. Nor is the ground of comparison always as unambiguously interpretable as it is here. Lipka (1990a: 1208) explains this with the "open-ended nature" of metaphor, by which he means, quoting from Leech, "the freedom to read into a new lexical entry whatever information he [i.e the reader/hearer - I.P.] finds necessary to the understanding of it."

In total 634 metaphorical names occur, that is 28.3% of all the names. There are 10 manufacturer designations, 415 series designations and 209 model designations. They are distributed over the following metaphorical concepts: "the car is a human being", "the car is an animal", "the car is a man-made object other than a car", "the car is an element or phenomenon of unanimated nature", and "the car is a supernatural being". Three of these concepts, the two first and the last one, are based on "'animist' transfers, picturing inanimate objects in zoomorphic or anthropomorphic terms" (Ullmann, 1967: 183). Often there seems to be intentional overlap between metaphors making the car a human being and metaphors making it an animal. A Jaguar ad, for instance, connects the figure of a leaping jaguar with the lines: "We haven't sacrificed its beauty. We haven't corrupted its soul. We haven't crushed its spirit." (*road&track* 12, 1994: 37). While the picture identifies the car as an animal, "soul" and "spirit" humanize it. Jakob (1991: 25) regards animist metaphors as an important feature of the language of technics and technology:

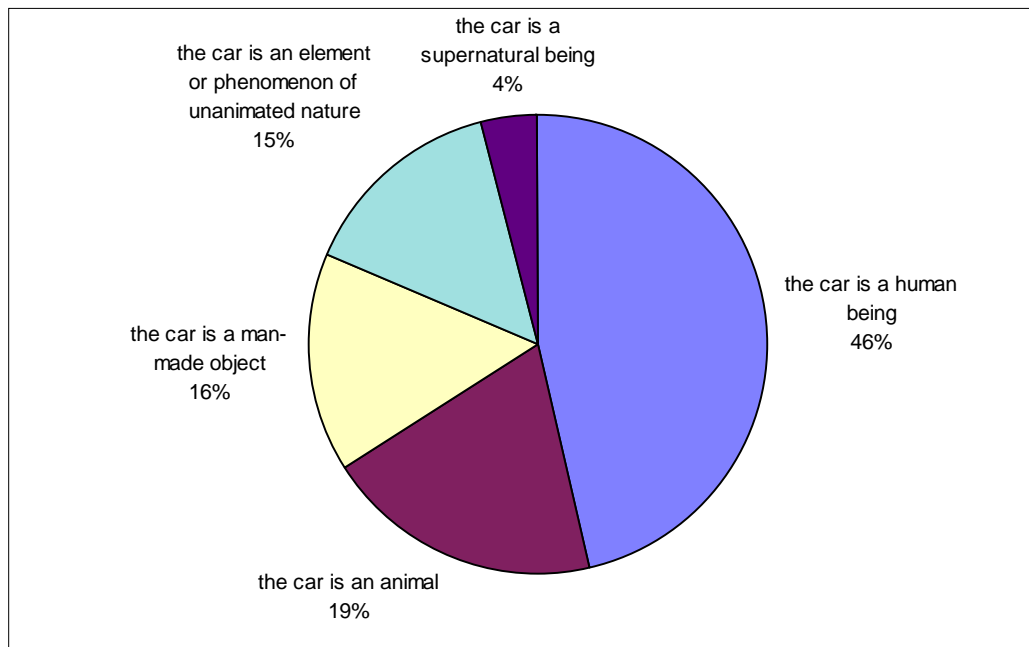
Der Mensch deutet Technik lebendig oder gar menschlich, ohne aber wirklich an ein 'Leben' im Werkzeug oder in der Maschine zu glauben. [...] In das Alltagshandeln eingebundene technische Handlungen sind uns so weit selbstverständlich 'menschlich' und 'alltäglich', daß sie - ohne weitere Reflexion - in vermenschlichende Sprachhandlungen eingebunden werden.

This interpretation of the machine automobile is reflected by the fact that the majority of the metaphorical names are based on an animist transfer: in total 441 of the car names in my corpus are based on a personification, an animal

metaphor or a designation for a supernatural being, that is 69.6% of all the metaphors (cf. ch. 4.3.1, ch. 4.3.2 and ch. 4.3.5).

Figure 4-7 shows how often the various metaphorical concepts occur, they are studied in detail in the following chapters, the principle of ordering is once again frequency of occurrence.

FIGURE 4-7: METAPHORICAL CONCEPTS USED IN NAMING CARS



4.3.1 The car is a human being

It is common for a child playing with a toy to act toward it as if it were a companion, talking to it, putting it on his pillow next to him at night, etc. Dolls are toys designed especially for this purpose. Behavior like this occurs in adults, who treat certain significant instruments like cars and guns as companions, giving them names, talking to them, etc. Likewise, in our conceptual system, there is the conventional metaphor AN INSTRUMENT IS A COMPANION, [...] (Lakoff/Johnson, 1980:134)

The concept of the specific instrument car as human being is certainly one of the best established concepts in our culture by which we understand and experience cars: cars can be referred to by means of the feminine personal pronoun instead of the neutral one, as in "Take the wheel of a new DeSoto. Pilot *her* out through traffic toward the open road" (1957 DeSoto ad²⁷⁹; Stern/Stern, 1978: 92). The

²⁷⁹ The italics here and in the following quotations are mine.

automobile may be understood as a relative. Various kinds of relationship terms occur, those for children, especially *baby*, and for partners seem to be the most frequent ones:

His third marriage was to actress/model Christina Ferrare [...] They have a son, Zachary [...], and a daughter, Kathryn [...] A third De Lorean '*baby*' is the DMC-12 sports car. (Wright, 1979: 138)

Child of the magnificent ghosts. (cf. Figure 4-18; p. 245)

Lamborghini P140 [...] The '*Son* of Diablo' P140 supercar [...] (Robinson, 1994: 48)

[...] the perverse and overblown libidinous process by which a motor car is transformed from McLuhan's '*mechanical bride*' into the *erotic* and devious *bedmate* of [...] the lascivious hero of *My Mercedes Is Bigger Than Yours*. (Okeke-Ezigbo, 1984: 207)

Every woman needs a second *love*. [...] Her second *love* - a car of her own." (cf. Figure 4-8; the picture further illustrates the parallel between "the man in her life" and the car)

Chrysler advertised its cars for some time as *friend of the family* (cf. Flammang, 1989: 158). That adverts like these have been successful is nicely demonstrated by the following text:

Like yours perhaps, my life is marked out by marriage and jobs, by births of children and grandchildren, by the deaths of dear ones, by dogs loved and lost. Yes, and also by cars owned and (mostly) treasured. I remember them all. (Welch, 1993: 16)

The "relationships" between cars can also be understood in terms of human families as a Saab 900 advert shows, in which the advertised car is placed at the bottom of a family tree with pictures of historic Saabs and a jet plane as "ancestors" (cf. Figure 4-9). The text below the family tree refers to the machines the new Saab 900 is related to as *wild uncle*, *great-grandmother* and *father*, the car is said to have a *Type-A personality* since its *birth*, and even the company that produces it is personified because it is said to have *bloodlines*. An ad for the Oldsmobile Aurora similarly states: "Its *father* was a Cruise Missile. Its *mother* a concert hall." (*Popular Science* 1(1995):2). Like in a real family a car may "*mimic its big sister* - there's a pronounced bonnet bulge and 600-like bumper mouldings" (Robertson, 1994: 20) and be compared with its "faster, supercharged *sibling*" (Berg, 1994: 165). Any other designation for a human being can also be used for a car²⁸⁰:

²⁸⁰ Many of these concepts are not confined to (American) English. A Mazda advertisement distributed in Dresden households on February 15, 1995 describes Mazdas with the following terms (my italics): "Ran an unsere *Stars*. Die *Champs*. Die *Spielmacher* der Saison. Die *Stars*

"[...] the Chevrolet convertible, the perfect *pathfinder* [...] the ideal *companion* of carefree days." (Chevrolet ad, 1950; Stern/Stern, 1978: 82)

FIGURE 4-8: 1955 CHEVROLET BEL AIR AD (SOURCE: STERN/STERN, 1978: 87)

FIGURE 4-9: 1994 SAAB 900 AD (SOURCE: *ROAD&TRACK* 12, 1994: 53)

"This is the *grand old man* of all-terrain vehicles." (*Land-Rover 1995 Calendar*, June-page)

Parts of the car are quite often compared with parts of the human body (or the body of an animal, cf. ch. 4.3.2) or garments of the human body. *Body*, *wheel shoulder* and *bonnet* are such technical terms, as well as *muscle* in *muscle car* (cf. ch. 2.1.4). Because we interpret the car as a human being (or an animal) we can understand that the change from a V-8 to a V-6 engine is a *heart transplant*, that with this change completed the car is *more muscular*, that the new engine needs more room and that the manufacturer therefore has to extend the *nose* so that it has a *longer schnoz* afterwards. Being a creature the car can "swallow small bumps nearly imperceptibly" (all the examples from Schroeder, 1994). The engine is not only compared to the heart but also to the soul as in "We'll begin with the engine. After all, that is where the *soul* of the Turbo Z lurks." (*car&driver* 6(1993): 84) and to the *lungs* as in this description of the twin turbochargers on the Porsche 911 Turbo: "With the added set of *lungs*, the flat six's output vaults to a dizzying 430 horsepower [...]." (*car&driver* 12, 1994: 42). To specify technical details of a car one may offer a look "*under the skin* of the new Range Rover" (*Land-Rover 1995 Calendar*, page following December), and to compare two cars is to "set them *nose-to-nose*" (McCosh, 1995: 77).

The car is understood as being capable of actions that only humans (or animals) are capable of: it can *swallow* as mentioned above, it may be "*totally considerate* of its occupant's every wish" (Jaguar ad; quoted from Okeke-Ezigbo, 1984: 201), the brakes may *grab*, which is "to act harshly or jerkily"²⁸¹ (²OED) or it may *sire* or *beget* "children": "The Falcon was dropped after 1970, but it *sired* numerous famous Fords, including the Mustang, Comet, and Maverick" (Georgano, 1992: 203) or "As Cavalier *begat* Calibra, so Corsa *begets* Tigra" (*autocar* 1994: 77). The redesign of a car may be announced as "Cavalier *grows up*." (Popular Science, 1(1995): 16). The car may be described with the help of attributes that only apply to humans such as "the finest, fastest, *sexiest* new cars" (*car and driver* 12(1994), 174) or "American sports-luxury sedans challenge [...] *blue-blooded* European benchmarks" (McCosh, 1995: 76).

The names of 294 automobiles in my corpus are based on a designation for a human being, that is 13.1% of the total and 46.4% of all the metaphorical names. Table 4-8 shows their distribution over the various slots of an automobile designation.

Champion unter den Roadsters. [...] *Nachwuchs-Stars. Steht auf dem Siegetreppchen.*" and the whole Mazda product range is "eine starke *Mannschaft*".

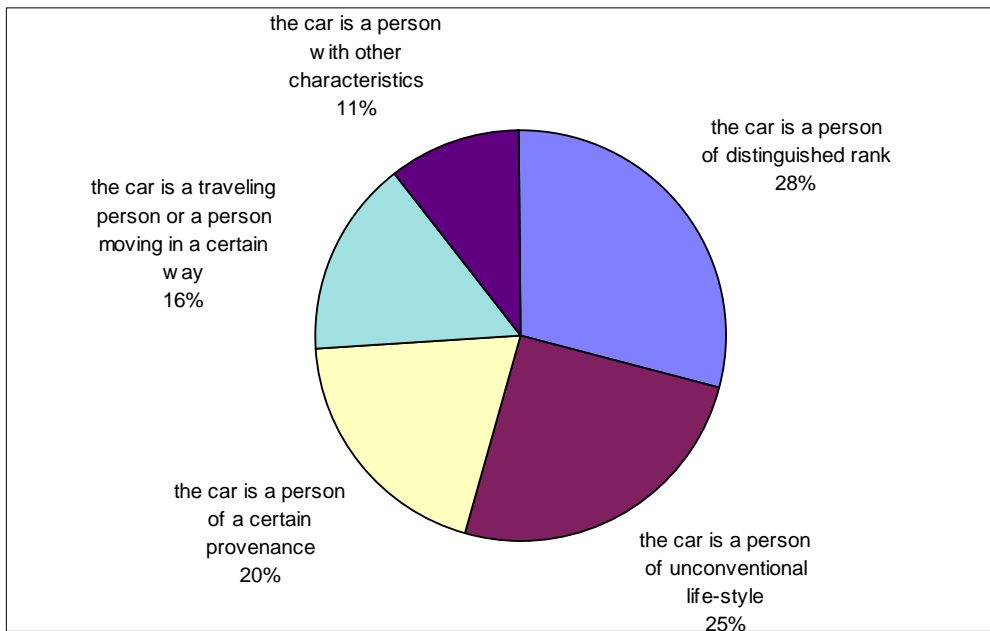
²⁸¹ The people who named a special edition of the Ford Maverick *Grabber* (cf. ch. 4.3.1.2) probably did not have this meaning of *grab* in mind.

TABLE 4-8: PERSONIFICATIONS USED IN AUTOMOBILE NAMES

| | manufacturer designations (total: 59; metaphors: 10) | series designations (total: 1024; metaphors: 415) | model designations (total: 1158; metaphors: 209) | total: 2241; metaphors: 634 |
|--------------------|--|---|--|-----------------------------|
| total | 6 | 171 | 117 | 294 |
| % of the total | 10,2 | 16,7 | 10,1 | 13,1 |
| % of the metaphors | 60,0 | 41,2 | 56,0 | 46,4 |

In personification something non-human is seen as human but the aspects of people that are picked out in each personification differ (cf. Lakoff/Johnson, 1980: 33). In automobile names that personify the car the following classes of aspects are picked out: the car may be seen as a person of distinguished rank, as one of unconventional life-style, as one of a certain provenance or as a traveling person. The portions of these subconcepts are shown in Figure 4-10.

FIGURE 4-10: CLASSES OF PERSONS USED AS AUTOMOBILE NAMES



4.3.1.1 The car is a person of distinguished rank: the type *Monarch*

Most of the metaphorical car names that rely on the concept "the car is a person" make use of designations for persons of distinguished rank, namely 86 items, that is 29.3% of all the personifications. There is one manufacturer designation, *Lincoln*, 50 series designations²⁸² and 35 model designations²⁸³.

²⁸² *Achieva, Ambassador (3x), Autocrat, Beauty Winner, Blazer, Cadet, Cavalier (3x), Celebrity (2x), Centurion, Champ, Champion, Cherokee Chief, Chieftain, Commander, Commodore, Dictator, Diplomat, Electro-Master, Fleetmaster, Grand Marquis, Marquis,*

The meaning of most of these items is tied up with a certain concept of society, i.e. it implies a certain frame or presupposition. A frame is a data structure that represents stereotypical situations, which are part of our knowledge of the world (cf. Minsky, 1979). Most words have meaning only within a certain number of such frames, *Yeoman*, for instance, can only be understood as a designation for a person of a certain rank within two frames: either within the historical concept of feudal, courtly society or within a military context. Within the first frame *Yeoman* designates "a servant or attendant in a royal or noble household, usually of a superior grade, ranking between a sergeant and a groom or between a squire and a page" or "a man holding a small landed estate; a freeholder under the rank of a gentleman; hence vaguely, a commoner or countryman of respectable standing, especially one who cultivates his own land" (²OED). Within the military framework of the British and U.S. navies *Yeoman* designates "an inferior officer who has charge of the stores in a particular department" (²OED). In connection with automobile names this means that a car that is understood and experienced as a *Yeoman* is not only understood as a car/person of distinguished rank but also as one placed outside contemporary American society. Rather the car is to be located within a feudal and courtly society or within a subgroup of present-day general society, the armed forces. Thus, the name of the car offers a certain scope for dreaming one's car and oneself as its owner into an exclusive position of another exotic societal organization.

A large number of the cars personified as a person of distinguished rank are given titles that have a meaning only within historical courtly and feudal society. Some of these such as *Marquis* are additionally placed in a non-English-speaking context. A number of names use a designation for the highest-ranking member in such a society, the monarch himself. There are cars that "are" a *Monarch*, a *Regent*, a *Roadking* or a *Royal* (4x). *Roadking* differs from the others in defining the area in which the personified car holds sway. The car can thus be understood as "one whose position on the road is as unique as the position of a king in a monarchy". Not only designations for the monarch occur but also designations for persons of various noble ranks in an aristocratic society: *Baron*, *Cavalier* (3x), *Marquis*, *Marshal* (2x), *Patrician* (2x), *Squire* (5x) and *Yeoman*. Non-established combinations with these titles as head also occur. The difference from the above-named titles is that they are not used for distinguished persons

Master, Master Deluxe, Medalist, Monarch, Patrician, Powermaster, Premier, President, Ranchero Squire, Roadking, Roadmaster, Royal (2x), *Skyway Champion, Squire, Star Chief, State Commander, State President, Statesman, Stylemaster, Super Chief, Superior, VIP, Yeoman* 283 *Baron, Boss 351, Cadet, Centurion, Chief, City Marshal, Country Squire* (4x), *DeLuxe Super Chief, Diplomat* (3x), *Fleetmaster, Marshal* (2x), *Patrician, Patrol Marshal, Premier* (2x), *Pursuit Marshal, Regent, Royal* (2x), *Sportmaster, Squire* (4x), *Super Chief, The Deputy, The Judge, Topper, VIP*

but only for cars that are supposed to be interpreted as distinguished persons: *Country Squire* (4x), *Grand Marquis*, *Patrol Marshal*, *Pursuit Marshal* and *Ranchero Squire*. *Marshal* and its combinations are of course not exclusively linked to the concept of a feudal monarchial society - because of their polysemy neither of the given items is (cf. ch. 4.1) - but also to the police as a subsystem of American society. The car so named understood as police officer is also more in line with the two non-institutionalized compounds it heads as *patrol* and *pursuit* are typical police duties. The combination *Country Squire* links the metaphorical concept of the car as "a young man of good birth attendant upon a knight; one ranking next to a knight under the feudal system of military service and tenure in the military organization of the later middle ages" (²OED) or a U.S. Justice of the Peace with country life. *Ranchero Squire* places the squire additionally in the country life of a Spanish-speaking country. The car can thus be understood in a number of different frames.

Another frequently occurring frame within which designations for persons of distinguished rank have meaning is that of military organization. Actually, many of the designations given above as belonging to aristocratic societies are military titles, too (which results from the fact that in the Middle Ages there was no separate army anyway as the members of the aristocracy were military leaders at the same time). Cars of the names *Cadet* (2x), *Centurion* (2x), *Commander*, *Commodore* and *State Commander* are understood as high-ranking members of the armed forces. A quotation from a press article on the release of the German *Opel Kadett* demonstrates this clearly:

Seit den Tagen Friedrichs des Großen werden zum ersten Male wieder 'Kadetten' an die Front geschickt ... (Bongard, 1963: 22)

Apart from *Centurion*, which is linked with the Roman army, none of the designations used is limited by the frame of the armed forces of a specific country.

Other personifications that use designations for distinguished persons are also understood within frames of the political organization of various forms of society. There are designations that resemble the names related to the highest-ranking member in a monarchy in that they, too, apply to the highest-ranking member in other forms of societal organization. This may be the political head of a society that is primarily organized on a local level as with cars called *Cherokee Chief*, *Chief*, *Chieftain*, *DeLuxe Super Chief*, *Star Chief* and *Super Chief* (2x), of a democratic society as with *Premier* (3x), *President* and *State President*, or of a totalitarian society as with *Autocrat* and *Dictator*. The name *Lincoln*, which is

the only proper noun to occur in this group²⁸⁴, similarly interprets the car as "a Lincoln of our times", i.e. a person that holds the highest-ranking office in the political organization of the US, and that has furthermore the reputation to have been one of the best holders of that position. The car is additionally interpreted as a person that represents the political authority of a state internally as with *Statesman*, *The Deputy* and *The Judge* or externally as with *Ambassador* (3x) and *Diplomat* (4x).

People can rank highly in a society not only in political terms but also in other publicly acknowledged fields of honor such as business, sports or show business. Cars that are placed in these fields of human activity are *Beauty Winner*, *Boss 351*, *Celebrity* (2x), *Champ*, *Champion*, *Medalist* and *Skyway Champion*. General terms that are not only used in one specific field of human distinction are *Achieva*, *Blazer*, *Master*, *Superior*, *Topper* and *VIP* (2x). *Master* and the numerous non-institutionalized compounds it heads (*Electro-Master*, *Fleetmaster* (2x), *Master Deluxe*, *Powermaster*, *Roadmaster*, *Sportmaster* and *Stylemaster*) warrant some extra comment as the most productive personifying term in this group: *Master* is a quite polysemous item with the four major groups of meaning given in the ²OED being: "I. A man having control or authority. [...] II. A teacher; one qualified to teach. [...] III. As a specific title of office. [...] IV. As a title of rank or compliment.". Additionally there is a homonym meaning "a vessel having (a specified number of) masts", which means that all these names are not only to be understood within the metaphorical concept "the car is a person" but also within the metaphorical concept "the car is another kind of vehicle" (cf. ch. 4.3.3.1). All the combinations allow for both interpretations, a *Fleetmaster*, for instance, can be understood as "a car that is like a man having control or authority over a fleet" or as "a car that is like a vessel that is part of a fleet" or a *Stylemaster* is "a car that is like a person that has authority in questions of style" and "a car that is like a person that can teach others style" and "a car that is like a stylish vessel". This ambiguity makes *Master* a particularly powerful and therefore frequently used metaphor for a car - and not only for a car: according to

²⁸⁴ Leech (1969: 150) states that examples like "His true *Penelope* was Flaubert." and "A whale ship was my *Yale College* and my *Harvard*." are "commonly treated by textbooks as synecdoche". *Lincoln* and a few other proper nouns regarded as metaphorical names here (e.g. *Cadillac*, *DeSoto*, *La Salle*, *Marquette*; cf. ch. 4.3.1.2) seem to be parallel ("the car is a (regular, true) *Lincoln*, *Cadillac* etc") but I do not see why these should not be regarded as metaphorical names because they can be paraphrased as "the car is like *Lincoln* in occupying a very distinguished position" or "the car is like *Cadillac* in being of a very adventurous nature" etc.

Praninskas (1968: 79) compounds containing *Master* are very frequent in all kinds of trade names²⁸⁵.

4.3.1.2 The car is a person of unconventional life-style: the type *Marauder*

TABLE 4-9: SCALE OF AGGRESSION IMPLIED IN DESIGNATIONS FOR UNCONVENTIONAL PERSONS

| I | II | III | IV |
|--|---|---|---|
| free, unconventional, adventurous life-style | unconventional life-style characterized by aggressive behaviour; this aggressive behaviour is approved of by mainstream society | unconventional life-style characterized by aggressive behaviour; this aggressive behaviour is not sanctioned by society but rather regarded as disreputable | unconventional life-style characterized by aggressive behaviour which is regarded as criminal |

73 of the metaphorical car names that rely on the concept "the car is a person" make use of designations for persons of unconventional life-styles, that is 24.8% of all the personifications. There are four manufacturer designations, *Cadillac*, *DeSoto*, *La Salle* and *Marquette*, 49 series designations²⁸⁶ and 20 model designations²⁸⁷. Car names in this group rely on concepts that interpret the car as a free, adventurous and/or aggressive person on the fringes of society. These designations can be located on a scale on which the characteristic "free and adventurous" is increasingly mixed up with and superseded by the characteristic "aggressive". Table 4-9 shows a scale of aggression on which the various designations for a car as a person of unconventional life-style can be located. I take "aggression" as

an extremely general term used for a wide variety of acts that involve attack, hostility, etc. Typically, it is used for such acts which can be assumed to be motivated by [...] a tendency to push forward one's own ideas or interests. (Reber, 1985: 18)

²⁸⁵ Since she does not state what kinds of products the "the numerous compound trade names containing MASTER" are used on, I do not know whether or not the meaning "vessel" is relevant there, too.

²⁸⁶ *Adventurer*, *Adventurer I*, *Adventurer II*, *Ajax*, *Argonaut*, *Balboa*, *Buckaroo*, *Challenger* (3x), *Charger*, *Charger 2.2*, *Charger II*, *Charger III*, *Charger SE*, *Confederate*, *Corsair*, *Defender*, *DeSoto*, *Explorer* (2x), *La Fayette*, *Lancer*, *La Salle II*, *Marauder*, *Markette*, *Matador* (2x), *Nomad*, *Pioneer*, *Pirate*, *Prowler*, *Rambo Lambo*, *Rebel* (2x), *Regal Lancer*, *Rogue* (3x), *Romulus*, *Savage*, *Scamp*, *Stinger*, *Super Marauder*, *Super Spoiler*, *The Challenger*, *Vagabond*, *Warrior*, *Wrangler*

²⁸⁷ *Bandit*, *Big Bad*, *Charger* (2x), *Charger 2.2*, *Cyclone Spoiler*, *Explorer*, *Golden Lancer*, *Grabber*, *Lancer* (3x), *Nomad* (2x), *Pioneer*, *Rogue*, *Silver Challenger*, *Spoiler II*, *Vagabond* (2x)

- I. Names that are used for the car as a free, adventurous and unconventional person for which "aggression" is not yet a dominant feature are *Adventurer*, *Adventurer I*, *Adventurer II*, *Buckaroo*, *Explorer* (3x), and *Nomad* (3x). *Buckaroo* and *Nomad* additionally locate the car in the American West [*Buckaroo*, a corruption of Spanish *vaquero* is a local phrase for "cowboy" (cf. ²OED)], or in a non-industrialized society. Those names that personify the car as an individual explorer (*Balboa*, *Cadillac*, *DeSoto* (2x), *La Fayette*, *La Salle*, *La Salle II*, *Markette*, *Marquette*)²⁸⁸ attribute to it the same characteristics. Apart from *Balboa* all of these explorers were Frenchmen, which gives the cars an exotic tinge for their French-sounding names (cf. ch. 4.4.2), and the areas they "discovered" are all located somewhere in the vicinity of the Great Lakes, the heartland of the American automobile industry.
- II. In a number of designations for unconventional people used as an automobile name these people are characterized predominantly by their aggressive behaviour. It is aggression however, that is acceptable to mainstream society either because it is regarded as important for advancement in life or because it is used to defend values of the whole society. Designations for members of the armed forces (that are not of distinguished rank) fall in the latter class. The following designations for "acceptable aggressors" occur as automobile names: *Golden Lancer*, *Lancer* (4x), *Pioneer* (2x), *Regal Lancer* and *Warrior* are designations for members of the armed forces and *Confederate* and *Rebel* (2x) can be interpreted within an even more specific frame, that of the American Civil War (1861-1865). Both are, by extension, used for any inhabitant of the American South. Thus, it is again conspicuous that the name "removes" the car from contemporary American society and places it in the much-fictionalized society of the 19th century South, which is commonly associated with nature, agrarianism and aristocracy. The same "alienation" can be observed in *Argonaut* and *Ajax*, warriors of Greek legend, *Romulus*, the legendary founder of Rome, and *Matador* (2x), by which name the car is understood as a bull-fighter in a Spanish-speaking country. It is thus related to the iconic names of Spanish origin described in ch. 4.4.2. The names *Challenger* (3x), *Charger* (3x), *Charger 2.2* (2x), *Charger II*, *Charger III*, *Charger SE*, *Defender*, *Silver Challenger*, *The Challenger* and *Wrangler*, on the other hand, are not tied up with such specific frames. Interestingly, all the institutionalized ones of these also occur very frequently as names of football teams: *Challengers*, *Chargers*, *Defenders* and *Wranglers*²⁸⁹ etc. A further

²⁸⁸ also *Cimarron*, cf. ch. 4.3.2.3

²⁸⁹ Of course, names in this group are not the only ones that are also used as team names. An internet message on the subject "stereotype awareness project" from 22/09/1994 with the

name in this group is *Rambo Lambo*: the first part of this reduplication is used for "a character in several films played by Sylvester Stallone. He is strong and violent and is always fighting against evil forces, especially communism" (LDELC). The second constituent does not simply echo the first one but relates the car with *Lamborghini*, the Italian car producer that was asked by Chrysler to get some of its race image into this Jeep dream car (cf. *automobile* 1,1994: 11). With *Grabber* and *Stinger* the characteristic aggression is no longer totally positive but contains elements that are stigmatized by general society as a *Grabber* is one who "grasps or seizes suddenly and eagerly; hence, appropriates to oneself in a rapacious or unscrupulous manner" (²OED, "grab") and *Stinger* is often applied figuratively to death.

III. Cars interpreted as persons whose characteristic aggression is disreputable and disliked by general society are *Big Bad*, *Rogue* (4x), *Savage* and *Vagabond* (3x). *Big Bad*, a model designation on the AMX by AMC, which used to be the smallest of the four major American automobile manufacturers, can also be seen as an "attempt to reverse the semantic status imposed by the powerful groups in society" (Gramley/Pätzold, 1992: 35). Gramley/Pätzold (1992: 35) exemplify such an attempt with "He's a bad man on drums, and the fans love him". Similarly, the refrain of a Michael Jackson song runs "I'm so bad, so bad, so bad ...", a slogan says "Good girls go to heaven, bad girls go everywhere", and a recent Chevrolet Impala ad has the headline: "Bad to the bushings" (Popular Science 1, 1995: 36f). This reversal of the semantic content from a negative evaluation to a positive one in car names can also be seen in some of the names that relate the car to an aggressive animal (cf. ch. 4.3.2), to a weapon (cf. ch. 4.3.3.2), to a violent wind (cf. ch. 4.3.4.2) or to a supernatural being (cf. ch. 4.3.5).

IV. Further ten designations not only imply an aggressive behaviour that is disreputable but even criminal: *Bandit*, *Corsair*, *Cyclone Spoiler*, *Marauder*, *Pirate*, *Prowler*, *Scamp*, *Spoiler II*, *Super Marauder* and *Super Spoiler*. The exotic frames (cf. ch. 4.3.1.1) with which some of these criminals are associated remove them either in time or space from contemporary US-American society and thus mitigate the inherent idea of crime. A *Bandit*, for instance, is

Message-Id <9408227802.AA780249914@mail2.lmi.org> lists football and baseball team names that stereotype Native Americans. The following of these also occur as automobile names: *Chicago Blackhawks*, *Golden Eagles* (Marquette University, Milwaukee) *Phoenix Firebirds* (San Francisco), *Savages* (Southeastern Oklahoma State University, Durant), *Apaches*, *Chiefs*, *Marauders*, *Sunbirds*, *Superchiefs*, *Thunderbirds* and *Warriors* (the last seven occur as the names of various college teams).

one who is proscribed or outlawed; hence, a lawless desperate marauder, a brigand: usually applied to members of the organized gangs which infest the mountainous districts of Italy, Sicily, Spain, Greece, and Turkey (²OED)

*Corsair*²⁹⁰ is

the name in the languages of the Mediterranean for a privateer; chiefly applied to the cruisers of Barbary, to whose attacks the ships and coasts of the Christian countries were incessantly exposed. In English often treated as identical with pirate, though the Saracen and Turkish corsairs were authorized and recognized by their own government as part of its settled policy towards Christendom (²OED)

and a *Pirate* is "one who robs and plunders on the sea, navigable rivers, etc., or cruises about for that purpose; one who practises piracy; a sea-robber" and as such they are known from historical films and novels etc. but when thinking about present-day crime one is not usually afraid of being attacked by a *Pirate*. A *Scamp* is either a highway robber as of former times or today "a good-for-nothing, worthless person, a never-do-well, waster; a rascal. Also playfully as a mild term of reproof" (²OED). The other names in this group have no associations whatsoever that might mitigate the connection with crime: a *Marauder* is "one who roves in quest of plunder; a freebooter, plunderer" (²OED), a *Prowler* is "one who prowls; one who goes about on the look-out for what he can find or seize; one who sneaks about in search of prey or plunder; also, one who seeks gain or advantage by any underhand or dishonourable means; a parasite, a sponge; a pilferer, impostor, cheat, plunderer; a burglar, a sneak thief" (²OED), and a *Spoiler* is "one who pillages, plunders, or robs; a ravager, spoliator, despoiler" (²OED). The combinations with *Spoiler* could also be metonymies of the "pars pro toto"-type (cf. ch. 4.2.5) as *Spoiler* is also used to designate "a surface on an aircraft, car, etc., intended to interrupt the smooth flow of air".

4.3.1.3 The car is a person of a certain provenance: the type *New Yorker*

58 of the metaphorical car names that rely on the concept "the car is a person" make use of designations for persons of a certain provenance, that is 19.7% of all the personifications. There are 29 series designations²⁹¹ and 29 model

²⁹⁰ The metonymic name Chevrolet *Corsica* (cf. ch. 4.2.1.1) may also play on the *Corsair* associations as "the reference of the name [=corsair - I.P.] to Corsica was a piece of Italian popular etymology and animosity" (²OED).

²⁹¹ *American, Apache, Caribbean, Cherokee, Chicagoan, Continental, Cosmopolitan, Detroiter, Grand Cherokee, Highlander, Metropolitan (2x), National, New Yorker, New Yorker*

designations²⁹². It is far more common to associate a car with a certain location by metonymy instead of metaphor (cf. ch. 4.2.1). While the metonymic process as in *Aspen*, *Bel Air*, *Manhattan* etc. associates the car with the stereotypic image of a certain place, it is regarded as the stereotypical inhabitant of a certain place in the metaphorical process²⁹³. A stereotype is - like the mental frames mentioned above (cf. ch. 4.3.1.1) - a representation of "knowledge" of the world. The designation "stereotype" was coined in 1922 by an American journalist, Lippman, in his book *Public Opinion*. He regarded stereotypes as prejudices that determine the reputation of individuals, groups, regions, countries etc. He emphasized the rigidity of stereotypes and their resistance to change through education. It is difficult to change stereotypes with the help of fact:

"[...] like myths with which they have much in common, stereotypes remain remarkably unaffected by empirical facts. They are collective and psychologically deeply rooted images of the world, which reduce the complexities of life and bear a mythopoetic quality. They contain collective experiences which carry a kind of truth that can never be reached or touched by the empirical facts of science [...] they operate on a different level of discourse. (Zijderveld, 1987: 26f)

Katz/Braly (1933) found in a study of 100 college students that stereotypes have an important function in society facilitating communication and contact with persons who hold the same stereotypes because every member of a society knows the stereotypes, even those who claim not to hold stereotypic opinions. This is important for car names as name makers can rely on consumers to draw the connotations they find necessary for their interpretation of the car from a rich store of stereotypes present in a given society.

A group whose stereotypic image is used quite frequently as an automobile name - and which is closely related with designations for people of unconventional life-styles (cf. ch. 4.3.1.2) are Native Americans: there are cars that "are" an *Apache*, a *Caribbean* (3x), a *Cherokee*, a *Grand Cherokee*, a *Cheyenne* and a *Seneca*. A further example is the *Studebaker Champion Conestoga* (cf. ch. 4.3.3.1). The advertising slogan "No one knows the land like a Navajo" (internet message <9408227802.AA780249914@mail2.lmi.org>, 22/09/1994) for the *Mazda Navajo* explicitly states a stereotype commonly held about Native

Deluxe, *Norseman*, *Plainsman*, *Saxon*, *Scotsman*, *Suburban* (3x), *Viking*, *Villager* (2x), *Virginian*, *Westcoaster Super 36*, *Yank*, *Yankee*

²⁹² *Caribbean* (2x), *Cheyenne*, *Continental*, *Custom Virginian*, *Grand National*, *Highlander* (2x), *Islander*, *MX Villager*, *Plainsman*, *Scotsman*, *Seneca*, *Sport Suburban* (2x), *Suburban* (7x), *Townsmen*, *Villager* (4x), *Virginian*, *Westerner*

²⁹³ A major source of any stereotype is metonymy: "[...] a situation in which some subcategory or member or submodel is used [...] to comprehend the category as a whole." (Lakoff, 1987: 79)

Americans. By making this statement in an advertisement for a car of the name *Navajo* consumers are invited to assume that the car has similar qualities. Slogans like these of course reinforce existing stereotypes although the advertisers might claim that they do not talk about people at all - they do, however, as only human beings can "know the land" but not a machine. From a positive point of view, one could say that stereotypes used in advertising have the advantage of offering pleasant connotations. Generally, the content of stereotypes seems to change very little but their evaluation does:

The raw material from which stereotypes are formed may be absorbed by a child before he realizes what a **nation** or a **people** is. But the manner in which these materials are combined at any moment to produce a pleasant or unpleasant image apparently will vary with the current state of affairs between the governments of two peoples. (Buchanan/Cantril, 1972: 94)

Native Americans do not only feel stereotyped by the use of names of their groups as product names but also by the use of other designations connected with them (e.g. *Marauders*, *Warriors*) or by the use of designations for animals and symbols sacred to them (e.g. *Blackhawk*, *Sundance*, *Thunderbird*) (cf. fn. 289).

Cars are not only interpreted as Native Americans but also as other groups of Americans. Apart from the above-mentioned *Confederate* and *Rebel* (cf. ch. 4.3.1.2) there is the archilexeme *American* and the following of its hyponyms: *Chicagoan*, *Custom Virginian*, *Detroiter*, *New Yorker*, *New Yorker Deluxe*, *Virginian* (2x), *Westerner*, *Westcoaster Super 36*, *Yank* and *Yankee*. The name *American* was introduced in 1957 on a compact car that had until then been called *Rambler*. As the German Beetle became increasingly successful in the small car market the Rambler was re-named *American* "to attract buyers away from the Beetle" (Sobel, 1984: 66). Thus, the name *American* implicitly states that there is another car, the Beetle, that is a foreign car.

People of non-American provenance are comparatively rare: there is a *Saxon*, a *Norseman*, a *Scotsman* (2x) and a *Viking*. With *Viking*, and probably also with *Norseman* and *Saxon*, the car is regarded as a member of a historical people with a reputation for fierce aggression.

The designations of this group given so far have a kind of proprial character reflected by the fact that they are also spelt with capital letters when not used as automobile names (cf. Greenbaum/Quirk, 1990: 91) in that they are specific national or regional names. The following designations lack this proprial character because they are used for persons that live not in a specific location but rather in a certain class of location: the car might be understood as a person from a rural area as in *Highlander* (3x), *MX Villager*, *Plainsman* (2x) and *Villager* (6x) or as an urbanite: *Metropolitan* (2x), *Sport Suburban* (2x), *Suburban* (10x)

and *Townsmen*. The person that is the car might also be at home in a wider area as a *Continental* (2x), a *Cosmopolitan*, a *Grand National*, an *Islander* and a *National* is.

4.3.1.4 The car is a traveling person or a person moving in a certain way: the type *Sundancer*

46 of the metaphorical car names that rely on the concept "the car is a person" make use of designations for traveling persons or persons moving in a certain way, that is 15.6% of all the personifications. There is one manufacturer designation, *Rambler*, 27 series designations²⁹⁴ and 18 model designations²⁹⁵.

The archilexeme for persons in this group, *Traveler*, occurs, together with one instance of *Traveler Six*, six times, and the less common *Voyager* three times. More specifically, the car may be seen as a person traveling by land on foot as with *Gadabout*, *Pacer* (2x), *Rambler* (4x), *Wayfarer* and the combinations with "runner": *Forerunner*, *Front Runner*, *New Fun Runner* and *Sun Runner*. The vehicle designation *Scooter* (cf. ch. 4.3.3.1) is also used for persons of such characteristics. Apart from quick movement on land these designations specify a further aspect such as a distinguished position, *Forerunner*²⁹⁶ and *Front Runner*, the feeling experienced while running, *New Fun Runner*, or the location where the action takes place as in *Road Runner* (cf. ch. 4.3.2.1). A movement that also takes place on land and on foot is "dancing" as in *Sundancer* but here the notion of "traveling" is absent. The car is also interpreted as a person traveling by land but not on foot - on horseback as in *Highrider* or in a wagon as in *Grand Wagoneer* and *Wagoneer* -, as a person moving in air as in *Swinger* and *Swinger Special*, or as one traveling by sea as in *Mariner*.

Apart from the medium of travel other aspects of the person's/car's movement may be specified: *Duster* (3x) and its combinations *Gold Duster* and *Valiant Duster* highlight the speed of the movement. *Duster* is one of those suffixations in *-er* the institutionalized meaning of which is not primarily a person performing the action of the verb (cf. ch. 4.1). The meanings given in the ²OED are

1. a. A cloth for removing dust from a surface; a dust-brush. [...]
- b. A machine for removing dust (by rubbing, etc.) in various mechanical processes.
2. a. A contrivance for removing dust by sifting; a sieve. b. An apparatus for sifting dry poisons upon plants to kill insects. [...]
3. A person who dusts, or wipes off dust. [...]

²⁹⁴ *Duster*, *Escort*, *Forerunner*, *Gadabout*, *Grand Wagoneer*, *Pacemaker* (3x), *Pacer* (2x), *Pacesetter*, *Rambler* (3x), *Ranger*, *Sundancer*, *Tracer*, *Tracker*, *Traveler* (3x), *Traveler Six*, *Tri-Muter G*, *Valiant Duster*, *Voyager*, *Wagoneer*, *Wayfarer*

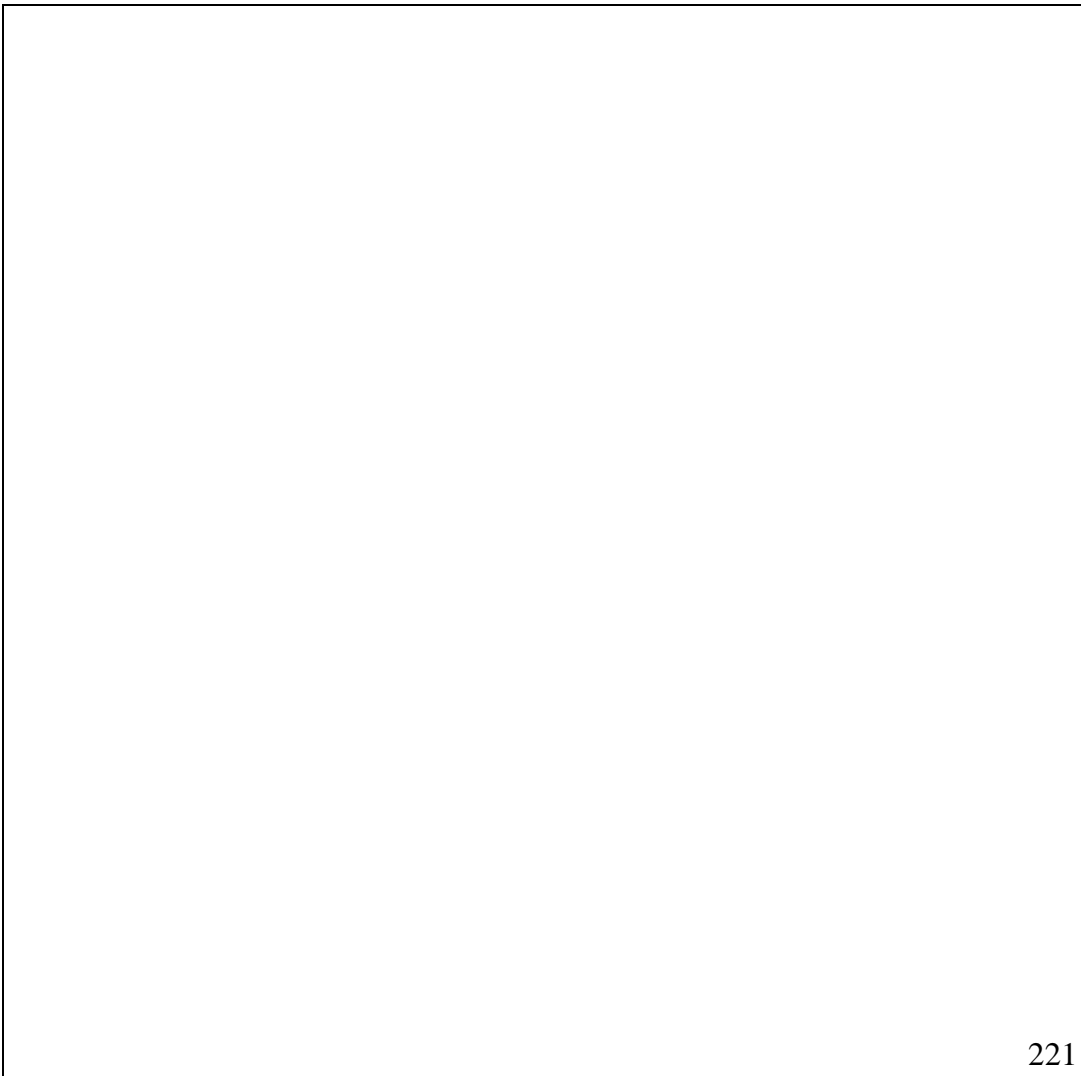
²⁹⁵ *Commuter* (2x), *Duster* (2x), *Econ-O-Miler*, *Front Runner*, *Gold Duster*, *Highrider*, *Mariner*, *New Fun Runner*, *Sun Runner*, *Swinger*, *Swinger Special*, *Town Traveler*, *Traveler* (2x), *Voyager* (2x)

²⁹⁶ Its homophone, the *Toyota 4Runner*, combines this idea with an expression for a feature of the car, its four-wheel drive.

4. a. A light cloak or wrap worn to keep off dust; [...] b. In full duster coat: a woman's loose light casual full-length coat. [...]
5. Naval slang. An ensign or flag"

Nevertheless, I interpret a car of the name *Duster* as "a car that is like a person moving at such speed that he or she raises dust" because this is the only interpretation that can draw on a pattern of car names. If *Duster* were to be interpreted as "a car that is like a cloth for removing dust" this name would have a unique meaning among all the names in my corpus - and a rather odd one, too. That the name *Duster* was intended to personify the car is further supported by an advertising campaign for it in 1972 in which it appeared in a comic strip: The car's headlights are drawn like eyes, the bubbles indicate that it talks and advertises itself, it "lives" in a garage that houses "Mr. Wonderful" and, most important, the headline uses the masculine personal pronoun for the car stating "We find DUSTER expounding on *his* favorite subject ... HIMSELF." (my italics; cf. Figure 4-11).

FIGURE 4-11: 1972 PLYMOUTH DUSTER AD (SOURCE: GEORGANO, 1992: 205)



Like the above-mentioned *Forerunner* and *Frontrunner*, other names that interpret the car as a traveling or moving person such as the following also focus on the front position of the person/car in a moving group: *Pacemaker* (3x) and *Pacesetter* additionally contain an element of power as the persons so designated are not only to be found in front position but they also determine the speed of the other members of their groups. *Tracer* and *Tracker* can be regarded as their antonyms: they follow the traces or tracks of others, they are thus found in a back position and they lack power in that their way is totally determined by the tracks laid by others (cf. ²OED, s.v. *Tracer* "one who follows the footprints or track of anything; one who tracks, investigates, or searches out"; s.v. *Tracker* "one who or that which tracks; one skilled in following a track or trail"). The car namers probably did not have such a passive image in mind when they named their cars: if not seen against *Pacemaker* and *Pacesetter*, the track followed is not necessarily one laid out by other cars. A car understood as *Tracer* or *Tracker* is then a person who knows his or her way, who does not swerve of, who will reach an implied destiny, who can *track down* or *trace* others and maybe overtake them etc. A *Tracer* is additionally a man-made object that cannot be overlooked, it is "a bullet that leaves a line of smoke or flame behind it so that its course can be seen" (LDELC). The quest for a destiny might be implied in *Ranger*, too, as this designation is used for persons who "move hither and thither over a comparatively large area; rove, roam, wander, stray. [...] and sometimes including the idea of searching (for something)." (²OED, s.v. "range"). A car called *Ranger* could also be understood as a person of distinguished rank because the designation is also used for a forest officer, a body of mounted troops and a member of an élite American military unit.

The reason for the travel is specified in *Escort*, *Commuter* (2x) and *Tri-Muter G*²⁹⁷, the energy needed for the travel in *Econ-O-Miler* (cf. ch. 3.8 on graphemic variation), and the location of the travel in *Town Traveler*.

4.3.1.5 The car is a person with other characteristics

31 of the metaphorical car names that rely on the concept "the car is a person" make use of designations for persons with other characteristics than those mentioned in ch. 4.3.1.1 to ch. 4.3.1.4, that is 10.5% of all the personifications. There are 16 series designations²⁹⁸ and 15 model designations²⁹⁹. The largest subgroup of these is made up of one single item that occurs seven times,

²⁹⁷ The *Tri-Muter G* was a three-wheel commuter vehicle (cf. Flammang, 1989: 440).

²⁹⁸ *Baby*, *Baby Grand*, *Big Boy*, *Cinderella*, *Corporate*, *Electric Shopper*, *Jimmy*, *King-Midget*, *Marketeer*, *Mona Lisa*, *Playboy*, *Predictor*, *Projector*, *Sportsman*, *Towne Shopper*, *Transformer I*

²⁹⁹ *Double Dater*, *Handyman*, *Miser* (3x), *Mod*, *Shopper*, *Sizzler*, *Sportsman* (6x), *Valentina*

Sportsman. Apart from a sporty person the car might be a trading person as in *Electric Shopper*, *Marketeer*, *Shopper* and *Towne Shopper*. *Miser* (3x) focuses on the economic nature of man as it denotes "one who hoards wealth and lives miserably in order to increase his hoard. Also, in wider use, an avaricious, grasping person, a niggard" (²OED). The first-mentioned, however, specify the purpose to which the car can be put, shopping, while *Miser* focuses on its fuel consumption³⁰⁰. Three names, *Baby*, *Baby Grand* and *Big Boy* (which marks the car additionally as male), interpret the car as a young human being. According to the ²OED (7.c., s.v. "baby") *Baby* is an institutionalized metaphor for a small car (cf. 4.5). Two proper nouns used as an automobile name, *Cinderella* and *Mona Lisa*, compare the car with a beautiful woman. Of two other proper nouns used as automobile names, *Jimmy* and *Valentina*, I do not know what the grounds of comparison are. The eponym *Jimmy* is actually used for a number of things, for instance "a metal bar used especially by thieves to break open locked doors, windows, etc." (LDELIC), so the metaphorical concept *Jimmy* is intended to invoke might not be "the car is a person" at all, but rather "the car is a man-made object"³⁰¹. The other ten personifications fall in no perceptible pattern so that I shall simply list them together with their meaning in Table 4-10.

TABLE 4-10: PERSONIFICATIONS NOT FORMING A PATTERN

| name | meaning (quotations from ² OED): "the car is like ..." |
|----------------------|--|
| <i>Corporate</i> | "a man who subordinates his individuality and his personal life to the organization he serves" |
| <i>Double Dater</i> | one who double dates ie. "participates in a date involving two couples" |
| <i>Handyman</i> | "a man of general utility, a man useful for all sorts of odd jobs". The name associates reliability. |
| <i>King-Midget</i> | associates size and quality: a midget that is king |
| <i>Mod</i> | "a teenager who is characterized by his sophistication and tidiness; frequently contrasted with 'rocker'" |
| <i>Playboy</i> | "a man, especially a wealthy man, who sets out to enjoy himself; a selfish pleasure-seeker" |
| <i>Predictor</i> | "one who [...] predicts or foretells" |
| <i>Projector</i> | "one who forms a project, who plans or designs some enterprise or undertaking; a founder" |
| <i>Sizzler</i> | this <i>er</i> -suffixation has no institutionalized meaning as a human agent, I interpret the car of this name as "one that is like a sizzling-hot person" (cf. ch. 4.1). The institutionalized meaning of <i>Sizzler</i> is "a sizzling heat, day, etc.", perhaps the name promises sizzling hot property. |
| <i>Transformer I</i> | "one who or that which transforms"; also the title of a cartoon series in which people turn into cars and vice versa |

³⁰⁰ The car managed a particularly high mileage per gallon (cf. Flammang, 1989: 190).

³⁰¹ It has been suggested to me that the name might be related with the actor Jimmy Dean (1931-1955). I think it is an unlikely association for a GMC pick-up truck of the 80s, and furthermore there is no pattern of automobiles being named after actors.

4.3.2 The car is an animal

The concept of the car as an animal to which brand namers refer when calling a car *Eagle*, *Bronco*, *Hawk* or *Mustang* is together with the concept "the car is a human being" the best-established one by which we understand and experience automobiles. An example of this concept is Carl Sandburg's poem "Portrait of a Motorcar" of 1918, which is according to Goldstein (1980/81: 623) the first American poem about the car:

It's a *lean* car ... a *long-legged dog* of a car ... a *gray-ghost eagle* car. The *feet* of it *eat* the dirt of the road ... the *wings* of it *eat* the hills. Danny the driver dreams of it when he sees women in red skirts and red sox in his sleep. It is Danny's *life* and *runs* in the blood of him ... a *lean gray-ghost* car. (quoted from Goldstein, 1980/81: 623; my italics)

Animal metaphors for the car do not only appear in literature but also in everyday speech. There is the technical term *wing* for a part of the car, there used to be *tailfins* on cars, one *rides* in a car, a *pony car* is a certain type of car, a new car may be announced as "Another *horse* for our boss *stable*. [...] Passat wagons are better proportioned than their sedan *stablemates* [...]" (Markus, 1993a: 134), a car that goes out of production may be advertised as "Last of a magnificent *breed*." (Stern/Stern, 1978: 126f). This Cadillac ad of 1976 shows the Eldorado Convertible on a pasture among a number of fine horses.³⁰² The car makes noises characteristic of cats as in "The white Cadillac *purred* to a halt." (*Times* 3/4/1978, 12/3; quoted from ²OED: s.v. "purr"), it lives in an environment and is subjected to processes that are typically associated with animals:

"Stylish, swoopy coupes are gradually overrunning the former *habitat* of the practical hatchback and the upright two-door sedan. It's *natural selection*." (Markus, 1993b: 136)

In most texts, the car is compared to horses, birds or cats, although there are also comparisons as "exotic" as with a bat:

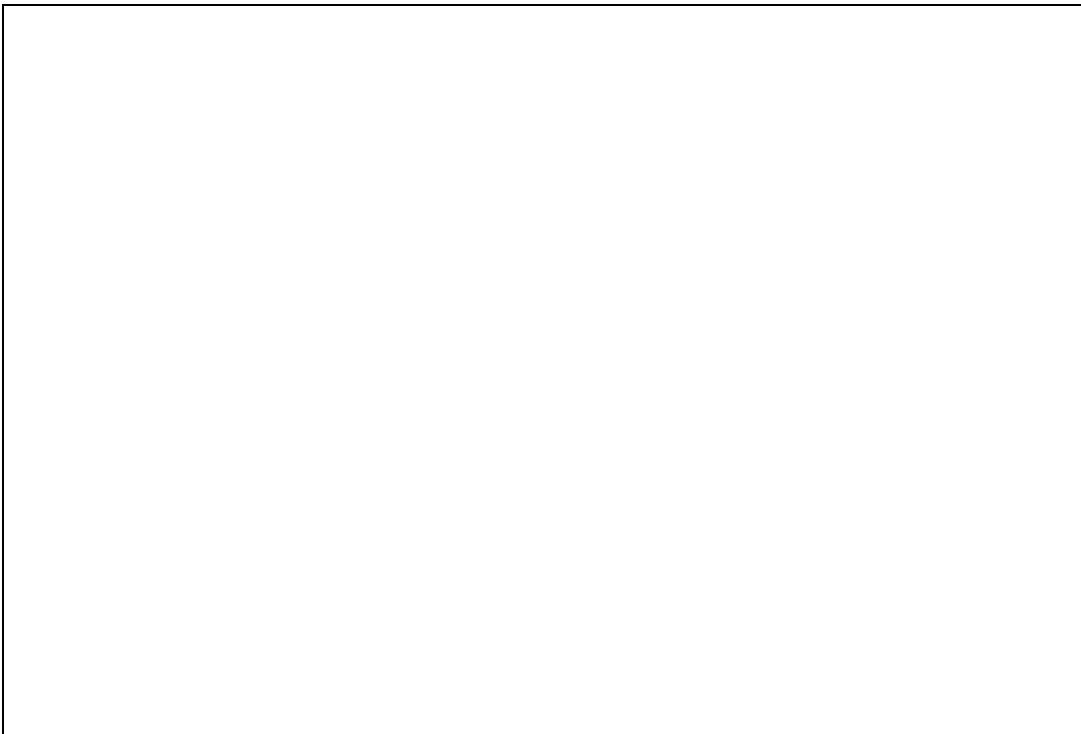
Through clouds of flying sand and gravel it is roaring across the panorama of today's war, 'like a *bat* out of hell' - the JEEP from Willys-Overland. Though soldiers idolize this modern *mustang* of metal [...]. (Jeep ad, 1942; Stern/Stern, 1978:50)

³⁰² Generally, the role visuals play in distributing and enforcing these metaphors is probably as important as text, especially in adverts. Another example would be the ad for the Jordan Playboy in 1923 quoted above (cf. ch. Figure 1-4; p. 56) which also plays on the notion that the car is a horse and which is illustrated with a painted speeding car paralleled by a galloping horse. Rider and driver (it's an open car) look at each other, they might run a race in which the car is half its own length ahead.

The reason for the frequent horse metaphors are to be found in the early days of the automobile. Horse and car were direct competitors then, and consumers were introduced to the then-new machine and its technology in terms of an animal about which they could be assumed to be knowledgeable. An Oldsmobile advert from 1901 in which the picture of an eating horse is opposed to a car demonstrates this clearly (cf. Figure 4-12): the headline of the horse part says "Board one year \$180.00" and the headline of the car part "Gasoline one year \$35.00". The text below both asserts

This graceful and practical Automobile will do the work of six horses at an average cost of \$35.00 a year (10,000 miles). Board alone for one horse costs \$180.00 a year, so the economy is very evident. (quoted from Stern/Stern, 1978: 9)

FIGURE 4-12: 1901 OLDSMOBILE AD (SOURCE: STERN/STERN, 1978: 9)



In another early text, a much-quoted German Daimler advertisement from 1897, the car is described metaphorically as a draught animal:

Ein 'Daimler' ist ein gutes *Thier*,
Zieht wie ein *Ochs*, du siehst's allhier;
Er *frißt* nichts, wenn im *Stall* er steht
Und *saugt* nur, wenn die Arbeit geht;
Er drischt und sägt und pumpt dir auch,
Wenn's Moos dir fehlt, was oft der Brauch;

Er kriegt nicht *Maul= noch Klauenseuch*
 Und *macht dir keinen dummen Streich.*
 Er *nimmt im Zorn dich nicht aufs Horn,*
Verzehrt dir nicht dein gutes Korn.
 Drum kaufe nur ein solches *Thier,*
 Dann bist versorgt du für und für. (quoted from Roberts, 1976: 14)

In a modern version of this type of comparison a Cadillac is compared to a camel:

You have no water or coolant. You have 50 miles of desert to cross. You have 2 choices. You can ride or drive. A camel's system is so adaptive, it can travel 50 miles in desert heat without taking fluid ... making him one of the world's most dependable animals. The Northstar System by Cadillac is so adaptive that, if necessary for your safety, it is engineered to travel 50 miles in desert heat without a single drop of coolant ... which might also tell you something about its dependability. (*car&driver* 6, 1993: 110f)

Apart from the parallel between the car and the formerly used draught animal, there seems to be a general tendency to interpret machines as animals. In his thesis on *Metaphorik in modernen technischen Bezeichnungen des Englischen* Bückendorf (1963: 281ff) notes a large pattern of machines or their parts designated as animals³⁰³. He explains the frequency of animal metaphors in the language of technology with their property to raise things to a higher level of being:

Während der Mensch durch den modernen Tiervergleich heruntergezogen wird, werden Sachen durch die Animalisierung belebt und auf eine höhere Stufe gestellt. (Bückendorf, 1963: 284)

The name of 123 automobiles in my corpus is based on an animal designation, that is 5.5% of the total and 19.4% of all the metaphorical names. Table 4-11 shows their distribution over the various slots of an automobile designation.

TABLE 4-11: ANIMAL METAPHORS USED AS AUTOMOBILE NAMES

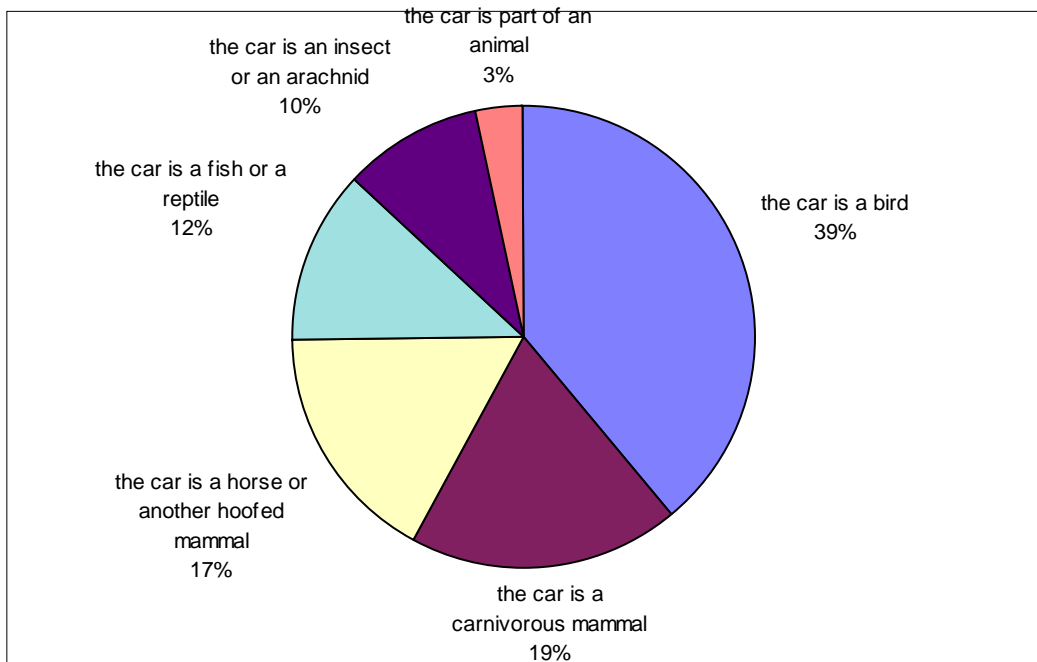
| | manufacturer designations (total: 59; metaphors: 10) | series designations (total: 1024; metaphors: 415) | model designations (total: 1158; metaphors: 209) | total: 2241; metaphors: 634 |
|----------------|--|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| total | 1 | 85 | 37 | 123 |
| % of the total | 1,7 | 8,3 | 3,2 | 5,5 |

³⁰³ Two other theses quoted there (Bückendorf, 1963: 284) obviously got the same results for English and German: Eisenbrown, Harry (1932). *Die Verwendung der Tiernamen in der Sprache der englischen Technik*. Heidelberg, and Taenzler (1955). *Der Wortschatz des Maschinenbaus im 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. Bonn.

% of the metaphors 10,0 20,5 17,7 19,4

The animal car names are taken from only a limited number of groups of animals, namely birds, carnivorous and hoofed mammals, fish and insects. Figure 4-13 shows the portion of the various groups of animals. The categories are not assembled on strictly zoological principles but rather on "folk principles". Thus, the animals in the group "carnivorous mammals", for instance, include the panda although I am aware that this bear lives exclusively on bamboo. In life-style and outward appearance, however, it resembles a tiger or a panther, prototypical members of this group. Another case in point is the formation of the groups themselves, of course: zoologists might not usually treat insects and arachnids in one group but they have enough features in common to do so for the present purpose.

FIGURE 4-13: GROUPS OF ANIMALS USED AS CAR NAMES



4.3.2.1 The car is a bird: the type *Eagle*

The majority of the metaphorical car names that rely on the concept "the car is an animal" refer to the sub-concept "the car is a bird", namely 48 items, that is 39.0% of all the animal names. There is one manufacturer designation, *Eagle*, 32 series designations³⁰⁴ and 15 model designations³⁰⁵. 27 of these names are

³⁰⁴ 2000 *Sunbird*, *Blackhawk*, *Eagle* (2x), *Falcon* (2x), *Firebird*, *Firebird I*, *Firebird II*, *Firebird III*, *Firebird IV*, *Fitchbird*, *Flight Hawk*, *Golden Eagle*, *Golden Hawk*, *Gran Turismo Hawk*, *Hawk* (2x), *Hummingbird*, *Lark*, *Master Eagle*, *Merlin*, *Power Hawk*, *Road Runner*, *Silver Hawk*, *Sky Hawk*, *Skyhawk*, *Skylark*, *Sunbird*, *Superbird*, *The Free Spirit Hawk*, *Trihawk*

simplexes or established syntagmatic word-formations, which means that there is a "real" bird to which the designation refers and to which the car is metaphorically linked. In the 21 other designations the archilexeme "bird" or another designation of a bird is specified by some kind of determiner but there is no "real" bird to which the whole syntagma is applied.

13 of the "real" birds are birds of prey: *Blackhawk*, *Eagle* (4x), *Falcon* (4x), *Golden Eagle*, *Hawk* (2x) and *Merlin*. The ground of comparison with these birds is their power and fierceness and also the speed and precision with which they bring down their prey. Especially the eagle has some important additional properties: its strength, keen vision, graceful and powerful flight are proverbial, and have given to him the title of the king of birds (cf. ²OED) and it is the emblematic bird of the United States, where it is often used as a symbol of liberty or freedom. It is furthermore particularly associated with the American West, "the *genius loci* of the Western mountains" (Goldstein, 1980/81: 623). The majority of the names that are not used for real birds also make use of the metaphorical concept "the car is a bird of prey". In 10 cases the car is regarded as a hawk: *Flight Hawk*, *Golden Hawk*, *Gran Turismo Hawk*, *Power Hawk*, *Silver Hawk*, *Sky Hawk*, *Skyhawk* (2x), *Trihawk*. With *Flight Hawk*, *Power Hawk*, *Sky Hawk*, *Skyhawk* (2x) and *The Free Spirit Hawk* properties attributed to any hawk are pleonastically stated as any unmaimed bird of prey has the power of flight, is powerful in comparison with other birds, spends much of its time in the sky and is said to have a free spirit. The attributes *Golden* and *Silver* specify the car's elevated and precious status, again by making use of metaphor. The determiners *Gran Turismo* and *Tri-* could not be applied to "hawk" if it were not understood that this particular hawk is an automobile³⁰⁶. The name *Master Eagle* explicitly states a feature that is attributed to any eagle, being the king or the "master" of other birds.

The other 15 "real" birds do not belong to one single class: the common feature of *Firebird* (3x), *Hummingbird*, *Redbird*, *Sunbird* and *Yellow Bird* is that they are native to the Americas (though not all of them exclusively) and that they are particularly noted for the brilliant colour of their plumage. The *Firebird* and the *Hummingbird* are some of the smallest known birds. Apart from the "real" bird, *Firebird* and *Sunbird* also designate mythical birds: the *Firebird* is an element of the myths of a number of native American peoples, and "a bird sacred to the sun, connected with sun-worship, or the sun regarded as a bird" is known in the myths of various cultures (cf. ²OED). *Phoenix* and *Thunderbird* (cf. 4.3.5) would also fit into this small pattern. Additionally, *Firebird* and *Sunbird* occur as head

³⁰⁵ *Bantam*, *Eagle*, *Falcon* (2x), *Firebird* (2x), *Lark*, *Redbird*, *Road Hawk*, *Road Runner*, *Sandpiper*, *Skylark*, *Superbird*, *Super Road Runner*, *Yellow Bird*

³⁰⁶ *Trihawk* was the name of a three-wheeler (cf. Flammang, 1989: 440).

in phrasal names in which they are combined with a numeral: *Firebird I*, *Firebird II*, *Firebird III*, *Firebird IV* and *2000 Sunbird*. The *Lark* (2x) or *Skylark* (2x) is known for its early song and the fact that it is soaring towards the sky while singing. High position or "rank" and joyful character might be the grounds of comparison in these cases. The other "real" birds are *Bantam*, a domestic fowl noted for its small size, *Sandpiper*, a shore bird, and *Road Runner* (2x), "the paisano or chaparral cock" (²OED). *Road Runner* is also the name of "a cartoon character on television like this bird, which always escapes when a coyote (called Wiley Coyote) tries to catch it" (LDEL) - the characteristic "beep-beep" call of this figure was actually imitated by the car's horn (cf. Georgano, 1992: 222). There was also a *Super Road Runner*.

In three names the archilexeme "bird" is modified to form a car name: *Fitchbird* is a "car that is like a bird produced by a manufacturer with the surname 'Fitch'" and *Superbird* (2x) explains itself as "a car that is like a bird that surpasses other birds in various respects".

4.3.2.2 The car is a carnivorous mammal: the type *Cougar*

23 of the metaphorical car names that rely on the concept "the car is an animal" refer to the sub-concept "the car is a carnivorous mammal", that is 18.7% of all the animal names. There are 19 series designations³⁰⁷ and 4 model designations³⁰⁸. 16 of these names are simplexes or established syntagmatic word-formations, which means that there is a "real" mammal to which the designation refers and to which the car is metaphorically linked. In the 7 other designations such a designation is the head of a phrase that is modified by a numeral or a letter combination.

The largest subgroup is formed by the cats. The most famous car with a name that is a cat metaphor is probably the British *Jaguar*. The cat metaphor is expanded in adverts, e.g. "*Born: The 12-cylinder animal. Jaguar, a breed of cat [...]*" or "*The Beautiful Animal*" (quoted from Cohen, 1972: 128; 372; my italics), and in automotive literature, e.g. "*Jaguar XJS 4.0 Convertible. They're not kidding about cats having nine lives*" (Winfield, 1994: 169) or "*The feline Jaguar 'E' type went on sale in 1961 [...]*" (Bayley, 1986: 21).

Apart from *Cat* and its Spanish equivalent *El Gato* (cf. ch. 4.4.2), which is most commonly used for the domestic cat although it is also the archilexeme of the group, there are only designations of wild cats: *Bobcat*, *Cougar*, *Lynx*, *Panther*, *Puma*, *Royal Bobcat*, *Tiger*, *Wildcat*, *Wildcat I*, *Wildcat II* and *Wildcat III* (there

³⁰⁷ *Auto Cub*, *Bearcat* (2x), *Bobcat*, *Gray Wolf*, *Grey Wolf II*, *Cougar*, *Lynx*, *Panda*, *Panther*, *Puma*, *Pup*, *Sable*, *Tiger*, *Vixen*, *Wildcat*, *Wildcat I*, *Wildcat II*, *Wildcat III*

³⁰⁸ *Bearcat*, *Bearcat S*, *Cat*, *Royal Bobcat*

is no car name **Lion* in my corpus). The distinguishing feature of all these animals is their savageness and aggressiveness that often makes them dangerous but also their supposedly free spirit. Apart from the tiger all these animals are native to the Americas³⁰⁹, some even exclusively. Zoologically speaking *Bearcat* (3x) and *Bearcat S* do not belong to this group as *bearcat* is a synonym of *panda* but its form suggests that there is a folk notion that this animal also belongs to the cat group. This interpretation is supported by the use of *bearcat* for "an aggressive or forceful person; one of great energy or ability" (²OED) in U.S. slang as cats are supposed to have aggressive characters but not pandas.

The other animals in this group are distinguished by their aggressive and dangerous character as *Gray Wolf*, *Grey Wolf II* and *Vixen*. With the name *Vixen* it is further implied that the car is of female sex. Human qualities attributed to vixens and thus to the car are ill-temperedness and quarrelsomeness. Foxes generally are supposed to be clever. A *cub* is the young of a fox, a bear or other wild beast, so that an *Auto Cub* is the "young of an auto" or "a young car". Likewise a car named *Pup*³¹⁰ is to be understood as a young one. A car called *Sable* will like most animals in this group be experienced as aggressive etc. but mainly as luxurious and precious, the qualities of its fur. The last animal in this group is the *Panda* which is no carnivorous mammal but resembles the others in this group in outward appearance. It has much of a teddy-bear image so that a car of this name should be regarded as a sweet, lovable companion. Additionally, the metaphor is established for "a police patrol car, so named from the resemblance of a broad white stripe on the car to the markings of the giant panda." (²OED).

4.3.2.3 The car is a horse or another hoofed mammal: the type *Mustang*

21 of the metaphorical car names that rely on the concept "the car is an animal" refer to the sub-concept "the car is a horse or another hoofed mammal", that is 17.1% of all the animal names. There are 15 series designations³¹¹ and 6 model designations³¹². 17 of these names are simplexes or established syntagmatic word-formations, which means that there is a "real" mammal to which the designation refers and to which the car is metaphorically linked. In the four other

³⁰⁹ In America *panther* is often used for the puma (cf. ²OED).

³¹⁰ Eisiminger (1991: 105) explains the name used for an Isuzu truck as a contraction from *pickup*. For the *Pup* produced by an independent Wisconsin-based manufacturer from 1948 to 1949 this explanation is certainly not true as it denoted no pick-up but rather a tiny doorless two-passenger vehicle (cf. Gunnell, 1991: 709f). On the other hand, the animal designation probably played a role in Isuzu's choice.

³¹¹ *Bronco*, *Colt* (3x), *Maverick*, *Mustang* (2x), *Mustang I*, *Mustang II*, *Thorobred*, *Thoroughbred*, *Cimarron*, *Gazelle*, *Impala*, *Impala SS*

³¹² *Pony*, *Pony MPG*, *Stallion* (3x), *Impala*

names such a designation is the head of a phrase that is modified by a numeral or letter combination.

The text examples above (cf. ch. 4.3.2) show that in the early days of the automobile it was often explicitly compared to the horse and that the metaphorical concept "the car is a horse" is a rather important one by which cars are understood and experienced. Automobile names reflect the importance of this concept only partly as horse designations used as car names are not very frequent. There is *Bronco*, *Colt* (3x), *Mustang* (2x), *Mustang I*, *Mustang II*, *Pony*, *Pony MPG*, *Stallion* (3x), *Thorbred* and *Thoroughbred*. Broncos and mustangs are horses typically associated with the American west and the myth that surrounds it. Additionally, they are wild or half-wild animals. Thus, the cars also promise the magic of the West, adventure, wildness and "free spirit" etc. *Colt* and *Stallion* specify the sex of the horse. While *Vixen*, the other animal the sex of which is specified, is female, *Colt* and *Stallion* are male. The most important characteristic of these animals is the same, however: while female foxes have a fiercer, wilder and more aggressive reputation than their male counterparts, with horses it is the other way round: these qualities, spiritedness and the love of freedom are supposedly traits of (uncastrated) male horses while the female ones are largely associated with breeding etc. The distinguishing trait of a *Thoroughbred* is the excellence with which it is "crafted", a *Pony* is small in comparison with other horses but like a *Panda* it is also a lovable and dependable companion.

The other animals in this group are the *Maverick*, again one associated with the American west and independence and individualism. *Cimarron* is also a native American animal: "a Spanish-American name of the Rocky Mountain sheep or bighorn." (²OED). At the same time it is the Spanish word for *Mustang*. *Gazelle*, *Impala* (2x) and *Impala SS* are noted for the enormous speed with which they travel. An *Impala* is

an antelope (*Æpyceros melampus*) inhabiting parts of South Africa; it is dark-reddish above, dull-yellowish on the sides, and white beneath; the male has horns about twenty inches long and spreading in a lyrate figure. (²OED)

An example that not only car namers want consumers to understand cars as antelopes but that other people do so, too, is the name South Africans have given to a certain type of police car: *Nyala* (cf. Grill, 1994: 10). A *nyala* is

a large, gregarious antelope, *Tragelaphus angasi*, or the closely related species, *T. buxtoni*, occurring in parts of southern Africa; the male is greyish-brown with several white stripes and spiral, black horns, the female is reddish-brown and hornless. (²OED)

4.3.2.4 The car is a fish or a reptile: the type *Cobra*

All but three of the 15 animals in this group (12.2% of all the animal names) are noted for being dangerous beasts of prey. Three fish occur: *Barracuda* and its abbreviation '*Cuda* (2x) designate "a large and voracious fish found in the seas of the West Indies" (²OED), and *Sting Ray* designates "any fish of the genus *Trygon* the long tapering tail of which is armed near the middle with a flattened sharp-pointed bony spine, serrated on both sides, capable of inflicting a severe wound" (cf. ²OED). Other examples of this small pattern are *Manta* and *Piranha* (cf. ch. 4.4.2). The reptiles are venomous snakes: *Cobra* (4x), *Cobra II*, *Cobra R*, *Super Cobra* and *Viper*. A car of the name *Super Cobra* is to be interpreted as one that is even more venomous than other cobras. An example that car namers "get to impose their metaphors" (cf. ch. 4.3) is that the word *snake* is used for *automobile* in a press text on the *Dodge Viper* where the car is referred to as "Dodge's V-10 snake" (Smith, 1993b: 129).

The three animals with more peaceful qualities are *Marlin* (2x) and *Swift*. The major characteristic of various small lizards called *swift* is that they can run at great speed. A *marlin* is a large game fish lacking other distinguishing features that could be related to cars. Actually, *marlin* might also relate metaphorically to a bird as it could be variant form of *merlin* and as there is also a dialect word used in the east coast of North America which is applied with qualification to any species of curlew³¹³ or godwit (cf. ²OED).

4.3.2.5 The car is an insect or an arachnid: the type *Hornet*

There are eight insects in this group and four arachnids, together they account for 9.8% of all the animal names. *Honey Bee*, *Hornet* (2x), *Super Bee* and *Wasp* are similar insects in that they all have the power of flight but additional characteristics differ: while the bee is noted for being a good, busy and industrious worker, the sting is more salient with hornets and wasps. This is again a potentially harmful feature as it has been observed with other animal-based car names. Cars of these names can also be seen as differing from the crowd because human traits attributed to the wasp are "irascibility and persistent petty malignity, especially to a multitude of contemptible but irritating assailants" and *hornet* is figuratively used of "an enemy that attacks persistently and with virulence" (²OED). The other insects are *Cricket* and *Gashopper* both of which are perceived as rather pleasant insects. The word play on *gas* in *Gashopper* gives the material that makes the "animal" move while in *grasshopper*, the "basis" of the word play, the determinant gives the location where the animal hops. The most interesting feature of the *Scarab* is that its

³¹³ "A long-legged brownish water bird with a long curved beak" (LDELC).

image is used as a talisman in certain cultures. Thus, it could also be classed under the heading "the car is a man-made object" (cf. ch. 4.3.3.4).

The occurring arachnids are *Scorpiian* and its spelling variant *Skorpion*, *Spyder* and *Super Spyder*. When the car is interpreted as a scorpion it is once again the potentially harmful and destructive - or in more positive terms the aggressive and fierce - nature of these animals that is most salient. The dangerous sting of these animals relates them to a car, the name of which highlights its "sting" particularly, the Yenko *Stinger* (cf. ch. 4.3.1.2). Spiders are noted for their "cunning, skill, and industry" but also for their "power of secreting or emitting poison" (²OED). Their negative image is more salient, however, as the existence of arachnophobia shows, an illness a symptom of which is an excessive fear of spiders. In the language for the specific purpose of automobiling, *Spyder* also designates a certain type of car, which is similar to a roadster (cf. Rahn-Huber, 1991: 3).

4.3.2.6 The car is part of the body of an animal: the type *Wing*

With four names the metaphorical concept is not "the car is an animal" but rather "the car is part of the body of an animal". There are four names of this type, that is 3.3% of all the animal names. All of them are parts of birds or insects: *Feather*, *Flitewing* (cf. ch. 3.8 on graphemic variation) and *Wing* are essential for their power of flight. In *Flitewing* this property of a wing is pleonastically stated explicitly. *Talon* is the powerful claw of a bird, especially a bird of prey but also of other beasts including mythical ones such as dragons and griffins. Considered as a whole, manufacturer designation and series designation together, it relates metaphorically to an eagle: *Eagle Talon*. A similar principle is followed in the name of a speciality package offered in 1994 by Hennessey Motorsports on the *Dodge Viper*: the kit is called *Viper Venom* (cf. Smith, 1993b: 129).

4.3.3 The car is a man-made object (other than a car)

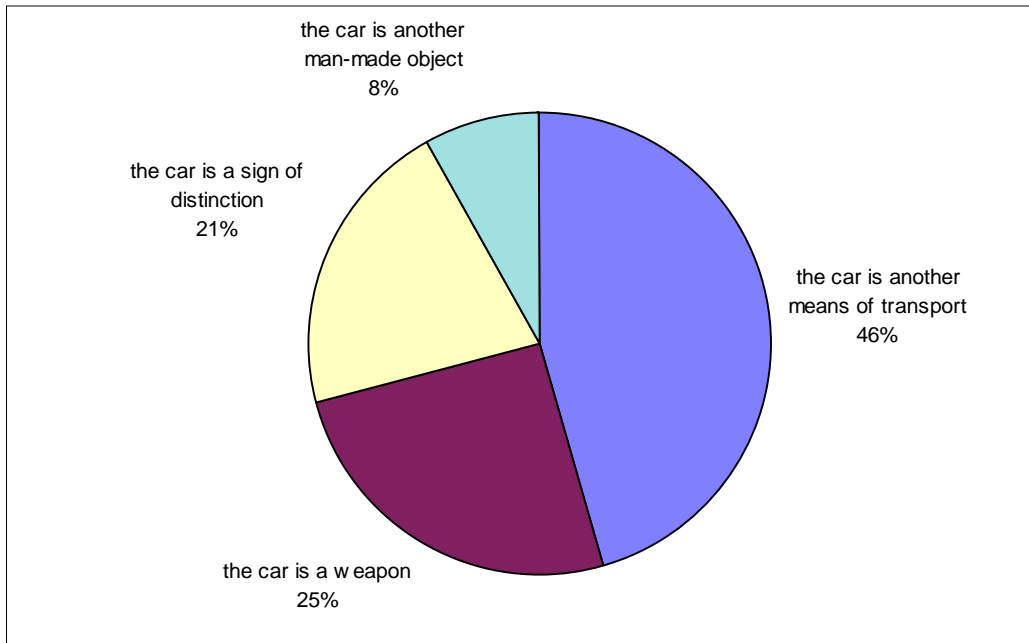
The name of 99 automobiles in my corpus is based on a designation for a man-made object, that is 4.4% of the total and 15.6% of all the metaphorical names. Table 4-12 shows their distribution over the various slots of an automobile designation.

TABLE 4-12: DESIGNATIONS FOR MAN-MADE OBJECTS USED AS AUTOMOBILE NAMES

| | manufacturer designations (total: 59; metaphors: 10) | series designations (total: 1024; metaphors: 415) | model designations (total: 1158; metaphors: 209) | total: 2241; metaphors: 634 |
|----------------|--|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| total | 1 | 66 | 32 | 99 |
| % of the total | 1,7 | 6,4 | 2,8 | 4,4 |

% of the metaphors 10,0 15,9 15,3 15,6

FIGURE 4-14: CLASSES OF MAN-MADE OBJECTS USED AS AUTOMOBILE NAMES



The names within this metaphorical concept fall into three, quite distinct subconcepts, namely "the car is a another means of transport", "the car is a weapon" and "the car is a sign of distinction". There are also a few names that relate the car metaphorically to a man-made object other than these three. Figure 4-14 shows the portion of these subconcepts within the general concept "the car is a man-made object".

4.3.3.1 The car is another means of transport: the type *Golden Rocket*

Jakob (1991: 313ff) notes that in the early days of the automobile it was often conceptualized in terms of two older means of transport, trains and horse-drawn carriages - metaphors of this type resemble the horse metaphors (cf. ch. 4.3.2.3). Car names deriving from designations for carriages are frequent in my corpus, too, but most of them acquired a central (cf. ch. 4.1) meaning that denotes a type of automobile so that I regard them as institutionalized metaphors and therefore descriptive designations (cf. ch. 4.5). In non-institutionalized metaphors used as automobile names the car is most commonly linked with ships, planes and space crafts. Especially the two latter concepts are also relied on in adverts. In the following examples the action of using the car, typically expressed by the verb "drive" is expressed by other verbs typically used in connection with an air- or space craft:

"The day she *flew* the coupe." (Corvette ad of 1966; quoted from Stern/Stern, 1978: 104; my italics in this and the following examples)

It'll *rocket* you from 0-60 in 7.5 seconds. [...] Eldorado Touring Coupe. (*car&driver* 12(1994), 2)

Take the wheel of a new DeSoto. *Pilot* her out through traffic toward the open road. (1957 DeSoto ad; Stern/Stern, 1978: 92)

The idea that a car should resemble a plane in power, speed, performance etc. is also expressed in the Saab advertisement quoted above (cf. ch. 4.3.1; especially Figure 4-9; p. 206) that states that a *jet plane* is the "wild uncle" of the contemporary Saab 900, in two 1958 ads for "the *air born* Buick B-58" the picture of a jet-propelled airplane is inserted between the words "air born" and "B-58", and in one of these the B-58 is actually drawn as flying in the blue sky, above the clouds and accompanied by three jet-propelled planes (cf. Figure 4-15). The text asserts that the car offers "The new feeling of *flight* [...]" (quoted from Stern/ Stern, 1978: 98ff). The following is an example of a press notice that interprets the car as ship: "Rainbow *ship*. Despite a gloomy supercar market, the British have designed a high-priced, high-speed two-seater [...]. The GTD R42 runs on *midship-mounted* American muscle from the 4.6-liter V8 used in the Lincoln Continental." (*Popular Science* 1(1995): 17).

45 car names in my corpus, 28 series designations³¹⁴ and 17 model designations³¹⁵, identify the car as a means of transport other than a car, that is 45.5% of all the names based metaphorically on a man-made object other than a car. The majority of these metaphors are ship designations: *Liner*, which heads a number of combinations, usually designates a vessel, and sometimes also an aircraft; a space-ship or one of a fleet of lorries (cf. ²OED). The (apart from *Luxury Liner* non-institutionalized) combinations *Crestliner*, *Jetliner*, *Luxury Liner*, *Skyliner* (2x), *Starliner* (2x), *Streamliner* and *Sunliner* (4x) either specify the cars distinguished status (*Crestliner*, *Luxury Liner*, *Skyliner*, *Starliner*, *Sunliner*), the energy of its performance (*Jetliner*) or its shape which results in great speed (*Streamliner*). Another ship designation is *Cruiser* and its combinations: *Century Cruiser*, *Country Cruiser*, *Custom Cruiser*, *Cutlass Cruiser*, *Land Cruiser*, *Turnpike Cruiser* and *Vista Cruiser*. The names *Country*

³¹⁴ *American Buckboard*, *Astro-Vette*, *Buckboard*, *Caravelle*, *Century Cruiser*, *Clipper*, *Country Cruiser*, *Corvette*, *Custom Cruiser*, *Cutlass Cruiser*, *Dogcart*, *France Jet*, *Golden Rocket*, *Golden Rocket 88*, *Jet*, *Luxury Liner*, *Metro*, *Probe*, *Rocket*, *Rocket 88*, *Satellite*, *Seattle-ite XXI*, *Sport Satellite*, *Super Clipper*, *Streamliner*, *Turnpike Cruiser*, *Vista Cruiser*, *Yankee Cruiser*

³¹⁵ *Conestoga*, *Crestliner*, *Cruiser*, *Jetliner*, *Land Cruiser*, *Pullman*, *Royal Clipper*, *Satellite*, *Scooter*, *Skyliner* (2x), *Starliner* (2x), *Sunliner* (4x)

FIGURE 4-15: 1958 BUICK B-58 AD (SOURCE: STERN/STERN, 1978: 98FF)

Cruiser, *Land Cruiser* and *Turnpike Cruiser* are kind of pleonastic: it is obvious that a car, even one of the name *Cruiser* does not travel by sea but rather in the country, on land, at turnpikes etc. Other names that interpret the car as a ship are *Clipper* and its combinations *Royal Clipper*, *Super Clipper* and *Yankee Clipper*, and *AstroVette* (cf. ch. 3.3.2), *Caravelle* and *Corvette*. *Caravelle* and *Corvette* are types of ships no longer in use and thus place the car in a historically remote, exotic context (cf. 4.3.1.1). *Scooter* can also be used for "a strongly built sailboat having a flat bottom shod with steel runners and a sharply rising stem for sailing through water or over ice as either is met with" (WT) but its central meaning (cf. ch. 4.1) is either "a child's vehicle" or a "a low vehicle with two small wheels, an enclosed engine, and usually a wide curved part at the front to protect the legs" (DCE).

The names *Jet* and *France Jet* relate the car to an airplane that is particularly quick³¹⁶. The car may be interpreted as a means of transport used in space as with the names *Golden Rocket*, *Golden Rocket 88*, *Probe*, *Rocket*, *Rocket 88*, *Satellite (2x)*, *Seattle-ite XXI* and *Sport Satellite*. A *Rocket* does not only serve as a means of transport but also as a weapon. Additionally, it has - like a *Probe*, too - the same phallic shape that many weapons have (cf. ch. 4.3.3.2). *Buckboard* and *American Buckboard* designate "a plank slung upon wheels, forming the body of a light vehicle" (²OED) so that a car of this type is one that is stripped of any superfluous equipment. This might not have been the interpretation car namers intended:

The name American Buckboard gives the impression of little more than a motorized board, which this car was not. Perhaps this is one reason the name was changed. It appeared the next year as Bearcat. (Gunnell, 1992: 652)

Cars are also related to a railway car as in *Pullman*, a wagon typically associated with the American West as in *Conestoga*, a vehicle drawn by dogs as in *Dogcart* and a public means of transport as in *Metro*. That a car is related metaphorically with public transport is highly unlikely, however, so that either the positive connotations of a French institution are supposed to outweigh the fact that it is public transport (cf. ch. 4.4.2) or a non-institutionalized meaning should be taken

³¹⁶ The polysemous *jet* also has a number of other senses such as "a stream of water or other liquid shot forward or thrown upwards (either in a spurt or continuously), especially from a small orifice; hence, any similar emission of liquid, steam, or gas; more rarely, a shower of solid bodies, as stones, etc.", "a thin, well-defined stream of luminous material extending from the nucleus in the head of a comet" or "a rocket-case filled with a burning composition, and attached to the circumference of a wheel or the end of a movable arm to communicate motion" (²OED) but in terms of all of these meanings the car of this name is to be understood as one of particularly rapid movement.

into account as, for instance, an abbreviation of *Metropolitan*, in which case it might be a designation for an urbanite (cf. ch. 4.3.1.3).

4.3.3.2 The car is a weapon: the type *Arrow*

According to a Porsche designer a successful car should have "the winning look which weapons have" (quoted from Bayley, 1986: 42). If not by shape, some cars are linked with this supposedly positive aspect of weapons by their name: 25 car names in my corpus, one manufacturer designation, *Excalibur*, 22 series designations³¹⁷ and two model designations, *Cutlass* and *Silver Arrow*, interpret the car as a weapon, that is 25.3% of all the names based metaphorically on a man-made object other than a car. Only a few of these car names relate the automobile to a modern weapon, namely *Torpedo* (3x) and its combinations *Custom Torpedo* and *Deluxe Torpedo*, and the trade name *Colt* (cf. ch. 4.3.2.3). The majority of these designations relate the cars to weapons that are no longer used in present-day warfare: *Arrow* (3x), *Cutlass* (2x), *Cutlass F-88*, *Cutlass S*, *Cutlass Supreme*, *Daroo II*³¹⁸, *Dart* (2x), *Excalibur*, *Firearrow*, *Firearrow I*, *Firearrow II*, *Javelin*, *Lance*, *Silver Arrow* and *Trident*. The reasons for the use of historical weapons are probably two-fold. First, historical weapons are related to an exotic frame and thus remove the car from the realm of every-day routine (cf. ch. 4.3.1.1). Additionally the negative property of weapons to hurt and kill is less readily apparent in historically remote weapons. The second reason seems to lie in the shape of all these weapons, except for *Trident* all of them have a phallic-shaped referent. As the success of certain cars, the Jaguar E type, for instance (cf. Bayley, 1986: 20ff), in the marketplace has been attributed to their resemblance to the male sexual organ, there are reasons to relate a car to such a shape metaphorically if not in actual design. Other designations that do not refer to weapons but to other phallic-shaped objects such as *Rocket* (cf. ch. 4.3.3.1; a *Rocket* may also be used as a weapon), *Probe* (cf. ch. 4.3.3.1) or *Sceptre* (cf. ch. 4.3.3.3) also fit into this pattern. Such a name certainly helps male consumers to experience their cars as "*mega-super-hyper-rapido-all-wheel-penis-extender*" (Yates, 1994: 29; italics in the original).

³¹⁷ *Arrow* (3x), *Custom Torpedo*, *Cutlass*, *Cutlass F-88*, *Cutlass S*, *Cutlass Supreme*, *Daroo II*, *Dart* (2x), *Deluxe Torpedo*, *Excalibur*, *Firearrow*, *Firearrow I*, *Firearrow II*, *Javelin*, *Lance*, *Torpedo* (3x), *Trident*

³¹⁸ Gunnell (1992: 731) states: "'Daroo' is a derivation of the early Anglo-Saxon word Dar-U, meaning 'dart or spear'." Although this is wrong according to an Anglo-Saxon dictionary (Bosworth/Toller, 1898; repr. 1991), the name was obviously intended and perceived as a weapon metaphor and should therefore be regarded as such in the analysis. Bosworth/Toller translate *daru* with "hurt, harm, damage". There is a similar Old English word however, *darod*, that actually means "spear".

Gläser (1973b: 230) regards automobile names of this type (the British *Sunbeam Rapier*, *Javelin* and *Dodge Dart*) not as metaphors of weapons but of sports equipment with the common semantic components "decisive, purposeful, rapid movement, acceleration" ("zielgerichtete, sichere, rasche Bewegung, Beschleunigung"). While this tertium comparationis is certainly present, I think the interpretation of the car as an aggressive, powerful, potentially destructive agent that gets lost when seen as metaphors of sports equipment is equally important as the numerous other names with this characteristic show (cf. e.g. 4.3.1.2 or ch. 4.3.2.2). A negative test report on the *Oldsmobile Cutlass Ciera S*, in which the writer complains about the ugly design and the poor performance of his car, exemplifies the interpretation of the car as a weapon: "A Cutlass in need of a *scabbard*. [...] It willfully discourages spirited driving and is *less a cutlass than a dull machete*." (Phillips, 1993: 76). Only because there is a metaphorical concept "the car is a weapon" in our culture can we understand that the headline "The Big Noise Boys And Their Rowdy Can-Am *Cannons*" (Lyons, 1994: 175) talks about cars and not cannons, and cars can be called "the newest *weaponry* on the supercar scene." (Phillips, 1995: 53)

4.3.3.3 The car is a sign of distinction: the type *Crown*

21 car names in my corpus, 12 series designations³¹⁹ and nine model designations³²⁰, interpret the car as a sign of distinction, that is 21.2% of all the names based metaphorically on a man-made object other than a car. Signs of distinction are the insignia of a monarch such as *Crown* (2x), *Crown Imperial*, *Diamond Crown* and *Sceptre*, of an aristocrat such as *Coronet* and *Signet* (2x), of another eminent person such as *Beretta*, *Medallion* (2x) and *Signature*³²¹, or military ensigns such as *Standard* (5x). A car of such a name is marked by its distinguished character and the prestige, power and status it supposedly will confer upon its owner. The same holds true of a car called *Ace* (2x) - it is the car of a winner - and of cars named after monetary units, *Cordoba* and *Sterling* - cars for moneyed people.

4.3.3.4 The car is another man-made object

Eight, or 8.1%, of the car names based metaphorically on a man-made object fit in none of the above-mentioned subclasses, four series designations³²² and four

³¹⁹ *Ace*, *Beretta*, *Cordoba*, *Coronet*, *Crown*, *Crown Imperial*, *Sceptre*, *Signet*, *Standard* (3x), *Sterling*

³²⁰ *Ace*, *Crown*, *Diamond Crown*, *Medallion* (2x), *Signature*, *Signet*, *Standard* (2x)

³²¹ Of course, a *Signature* is not necessarily a sign of a distinguished person but on the Lincoln Town Car it indicated that a couturier had "endorsed" the car.

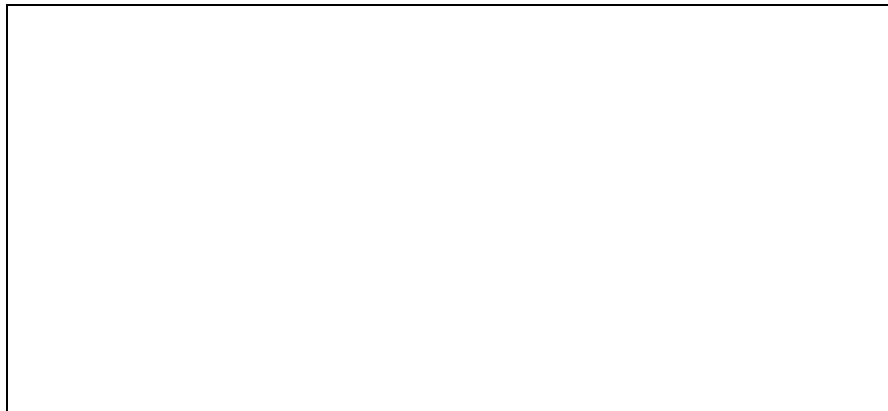
³²² *Cabana*, *Firedome*, *Gyron*, *Prizm*

model designations³²³, as they fall in no perceptible pattern I shall simply list them together with their meaning in Table 4-13.

TABLE 4-13: METAPHORS OF MAN-MADE OBJECTS NOT FORMING A PATTERN

| name | meaning (quotations from ² OED): "the car is like ..." |
|------------------|--|
| <i>Alembic I</i> | "an apparatus formerly used in distilling, consisting of a cucurbit or gourd-shaped vessel containing the substance to be distilled, surmounted by the head or cap, or alembic proper, the beak of which conveyed the vaporous products to a receiver, in which they were condensed. It is now superseded by the retort and worm still" |
| <i>Cabana</i> | either used for a "cigar", where the ground of comparison could be shape or for "beach cabin" (cf. also ch. 4.2.1) |
| <i>Firedome</i> | the non-institutionalized compound compares the car with a building of fire, the comparison is probably based on the powerful material the <i>dome</i> consists of. In the USA <i>dome</i> is also used for a phenomenon of unanimated nature, "the convex rounded summit of a mountain, a wave, etc.", thus, the car could be compared with a <i>Firedome</i> because of the special, unique, elevated position of a dome (cf. <i>Summit</i> , ch. 4.3.4.4) |
| <i>Gyron</i> | "an ordinary of triangular form made by two lines drawn from the edge of the escutcheon to meet in the fesse-point and occupying half of the quarter". The name draws attention to the uncommon shape of this two-wheeled car (cf. Figure 4-16). |

FIGURE 4-16: 1961 FORD GYRON (SOURCE: GUNNELL, 1992: 734)



| | |
|----------------------|---|
| <i>Poncho</i> | "a South American cloak, consisting of an oblong piece of cloth with a slit in the middle for the head; hence applied to similar garments worn elsewhere [...]. Now in common use as a fashion garment" |
| <i>Prizm</i> | glass that breaks white light into the different colours of the <i>Spectrum</i> (cf. ch. 4.3.4.1). The car is supposedly a catalyst of brightness. |
| <i>Talisman</i> (2x) | "a stone, ring, or other object engraven with figures or characters, to which are attributed the occult powers of the planetary influences and celestial configurations under which it was made; usually worn as an amulet to avert evil from or bring fortune to the wearer; also medicinally used to impart healing virtue; hence, any object held to be endowed with magic virtue; a |

³²³ *Alembic I, Poncho, Talisman* (2x)

charm"

4.3.4 The car is an element or phenomenon of unanimated nature

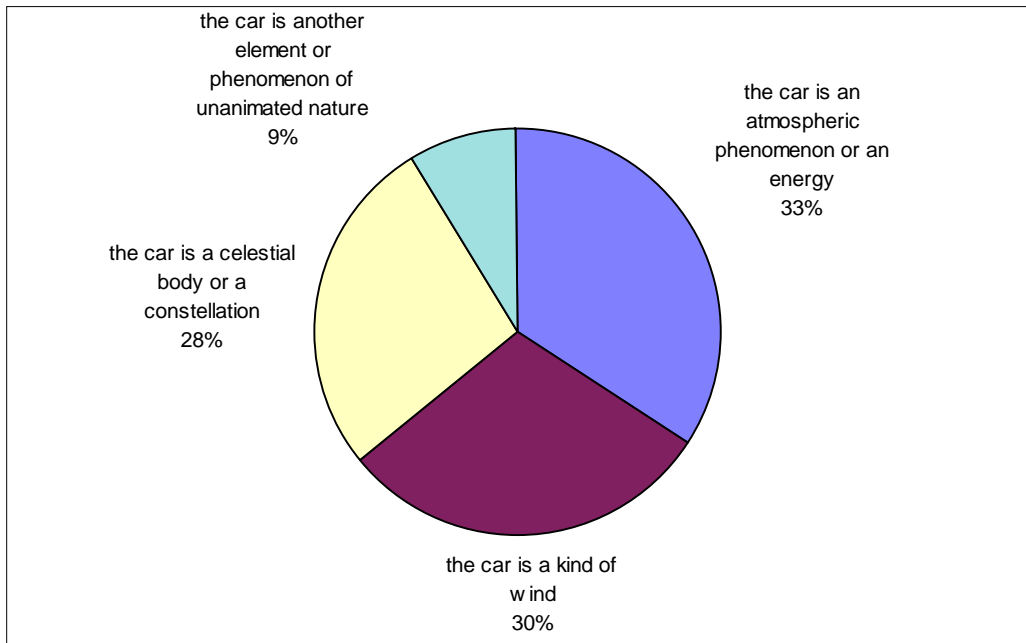
The name of 94 automobiles in my corpus is based on a designation for an element or a phenomenon of unanimated nature, that is 4.2% of the total and 14.8% of all the metaphorical names. Table 4-15 shows their distribution over the various slots of an automobile designation.

TABLE 4-14: DESIGNATIONS FOR ELEMENTS AND PHENOMENA OF UNANIMATED NATURE USED AS AUTOMOBILE NAMES

| | manufacturer designations (total: 59; metaphors: 10) | series designations (total: 1024; metaphors: 415) | model designations (total: 1158; metaphors: 209) | total: 2241; metaphors: 634 |
|--------------------|--|---|--|-----------------------------|
| total | 2 | 73 | 19 | 94 |
| % of the total | 3,4 | 7,1 | 1,6 | 4,2 |
| % of the metaphors | 20,0 | 17,6 | 9,1 | 14,8 |

Within this metaphorical concept three subconcepts can be distinguished: "the car is an atmospheric phenomenon", "the car is a kind of wind" and "the car is a celestial body or a constellation". The quantitatively insignificant concept "the car is a precious stone or metal" is described in ch. 4.3.4.4. Figure 4-17 shows the portions of these subconcepts within the general one "the car is an element or phenomenon of unanimated nature".

FIGURE 4-17: CLASSES OF ELEMENTS AND PHENOMENA OF UNANIMATED NATURE USED AS AUTOMOBILE NAMES



4.3.4.1 The car is an atmospheric phenomenon or an energy: the type *Thunderbolt*

The difficulty to pinpoint exactly which property the members of this group have in common is reflected in the imprecise headline. In this group I gathered designations for visual phenomena that lack substance. On this (folk)notion I included the combinations with "fire". The only items in this group that refer to non-visible phenomena are *Thunderbolt* (2x) and possibly *Silver Volt*. Both are sufficiently closely related with the phenomenon *Lightning* that it warrants their inclusion. Additionally, they are like many other items in this group characterized by an enormous inherent energy. There are thus 32 automobile names in this group, 22 series designations³²⁴ and 10 model designations³²⁵, which is 34.0% of those that are metaphorically related to an element or a phenomenon of unanimated nature.

There is the name *Lite* (cf. ch. 3.8 on graphemic variation) which can be regarded as a kind of archilexeme for the phenomena in this group³²⁶. Additionally, it occurs in three combinations: *Gaslight*, *Starlight* and *Starlite*. The implied property of cars of these names is that they can travel as speedily as light, that their performance is characterized by a comparable amount of energy and that they are bright and shining, i.e. that they shine out among other cars. The same grounds of comparison apply to designations for specific kinds of light: *Aurora*, *Spectrum*, *Sunshine*, *Sunshine Special* and the "artificial" *Laser* (2x) and *Silver Volt*. In the two last-mentioned the component "energy" seems to be particularly important. *Neon* (2x) also fits this pattern: it is "one of the inert or noble gases, which is present in low concentration in the earth's atmosphere and is used at low pressure in discharge tubes, where it emits an orange-red glow" (²OED), it is visible under certain circumstances, and gases also lack substance from a non-scientific point of view. Comments such as "Dodge/Plymouth Neon. Another *bright light* [...]" (*automobile1* (1994): 56) or "The Oldsmobile *Aurora* is evidence that GM has finally seen the *light*" (McCosh, 1995: 77) demonstrate that car namers have been successful in implementing a concept such as "the car is a light", and that *Neon* is perceived as an instance of this. *Lightning* further contains the idea of (potential) destructiveness, while in the related *Thunderbolt* (2x) the idea of "brightness" is absent. The combinations with "fire" contain the

³²⁴ *Aurora*, *Contour*, *Crestline*, *Gaslight*, *Horizon*, *Laser* (2x), *Neon* (2x), *Shadow*, *Shadow B*, *Silhouette*, *Silver Volt*, *Skyline*, *Spectrum*, *Starfire*, *Starfire 98*, *Starlite*, *Strato Streak*, *Sunshine*, *Thunderbolt*, *Wildfire*

³²⁵ *Jetfire* (2x), *Lightning*, *Lite*, *Silvercrest*, *Starfire*, *Starlight*, *Sunshine Special*, *Thunderbolt*, *Wildfire*

³²⁶ The adjective *light* has in many trade names become a synonym for "calory-reduced". For obvious reasons, this does not apply to cars.

same semantic properties as *Lightning*: energy, brightness and potential danger. Cars understood in these terms are *Jetfire* (2x), *Starfire* (2x), *Starfire 98* and *Wildfire* (2x). Their determinants further highlight one of the properties of fire: in *Jetfire* it is energy, in *Starfire* brightness and in *Wildfire* the destructive potential. The destructive power of *Wildfire* may even be man-made as it also denotes a kind of weapon: "a composition of highly inflammable substances, readily ignited and very difficult to extinguish, used in warfare, etc." (²OED).

In another subgroup the car is to be interpreted as a very unstable visual phenomenon that is not bright. The elusiveness of the phenomenon is the ground of comparison in the carnames *Contour*, *Crestline*, *Horizon*, *Shadow*, *Shadow B*, *Silhouette*, *Silvercrest*, *Skyline* and *Strato Streak*. Some of these (*Crestline*, *Horizon* and *Skyline*) are also commonly associated with ideas of freedom and the transcending of the boundaries of human experience (cf. ²OED), so that a car of the name *Horizon* can be interpreted as one "that is like the horizon in offering a new kind of (driving) experience".

4.3.4.2 The car is a kind of wind: the type *Tempest*

28 car names in my corpus, 22 series designations³²⁷ and six model designations³²⁸, identify the car as a kind of wind, that is 29.8% of all the names based metaphorically on an element or a phenomenon of unanimated nature. The tertium comparationis is the easy movement and the property to "go" everywhere that we attribute to the wind and which car namers also want to confer onto the automobiles. Some of the names in this group can be regarded as an archilexeme for the whole group: *Airflow* (2x), *Airscoot*, *Airstream* (2x), *Corvair* (cf. ch. 3.3.2), *Custom Imperial Airflow* and *Imperial Airflow*. Most of the other names are designations for very rough winds, violent storms etc. It is thus once again the semantic component "destructive power" that is of importance for the car. The ad text "Who can tell you about the *cyclone* sound of the 195-horsepower V8 engine [...]" (1955 Chevrolet Corvette ad; quoted from Stern/Stern, 1978: 80; my italics) shows that the enormous power of these winds is supposed to be a desirable quality. Apart from the institutionalized designations *Cyclone* (3x), *Storm* (2x), *Tempest* and *Typhoon* (3x) the non-institutionalized formations *Fireflite*, *Firesweep*, *Flight Sweep I*, *Flight Sweep II* and *TurboFlite* apparently also imply violent movement of the air. *Fireflite* and with it *Airflyte* and *Golden Airflyte* differ from the other designations in containing a more active momentum: they do not only designate air in motion but also any movement in

³²⁷ *Airflow* (2x), *Airscoot*, *Airstream* (2x), *Corvair*, *Custom Imperial Airflow*, *Cyclone* (2x), *Fireflite*, *Firesweep*, *Flight Sweep I*, *Flight Sweep II*, *Imperial Airflow*, *Stealth*, *Storm* (2x), *Tempest*, *TurboFlite*, *Typhoon*, *Zephyr* (2x)

³²⁸ *Airflyte*, *Cyclone*, *Golden Airflyte*, *Super Hot Shot*, *Typhoon* (2x)

the air. *Airflyte* pleonastically mentions this "location" of the action explicitly. *Super Hot Shot*, though no kind of wind, is similarly a rapid movement in the air and is like the various kinds of storm of destructive power. *Stealth* is included here on the ground that it also designates a kind of movement, that - like movement of the air - lacks substance and is usually invisible as it is supposed to occur secretly.

The only designation for a gentle wind in my corpus is *Zephyr* (2x). The fact that most of the wind types used as car names in the USA are of a violent, destructive nature is particularly interesting in comparison with a European manufacturer that names many of its cars after winds. VW uses the wind designations *Passat*, *Scirocco*, *Santana*, *Jetta*³²⁹ and *Vento* but changed its intention to name the later *Corrado* **Taifun* because "Taifun klingt zu negativ, zu zerstörisch" (Schrott, 1989). For the same reason they decided against *Hurrikan* (personal letter, 07/05/1993).

4.3.4.3 The car is a celestial body or a constellation: the type *Bolide*

26 car names in my corpus, two manufacturer designations, *Mercury* and *Saturn*, 23 series designations³³⁰ and one model designation, *Bolide*, identify the car as a celestial body or a constellation, that is 27.7% of all the names based metaphorically on an element or a phenomenon of unanimated nature. The ground on which car namers want consumers to understand a car as a celestial body or constellation is their exalted position that makes them very distinguished and often unique (cf. ch. 4.3.1.1). For this reason two of the "central" heavenly bodies, *Sun* and *Star*, are extremely frequently used trade names (cf. Werkman, 1974: 401; 409). In my corpus both occur only once but *star* is additionally used as the determinatum of a number of compounds: *Aerostar*, *Diamond Star*, *Jetstar 88*, *Jetstar I* and *Strato Star*. Furthermore, *star*, which is of course also a designation for prestigious persons (*filmstar* etc.), occurs quite often as a determinant in compounds with which I have dealt elsewhere (e.g. *Star Chief*, *Starfire*, *Starlight* and *Star Dust*). *Galaxie*, *Galaxie 500*, *Galaxie 500 XL*, *Galaxie Special* and *Star Dust* ["innumerable minute stars, likened, as seen in the telescope, to particles of dust" (²OED)] take their name from a group of stars. The names of planets are used as car names in *Mars II*, *Mercury*, *Saturn* and *Standard Mercury*. Certain celestial bodies contain the additional semantic component "moving rapidly" because they are only visible for a brief time from the earth. Cars which are thus to be interpreted not only as exclusive but also as

³²⁹ after *Jetstream* (personal letter of VW, 07/05/1993)

³³⁰ *Aerostar*, *Aries*, *Aries K*, *Bolide*, *Comet* (5x), *Diamond Star*, *Galaxie*, *Galaxie 500*, *Galaxie 500 XL*, *Galaxie Special*, *Jetstar 88*, *Jetstar I*, *Mars II*, *Meteor*, *Standard Mercury*, *Star*, *Star Dust*, *Strato Star*, *Sun*

swift are *Bolide* (2x), *Comet* (5x) and *Meteor*. A *Bolide* is additionally characterized by an enormous (destructive?) energy as it "usually [...] explodes and falls in the form of aerolites; a fire-ball." (²OED).

The only constellation that occurs is *Aries* (together with the phrase *Aries K*). *Taurus* also falls in this group but is dealt with together with the other non-established borrowings (cf. ch. 4.4.2)³³¹. It should be noted that both of these constellations take their name from a male, supposedly aggressive animal.

4.3.4.4 The car is another element or phenomenon of unanimated nature

There are eight further names that identify the car as an element or phenomenon of unanimated nature, six series designations³³² and two model designations, *Rose* and *Silver*. Five of these identify the car as a precious stone or metal, that is 5.3% of all the names based metaphorically on an element or a phenomenon of unanimated nature. The tertium comparationis in all these cases is self-evident: preciousness, exclusiveness or "very distinguished character" (cf. ch. 4.3.1.1). The cars named after stones are *Diamond* and *Topaz*, the cars named after metals *Silver* (2x) and *Quicksilver*. The last-mentioned is no precious metal but the head of this compound suggests that there is a folk-notion that it is. This notion is absent in its synonym *Mercury* (cf. ch. 4.3.4.3). Additionally *Quicksilver* can be compared to a car on the ground of its rapid movement. The metal that is commonly thought to be the most precious one, gold, does not occur as an automobile name. It occurs in a number of complex names as a determinant, however, (e.g. *Gold Duster*, *Golden Eagle*, *Golden Hawk*, *Golden Rocket* etc.). The same holds true of *silver* (*Silver Challenger*, *Silver Hawk*, *Silver Streak*, *Silver Volt*).

There are three further items in this group that do not fall into a specific pattern: a car of the name *Rose* is metaphorically linked with a plant, one that is often used allusively because of its "surpassing beauty, fragrance, or rich red colour" (²OED) or "with reference to the prickles (commonly called thorns) of the bush on which the flower grows" (²OED). No other American car that is metaphorically linked with a plant has come to my attention, a famous British car maker with a plant name is *Lotus*. A car that is like a *Summit* is also of a very distinguished nature. Why a car should be compared with a *Terraplane* I do not know. The meanings of *Terraplane* given in the ²OED are:

1. Originally, the talus or sloping bank of earth behind a wall or rampart; hence, the surface of a rampart behind the parapet; and strictly, the level space on which the guns are mounted, between

³³¹ cf. ch. 3.6 on the reasons why I regard *Taurus* as a non-established borrowing but not *Aries*. In the case of these two items the ²OED itself, which I followed, seems to be rather inconsistent.

³³² *Diamond*, *Quicksilver*, *Silver*, *Summit*, *Terraplane*, *Topaz*

the banquette and the inner talus. [...] 2. The level base (above, on, or below the natural surface of the ground) on which a battery is placed in field fortifications; sometimes, the natural surface of the ground"

One possible explanation could be that *Terraplane* should be interpreted as a non-established word-formation meaning "a plane (=airplane) moving on earth", in which case it would be a metaphor of the type "the car is another means of transport" (cf. ch. 4.3.3.1).

4.3.5 The car is a supernatural being: the type *Spirit*

The most famous car with a name based metaphorically on a designation for a supernatural being is probably the *Lamborghini Diablo*. In a road test article (Miller, 1994) the notion of the car as devil is played upon:

As entertaining as it is, the sound that accompanies the Lamborghini's *fury* cannot be ignored; the Diablo's 98 dBA 1st-gear *furor* makes it the loudest car we've tested in some time. [...] Fast, *furious* and now all-wheel drive, the Lamborghini Diablo VT is *devilishly* stunning. [...] the car's *otherworldly* performance [...] The road ahead is never enough for the Diablo's *fire-breathing* 5.7-liter 48-valve V-12 [...]. (my italics - I. P.)

In general language the metaphorical concept of the car as supernatural being is rare. One of the few examples I found is in a 1955 Chevrolet Corvette advert in which a pencil-drawn car is placed above a fully painted 1955 Chevrolet Corvette. The headline says: "Child of the magnificent *ghosts*." (cf. Figure 4-18). The names of 24 automobiles in my corpus are based on a designation for a supernatural being, that is 1.1% of the total and 3.8% of all the metaphorical names. There are 20 series designations³³³ and four model designations³³⁴. Table 4-15 shows their distribution over the various slots of an automobile designation.

³³³ *Apollo* (3x), *Banshee*, *Banshee III*, *Centaur*, *Demon*, *Dragon*, *Fury*, *Golden Spirit*, *Gran Fury*, *Gremlin*, *Imp*, *Phantom*, *Phoenix*, *Spirit* (2x), *Sport Fury*, *Thunderbird*, *Valkyrie*

³³⁴ *Demon*, *Dragon*, *Fury*, *Phoenix*

TABLE 4-15: DESIGNATIONS FOR SUPERNATURAL BEINGS USED AS AUTOMOBILE NAMES

| | manufacturer designations (total: 59; metaphors: 10) | series designations (total: 1024; metaphors: 415) | model designations (total: 1158; metaphors: 209) | total: 2241; metaphors: 634 |
|--------------------|--|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| total | 0 | 20 | 4 | 24 |
| % of the total | 0,0 | 2,0 | 0,3 | 1,1 |
| % of the metaphors | 0,0 | 4,8 | 1,9 | 3,8 |

FIGURE 4-18: 1955 CHEVROLET CORVETTE AD
(SOURCE: STERN/STERN, 1978: 80)

Spirit (2x), *Golden Spirit* and *Phantom* ("something that appears to the sight or other sense, but has no material substance; an apparition, a spectre; a spirit, a ghost" (²OED)) are archilexemes of the field "designations for supernatural beings". An intended ground of comparison might be the elusiveness of spirits and phantoms: the consumer can interpret the car as being so quick that it is as elusive as an apparition.

Other supernatural beings have distinctly negative qualities: *Demon* (2x), in Greek mythology an inferior spirit of a nature between the gods and human beings, and frequently used for an evil spirit, is often metaphorically

applied to a person (animal or agency personified), of malignant, cruel, terrible, or destructive nature, or of hideous appearance (²OED)

and a *Fury* (2x) (and *Gran Fury* and *Sport Fury*) is

one of the avenging deities, dread goddesses with snakes twined in their hair, sent from Tartarus to avenge wrong and punish crime: in later accounts, three in number (Tisiphone, Megæra, Alecto). Hence generally an avenging or tormenting infernal spirit" (²OED)³³⁵

It is telling that the dreadful killer car in Stephen King's novel *Christine* is a 1955 *Plymouth Fury*. The new *Dodge Avenger* also falls into this pattern³³⁶. An *Imp* is an evil spirit that is additionally small, or it is used for a "child of the devil", and the field of activity of a *Gremlin* is quite restricted: it is "a mischievous sprite imagined as the cause of mishaps to aircraft; later, an embodiment of mischance in other activities". A supernatural being that is not evil in itself but which the peasantry of Ireland and the Scottish Highlands supposes to announce death by wailing under the window of a house where somebody is about to die is *Banshee* (and *Banshee III*).

A further group of spirits is typically pictured as an animal. All of them can be regarded as a particularly powerful animal in terms of which cars are understood. *Phoenix* (2x) and *Thunderbird* can be related to the bird group (cf. ch. 4.3.2.1), *Centaur* to the horse group (cf. ch. 4.3.2.3) and *Dragon* (2x) to the reptile group (cf. ch. 4.3.2.4). A *Valkyrie* is pictured not as an animal but as a human being, "one or other of the twelve war-maidens supposed to hover over battlefields and

³³⁵ *Fury* is also a designation for "fierce passion, disorder or tumult of mind approaching madness; especially wild anger, frenzied rage" (²OED) but there is no pattern of automobile names taken from designations for feelings. Furthermore ads for the *Plymouth Fury* used to insinuate that there was a connection with the Greek Furies (cf. MacCannell, 1987: 521)

³³⁶ The name is not in my corpus because it has only been on sale since early 1995 (cf. ch. 1.4). The British *Hillman Avenger* was imported by Chrysler already in the early Seventies but in the USA they sold it under the name *Plymouth Cricket* (cf. Georgano, 1992: 230).

to conduct the fallen warriors to Valhalla" (²OED). This metaphor can thus be related to the designations for human beings characterized by their aggression, particularly members of the armed forces (cf. ch. 4.3.1.2). The metaphorical name *Apollo* (3x), on the other hand is connected with the concept "the car is an element of unanimated nature" (cf. ch. 4.3.4) as the Greek and Roman god of the sun is this element personified.

4.4 Iconic Names


Bußmann's (1990: 332) dictionary of linguistics gives the following definition of an icon:

In der Semiotik von CH. S. PEIRCE Klasse von visuellen und akustischen Zeichen, die in unmittelbarer wahrnehmbarer Beziehung zur bezeichneten Sache stehen, indem sie Aspekte des realen Objekts abbildhaft imitieren und dadurch eine Ähnlichkeit oder Gemeinsamkeit von Merkmalen aufweisen, vgl. z.B. Schaubilder in Medien, Hinweis- und Verkehrsschilder (Fußgängerschild), Landkarten, Lagepläne, aber auch musikalische Wiedergabe von Geräuschen u.a; Lautmalerei.

Bencze (1991: 157) distinguishes the following types of icons:

| Iconicity of signs in general | Corresponding linguistic equivalents |
|-------------------------------|---|
| IMAGE | onomatopoeia exclamations sound-symbolism |
| DIAGRAM | isomorphism motivation |
| METAPHOR | tropes |

An iconic sign that is an IMAGE is characterized by "a topological similarity between a *sign* and its *denotatum*" (Bencze, 1991: 157). An iconic sign that is a DIAGRAM is characterized by a similarity not between sign and denotatum but between the relation of signs and the relation of denotata and in an iconic sign that is a METAPHOR there is no similarity between sign and denotatum at all but only between significatum and denotatum. These three types of iconic signs can

be exemplified by the following: This sign, , for a parking lot is an IMAGE as sign and denotatum show certain similarities (picture of a car and key). The (regular) English plural forms provide an example for an iconic sign that is a diagram: to denote the plural of something is to denote that there is a larger quantity of something than if only one such item is present, and the linguistic sign that denotes the plural similarly uses a larger quantity of sounds or letters than the singular. Figure 4-19 shows that a "more" in extralinguistic reality corresponds with, or is iconically reflected by, a "more" in linguistic form. Another example for this type of iconicity is provided by de Beaugrande/Dressler

(1981: 60): in a poem by Robert Frost the monotonous repetition of the lines "And miles to go before I sleep,/And miles to go before I sleep." is iconic of the speaker's monotonous way of travelling.

FIGURE 4-19: EXAMPLE OF DIAGRAMMATIC ICONICITY



Any of the names discussed in ch. 4.2 and ch. 4.3 could be used as an example for an iconic sign that is a metaphor³³⁷. In a statement like "This is a cougar" referring to a car there is no similarity between the form of the word *cougar* and the extralinguistic reality it refers to but rather between the meaning of *Cougar*, "wild American big cat" and the car (cf. 4.1 especially Figure 4-1, p. 166).

While the IMAGE has the highest iconicity³³⁸, the METAPHOR has the lowest. The iconic automobile names that are discussed in this chapter are icons that are images, i.e. they are characterized by a high degree of iconicity. In all of them a property of the sign is similar to a property of its denotatum, the car, but, as has already been done with metaphor above, it must once again be cautioned that similarity is not necessarily something that objectively exists - rather a similarity between the sign and the car is suggested to the consumer. Two types of such artificially created similarities occur in automobile names: the name is either a symbol of the car's high technological standard or equipment (cf. ch. 4.4.1) or it is a symbol of some property that is commonly associated with speakers of a foreign language (cf. ch. 4.4.2). A name is iconic if its sense is unknown to a majority of language users. This is especially true of acronyms the basis of which is unknown, of numbers, of combinations of letters and numbers and of non-established borrowings. That the sense of many names is unknown to a fair number of language users results from the fact that with trade names the lingual knowledge of sender and receiver differs. While it can normally be assumed that two communicants using the same code have roughly the same lingual knowledge, with trade names the sender has the advantage of being not only a user of the sign but also its creator. The receiver on the other hand can only try to decode what has been offered to him. According to Sialm-Bossard (1976: 273), the first has a synthetic grammar ("Synthesengrammatik") and the second an analytic one ("Analysengrammatik"). If the receiver is unsuccessful in decoding

³³⁷ If I understand Bencze (1991) correctly any trope including metonymy is an iconic sign that is a metaphor.

³³⁸ "Von C. W. MORRIS geprägter Terminus zur Bezeichnung für das Maß der Ähnlichkeit zwischen dem Ikon und seinem Referenzobjekt." (Bußmann, 1990: 323)

the sense of a name, while being aware of its reference, a certain car, he will construct a kind of "sense" by regarding the name as iconic.

In total 535 names are iconic, that is 23.9% of all the names. Table 4-16 shows their distribution over the various slots of an automobile designation. It is particularly noteworthy that no iconic name is used as a manufacturer designation - this is probably due to the fact that marketing experts regard it as very difficult if not impossible to create a corporate image of public warmth around such names (cf. Urang, 1979).

TABLE 4-16: ICONIC AUTOMOBILE NAMES

| | manufacturer designations (59) | series designations (1024) | model designations (1158) | total (2241) |
|-------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------|
| total | 0 | 163 | 372 | 535 |
| % | 0,0 | 15,9 | 32,1 | 23,9 |

The majority of these, 409 names or 76.4%, are symbols of technology, the rest, 126 names or 23.6% are symbols of "foreignness".

4.4.1 Symbols of technology: the type *XX-500*

The iconic names that symbolize a high technological sophistication of the car are largely identical with the forms of acronyms (cf. ch. 3.3.1), numerals (cf. ch. 3.7) and phrases consisting of a letter-numeral-combination (cf. ch. 3.4.3) but the names *Delta* and *Omega*, although formally simplexes, also fall in this group. 99 series designations³³⁹ and 310 model designations³⁴⁰ occur. When the form of these names was discussed it has, if known, been stated what the abbreviation or numeral stands for (cf. ch. 3.3.1, especially Table 3-14 and Table 3-15, pp.

³³⁹ *Amitron, AMX, Asardo, BMC, Bugetta, Delta, DTL, DV32, EXP, Firearri, FX-Atmos, GM-X, GS, GSX, GTO, GTX, H.C.S., J, J2000, LHS, LN7, LTD, LTD II, Merkur XR4Ti, NXI, Omega (2x), One-Fifty, SC2, Scat, Sixty, SL2, SW2, T1000, Tasco, TC3, Two-Ten, Veep, XL, XNR, XP-VIP, X-1000, XM-800, X-600, XL-500, XX-500, X-400, XP-300, XK-120, X-100, F-88, F-85, S-55, GT-40, S-22, CJ-7, XR-6, 4-4-2, XK-1, 61, 62, 70, Concept 70X, 76, 88, Delta 88, 98, 120, 200, 250, 300 (3x), 300B, 300C, 300D, 300E, 300F, 300G, 300H, 300J, 300K, 300L, 330, GS 350, 400, GS 400, 440, GS 445, 490, 600 (2x), 600 ES, 880, 999, 1000, 2000, 6000, 6200*

³⁴⁰ *024, 2+2 (4x), 2.2, 202, 220 (2x), 225, 270, 300 (2x), 300 Deluxe, 300 SS, 318, 326, 326-HO, 330 (3x), 340 (2x), 360, 383, 383-S, 4-4-2 (4x), 400 (3x), 404, 421, 425, 429 SCJ (2x), 440 (4x), 50 DL, 500 (7x), 550, 56C, 60, 600, 66, 660, 68, 70, 76, 76C, 770 (2x), 78, 79R, 8, 800, 860, 870, 880, 990, 990-H, AAR, AMX (2x), APV, AWD, CJ, CL, CMX, CS (2x), D-500, Delta, Delta 88, DL (6x), DPL, E, ES (8x), ESS (2x), F-85, F/E, FS, GL (6x), GLH, GLX (2x), GS (8x), GSX (3x), GT (24x), GTO (2x), GTS (2x), GTX, GTZ, I (2x), II (2x), III (2x), IROC, IROC R/T, IROC-Z, K 1500, L (5x), LE (6x), LJ (3x), LS (7x), LSC, LT, LT1, LTD, LTS, LX (7x), LX-E, LXXV, MPG, MS4, MT, MX, One-Fifty, R/T (5x), RS (4x), RT/10, S (16x), S-22 (2x), S-23, S-33, S/E, S/R (2x), S10, SC360, SE (12x), SHO, SJ (4x), SS (9x), SST (4x), STE, STS, Super R/T, SVO, SX (2x), SX/4, SX/4 DL, T, T&C, T-37, TC3, TS1, Two-Ten, U, V-100, V-200, VI, VIII, VL, X (6x), X11, XE, XR-3, XR-7, XR3, XS, XSR, XT, Z 24 (2x), Z-28, Z34, ZL-I, ZR-1*

134ff). Semantically these bases are - as far as there exists a basis at all - of little interest, however, because they are very often unknown to the consumer. As automobile names numerals, acronyms and their combinations derive their sense from the fact that they are most often used in the language for the specific purpose of technology, in scientific language. Therefore they suggest to the layman³⁴¹ that the car so named is an automobile that is distinguished from others by its technological sophistication like the sign used as a name differs from other words by its specific character. Enders (1974: 374) attributes an enigmatic or even magic character to automobile names of this type:

GS/E. Man weiß, daß es sich um die Typenbezeichnung handelt. Unklar dürfte gemeinhin sein, daß die Buchstaben für 'Grand Sport, Einspritzmotor' stehen. Solche Entschlüsselung wird von den Herstellern zwar jeweils angegeben, der Sinn dieser und anderer Typenbezeichnungskürzel ist es jedoch, eben nicht aufgelöst zu werden. Die Rätselhaftigkeit, eine Art Magie des Zeichens ist gewollt und einkalkuliert. In seiner Unauflösbarkeit (und die Übersetzung nach Herstellerangabe als 'Grand Sport' wäre ja auch keine Auflösung) weist das Zeichen unmittelbar auf das zurück, was präsent ist, die Ansicht des Automobils.

Names like these give the car or its technology an image as something that the layman will not be able to understand. For names like these it is certainly true what Enders (1972: 170) states about technics in general:

Technik ist aber auch der Ideologie zufolge eine im ganzen wie in ihren einzelnen Manifestationen unbegreifbare Veranstaltung von relativ wenigen Spezialisten. Daß dem Laienverstand verhältnismäßig enge Grenzen gesetzt sind, ist unbestreitbar. Die Ideologie aber hypostasiert den Unverstand zu einer Qualität des Außerordentlichen von Technik.

The names *Delta* and *Omega* combine the iconic representation of a high standard of technology of a letter with being Greek, the language of learning par excellence. Two names, *Bugetta* and *Firearri* suggest that the formal similarity of these names with *Bugatti* and *Ferrari*, will find its extension in a similarity of the cars so named with their famous namesakes, cars of renowned excellence.

4.4.2 Symbols of "foreignness": the type *Parisienne*

³⁴¹ Sometimes not only for the layman, incidentally: "Die im Automobilbau viel verwendeten Typenbezeichnungen in Form von Verbindungen aus Buchstaben, Wörtern und Ziffern haben für den Fachmann echten oder doch Prestigewert; sie sind daher werblich wertvoll." (Wills, 1968: 105)

Iconic names that are symbolic of "foreignness" occur far less frequently than symbols of technology. There are 64 series designations and 62 model designations³⁴². If the sense of a word is not understood because it is a non-established borrowing from another language it becomes an iconic sign when used as an automobile name. Consumers will normally be able to identify the source language of a such a word³⁴³, and they will assume that the stereotype/s they hold about that language, the area where it is spoken and its speakers will also apply to the car so named. Car and name are thus supposed to be similar in respect of the connotations a certain language evokes. To take the associations a certain language carries into account when naming an automobile has quite a tradition: Hugill (1990: 31) states that *Mercedes* was chosen "to give it a French-sounding name in the critical French market" - *Mercedes* was the name of the daughter of one of Daimler's executives³⁴⁴.

The stereotypes carried by product names that are non-established borrowings are studied extensively by Haarmann (1984 and 1986) with Japanese product names. He found that in the Japanese market an English name on Japanese cars is supposed to signal reliability, a French one attractiveness, an Italian one sporty elegance and a Spanish one beauty and passion as characteristics of the idolization of women (cf. Haarmann, 1984: 203f and 1986: 40). Interestingly these languages are also most frequently used on American automobiles³⁴⁵ (cf. 3.6) and the stereotypes they carry are probably pretty similar. French is used as the language of luxury and elegance and Italian as the language of a country from which many famous racing cars originated. Spanish is less associated with the culture of Spain but with the one of Latin America. In automobile names Spanish names play on the notion of the free and wild spirit of the American

³⁴² The names in this group are identical to names of the form "non-established borrowings" (cf. ch. 3.6). There are 66 instead of 64 series designations there, which is due to the fact that the items that could formally belong to more than one group, *Cimarron*, *Cordoba de Oro* and *El Morocco*, have already been discussed elsewhere (cf. chs. 4.2.1.1 and 4.3.2.3) and that *Avanti II* is formally a phrase. The difference between 58 model designations in ch. 3.6 and 62 here is due to four names that are formally phrases being included here because their head is a non-established borrowing: *Nova 400*, *Nova SS*, *TC3 Turismo* and *Turismo 2.2*.

³⁴³ Almost all of those used are of Romance origin; cf. ch. 3.6. The portions of the various donor languages are also given there. While native speakers of English should normally be able to identify Romance words as such, people with little or no knowledge of foreign languages may have difficulties. Klickow (1964: 26) found that fantasy words are also ascribed to a certain language if they comply with certain expectations subjects hold about the sound of words of another language (cf. also *Ostentatiene Opera*, *Pinto Sportiva*, *Urba Centurian*, *Wagonaire*).

³⁴⁴ However, successful names seem to create their own myth: thus, Bechstein (1987: 94) states that *Mercedes* was chosen because it is particularly easy to remember and can be pronounced in all (!) languages.

³⁴⁵ Of course, English is not relevant here: as the neutral language in the USA it does not carry any connotations.

West. Obviously car namers are very confident that consumers will pick the "correct", i.e. the positive stereotype because Spanish is held in poor regard by many US-Americans as the language of poor, illegal immigrants from the USA's Middle American "backyard". Latin, the other language that occurs with a significant portion of names carries prestige as the traditional language of learning and may also sometimes be associated with technology as the frequency of Latin elements is a further typical feature of English for specific purposes (cf. ch. 3.1).

4.4.3 Folk-etymology (secondary motivation) in iconic names

Folk-etymology is a semantic process in which archaic or borrowed words that people find not or no longer motivated are reinterpreted so that they "make sense". This reinterpretation process usually involves a change in the form of a word. An example from Standard English is the word *crayfish*, which was formed to motivate the French borrowing *écrevisse*, which did not make sense to English speakers (cf. Leisi, 1985: 77). A similar process may occur with car names if people cannot find a motivation for a name - and, of course, it is particularly difficult to regard iconic names as motivated. But while in general language the reinterpretation usually involves a change in the form of the word, such a change will not normally occur in car names because the people who own the name and use it officially will not find it unmotivated and those who find it unmotivated may change it in everyday speech but they do not have the power to change it in those environs where it occurs most frequently: on the cars, in advertisements, brochures, catalogues etc. Examples of folk-etymological reinterpretations of iconic names are the re-interpretation of *SST* as *Super Sonic Transport* (the original basis is *Super Sport Touring*, cf. Table 3-15, pp. 135ff) or the GM code name *J-car* was thought "to designate the targeted Japanese enemy, even though the company insisted that it was merely coincidental" (Yates, 1983: 14).

Occasionally not only consumers create folk-etymological reinterpretations but companies may actively participate in the creation of "myths" about a trade name. Phillips even collected and published the various interpretations of *66* in *Phillips 66* (cf. Campbell, 1964: 175ff) without commenting on the "truth-value" of the various explanations³⁴⁶. Bechstein (1987: 90) similarly relates an anecdote (although it does not become clear whether it is actively furthered by the manufacturer) according to which the *Benz Victoria* was named *Victoria* because

³⁴⁶ It was, for instance, thought that Frank Phillips, one of the founders, was 66 years old when he organized the company or that he and his brother had only 66 dollars left when they hit their first oil well. Other explanations were that a Phillips official won the company's first refinery in a dice game when he rolled double sixes, or that the company's first gasoline was 66 octane (cf. Campbell, 1964: 176).

Benz is said to have cried out *Victoria!* (= victory) after a successful test of his new invention - in fact, the name is taken rather prosaically from a then much-used carriage type named after Queen Victoria (cf. Lessing, 1994). The company that produced the famous *SS* (the forerunner of Jaguar) never bothered to make public what had prompted the choice of the two letters, and accordingly "explanations" such as *Standard Swallow*, *Swallow Sports*, *Super Sports* or *Super Sexed* among others (cf. Leasor, 1980: 93) flourished³⁴⁷. Companies may also if not actively encourage at least welcome folk-etymological reinterpretations of names in which the personal name of the producer is homonymous with a common noun or other word if it enhances the possible connotations of the name. A case in point is the manufacturer designation *Dodge*, which derives from the second name of the company founders, the brothers John and Horace Dodge (cf. Kimes/Clark, 1989: 440): being homonymous with the verb *to dodge* Gläser (1973b: 230) interprets the name as a metaphor:

[...] *Dodge Dart* (= Wurfspeer, Wurfspieß) aus der Firma Chrysler. Der letztgenannte Name enthält eine doppelte Metapher, denn er spielt gleichzeitig auf die Wendigkeit des Wagens im Straßenverkehr an (*to dodge* = ausweichen).

The name of the coach builder *LeBaron* could similarly be interpreted as part of a paradigm of names taken from French aristocratic titles like *Le Comte*, *La Comtesse* etc. Of course, such reinterpretations due to homonyms may not only be favourable: the *Durant Little*, named after Durant's production manager William H. Little "did not sell well, perhaps because the name was unappealing" (Georgano, 1992: 47).

In contrast to the secondary motivation that may aid the marketing there are those that seem to express all the frustrations of consumer life as in the following reinterpretations of acronym-based names: *FIAT* may become *Fix it again, Tony* or in German *Fehler in allen Teilen* (the original basis is *Fabbrica Italiana Automobili Torino*; cf. Ludvigsen, 1990: 198). Such reinterpretations do not only occur with automobile names but also with any other trade name as when *DOS* is described as *Denial of service* instead of *disk operating system* (cf. LDELC) or *IBM* as *Inadequate but marketable* or *Invented by monkeys* instead of *International Business Machines* (cf. LDELC). These depreciating secondary motivations do not only occur because people cannot make sense of the names

³⁴⁷ Not only legends about names may be instrumentalized to create a certain nimbus around the car but also the badge as in the explanation of the black colour of the Rolls-Royce badge: "Legend holds that the (initial - I.P.) red was changed to black to mark the death of Sir Henry Royce, but legend is wrong. Black was adopted in 1930, three years before the great man died, and for another reason altogether; to match the customary black coachwork most owners specified." (Leasor, 1980: 97).

but because they do not want to take the names as seriously as the manufacturers want their names to be taken. The reinterpretation of *Ford* as *First On Recall Day* demonstrates this clearly as there is probably no American who seriously assumes that *Ford* is an abbreviation. But iconic names are particularly prone to ironic reinterpretations: *Honda* and *Mazda* are named after the second names of the company founders (cf. Eisiminger, 1991: 105) but in German these names may be iconic of Japanese origin, and they are reinterpreted as *Heute ohne nennenswerte Fehler angekommen* and *Mein Auto zerstört deutsche Arbeitsplätze*. Especially in the last the reinterpretation is no longer ironic but mean.

4.5 Descriptive designations

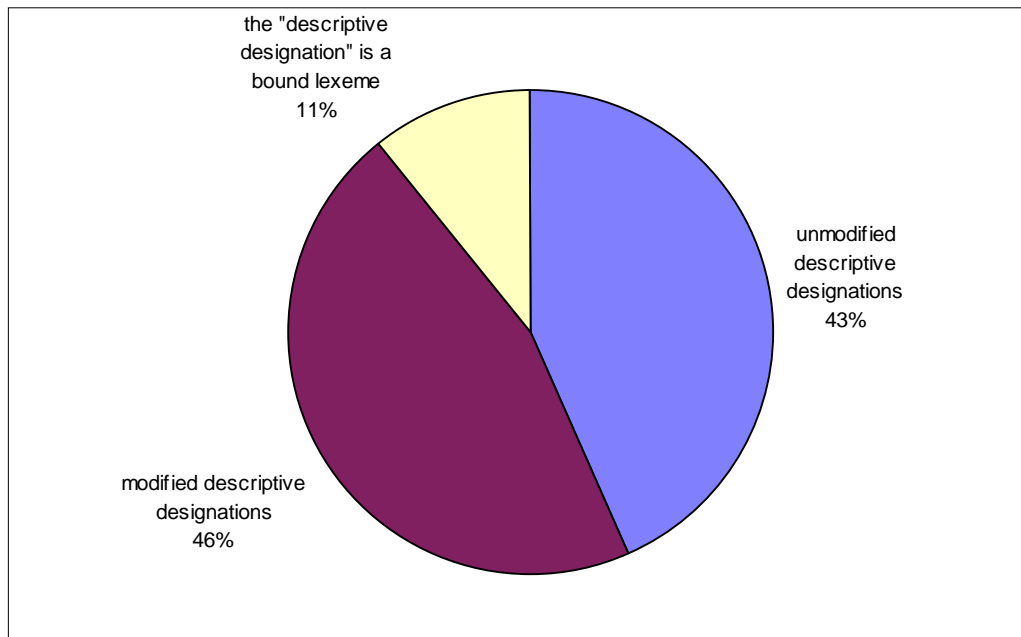
In contrast to all the automobile names discussed so far a name that is a descriptive designation is or is headed by a generally accepted synonym or hyponym of the lexemes *automobile* and *car*. Of course, any automobile name syntagma can be headed by such a designation (cf. ch. 2.1.4) but only those that occur as automobile name proper (cf. ch. 2.2.2) will be discussed here. Only 210 such descriptive designations occur, that is 9.4% of the total. The comparative scarcity of such names is due to the fact that, as Room (1982: 2; 13) points out, a trade name is not primarily supposed to designate but to advertise. Table 4-17 shows that the portion of descriptive designations increases through the various slots of an automobile designation, it is lowest for manufacturer designations and highest for model designations.

TABLE 4-17: DESCRIPTIVE DESIGNATIONS USED IN THE VARIOUS SLOTS OF AN AUTOMOBILE NAME

| | manufacturer designations (59) | series designations (1024) | model designations (1158) | total (2241) |
|-------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------|
| total | 2 | 79 | 129 | 210 |
| % | 3,4 | 7,7 | 11,1 | 9,4 |

Within the descriptive designations three subgroups can be distinguished: two central ones that are made up of unmodified descriptive designations such as *Brougham*, *Caravan*, *Roadster* etc. and modified descriptive designations such as *Commercial Car*, *Commuta-Car*, *Continental Sportster* and a peripheral one whose determinatums are bound lexemes, mainly the commercial suffixes discussed in ch. 3.2.4, as in *Asymmetrica*, *Broganette*, *Chevelle* etc. Figure 4-20 shows the portion of these three types of descriptive designations. Although there are slightly more modified descriptive designations than unmodified ones, the unmodified ones will be discussed before the modified ones for systematic reasons.

FIGURE 4-20: TYPES OF DESCRIPTIVE DESIGNATIONS



4.5.1 Unmodified descriptive designations: the type *Brougham*

91 or 43.3% of the descriptive designations are not modified by an attribute, 25 series designations³⁴⁸ and 66 model designations³⁴⁹. The majority of the designations that are used as automobile names of this type are former carriage designations (e.g. *Brougham*, *Cabriolet*, *Light Tonneau*, *Phaeton*, *Runabout*); one, *Sedan*, is derived from an even older means of transport, "a portable chair or covered vehicle for carrying a single person usually borne on poles by two men" (WT). This means that again we are dealing with a metaphorical concept, namely the concept "the car is a carriage"³⁵⁰. The reason why these names are not discussed in the chapter about metaphorical transfers (cf. ch. 4.3), however, is that they are no longer regarded as carriage designations but rather as designations for vehicle types. So, like word-formation syntagmas metaphors may be institutionalized and then the automobile name is not formed by a metaphorical process but it is taken from a descriptive designation that in turn

³⁴⁸ *Berlina*, *Brougham* (2x), *Caravan*, *Croydon*, *DeVille*, *Estate Carriage*, *Estate Wagon*, *Light Tonneau*, *Quadricycle*, *Runabout* (2x), *Station Wagon* (5x), *Surrey* (2x), *Touring*, *Town Car*, *Victoria* (3x)

³⁴⁹ *Berlinetta*, *Brougham* (22x), *Cabriolet* (3x), *Colonnade* (4x), *Dual Cowl Phaeton*, *Estate* (2x), *Estate Wagon* (4x), *Landau* (6x), *Machine*, *Phaeton*, *Ranch Wagon* (3x), *Runabout* (2x), *Salon* (5x), *Sedan*, *Speedster*, *Sportster*, *Touring*, *Town Car*, *Victoria* (6x), *Woody*

³⁵⁰ Incidentally, many of these carriage designations (e.g. *Brougham*, *Croydon*, *Landau*, *Phaeton*, *Surrey*, *Victoria*) derive in turn from a metonymic transfer.

was earlier formed by a metaphorical transfer. Such institutionalized metaphors are sometimes called "dead" metaphors:

[...] the expressive power of everyday language largely resides in countless 'dead' metaphors, which have become institutionalized in the multiple meanings of the dictionary. Countless other metaphors are in various stages of 'moribundity', so that it would be a misrepresentation to treat them either as completely commonplace or as utterly orthodox. (Leech, 1969: 147)³⁵¹

The existence of so many institutionalized carriage metaphors used as designations for automobile types demonstrates that in the early days of the automobile, the new technology was popularized by comparing it with carriages. The term *car* itself and other early terms for it such as *horseless carriage*, or *Motorkutsche* and *Benzinkutsche* in German show this clearly. Jakob (1991: 317) analyzes the different purposes of the two metaphorical concepts in which the new machine was popularized, namely "the car is a horse" (cf. ch. 4.3.2.3) and "the car is a carriage":

Generell kann man sagen, daß zur Vermittlung der **technischen Details** häufig das gedankliche und sprachliche Modell von KUTSCHE gebraucht wird, was schließlich auf technischer Realität aufbaut. Dagegen hat das mentale Modell KÖRPER-TIER-PFERD, in dem das neue Gefährt direkt mit dem ehemaligen Zugtier gleichgesetzt wird, eine vermittelnde Funktion, wenn die Aufgaben, Einsatzmöglichkeiten und Vorteile des **gesamten Fahrzeugs** 'werbend' darzustellen sind.

Colonnade is no former carriage designation. All the general language dictionaries I consulted (²OED, WT, DCE, LDELC) only give the meaning "row of columns". In automobile language the term has been used since 1974 to designate "two- and four-door pillared body types with arch-like quarter windows and sandwich type roof construction [... which] look like a cross between a true hardtop and miniature limousines" (Flammang, 1989: viii). Like *Colonnade* the majority of the designations in this group are used for a certain body type (e.g. *Brougham*, *Cabriolet*, *Caravan*, *Dual Cowl Phaeton*, *Quadricycle*, *Salon*). Many of these body types are designed expressly for specific purposes such as *Estate Carriage*, *Ranch Wagon* or *Station Wagon* for transporting a larger amount of luggage than "normal", or *Cabriolet*³⁵², *Speedster* and *Sportster* for pleasure travel. *Woody* further specifies the material

³⁵¹ cf. also e.g. Bückendorf, 1963: 35.

³⁵² Convertibles have only been regarded as offering particular pleasure since the 1950s. In the early days of the automobile, when it was the norm that cars were open or had a fold-down top, closed cars were regarded as especially desirable.

of which the body is made. The only name that does not derive from a designation for a particular body type is *Machine*. *Machine* is a superordinate term of car, although ²OED also gives it as its synonym. The meaning "a motor car" is labelled as American English there, WT, however, does not give such a meaning. The date range of the quotations in the ²OED, the first one from 1901, the last one from 1919, makes it further doubtful whether *machine* was still widely used as a synonym for *car* in the late Sixties when it was used as a model designation on the AMC Rebel or whether it is so today. The process that seems to be at work when a car namer dubs a car with a hyperonym of *car* that is not, no longer or not generally used as a synonym of it seems to resemble a process that is quite frequent in general language: narrowing of meaning. In narrowing of meaning a designation that is used for a group of elements becomes associated with the prototypical member of that group only. Such "prototypicalizations" may not be used by all members of a language community but differ along with the prototype. *Machine* exemplifies this nicely as it is used for a particular machine by those who are mainly concerned with one machine only, their prototypical machine. A secretary's *machine* is a typewriter, a seamstress's a sewing machine, a shepherd's a shearing machine, a fireman's a fire-engine, a clerk's a computer and so forth. By calling a car *Machine* the sender attempts to raise the car to a similar important status in the mind of the consumer.

4.5.2 Modified descriptive designations: the type *Classic Roadster*

96 or 45.7% of the descriptive designations are modified by an attribute, one series designation, *Classic Roadster*, 35 series designations³⁵³ and 60 model designations³⁵⁴. While neither of the two most commonly used archilexemes of the field, *car* and *auto(mobile)*, occurred in unmodified form, *car* occurs 15 times in the company of a modifier, *auto* only once. The modifier specifies the location in which the car can be used as in *Citicar* ("car for the city"), or the

³⁵³ *Ambulet, Autoette, Beechcraft, Bobbi-Kar, Bocar, Cab Pick-Up, Citicar, Commercial Car, Comuta-Car, Continental Sportster, Crown Victoria, Elcar, Electricar, Fleetwood 60 Special Brougham, Fleetwood 75 Limousine, Flying Roadster, Glascar, Grand Caravan, Grand Ville, Hot Rod Beetle, Little Runabout, LTD Crown Victoria, Mile-A-Minute Roadster, Palace Touring, Pedicar, Royal Monaco Brougham, Rumbleseat Roadster, Safarikar, Sportabout, Sportwagon, Super Kar, Super Wagon, T.C. by Maserati, Tri-Car, Wagon de Ville*

³⁵⁴ *6900 Brougham, Aerosedan, Ambulet (2x), Boss 427 Dragster, Brougham D'Elegance, Brougham LS (2x), Classic Landau, Club Sedan (2x), Club Victoria (2x), Club Wagon, Country Sedan (2x), Crown Coupe, Cruising Sedan, Cruising Wagon, Custom Phaeton, Custom Wagonaire, Euro-Sedan (2x), Family Club Sedan, Gran Coupe (3x), Gran Sedan, Gran Touring, Gucci Sportabout, Indy Pace Car, Limited Edition Landau, MX Brougham, Pace Car, Sedan DeVille, SJ Cordova Landau, Special Eldorado Coupe, Speedabout, Sport Coupe (3x), Sport Sedan, Sportabout (2x), Sports Compact, Squire Wagon, Sun Roof Landau, Sunrise Coupe, Super Coupe (2x), Touring Coupe, Town Coupe, Town Landau, Town Sedan, Town Victoria, Towne Coupe, Turbo Coupe, Utility Sedan, Utility Sedanette, W-car*

purpose to which it can be put as in *Commercial Car* ("car for commercial purposes"), in *Comuta-Car* ("car for a commuter"), in *Indy Pace Car* and *Pace Car* ["car for pacing/setting the pace (at the 500 Miles of Indianapolis)] or in *Safarikar* ("car for a safari"). Strictly speaking, *Indy Pace Car* and *Pace Car* are metaphors: when the Oldsmobile Delta 88 and the Chevrolet Camaro were selected as pace cars for the race at Indianapolis, a special edition of these cars was offered bearing the model designations *Indy Pace Car* (Oldsmobile) and *Pace Car* (Chevrolet). Of course none of the cars sold with these names had ever been used to pace the 500 miles of Indianapolis. They can thus only be understood as "cars resembling pace cars in speed, design, performance etc". The purpose of a *Safarikar* is a possible use rather than a real one as probably only a tiny minority of Americans with such a car will actually use it on a safari. The modifier might also specify the propulsion type of the car as in *Elcar* and *Electricar*, which are powered by electricity, and *Pedicar*, which is powered by one's feet³⁵⁵. The examples show that such a specification will only occur with uncommon propulsion types as it is simply superfluous to specifically state it if a car is propelled by a combustion engine. Other uncommon features of a car can also be stated as in *Glascar* ("made of fiberglass") and *Tri-Car* ("with only three wheels"). The same principle works in *Super Kar*, although in this case it is not a material feature that raises the car out of the ordinary but rather something regarded as too elusive to be stated expressly. In two cases, *Bobbi-Kar* and *Bocar*, the modifier is a first name,³⁵⁶ and in one case a letter, *W-car*, which specifies the line of car and gives it a rather technical air (cf. ch. 4.4.1). The only combination with *auto* used as an automobile name is the suffixation (cf. ch. 3.2.4) *Autoette*, "a small car". The hyperonym *craft* occurs in one combination, *Beechcraft*. The modifier states the surname of the producer.

Combinations not with the archilexeme but with a designation for a body type are far more frequent. To a large extent the same designations as those that are used in unmodified form (cf. ch. 4.5.1) occur. The body type designations entering into complexes as heads most often are *Coupe* (15x), *Sedan* (14x), *Brougham* (7x), *Wagon* (7x), *Landau* (5x), *Roadster* (4x) and *Victoria* (3x). The modifiers specifying these body types are more diverse. As with *car* above a number of modifiers specify the purpose to which the car can be put. This may either be a very general purpose as in *Utility Sedan* and *Utility Sedanette* ("a useful sedan/ette"), or a more specific one as in the blend (cf. ch. 3.3.2) *Ambulet*

³⁵⁵ The *Pedicar* produced in 1973 by Environmental Trans-Sport of Connecticut could in fact be pedal-powered (cf. Gunnell, 1992: 707).

³⁵⁶ I do not know what or whom *Bobbi* might relate to exactly. Of course, British police come to mind but I found no such relationship in the description of the car. *Bocar* was discussed in ch. 3.3.1, especially Table 3-14, p. 134.

(3x) ("a cabriolet used as an ambulance"),³⁵⁷ in *Cruising Sedan* and *Cruising Wagon* ("sedan/wagon for cruising"), in *Family Club Sedan* ("club sedan for the family"), in *Hot Rod Beetle* ("a beetle for hot-rodding")³⁵⁸ and *Touring Coupe* ("coupe for touring"). A *Speedabout* is either "a car for speeding about" or "one that can speed about". In the complexes modified by *sport* (*Sportabout* (3x), *Sport Coupe* (3x), *Sports Compact*, *Sport Sedan*, *Sportwagon*) a similar ambiguity occurs: either it is the purpose that is specified or a characteristic of the car, "being sporty". Many modifiers give the location where the car can be used or should be used or the kind of society it befits: the most suitable location for a car is clearly town and club: both occur as modifiers five times each, in *Town Coupe*, *Town Landau*, *Town Sedan*, *Town Victoria* and *Towne Coupe*, and *Club Sedan* (2x), *Club Victoria* (2x) and *Club Wagon*. *Club* also describes the luxurious interior of the car in question. A *Country Sedan* (2x) can be or should be used in the country and a *Palace Touring* obviously ?in, ?in front of, ?near a *palace*. The last name also specifies the elevated status of the *touring* ("fit for a palace"), a meaning carried more typically by intensifiers. The most frequently occurring intensifiers are *Gran/de* and *Super* as in *Gran Coupe* (3x), *Grand Caravan*, *Grande Ville*, *Gran Sedan* and *Gran Touring*, and *Super Coupe* (2x) and *Super Wagon*. *Gran* and *Grande*, which are of Romance origin and only rarely used in English, the first mainly in connection with cars (after *Gran Turismo*) and the second mainly in aristocratic titles, function not only as intensifiers but locate the car further in an exotic context (cf. ch. 4.4.2). *Gran/de* is a more specific intensifier than *super*: while *super* intensifies any conceivable property of the car, *gran/de* highlights its size, in material as well as "ideal" terms. Other more specific intensifiers are *Classic* as in *Classic Landau* and *Classic Roadster*, which grounds the positive properties of these cars in tradition³⁵⁹, and *Crown* as in *Crown Coupe*, *Crown Victoria* and *LTD Crown Victoria*, which allocates the top position among all coupes/victorias to these cars ("a coupe/victoria like a crown").

Items already used as automobile names may also modify body types as in *Fleetwood 60 Special Brougham*, *Fleetwood 75 Limousine*, *LTD Crown Victoria*, *Royal Monaco Brougham*, *SJ Cordova Landau* and *Special Eldorado Coupe*. All of these items are phrases (cf. ch. 3.4) as compounds of the type "automobile

³⁵⁷ In fact, the Studebaker Ambulet, a 1956 conversion of a station wagon into an ambulance/emergency vehicle, was no cabriolet (cf. Gunnell, 1992: 630).

³⁵⁸ *Beetle* is the only head in this group that does, properly speaking, not designate a body type. Because of its unique status deriving partly from its characteristic form, I placed it in this group. Additionally it is the only automobile name that functions without doubt as head of a complex name (cf. ch. 3.2.1.1). A *hot rod* is "an automobile rebuilt or modified for high speed and fast acceleration" (WT).

³⁵⁹ *Classic Roadster* is in fact a manufacturer of replicars.

name + body type designations" have been excluded from semantic treatment because of their ambiguous structure (cf. ch. 4.1). Basically the same problem, namely whether the body type designation is really the head of these structures, which was discussed at some length above (cf. ch. 3.2.1.2) arises with the phrases, too. Suffice it here to say that if the body type is the determinatum of these structures, it is a car of a certain name in another body than the normal one. In all these phrases additionally an intensifier (*Special*, *Crown* and *Royal*) or a number or letter combination (*60*, *75*, *LTD* and *SJ*) is present. The latter are strongly related to the iconic names discussed above (cf. ch. 4.4.1). The same holds true of the names in which the modifier of the body type designation is nothing but a number or letter combination as in *6900 Brougham*, *Brougham LS* (2x) and *MX Brougham*. A further element, *Boss*, enters such a combination in *Boss 427 Dragster*: it functions either as an intensifier ("a dragster that is on top of the dragster-hierarchy like a boss is on top of the hierarchy in a business"), or gives the group of consumers for whom the dragster is suitable ("bosses") or it metonymically links the car with the fashion designer Hugo Boss. The modifier is likewise ambiguously either an intensifier or gives an intended consumer group in *Squire Wagon*. Of course, neither a *Boss 427 Dragster* nor a *Squire Wagon* will only target bosses and squires, rather the consumer is encouraged to feel like a boss or a squire when he drives a car that is fit for one of these.

The modifier is also used to tell something about the design or the technology of the car. The names *Cab Pick-Up*, *Rumbleseat Roadster*, *Sedan de Ville* and *Wagon de Ville* indicate that the cars they are used for combine the properties of two body types ("a pick-up with cab characteristics", "a roaster with rumbleseat characteristics", "sedan/wagon with coupe de ville characteristics"). Other modifiers of this type are *little* in *Little Runabout*, which specifies the size of the runabout, *Mile-A-Minute* in *Mile-A-Minute Roadster*, which specifies the (possible) speed of the car, *custom* in *Custom Phaeton* and *Custom Wagonaire*, which claims that the phaeton/wagonaire is not a product of the assembly line but rather hand-crafted, *Sun Roof* in *Sun Roof Landau*, which specifies that the landau has a sunroof, and *Turbo* in *Turbo Coupe*, which specifies the particularly powerful propulsion type of the coupe. The modifiers *Continental* and *Euro* in *Continental Sportster* and *Euro-Sedan* (2x) give also information that might be regarded as technical, they state that the sportster/sedan is built European-style, which in the U.S. may mean Spartan but powerful race cars.³⁶⁰ The modifiers in *Aerosedan* and *Flying Roadster* metaphorically place the sedan in a medium in which it cannot move, *Aero*, or attribute a movement to it that roadsters are not

³⁶⁰ Actually, *European-style* seems to be used on various types of cars, a recent article, for instance, about "GM's push to europeanize luxury-cars" (McCosh, 1995: 77) means to say that performance and luxury of the cars in question are improved at the same time.

capable of, *Flying*. Both are part of larger, related metaphorical concepts, namely "The car is another means of transport", specifically an airplane, (cf. ch. 4.3.3.1) and "The car is a kind of wind" (cf. ch. 4.3.4.2). *Sunrise Coupe* states what the consumer can do with the car ("watch the sunrise") or what the car is like ("is as bright as the sunrise"), *Limited Edition Landau* specifies how many landau models of the Ford Thunderbird there are, *Brougham d'elegance* claims to refer to a particularly elegant brougham, and two modifiers relate the car in question to a designer. In the case of the *Chrysler T.C. by Maserati*, the *T.C.* (an acronym based on *touring coupe*) is designed by people from the Italian car manufacturer *Maserati* and in the case of the *Gucci Sportabout*, the sportabout is somehow related to the fashion designer *Gucci* - it is not clear whether he designed the car or approves of it or drives it or whatever.

4.5.3 The "descriptive designation" is a bound lexeme: the type *Oldsmobile*

In 23 names, one manufacturer designation, *Oldsmobile*, 20 series designations³⁶¹ and two model designations, *Futura* (2x), the "descriptiveness" rests on a bound lexeme, that is in 11.0% of all the descriptive designations. The most frequently occurring morphemes are *-a* (12x) and *-mobile* (5x). The others are *-ette* (2x), and *-elle*, *-ix*, *-ster* and *-y* with one name each. Much about these bound automobile designations has already been said above (cf. ch. 3.2.4). Only *-mobile* was not discussed there as it is not a commercial suffix but a final combining form used in neo-classical compounds (cf. ch. 3.2.2). Its meaning as such however is "vehicle" (WT). The reason why only *Jeepster* of all the formations with *-ster* is to be found here is that it is the only one that is not established as a vehicle designation. The other (established) formations in *-ster* were discussed above (cf. ch. 4.5.1).

The modifier of six of these names specifies some technical property of the car so named: *Asymmetrica* was used on the 1961 Plymouth dream car, which had certain bumps and bulges on the driver's side only (cf. Gunnell, 1992: 733), so that it really was "an asymmetric car". Likewise one expects *Electra* (2x) and *Electra 225* to be the name of "a car powered by electricity" - in fact, only one of these is an electric car. As receivers of a message expect only to be told relevant information one does not interpret *Techna* simply as "a technical car", which would apply to any automobile, but rather as one that is characterized by an outstanding amount of new technology. *Voltra*, "a car powered by (an energy measured in) volt" is again the name of an electric car.

³⁶¹ *Asymmetrica*, *Broganette*, *Chevelle*, *Chevette*, *Chevy II*, *Diehlmobile*, *Electra* (2x), *Electra 225*, *Futura* (2x), *Jeepster*, *Monkeemobile*, *Polara*, *Publix*, *Rollsmobile*, *Scotmobile*, *Superba*, *Techna*, *Voltra*

In six other names it is not a technical detail that is specified by the modifier but rather an ideational one: *Futura* (4x) denotes such an advanced car that it is "one for the future" or "one of the future" and a *Superba* "a car that is superb". *Polara* is more difficult to account for: *polar* denotes either "of, near, like, or coming from lands near the North or South poles" or "exactly opposite in kind, quality, etc." (LDELC), so that the car could be interpreted as a very distinguished one, one that occupies an extreme (supposedly positive) position on an imaginary scale of automobiles.

In five names the determiner of a bound vehicle designation is another automobile name. In *Chevelle*, *Chevette*, *Chevy II* and *Jeepster* the name used as a modifier is one used by the same manufacturer, in *Rollsmobile* it is the name of another company. The first four names simply vary a central name, *Chevrolet* and *Jeep*. Doing so enables car namers to stress that these cars belong together, that they are products of the same manufacturer, that they are all of similar (supposedly high) quality, but that they are at the same time different, catering for the needs of various consumer groups. *Rollsmobile*, "a vehicle like a Rolls-Royce" on the other hand is something like a "pirate name", it draws on the reputation of another famous car builder.

In three names it is the surname of the manufacturer that modifies the descriptive designation: *Broganette*, *Diehlmobile* and *Oldsmobile* are "cars produced by Brogan/ Diehl/ Olds". *-mobile* is not only modified by the manufacturer's name but also by a verb denoting either the typical "action" of the car (a *Scootmobile* is a car that scoots, i.e. moves very quickly") or the use to which it can be put (a *Scootmobile* is "a car for scooting"). Another modifier that occurs with *-mobile* is *Monkee* in *Monkeemobile*. *The Monkees* were "an American popular music group formed in 1966, who made a number of successful television programmes but separated in 1969" (LDELC), and the *Monkeemobile* was a 1967 Pontiac GTO conversion used in their shows (cf. Gunnell, 1992: 602). The easiest explanation of the last name in this group, *Publix*, "a public car", is at the same time the least likely as this states, like *Techna*, something obvious, as any car is necessarily used in public. So, *Publix* is probably intended to mean "a car that affords its driver publicity, makes him or her a public figure".

5 Variation in American automobile names

5.1 Diachronic variation in American automobile names

In his outline of potential research areas in automotive names, Grieshaber (1987: 39) suggests fashion in car naming as one possible area of investigation:

A diachronic study of motor names could be undertaken to try and determine the extent to which, if at all, the naming of makes and models may be reflective of socio-cultural conditions, tastes or even values.

It is the purpose of this chapter to find out whether the processes of formation and semantic transfer that were discussed in chs. 3 and 4 for the whole corpus are of equal importance during every phase of the last hundred years during which names in the corpus were used. To do this the period during which automobile names in the corpus were introduced was divided into 12 small periods. This division partly follows Georgano (1992: 5f), who distinguishes six periods in the development of the American automobile: 1805-1900, the period he calls "Precursors and Pioneers", 1900-1920, "The Road to Mass Production" and at the same time the period of "Luxury of Unorthodoxy", 1920-1929, "The Great Boom on Wheels", 1929-1942, the time of "Depression and Recovery", 1945-1970, the period of "The American Automobile Triumphant" and 1970-1992, designated "The American Automobile at Bay". My own classification differs in starting later as the oldest automobile name in my corpus only dates from 1896, and in chipping up the periods from 1945-1970 and 1970-1992 into smaller units in order to be able to survey possible developments within these rather long periods, too. The twelve periods the names of which I compared are thus:

- | | | |
|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| (1) 1896-1920 | (5) 1950-1954 | (9) 1970-1974 |
| (2) 1921-1929 | (6) 1955-1959 | (10) 1975-1979 |
| (3) 1930-1942 | (7) 1960-1964 | (11) 1980-1984 |
| (4) 1945-1949 | (8) 1965-1969 | (12) 1985-1994 |

As civilian automobile production came to a halt during the war, there are no names between 1942 and 1945. I then compared the series designations that were introduced during these periods. Names that were introduced during one period may of course still be used during another one, or they may even be reintroduced in another period. The extremely long-lived series designation *Roadmaster*, for instance, was used by Buick from 1936 to 1942, then again from 1946 to 1958, and it was revived in 1991 and has been used since, or the series designation *Commander* was used by Studebaker from 1927 to 1942, then from 1947 to 1958, and then it was revived again in 1964 and used until Studebaker went out of business in 1966. Sometimes a name had already been used as a model designation before it was introduced as a series designation as in the case of

Bonneville, which was used by Pontiac as a model designation before it became a series designation in 1958. For the comparison of naming fashions only the introduction date is regarded as relevant, however. Only series designations are studied in their diachronic development. Of the 1024 series designations in my corpus 39 were introduced during the first period from 1896 to 1920, 31 in the second period from 1921 to 1929, 94 in the third from 1930 to 1942, 84 in the period from 1945 to 1949, 136 in the period from 1950 to 1954, 152 in the period from 1955 to 1959, 102 in the period from 1960 to 1964, 97 in the period from 1965 to 1969, 60 in the period from 1970 to 1974, 57 in the time from 1975 to 1979, 92 in the period from 1980 to 1984, and 80 during the last period from 1985 to 1994.

5.1.1 The names used in the various periods

(1) The following 39 series designations were introduced between 1896 and 1920³⁶²:

Chevrolet 490, Ford 999, Ford Arrow, Oldsmobile Autocrat, Oldsmobile Baby, Chevrolet Baby Grand, Stutz Bearcat, Studebaker Big Six, Chevrolet Classic Six, Oldsmobile Curved Dash, Oldsmobile Defender, Oldsmobile Dogcart, Studebaker Electric, Oldsmobile Flying Roadster, Packard Gray Wolf, Stutz H.C.S., Nash La Fayette, Studebaker Light Four, Studebaker Light Six, Oldsmobile Light Tonneau, Oldsmobile Limited, Chevrolet Little Runabout, Hudson Mile-A-Minute Roadster, Oldsmobile Pacemaker, Oldsmobile Palace Touring, Oldsmobile Pirate, Ford Quadricycle, Studebaker Runabout, Oldsmobile Special, Studebaker Special Six, Oldsmobile Straight Dash, Hudson Super Six, Studebaker Surrey, Oldsmobile Thorobred, Hudson Torpedo, Packard Touring, Packard Twin Six, Ford Victoria, Studebaker Victoria

(2) The following 31 series designations were introduced between 1921 and 1929:

Nash Advanced Six, Nash Ajax, Stutz Biarritz, Chevrolet Capitol, Studebaker Commander, Chevrolet Copper Cooled, Cadillac Custom, Chrysler DeSoto, Studebaker Dictator, Packard Eight, Dodge Fast Four, Cadillac Imperial, Chrysler Imperial, Chevrolet International, Nash Light Six, Stutz Monte Carlo, Chevrolet National, Studebaker President, Dodge Senior Six, Packard Single Eight, Packard Single Six, Nash Single Six, Nash Special Six, Dodge Standard Six, Nash Standard Six, Essex Super Six, Chevrolet Superior, Essex The Challenger, Stutz Versailles, Dodge Victory Six, Oldsmobile Viking

(3) The following 94 series designations were introduced between 1930 and 1942:

Packard 120, Chrysler Airflow, DeSoto Airflow, DeSoto Airstream, Chrysler Airstream, Nash Ambassador, Dodge Beauty Winner, Hudson Big Boy, Pontiac Big Six, Plymouth Business, Buick Century, Hudson Challenger, Studebaker Champion, Packard Clipper, Plymouth Commercial Car, Hudson Commodore, Chevrolet Confederate, Lincoln Continental, Hudson Country Club, Chrysler Croydon, Dodge Custom, Lincoln Custom, Oldsmobile Custom Cruiser, Chrysler Custom Imperial Airflow, Pontiac Custom Torpedo, Ford Deluxe, Plymouth Deluxe,

³⁶² Here and elsewhere the names are arranged in alphabetical order with numbers preceding letters according to series designation although the manufacturer designation precedes the series designation.

Dodge Deluxe, Pontiac Deluxe, Chrysler Deluxe, Pontiac Deluxe Torpedo, Chrysler Derham, Stutz DV32, Chevrolet Eagle, Chrysler Highlander, Chrysler Imperial Airflow, Pontiac Improved, Chevrolet Independence, Chrysler Kew, Dodge Kingsway, Buick Limited, Dodge Luxury Liner, Cadillac Madame X, Hudson Major Eight, Chevrolet Master, Chevrolet Master Deluxe, Chevrolet Master Eagle, Dodge New Value, Chrysler New York Special, Chrysler New Yorker, Chrysler Newport, Essex Pacemaker, Hudson Pacemaker, Studebaker President Speedway, Chrysler Richmond, Plymouth Roadking, Buick Roadmaster, Chrysler Royal, Chrysler Saratoga, DeSoto Silver, Hudson Six Deluxe, Buick Special, Dodge Special, Pontiac Special, Plymouth Special Deluxe, Chevrolet Special Deluxe, Dodge Sportabout, Chevrolet Standard, Hudson Standard, Hudson Standard Eight, Chevrolet Standard Mercury, Studebaker State Commander, Studebaker State President, Hudson Sterling, Pontiac Streamliner, Pontiac Streamliner Torpedo, Essex Sun, Lincoln Sunshine, Buick Super, Ford Super Deluxe, Essex Terraplane, Chrysler Thunderbolt, Pontiac Torpedo, Hudson Traveler, Chrysler Traveler, Hudson Traveler Six, Chrysler Trifon Special, Nash Twin Ignition Eight, Nash Twin Ignition Six, Chevrolet Universal, Stutz Victoria, Chrysler Wimbledon, Chrysler Windsor, Lincoln Zephyr

(4) The following 84 series designations were introduced between 1945 and 1949:

Cadillac 60 Special Fleetwood, Nash 600, Cadillac 61, Cadillac 62, Oldsmobile 76, Oldsmobile 88, Oldsmobile 98, Airscoot, Airway, Beechcraft, Bobbi-Kar, Brogan, Broganette, Hudson Cab Pick-Up, Plymouth Cadet, Pontiac Catalina, Pontiac Chieftain, Comet, Comet, Dodge Coronet, Lincoln Cosmopolitan, Cadillac Coupe de Ville, Crosley, Chrysler Crown Imperial, DeSoto Custom, Ford Custom, Kaiser Custom, Packard Custom, Packard Custom Super Clipper Eight, Darrin, Davis, Del Mar, Kaiser Deluxe, DeSoto Deluxe, Chevrolet Deluxe, Gordon Diamond, Oldsmobile Dynamic, Oldsmobile Dynamic 70, Fageol, Crosley Farm-O-Road, Fergus, Fitch, Chevrolet Fleetline, Chevrolet Fleetmaster, Gadabout, Gregory, Hummingbird, Imp, Willys Jeepster, Keen, Keller, King-Midget, Frazer Manhattan, Dodge Meadowbrook, Kaiser Pinconning Special, Playboy, Publix, Pup, Rocket, Rogue, Russell, Scootmobile, Pontiac Silver Streak, Oldsmobile Sixty, Studebaker Skyway Champion, Kaiser Special, Chevrolet Special, Plymouth Special Deluxe Six, Willys Station Wagon, Chevrolet Stylemaster, Nash Suburban, Hudson Super, Packard Super Clipper Eight, Packard Super Eight, Super Kar, Supersonic, Tasco, Taylor-Dunn, Thrif-T, Tucker Torpedo, Towne Shopper, Kaiser Vagabond, Dodge Wayfarer, Rockefeller Yankee

(5) The following 136 series designations were introduced between 1950 and 1954:

Packard 200, Packard 250, Packard 300, DeSoto Adventurer, DeSoto Adventurer I, DeSoto Adventurer II, Willys Aero, Kaiser-Frazer Allstate, Autoette, Packard Balboa, Chevrolet Bel Air, Plymouth Belmont, Plymouth Belvedere, BMC, Pontiac Bonneville Special, Plymouth Cambridge, Lincoln Capri, Kaiser Carolina, Packard Cavalier, Cadillac Celebrity, Centaur, Chicagoan, Comet, Plymouth Concord, Arnolt Continental Sportster, DeSoto Coronado, Packard Corporate, Chevrolet Corvair, Chevrolet Corvette, Plymouth Cranbrook, Ford Crestline, Imperial Crown, Cunningham, Custer, Mercury Custom, Ford Custom Deluxe, Ford Customline, Oldsmobile Cutlass, Oldsmobile Cutlass F-88, Kaiser Darrin, Ford Del Rio, Oldsmobile Deluxe 88, Detroit, Doray, Kaiser Dragon, Edwards, Cadillac El Camino, Cadillac Eldorado, Cadillac Eldorado Brougham, Electric Shopper, Electricar, Eshelman, Packard Executive, Plymouth Explorer, Oldsmobile F-88, Fibersport, Fina Sport, Dodge Firearrow, Dodge Firearrow I, Dodge Firearrow II, Pontiac Firebird I, DeSoto Firedome, Cadillac Fleetwood 60 Special Brougham, Cadillac Fleetwood 75 Limousine, Frazen, Ford FX-Atmos, Glasspar, Packard Grey Wolf II, Kaiser Henry J, Hudson Hornet, Hunt, Hudson Italia,

Excalibur J, Hudson Jet, Chrysler La Comtesse, Cadillac La Espada, Chrysler Le Comte, Cadillac LeMans, Buick LeSabre, Ford Mainline, Kaiser Manhattan, Marketeer, Packard Mayfair, Hudson Metropolitan, Nash Metropolitan, Oldsmobile Mona Lisa, Mercury Montclair, Mercury Monterey, Nash Nash-Healey, Chrysler New Yorker Deluxe, Chevrolet Nomad, Nash NXI, Cadillac Orleans, Oldsmobile Palm Beach, Packard Pan American, Packard Panama, Packard Panther Daytona, Pontiac Parisienne, Cadillac Park Avenue, Packard Patrician, Paxton, Plymouth Plaza, DeSoto Powermaster, Nash Rambler, Oldsmobile Rocket 88, Dodge Royal, Plymouth Savoy, Dodge Sierra, Skorpion, Buick Skylark, Skyline, Pontiac Star Chief, Star Dust, Oldsmobile Starfire, Nash Statesman, Storm, Story, Pontiac Strato Streak, Studillac, Oldsmobile Super 88, Packard Super Clipper, Super Wagon, Triplex, Kaiser Virginian, Hudson Wasp, Buick Wildcat I, Buick Wildcat II, Woodill Wildfire, Chrysler Windsor Deluxe, Ford X-100, Lincoln XL-500, Lincoln XM-800, Buick XP-300, Plymouth XX-500, Yank, Yankee Clipper

(6) The following 152 series designations were introduced between 1955 and 1959:

Chrysler 300, Chrysler 300B, Chrysler 300C, Chrysler 300D, Chrysler 300E, Cadillac 6200, Cadillac 6400 Eldorado, Cadillac 6700 Fleetwood 75, Cadillac 70, Willys Ace, Rambler Ambassador, Studebaker Ambulet, Rambler American, American Buckboard, Argonaut, Asardo, Astra, Auto Cub, Bangert, Bearcat, Willys Bermuda, Chevrolet Biscayne, Bloomquist, Bocar, Pontiac Bonneville, Bosley, Arnolt Bristol, Chevrolet Brookwood, Buckaroo, Buckboard, Plymouth Cabana, Packard Caribbean, Buick Centurion, Charles, Edsel Citation, Pontiac Club de Mer, Colt, Lincoln Continental Mark II, Lincoln Continental Mark III, Lincoln Continental Mark IV, Edsel Corsair, Mercury Country Cruiser, Crofton, Imperial Custom, Willys Custom, Ford Custom 300, Pontiac Custom Bonneville, Dodge Custom Royal, Cadillac Cyclone, Imperial d'Elegance, Chrysler Dart, Daytona, Chevrolet Del Ray, Oldsmobile Delta, Detrick, Cadillac DeVille, Dual-Ghia, Oldsmobile Dynamic 88, Pontiac El Camino, El Morocco, Buick Electra, Buick Electra 225, Electronic, Ford Fairlane, Ford Fairlane 500, DeSoto Falcon, Pontiac Firebird II, Pontiac Firebird III, DeSoto Fireflite, DeSoto Firesweep, Cadillac Fleetwood Eldorado, Studebaker Flight Hawk, DeSoto Flight Sweep I, DeSoto Flight Sweep II, Flintridge-Darrin, Flajole Forerunner, Frick, Plymouth Fury, Lincoln Futura, Ford Galaxie, Gaylord, Glascar, Goff, Studebaker Golden Hawk, Oldsmobile Golden Rocket, Oldsmobile Golden Rocket 88, Dodge Granada, Packard Hawk, Honey Bee, Chevrolet Impala, Buick Invicta, Chevrolet Kingswood, Ford La Galaxie, Cadillac La Salle II, Ford La Tosca, Studebaker Lark, Imperial LeBaron, Mercury Medalist, Ford Mystere, Chrysler Norseman, Chevrolet One-Fifty, Edsel Pacer, Rambler Palm Beach, Panda, Mercury Park Lane, Ford Parklane, Chevrolet Parkwood, Pioneer, Plymouth Plainsman, Powell, Studebaker Power Hawk, Packard Predictor, Lincoln Premiere, Packard Projector, Hudson Rambler, Edsel Ranger, Rambler Rebel, Dodge Regal Lancer, Packard Request, Rollsmobile, Scarab, Studebaker Scotsman, Studebaker Silver Hawk, Sir Vival, Studebaker Sky Hawk, Imperial Southampton, Plymouth Sport Fury, Basson's Star, Oldsmobile Starfire 98, Starlite, Ford Station Wagon, Mercury Station Wagon, Dodge Station Wagon, Edsel Station Wagon, Pontiac Strato Star, Plymouth Suburban, Pontiac Super Chief, Surrey, Swift, Ford Syrtis Roof-O-Matic, Ford Thunderbird, Kaiser Traveler, Tri-Car, Trident, Mercury Turnpike Cruiser, Chevrolet Two-Ten, U.S. Mark II, Edsel Villager, Buick Wildcat III, Williams, Ford X-1000, Chevrolet Yeoman

(7) The following 102 series designations were introduced between 1960 and 1964:

Ford 300, Chrysler 300F, Chrysler 300G, Chrysler 300H, Chrysler 300J, Chrysler 300K, Dodge 330, Dodge 440, Dodge 880, Apollo, Plymouth Asymmetrica, Studebaker Avanti, Plymouth Barracuda, Pontiac Bonneville Custom Safari, Pontiac Bonneville X-400, Mercury Caliente, Chadwick, Studebaker Challenger, Dodge Charger, Chevrolet Chevelle, Chevrolet Chevy II, Rambler Classic, Oldsmobile Classic 98, Shelby Cobra, Edsel Comet, Mercury Comet, Lincoln Continental Mark V, Ford Custom 500, Dodge Custom 880, Mercury Cyclone, Dodge Dart, Diehlmobile, DTL, Electra-King, Dow Electric, Electro-Master, Estate Carriage, Oldsmobile F-85, Ford Falcon, Ford Falcon Station Wagon, Pontiac Firebird IV, Fisher, Dodge Flitewing, France Jet, Ford Futura, Ford Galaxie 500, Ford Galaxie 500 XL, Ford Galaxie Special, Gaslight, Pontiac GM-X, Studebaker Gran Turismo Hawk, Pontiac Grand Prix, Pontiac Grand Prix X-400, Griffith, Ford Gyron, Studebaker Hawk, Chevrolet Impala Super Sport, Oldsmobile Jetstar 88, Oldsmobile Jetstar I, Dodge Lancer, Lost Cause, Pontiac Maharani, Checker Marathon, Checker Marathon Town Custom, Mercury Marauder, Marketour, Dodge Matador, Mercury Meteor, Ford Mustang, Ford Mustang I, Ford Mustang II, Ford Palomar, Panther, Dodge Polara, Quantum, Buick Riviera, Buick Riviera Silver Arrow, Pontiac Runabout, Mercury S-22, Saviano Scat, Ford Seattle-ite XXI, Plymouth Signet, Studebaker Standard, Stuart, Lincoln Super Marauder, Pontiac Super-Duty 421, Checker Superba, Pontiac Tempest, Pontiac Tempest Monte Carlo, Chrysler Turbine, Chrysler TurboFlite, Plymouth Valiant, Pontiac Ventura, Mercury Villager, Oldsmobile Vista Cruiser, Voltra, Warrior, Westcoaster Super 36, Buick Wildcat, Pontiac X-400, Plymouth XNR, XR-6

(8) The following 97 series designations were introduced between 1965 and 1969:

Chrysler 300L, Oldsmobile 4-4-2, Cadillac 75 Fleetwood, AMC Ambassador, AMC Amitron, AMC AMX, Apache, Oldsmobile Apollo, Chevrolet Astro III, Chevrolet Astro-Vette, Avanti II, Pontiac Banshee, Mercury Brougham, Bugetta, Cadillac Calais, Yenko Camaro, Chevrolet Camaro, Mercury Capri, Chevrolet Caprice, Pontiac Catalina 2+2, AMC Cavalier, Buick Century Cruiser, Dodge Charger II, Dodge Charger III, Pontiac Cirrus, Chrysler Concept 70X, Mercury Cougar, Oldsmobile Cutlass S, Oldsmobile Cutlass Supreme, Dodge Daroo II, Oldsmobile Delmont 88, Oldsmobile Delta 88, Checker Deluxe, Excalibur, Pontiac Executive, Ferrer, Ford Fiera, Pontiac Fiero, Pontiac Firebird, Pontiac Fitchbird, Cadillac Fleetwood, Cadillac Fleetwood Brougham, Glassic, Buick GS, Buick GS 350, Buick GS 400, Ford GT-40, Pontiac GTO, Plymouth GTX, AMC Javelin, Ford LTD, Ford Mach 2, Markette, Rambler Marlin, AMC Marlin, Mercury Marquis, Mars II, Ford Maverick, Dodge Monaco, Pontiac Monkeemobile, Mercury Montego, Shelby Mustang, Ford Mustang Mach I, Chrysler Newport Custom, Chevrolet Nova, Omega, Palmeri, Piranha, AMC Rambler, Ford Ranchero Squire, AMC Rebel, Plymouth Road Runner, Rambler Rogue, Rowan, Ruger, Mercury S-55, Plymouth Satellite, Savage, Pontiac Scorpion, Plymouth Sport Satellite, Buick Sportwagon, Yenko Stinger, Ford Super Cobra, Lincoln Super Spoiler, Ford Techna, Pontiac Tempest Safari, Pontiac Tempest Sprint, Ford Thunderbird Saturn, Ford Torino Machete, Oldsmobile Toronado, Chrysler Town&Country, Valkyrie, Plymouth VIP, AMC Vixen, Wagon de Ville, Studebaker Wagonaire, Plymouth XP-VIP

(9) The following 60 series designations were introduced between 1970 and 1974:

Plymouth 'Cuda, Buick Apollo, Pontiac Banshee III, Stutz Blackhawk, Blakely, Bolide, Pontiac Catalina Brougham, Dodge Challenger, Citicar, Chrysler Cordoba de Oro, Plymouth Cricket, Oldsmobile Cutlass Cruiser, Dodge Demon, Dodge Diamante, Plymouth Duster, Lincoln El Gato, Electra, Electromotion, Buick Estate Wagon, Pontiac Firearri, Ford Gran Torino,

Pontiac Grand Am, Pontiac Grand Safari, Pontiac Grand Ville, AMC Gremlin, Buick GS 445, Buick GSX, AMC Hornet, Pontiac Hurst SSJ Grand Prix, Chevrolet Kingswood Estate, Pontiac LeMans, Pontiac LeMans Sport, Pontiac Luxury LeMans, Buick Luxus, AMC Matador, Chevrolet Monte Carlo, Ford Mustang Milano, Chrysler New Yorker Brougham, Oldsmobile Omega, Pedicar, Pontiac Phantom, Ford Pinto, Ford Pinto Sportiva, Buick Regal, Stutz Royale, Mohs Safarikar, Plymouth Scamp, Excalibur Series II, Dodge Sportsman, Squire, Sundancer, Plymouth Superbird, Ford Torino, Ford Torino Cobra, Pontiac Trans Am, Ford Tridon, Plymouth Valiant Duster, Chevrolet Vega, Pontiac Ventura II, Ford XL

(10) The following 57 series designations were introduced between 1975 and 1979:

Chrysler Arrow, Plymouth Arrow, Dodge Aspen, Pontiac Astre, Cadillac Bicentennial, Mercury Bobcat, Bradley, Oldsmobile Brougham, Dodge Charger SE, Chevrolet Chevette, Cinderella, Clenet, Comuta-Car, AMC Concord, Chrysler Cordoba, Dodge Diplomat, Elcar, Ford Elite, Ford Fairmont, Cadillac Fleetwood Limousine, Plymouth Gran Fury, Ford Granada, Plymouth Horizon, Cadillac Le Cabriolet, Chrysler LeBaron, Ford LTD II, Dodge Magnum XE, Chevrolet Malibu, Lincoln Mark IV, Lincoln Mark V, Mercury Monarch, Monocoque Box, Chevrolet Monza, Dodge Omni, Mohs Ostentatienne Opera, AMC Pacer, AMC Pacesetter, Pontiac Phoenix, Romulus, Dodge Royal Monaco, Dodge Royal Monaco Brougham, Sceptre, Excalibur Series III, Cadillac Seville, Doval Shadow B, Silver Volt, Buick Skyhawk, AMC Spirit, Dodge St. Regis, Pontiac Sunbird, Buick The Free Spirit Hawk, Transformer I, Veep, Lincoln Versailles, Plymouth Volare, Weitz X-600, Mercury Zephyr

(11) The following 92 series designations were introduced between 1980 and 1984:

Pontiac 1000, Pontiac 2000, Pontiac 2000 Sunbird, Dodge 400, Dodge 600, Dodge 600 ES, Pontiac 6000, AMC Alliance, Dodge Aries, Berlina, Pontiac Bonneville G, Bradford, Chevrolet Cavalier, Chevrolet Celebrity, Ceres, Plymouth Champ, Dodge Charger 2.2, Jeep Cherokee, Jeep Cherokee Chief, Cadillac Cimarron, Chevrolet Citation, Chevrolet Citation II, Jeep CJ-7, Plymouth Colt, Plymouth Colt Vista, Plymouth Conquest, Dodge Conquest, Dodge Daytona, De Courville, DiNapoli, Chrysler E Class, AMC Eagle, AMC Encore, Ford Escort, Chrysler Executive, Ford EXP, Ford Fairmont Futura, Chrysler Fifth Avenue, Oldsmobile Firenza, Gashopper, Gatsby, Gazelle, Reminiscent Golden Eagle, Zimmer Golden Spirit, Chrysler Gran LeBaron, Mercury Grand Marquis, Buick Grand National Regal, Burley Hot Rod Beetle, Pontiac J2000, Kanzler, LaCrosse, Lance, Chrysler Laser, Lindberg, Mercury LN7, Ford LTD Crown Victoria, Mercury Lynx, Chevrolet Malibu Classic, Manta, Lyon Mark V, Lincoln Mark VI, Lincoln Mark VII, Mercury Merkur XR4Ti, Merlin, Minimark Classic, Dodge Mirada, Moselle, Daytona Moya, Chrysler New Yorker Fifth Avenue, Puma, Buick Regal Somerset, Plymouth Reliant, Piper Rogue, Johnson Rumbleseat Roadster, Plymouth Sapporo, Classic Roadster Saxon, Excalibur Series IV, Pontiac T1000, Plymouth TC3, Ford Tempo, Classic Tiffany, Tiger, Mercury Topaz, Lincoln Town Car, Tri-Muter G, Trihawk, Plymouth Turismo, Urba Centurian, Valiente, Vokaro, XK-1, XK-120

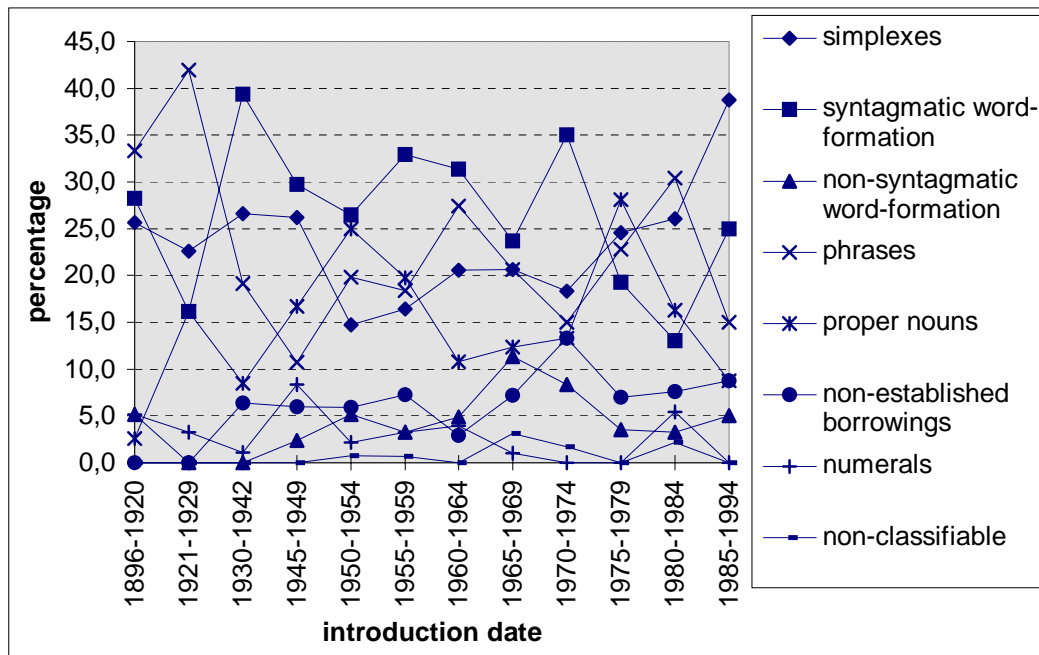
(12) The following 80 series designations were introduced between 1985 and 1994:

Plymouth Acclaim, Oldsmobile Achieva, Ford Aerostar, Cadillac Allante, Dodge Aries K, Ford Aspire, Chevrolet Astro, Oldsmobile Aurora, Chevrolet Beretta, Chevrolet Blazer, Oldsmobile Bravada, Ford Bronco, Oldsmobile Calais, Dodge Caravan, Plymouth Caravelle, Zimmer Classic, Dodge Colt, Chrysler Concorde, Chrysler Conquest, Ford Contour, Chevrolet Corsica, Ford Crown Victoria, Plymouth Diamond Star, Dodge Dynasty, Ford Explorer, Ford Festiva, Ford Fiesta, Zimmer Golden, Dodge Grand Caravan, Jeep Grand Cherokee, Jeep Grand

Wagoneer, Chevrolet Impala SS, Dodge Intrepid, GMC Jimmy, Plymouth Laser, Chrysler LeBaron GTS, Chrysler LHS, Chevrolet Lumina, Lincoln Mark VIII, Geo Metro, Dodge Neon, Plymouth Neon, Buick Park Avenue, Eagle Premier, Geo Prizm, Ford Probe, Plymouth Prowler, Zimmer Quicksilver, Jeep Rambo Lambo, Buick Reatta, Mercury Sable, Saturn SC2, Dodge Shadow, Oldsmobile Silhouette, Saturn SL2, Buick Somerset, Buick Somerset Regal, GMC Sonoma, Chevrolet Spectrum, Dodge Spirit, Chevrolet Sprint, Dodge Stealth, Geo Storm, Chevrolet Suburban, Eagle Summit, Plymouth Sundance, Saturn SW2, Chrysler T.C. by Maserati, Eagle Talon, Ford Taurus, Thoroughbred, Mercury Tracer, Geo Tracker, Pontiac Trans Sport, GMC Typhoon, Dodge Viper, Eagle Vision, Plymouth Voyager, Jeep Wagoneer, Jeep Wrangler

5.1.2 Diachronic variation in the form of American automobile names

FIGURE 5-1: DIACHRONIC VARIATION IN THE FORM OF AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE NAMES



The various linguistic forms that occur as automobile names vary a great deal across the various periods but no clear tendency emerges. 22.5% of all the series designations are simplexes, 27.6% are formed by a syntagmatic word-formation process, 4.5% by a non-syntagmatic one, 21.3% are free syntactic phrases, 15.7% proper nouns, 6.4% non-established borrowings, and 2.8% are numerals. 0.8% were not classified (cf. ch. 3, especially Figure 3-1, p. 99 and Figure 3-2, p. 101 on these figures). Figure 5-1 shows how these percentages vary over time.

In the whole corpus automobile names based on a syntagmatic word-formation process have the highest frequency of all forms (27.6%). In the course of history they held this top position from 1930 to 1974, with the highest percentage

(39.4%) in the 1930-1935 period. The names introduced before 1930 are most often taken from free syntactic phrases: 33.3% in 1896-1920 and 41.9% in 1921-1929. After 1974 syntactic phrases account once again for most of the names (22.8% in 1975-1979 and 30.4% in 1980-1984). Since 1985 the majority of automobile names have been taken from simplexes (38.8%), followed by syntagmatic word-formations (25.0%) and free phrases (15.0%). Simplexes, that are the second most frequent source of series designations generally (22.5%), accounted for roughly one quarter of the names in the pre-war period. Their use fell drastically after the Second World War, they accounted for only 14.7% during the period from 1950 to 1954. Since then it has again been increasing steadily. Some forms did not occur at all in certain periods. Thus, there were no non-established borrowings in the first years of automobile naming. The first non-established borrowing occurs in 1931, *Deluxe* used by Chrysler. Between 1930 and 1942 non-established borrowings account for 6.4% of the series designations. Apart from *Madame X* introduced by Cadillac in 1934, the item *Deluxe* accounts for all these names. Since then the portion of non-established borrowings has never fallen below 2.9% (1960-1964), with 13.3% it was highest during the period from 1970 to 1974. Similarly, no automobile names taken from non-syntagmatic word-formations were introduced between 1921 and 1945. Before that there was the elliptical *Touring* (cf. ch. 3.3.3) introduced by Packard in 1903 and *H.C.S.* introduced by Stutz in 1913. After 1945 the portion of the non-syntagmatic word-formations in automobile names rose steadily until it peaked at 11.3% in 1965-1969. Since then it has again been declining. Numerals were not introduced in the 1970s. The use of proper nouns does not show a clear tendency, either. Of all the series designations they account for 15.7%, and across time their portion varies between a low of 2.6% in the first period - *La Fayette* introduced by Nash in 1920 - and a high of 28.1% in the period between 1975 and 1979. A further, slightly lower, peak in the use of proper nouns occurred during 1950 and 1954 with 25.0%.

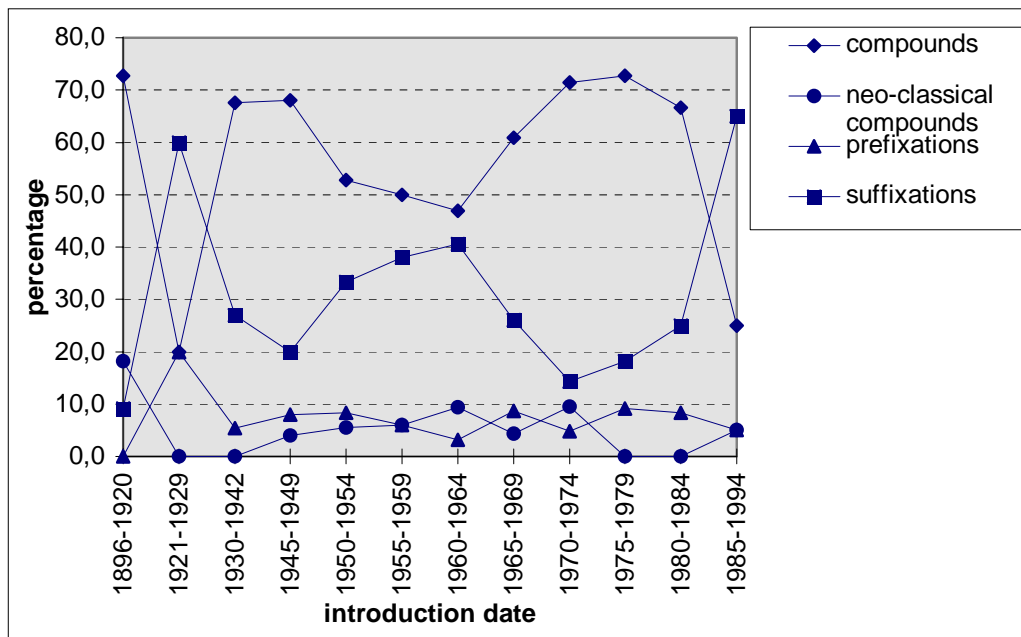
As the major formal groups of automobile names do not show any clear tendencies in their diachronic development (such as a steady increase or decrease of one particular form), the diachronic variation within these groups is also studied in detail. Three such groups have been chosen for an exemplary discussion: Ch. 5.1.2.1 discusses the variation in the various types of syntagmatic word-formations that occur as series designations, ch. 5.1.2.2 the varying portions of established and non-established word-formations over time and ch. 5.1.2.3 the different types of phrases that occur.

5.1.2.1 Diachronic variation in the types of syntagmatic word-formations

283 of all the series designations are taken from a syntagmatic word-formation. 56.5% of these are compounds, 31.8% suffixations, 6.4% prefixations and 5.3%

neo-classical compounds (cf. ch. 3.2, especially Table 3-5, p. 111 on these figures). Figure 5-2 shows how these portions vary over time. It is particularly interesting to note that the figures of compounds and suffixations almost provide a mirror image of each other: the high percentage of compounds falls quite drastically in two periods, between 1921 and 1929, when compounds account for only 20.0% of the syntagmatic word-formations, and between 1985 and 1994, when they account for 25.0%. In these two periods the percentage of suffixations that is usually notably lower than the one of newly introduced compounds surpasses it. Between 1921 and 1929 suffixations account for 60.0% of the names taken from syntagmatic word-formations, and between 1985 and 1994 for 65.0%.

FIGURE 5-2: DIACHRONIC VARIATION IN THE TYPES OF SYNTAGMATIC WORD-FORMATIONS

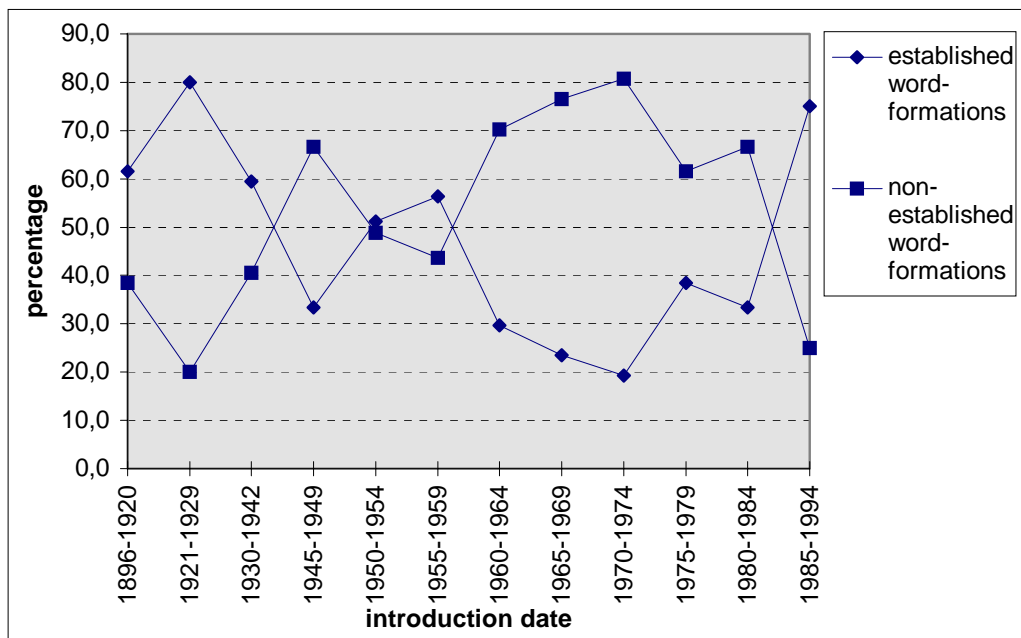


The most interesting feature of the prefixations is their high portion in 1921-1929, when they account for 20.0% of the syntagmatic formations - that is the same portion as that of the compounds. But as only five syntagmatic word-formations were introduced during that period, it is only one single name that accounts for this high percentage, *International* introduced by Chevrolet in 1929. In almost all the other periods no more than one prefixation is introduced either but as there is a higher total of syntagmatic formations, their portion is smaller. With three prefixations each, the periods from 1950 to 1954 and from 1955 to 1959 saw the highest absolute number of prefixations. These were *Pan American* and *Super Clipper* introduced by Packard in 1952 and 1954, *Super Chief* by

Pontiac in 1958, and *Super Wagon* (1954), *Tri-Car* (1955) and *Trident* (1959) used by small, independent manufacturers. The total of neo-classical compounds likewise never exceeded three per period. The time in which there are three neo-classical compounds in one period is almost identical with the "heyday" of the prefixations: 1955-1959 and 1960-1964. Only two of these were introduced by established manufacturers, *Strato Star* (1955) by Pontiac and *TurboFlite* by Chrysler, the others came from independent manufacturers: *Dual-Ghia* (1955), *Argonaut* (1959), *Diehlmobile* (1961) and *Electro-Master* (1962).

5.1.2.2 Diachronic variation between established and non-established formations

FIGURE 5-3: DIACHRONIC VARIATION BETWEEN ESTABLISHED AND NON-ESTABLISHED FORMATIONS

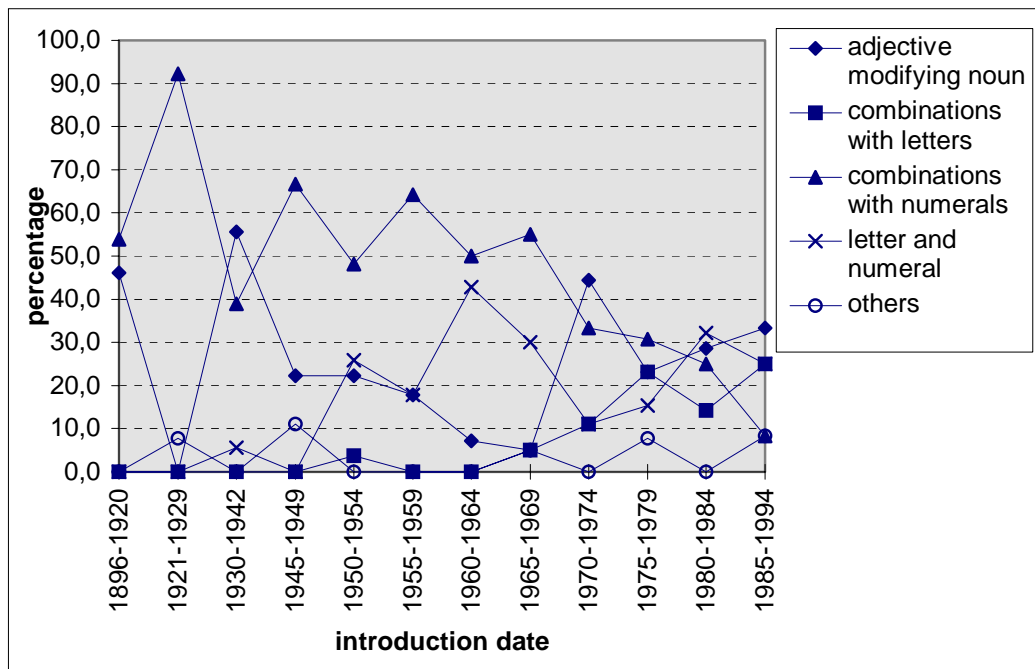


In ch. 3.2.1 a distinction was made between automobile names taken from established word-formations, and names created anew by a word-formation process. Of the 329 series designations derived from a word-formation process, syntagmatic or non-syntagmatic, 148 are taken from items already established in the English lexicon (45.0%), and 181 are newly formed for the purpose of naming an automobile (55.0%) (cf. Table 3-6, p. 115, chs. 3.2.2, 3.2.3, 3.2.4, and 3.3). Figure 5-3 shows how these portions vary over time. In the first phase of automobile naming before the Second World War established formations clearly exceed the non-established ones but they are surpassed after the war. In the Fifties the number of established and non-established formations is roughly equal

but then non-established formations dominate until established ones again take over in the last period. Again, it is impossible to predict any possible future development from these figures.

5.1.2.3 Diachronic variation in the types of phrases

FIGURE 5-4: DIACHRONIC VARIATION IN THE TYPES OF PHRASES



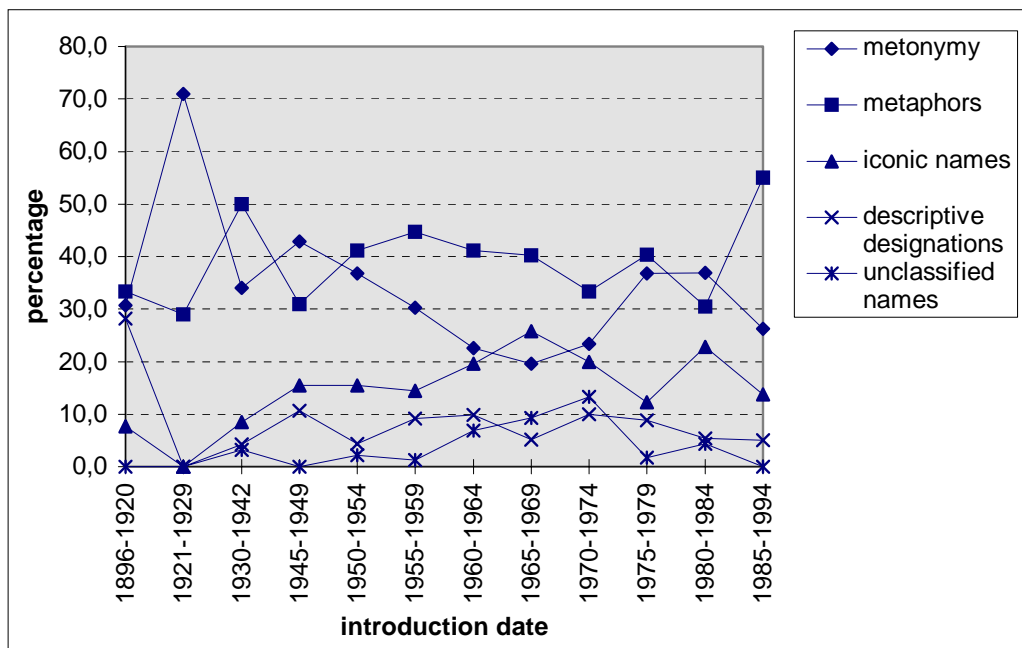
218 of all the series designations are phrases. Of these 103 or 47.2% are combinations with numerals, in 51 or 23.4% an adjective modifies a noun or noun phrase, 46 or 21.1% are a combination of letters and numerals, 13 or 6.0% combinations with letters, and 5 or 2.3% are other types of phrases (cf. ch. 3.4, especially Figure 3-8, p. 140). Figure 5-4 shows how these portions vary over time. Two tendencies show: combinations with numerals have been declining through the years. While they accounted for 92.3% of all the phrases introduced between 1921 and 1929, their number dwindled to a mere 8.3% between 1985 and 1994. The only phrase of this type introduced recently is *Mark VIII* by Lincoln, a name with a long tradition (*Mark V*, *Mark VI*, *Mark VII* etc). The portion of combinations with letters, on the other hand, has risen continually over the years. The first phrase of this type was introduced in 1954, *FX-Atmos* by Ford, a second one followed in 1968, *Cutlass S* by Oldsmobile. The Seventies saw four such names, *Hurst SSJ Grand Prix* by Pontiac in 1971, *Charger SE* and *Magnum XE* by Dodge in 1975 and 1978, and *Shadow B* by the small independent manufacturer Doval in 1979. Their number rose to six in the

Eighties and *Impala SS*, a Chevrolet-name dates from the Nineties. Letter-numeral-combinations are also a rather young phenomenon: before 1951 when this type of phrase took off with *XP-300* by Buick and *XX-500* by Plymouth there had only been Stutz *DV32* from 1931. Since the Fifties letter-numeral-combinations have always accounted for about a quarter of all the phrases used as series designations.

5.1.3 Diachronic variation in the meaning of American automobile names

The portions of the various semantic processes from which automobile names derive remain comparatively constant over the years. Of all the 1024 series designations 330 or 32.2% are metonymies, 415 or 40.5% metaphors, 163 or 15.9% iconic names, 79 or 7.7% descriptive designations, and a remainder of 37 names, or 3.6%, were not classified (cf. ch. 4.1, especially Figure 4-2, p. 173 and Figure 4-3, p. 174 on these figures). Figure 5-5 shows how these figures vary throughout history.

FIGURE 5-5: DIACHRONIC VARIATION IN THE MEANING OF AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE NAMES



In the majority of periods metaphors account for the highest portion of series designations³⁶³. Their portion is relatively constant around 40% although it may

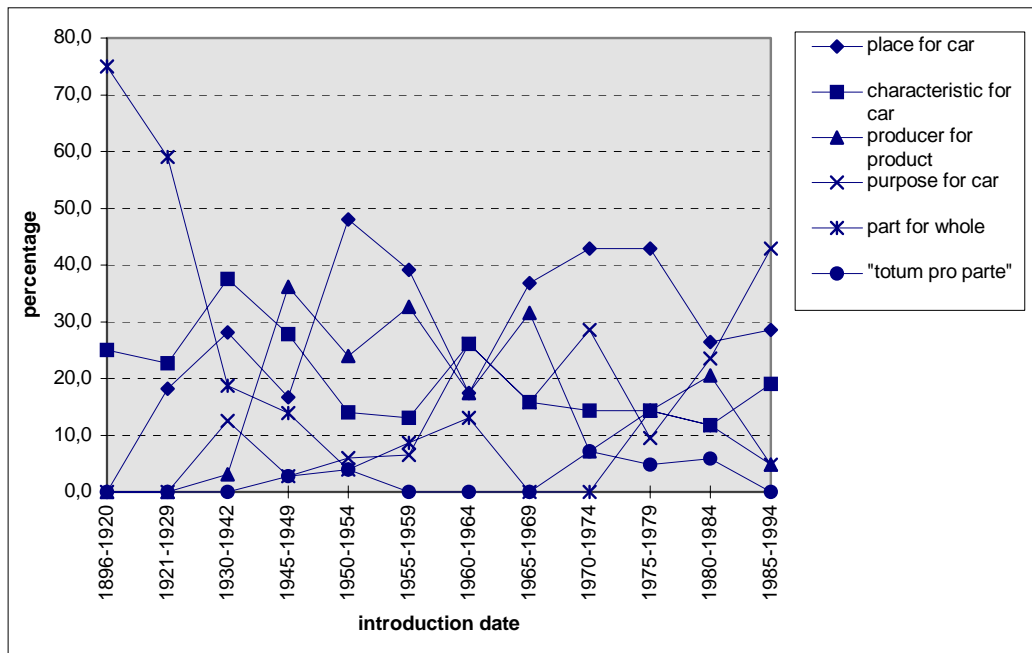
³⁶³ In the whole corpus, which also includes manufacturer designations and model designations, metonymies account for the highest portion of names, and metaphors only come second.

fall to a low of 29.0% as in 1921-1929, when only nine out of the 31 names introduced during that period were metaphors, and rise to a high of 55.0% as in 1985-1994, when they accounted for 44 out of the 80 names introduced during that period. During three periods, 1921-1929, 1945-1949 and 1980-1984, more metonymies than metaphors were introduced. While the portion of metaphors has been comparatively constant over the years, the one of metonymies peaked at 71.0% of all the names introduced between 1921 and 1929, and then constantly fell until it reached a low of 19.6% in 1965-1969. Since then their portion has again been rising. The portion of iconic names has also been rising over the years. In 1896-1920 there were only three iconic names (*999* introduced by Ford in 1902, *H.C.S.* by Stutz in 1913, and *490* by Chevrolet in 1915), that is 7.7% of all the names introduced during that period. In the second period there were no such names, and in 1930-1942 eight or 8.5%. Five of these are *Deluxe*, introduced by Chrysler in 1931, by Plymouth in 1933, by Pontiac in 1935, by Dodge in 1939, and by Ford in 1940. The other three are *DV32* (Stutz, 1931), *Madame X* (Cadillac, 1934) and *120* (Packard, 1935). After these low pre-war percentages, iconic names constantly accounted for around 15% of the series designations introduced after 1945, with a peak at 25.8% in 1965-1969. The percentage of descriptive designations has been oscillating between around 5% and 10% since 1945. Before the war the portions differ notably from this tendency. While there were no descriptive designations at all between 1921 and 1929, they accounted for 28.2% in the first period. The "descriptive designations" introduced between 1896 and 1920 were *Quadricycle* (Ford, 1896), *Runabout* (Studebaker, 1902), *Touring* (Packard, 1903), *Surrey* and *Victoria* (both Studebaker, 1904), *Light Tonneau* (Oldsmobile, 1904), *Palace Touring* and *Flying Roadster* (both Oldsmobile, 1907), *Victoria* (Ford, 1912), *Mile-A-Minute Roadster* (Hudson, 1912), and *Little Runabout* (Chevrolet, 1913). During that early period these names were not yet lexicalized as "dead metaphors", i.e. descriptive designations for certain vehicle types (cf. ch. 4.5.1) but rather they were "fully active" metaphors in which a designation for a carriage type is used to refer to the new means of transport, the automobile.

Thus, the most interesting feature of the diachronic development of the semantic processes used in automobile names newly introduced is that the portion of these processes differs enormously before and after 1945. While the development after 1945 is comparatively stable and in line with the figures for the whole corpus, the figures for the early periods of automobile naming differ from this regular pattern. As regards the meaning of automobile names, the early periods can be interpreted as an era of experimenting. The same conclusion can be drawn from examining the diachronic development within two of the semantic processes used. Figure 5-6 gives the diachronic variation in the types of metonymies and Figure 5-7 the one in the types of metaphors.

5.1.3.1 Diachronic variation in the types of metonymies

FIGURE 5-6: DIACHRONIC VARIATION IN THE TYPES OF METONYMIES



Of all the 330 metonymies used as series designations 102 or 30.9% make use of the concept "place for car", 65 or 19.7% of the one "characteristic for car", 63 or 19.1% of the one "producer for product", 43 or 13.0% of the one "purpose for car", 50 or 15.2% of "part for whole", and 7 or 2.1% of "whole for part" (cf. ch. 4.2, especially Figure 4-4, p. 177). Figure 5-6 shows how these figures vary over time. Apart from the fact that the early periods of automobile naming differ enormously from later ones no clear tendency emerges. In the first period, from 1896 to 1920, only two metonymic concepts occur: 9 of the 12 metonymies introduced during that period make use of the concept "part for whole" (75.0%), and the other three of the concept "characteristic for car" (25.0%). Of the 9 names based on the concept "part for whole", all but two (*Curved Dash* and *Straight Dash* introduced by Oldsmobile in 1901 and 1906) rely on the more specific concept "engine for car". There is the *Classic Six* (Chevrolet, 1911), the *Twin Six* (Packard, 1916), the *Big Six*, *Light Four* and *Light Six* (all three Studebaker, 1918), and the *Special Six* (Studebaker, 1920). In 1921-1929, when the portion of the concept "part for whole" is also very high - it accounts for 59.1% of all the metonymies - all the 13 names of this type denote the engine, and the same holds true of all the 6 names, or 18.8%, based on the concept "part for whole" introduced between 1930 and 1942. Thus, 26 of all the 32 series designations based on the concept "engine for car" were introduced in the pre-

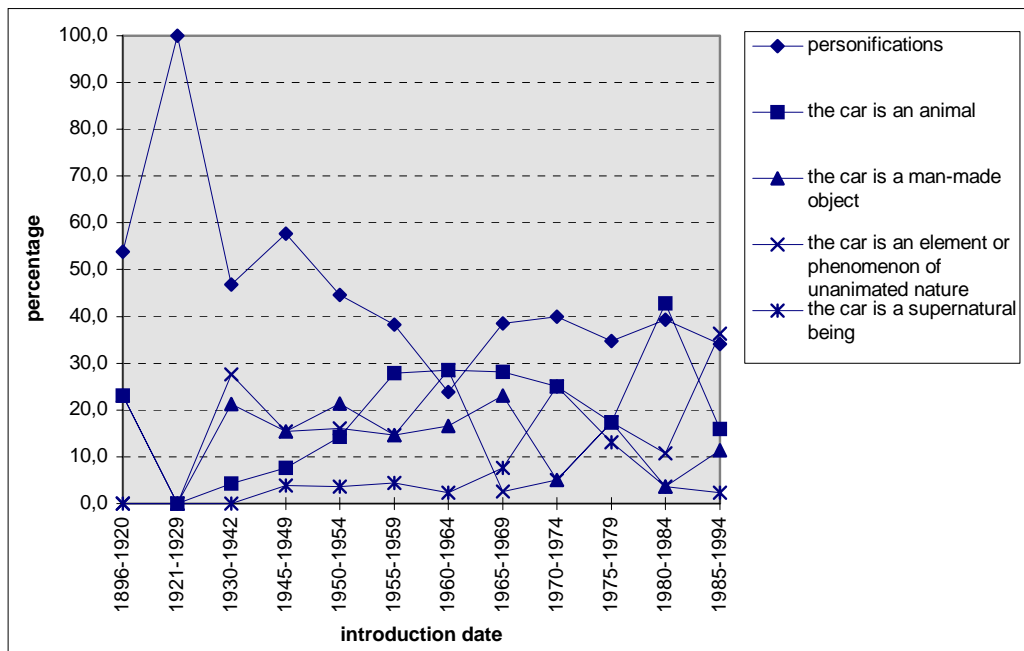
war era, that is 81.3% (as against only 16.0% of all the series designations in the corpus introduced during that period). With the constant decline of this concept after the war the percentage of the more general concept "part for whole" also declined. Between 1965 and 1975 there were no names of this type at all. The development of the other metonymic concept that occurred in the first period, "characteristic for car" is similar. After accounting for up to 37.5% of all the metonymies in 1930-1942, it has been oscillating around 15% since 1950. During the height of its use (1930-1942), the following names of this type were introduced: *Universal* (Chevrolet, 1930), *Improved* (Pontiac, 1935), *Limited* (Buick, 1936), *Special* (Buick, 1936; Dodge, 1939; and Pontiac, 1940), *Super* (Buick, 1940), *Special Deluxe* (Chevrolet, 1940), *Custom* (Dodge, 1941; and Lincoln, 1941), *Super Deluxe* (Ford, 1941), and *Special Deluxe* (Plymouth, 1941). During the "heyday" of the concept "characteristic for car" from 1896 to 1949, 30 of all the 65 names of this type were introduced, that is 46.2% (as against only 24.2% of all the series designations in the corpus being introduced during that period). While the concepts "part for whole" and "characteristic for car" have thus clearly lost in appeal to name makers, the tendencies with the other metonymic concepts are less clear. The metonymic concept "place for car" has, from 1950 onwards, for most of the time been the percentually most important but not in 1960-1964 and from 1985 onwards. The most important concept in this last period was "purpose for car". It occurs for the first time in the name *Independence* introduced by Chevrolet in 1931, and reached a first peak of proportional importance when it accounted for 26.1% of all the metonymies in 1960-1964. Since 1975 its percentage had been rising continually, until it reached 42.9% in the period from 1985 to 1994. The nine names that rely on this concept introduced during the last period are *Sprint* (Chevrolet), *Acclaim* (Plymouth), *Dynasty* (Dodge), *Fiesta* (Ford), *Sundance* (Plymouth), *Conquest* (Chrysler), *Trans Sport* (Pontiac), *Vision* (Eagle), and *Aspire* (Ford).

5.1.3.2 Diachronic variation in the types of metaphors

Of the 415 metaphors used as series designations 171 or 41.2% rely on the concept "the car is a human being", 85 or 20.5% on the one "the car is an animal", 66 or 15.9% on the one "the car is a man-made object", 73 or 17.6% on the one "the car is an element or phenomenon of unanimated nature", and 20 or 4.8% on the one "the car is a supernatural being" (cf. ch. 4.3, especially Figure 4-7, p. 203). Figure 5-7 shows how these portions vary over time. The concept "human being for car" has clearly lost some of its importance over the years. While it even accounted for all of the metaphors introduced between 1921 and 1929, it has remained relatively constant around 40% from 1950 onwards, with a significant low in the late Sixties. The concept "the car is an animal" is made use of in three early names: *Gray Wolf* (Packard, 1903), *Bearcat* (Stutz, 1914), and

Thorobred (Oldsmobile, 1920). *Eagle* and *Master Eagle* (both Chevrolet, 1933) also date from pre-war times. After 1945 the percentage of names based on the concept "the car is an animal" increased steadily until the early Seventies, when it fell for two succeeding periods. The highest percentage was reached in 1980-1984 with 42.9%. The animal names introduced during that period were *Eagle* (AMC, 1980), *Gazelle* (independent manufacturer, 1980), *Lynx* (Mercury, 1981), *Puma*, *Tiger* and *Merlin* (all by independent manufacturers, 1981), *Golden Eagle* (Reminiscent, 1981), *Cimarron* (Cadillac, 1982), *Colt* (Plymouth, 1983), *Gashopper* and *Trihawk* (both independent manufacturers, 1983), and *2000 Sunbird* (Pontiac, 1984).

FIGURE 5-7: DIACHRONIC VARIATION IN THE TYPES OF METAPHORS



The concepts "the car is a man-made object" and "the car is an element or phenomenon of unanimated nature" show no clear tendency in their diachronic development. Both oscillate around 15% for most of the time. Between 1921 and 1929 no name of the concept "the car is a man-made object" was introduced, however, and between 1970 and 1974, and 1980 and 1984 only one each, which is 5.0% and 3.6% of all the metaphors introduced in these periods. In the first case it is the name *Cutlass Cruiser* (Oldsmobile, 1972), and in the second *Lance* (independent manufacturer, 1982). The first name of the concept "the car is an element or phenomenon of unanimated nature" is *Sun* (Essex, 1930). Thus, it does not occur at all in the early days of automobile naming, and it is also of very little consequence between 1965 and 1975, when only two such names were

introduced: *Mars II* in 1966 and *Bolide* in 1970, both by independent manufacturers. The concept "the car is a supernatural being" is generally of very low occurrence. Before 1949, when an independent manufacturer introduced the name *Imp* to the marketplace, it was not used at all. Between 1970 and 1974 recourse to this concept clearly exceeded average, however. With the names *Gremlin* (AMC, 1970), *Demon* (Dodge, 1971), *Phantom* (Pontiac, 1973), *Apollo* (Buick, 1973), and *Banshee III* (Pontiac), 25.0% of all the metaphors introduced during that period are taken from designations for supernatural beings.

5.2 Variation according to manufacturer

The type of automobile name chosen by name makers may not only vary across time but also with the name makers themselves. This chapter will study the question of whether certain manufacturers or makes prefer certain types of names. The 1024 series designations in my corpus are used on more than 200 different makes. 639 of the series designations, that is roughly two thirds, are used on a make of the Big Three, GM, Ford, and Chrysler. GM, the largest American automobile producer, has also put out the largest number of series designations in my corpus, altogether 278. Of these, 35 are used on Cadillac, 37 on Buick, 57 on Oldsmobile, 74 on Pontiac, three on Saturn, 65 on Chevrolet, four on Geo, and three on GMC. 140 series designations are used on automobiles of the second-largest producer, the Ford Motor Company: 24 on Lincoln, 7 on Edsel, 31 on Mercury, and 78 on Ford. Further 221 names are used on a Chrysler make: 5 on Imperial, 61 on Chrysler, 12 on Jeep-Eagle, 16 on DeSoto, 69 on Dodge, and 58 on Plymouth. The makes that account for less than twenty names (Saturn, Geo, GMC, Edsel, Imperial, Jeep-Eagle and DeSoto) are studied together as "small makes of the Big Three" in the following. The other 385 series designations that are not used by one of the three major producers come from a host of other producers: 71 of them were used by AMC or one of its forerunners (Hudson, Essex, Nash, Rambler), 31 by Packard, 30 by Studebaker, and the remainder of 253 names by various independent manufacturers. It is not only the automobile production of these independent manufacturers that is small but they usually are not very prolific name makers, either. With 185 of the 253 names of independent manufacturers only a series designation but no manufacturer designation is used on the automobile. The other 68 series designations of independent manufacturers occur on cars that also have a manufacturer designation but these producers usually only put out two or three names. 21 of these manufacturers show up with only one series designation each in my corpus, and four with two each. Furthermore, there are four series designations of Checker, four of Excalibur, twelve of Kaiser, nine of Stutz, six of Willys, and four of Zimmer.

5.2.1 The names used by the various manufacturers

The following 35 series designations are Cadillac (GM) names:

60 Special Fleetwood, 61, 62, 6200, 6400 Eldorado, 6700 Fleetwood 75, 70, 75 Fleetwood, Allante, Bicentennial, Calais, Celebrity, Cimarron, Coupe de Ville, Custom, Cyclone, DeVille, El Camino, Eldorado, Eldorado Brougham, Fleetwood, Fleetwood 60 Special Brougham, Fleetwood 75 Limousine, Fleetwood Brougham, Fleetwood Eldorado, Fleetwood Limousine, Imperial, La Espada, La Salle II, Le Cabriolet, LeMans, Madame X, Orleans, Park Avenue, Seville

The following 37 series designations are Buick (GM) names:

Apollo, Centurion, Century, Century Cruiser, Electra, Electra 225, Estate Wagon, Grand National Regal, GS, GS 350, GS 400, GS 445, GSX, Invicta, LeSabre, Limited, Luxus, Park Avenue, Reatta, Regal, Regal Somerset, Riviera, Riviera Silver Arrow, Roadmaster, Skyhawk, Skylark, Somerset, Somerset Regal, Special, Sportwagon, Super, The Free Spirit Hawk, Wildcat, Wildcat I, Wildcat II, Wildcat III, XP-300

The following 57 series designations are Oldsmobile (GM) names:

4-4-2, 76, 88, 98, Achieva, Apollo, Aurora, Autocrat, Baby, Bravada, Brougham, Calais, Classic 98, Curved Dash, Custom Cruiser, Cutlass, Cutlass Cruiser, Cutlass F-88, Cutlass S, Cutlass Supreme, Defender, Delmont 88, Delta, Delta 88, Deluxe 88, Dogcart, Dynamic, Dynamic 70, Dynamic 88, F-85, F-88, Firenza, Flying Roadster, Golden Rocket, Golden Rocket 88, Jetstar 88, Jetstar I, Light Tonneau, Limited, Mona Lisa, Omega, Pacemaker, Palace Touring, Palm Beach, Pirate, Rocket 88, Silhouette, Sixty, Special, Starfire, Starfire 98, Straight Dash, Super 88, Thorobred, Toronado, Viking, Vista Cruiser

The following 74 series designations are Pontiac (GM) names:

1000, 2000, 2000 Sunbird, 6000, Astre, Banshee, Banshee III, Big Six, Bonneville, Bonneville Custom Safari, Bonneville G, Bonneville Special, Bonneville X-400, Catalina, Catalina 2+2, Catalina Brougham, Chieftain, Cirrus, Club de Mer, Custom Bonneville, Custom Torpedo, Deluxe, Deluxe Torpedo, El Camino, Executive, Fiero, Firearri, Firebird, Firebird I, Firebird II, Firebird III, Firebird IV, Fitchbird, GM-X, Grand Am, Grand Prix, Grand Prix X-400, Grand Safari, Grand Ville, GTO, Hurst SSJ Grand Prix, Improved, J2000, LeMans, LeMans Sport, Luxury LeMans, Maharani, Monkeemobile, Parisienne, Phantom, Phoenix, Runabout, Scorpion, Silver Streak, Special, Star Chief, Strato Star, Strato Streak, Streamliner, Streamliner Torpedo, Sunbird, Super Chief, Super-Duty 421, T1000, Tempest, Tempest Monte Carlo, Tempest Safari, Tempest Sprint, Torpedo, Trans Am, Trans Sport, Ventura, Ventura II, X-400

The following three series designations are Saturn (GM) names:

SC2, SL2, SW2

The following 65 series designations are Chevrolet (GM) names:

490, Astro, Astro III, Astro-Vette, Baby Grand, Bel Air, Beretta, Biscayne, Blazer, Brookwood, Camaro, Capitol, Caprice, Cavalier, Celebrity, Chevelle, Chevette, Chevy II, Citation, Citation II, Classic Six, Confederate, Copper Cooled, Corsica, Corvair, Corvette, Del Ray, Deluxe, Eagle, Fleetline, Fleetmaster, Impala, Impala SS, Impala Super Sport, Independence, International, Kingswood, Kingswood Estate, Little Runabout, Lumina, Malibu, Malibu Classic, Master, Master Deluxe, Master Eagle, Monte Carlo, Monza, National, Nomad, Nova, One-Fifty, Parkwood, Special, Special Deluxe, Spectrum, Sprint, Standard, Standard Mercury, Stylemaster, Suburban, Superior, Two-Ten, Universal, Vega, Yeoman

The following four series designations are Geo (GM) names:

Metro, Prizm, Storm, Tracker

The following three series designations are GMC (GM) names:

Jimmy, Sonoma, Typhoon

The following 24 series designations are Lincoln (Ford Motor Company) names:

Capri, Continental, Continental Mark II, Continental Mark III, Continental Mark IV, Continental Mark V, Cosmopolitan, Custom, El Gato, Futura, Mark IV, Mark V, Mark VI, Mark VII, Mark VIII, Premiere, Sunshine, Super Marauder, Super Spoiler, Town Car, Versailles, XL-500, XM-800, Zephyr

The following 7 series designations are Edsel (Ford Motor Company) names:

Citation, Comet, Corsair, Pacer, Ranger, Station Wagon, Villager

The following 31 series designations are Mercury (Ford Motor Company) names:

Bobcat, Brougham, Caliente, Capri, Comet, Cougar, Country Cruiser, Custom, Cyclone, Grand Marquis, LN7, Lynx, Marauder, Marquis, Medalist, Merkur XR4Ti, Meteor, Monarch, Montclair, Montego, Monterey, Park Lane, S-22, S-55, Sable, Station Wagon, Topaz, Tracer, Turnpike Cruiser, Villager, Zephyr

The following 78 series designations are Ford (Ford Motor Company) names:

300, 999, Aerostar, Arrow, Aspire, Bronco, Contour, Crestline, Crown Victoria, Custom, Custom 300, Custom 500, Custom Deluxe, Customline, Del Rio, Deluxe, Elite, Escort, EXP, Explorer, Fairlane, Fairlane 500, Fairmont, Fairmont Futura, Falcon, Falcon Station Wagon, Festiva, Fiera, Fiesta, Futura, FX-Atmos, Galaxie, Galaxie 500, Galaxie 500 XL, Galaxie Special, Gran Torino, Granada, GT-40, Gyron, La Galaxie, La Tosca, LTD, LTD Crown Victoria, LTD II, Mach 2, Mainline, Maverick, Mustang, Mustang I, Mustang II, Mustang Mach I, Mustang Milano, Mystere, Palomar, Parklane, Pinto, Pinto Sportiva, Probe, Quadricycle, Ranchero Squire, Seattle-ite XXI, Station Wagon, Super Cobra, Super Deluxe, Syrtis Roof-O-Matic, Taurus, Techna, Tempo, Thunderbird, Thunderbird Saturn, Torino, Torino Cobra, Torino Machete, Tridon, Victoria, X-100, X-1000, XL

The following five series designations are Imperial (Chrysler Corporation) names:

Crown, Custom, d'Elegance, LeBaron, Southampton

The following 61 series designations are Chrysler (Chrysler Corporation) names:

300, 300B, 300C, 300D, 300E, 300F, 300G, 300H, 300J, 300K, 300L, Airflow, Airstream, Arrow, Concept 70X, Concorde, Conquest, Cordoba, Cordoba de Oro, Crown Imperial, Croydon, Custom Imperial Airflow, Dart, Deluxe, Derham, DeSoto, E Class, Executive, Fifth Avenue, Gran LeBaron, Highlander, Imperial, Imperial Airflow, Kew, La Comtesse, Laser, Le Comte, LeBaron, LeBaron GTS, LHS, New York Special, New Yorker, New Yorker Brougham, New Yorker Deluxe, New Yorker Fifth Avenue, Newport, Newport Custom, Norseman, Richmond, Royal, Saratoga, T.C. by Maserati, Thunderbolt, Town&Country, Traveler, Trifon Special, Turbine, TurboFlite, Wimbledon, Windsor, Windsor Deluxe

The following eight series designations are Jeep (Chrysler Corporation) names:

Cherokee, Cherokee Chief, CJ-7, Grand Cherokee, Grand Wagoneer, Rambo Lambo, Wagoneer, Wrangler

The following four series designations are Eagle (Chrysler Corporation) names:

Premier, Summit, Talon, Vision

The following 16 series designations are DeSoto (Chrysler Corporation) names:

Adventurer, Adventurer I, Adventurer II, Airflow, Airstream, Coronado, Custom, Deluxe, Falcon, Firedome, Fireflite, Firesweep, Flight Sweep I, Flight Sweep II, Powermaster, Silver

The following 69 series designations are Dodge (Chrysler Corporation) names:

330, 400, 440, 600, 600 ES, 880, Aries, Aries K, Aspen, Beauty Winner, Caravan, Challenger, Charger, Charger 2.2, Charger II, Charger III, Charger SE, Colt, Conquest, Coronet, Custom, Custom 880, Custom Royal, Daroo II, Dart, Daytona, Deluxe, Demon, Diamante, Diplomat, Dynasty, Fast Four, Firearrow, Firearrow I, Firearrow II, Flitewing, Granada, Grand Caravan, Intrepid, Kingsway, Lancer, Luxury Liner, Magnum XE, Matador, Meadowbrook, Mirada, Monaco, Neon, New Value, Omni, Polara, Regal Lancer, Royal, Royal Monaco, Royal Monaco Brougham, Senior Six, Shadow, Sierra, Special, Spirit, Sportabout, Sportsman, St. Regis, Standard Six, Station Wagon, Stealth, Victory Six, Viper, Wayfarer

The following 58 series designations are Plymouth (Chrysler Corporation) names:

'Cuda, Acclaim, Arrow, Asymmetrica, Barracuda, Belmont, Belvedere, Business, Cabana, Cadet, Cambridge, Caravelle, Champ, Colt, Colt Vista, Commercial Car, Concord, Conquest, Cranbrook, Cricket, Deluxe, Diamond Star, Duster, Explorer, Fury, Gran Fury, GTX, Horizon, Laser, Neon, Plainsman, Plaza, Prowler, Reliant, Road Runner, Roadking, Sapporo, Satellite, Savoy, Scamp, Signet, Special Deluxe, Special Deluxe Six, Sport Fury, Sport Satellite, Suburban, Sundance, Superbird, TC3, Turismo, Valiant, Valiant Duster, VIP, Volare, Voyager, XNR, XP-VIP, XX-500

The following 19 series designations are AMC names:

Alliance, Ambassador, Amitron, AMX, Cavalier, Concord, Eagle, Encore, Gremlin, Hornet, Javelin, Marlin, Matador, Pacer, Pacesetter, Rambler, Rebel, Spirit, Vixen

The following 23 series designations are Hudson (forerunner of AMC) names:

Big Boy, Cab Pick-Up, Challenger, Commodore, Country Club, Hornet, Italia, Jet, Major Eight, Metropolitan, Mile-A-Minute Roadster, Pacemaker, Rambler, Six Deluxe, Standard, Standard Eight, Sterling, Super, Super Six, Torpedo, Traveler, Traveler Six, Wasp

The following 5 series designations are Essex (forerunner of AMC) names:

Pacemaker, Sun, Super Six, Terraplane, The Challenger

The following 17 series designations are Nash (forerunner of AMC) names:

600, Advanced Six, Ajax, Ambassador, La Fayette, Light Six, Metropolitan, Nash-Healey, NXI, Rambler, Single Six, Special Six, Standard Six, Statesman, Suburban, Twin Ignition Eight, Twin Ignition Six

The following 7 series designations are Rambler (forerunner of AMC) names:

Ambassador, American, Classic, Marlin, Palm Beach, Rebel, Rogue

The following 31 series designations are Packard names:

120, 200, 250, 300, Balboa, Caribbean, Cavalier, Clipper, Corporate, Custom, Custom Super Clipper Eight, Eight, Executive, Gray Wolf, Grey Wolf II, Hawk, Mayfair, Pan American,

Panama, Panther Daytona, Patrician, Predictor, Projector, Request, Single Eight, Single Six, Super Clipper, Super Clipper Eight, Super Eight, Touring, Twin Six

The following 30 series designations are Studebaker names:

Ambulet, Avanti, Big Six, Challenger, Champion, Commander, Dictator, Electric, Flight Hawk, Golden Hawk, Gran Turismo Hawk, Hawk, Lark, Light Four, Light Six, Power Hawk, President, President Speedway, Runabout, Scotsman, Silver Hawk, Sky Hawk, Skyway Champion, Special Six, Standard, State Commander, State President, Surrey, Victoria, Wagonaire

The following 185 series designations are names of independent manufacturers coming without a manufacturer designation:

Airscoot, Airway, American Buckboard, Apache, Apollo, Argonaut, Asardo, Astra, Auto Cub, Autoette, Avanti II, Bangert, Bearcat, Beechcraft, Berlina, Blakely, Bloomquist, BMC, Bobbi-Kar, Bocar, Bolide, Bosley, Bradford, Bradley, Brogan, Broganette, Buckaroo, Buckboard, Bugetta, Centaur, Ceres, Chadwick, Charles, Chicagoan, Cinderella, Citicar, Clenet, Colt, Comet (3x), Comuta-Car, Crofton, Crosley, Cunningham, Custer, Darrin, Davis, Daytona, De Courville, Del Mar, Detrick, Detroit, Diehlmobile, DiNapoli, Doray, DTL, Dual-Ghia, Edwards, El Morocco, Elcar, Electra, Electra-King, Electric Shopper, Electricar, Electro-Master, Electromotion, Electronic, Eshelman, Estate Carriage, Excalibur, Fageol, Fergus, Ferrer, Fibersport, Fina Sport, Fisher, Fitch, Flintridge-Darrin, France Jet, Frazen, Frick, Gadabout, Gashopper, Gaslight, Gatsby, Gaylord, Gazelle, Glascar, Glassic, Glasspar, Goff, Gregory, Griffith, Honey Bee, Hummingbird, Hunt, Imp, Kanzler, Keen, Keller, King-Midget, LaCrosse, Lance, Lindberg, Lost Cause, Manta, Marketeer, Marketour, Markette, Mars II, Merlin, Minimark Classic, Monocoque Box, Moselle, Omega, Palmeri, Panda, Panther, Paxton, Pedicar, Pioneer, Piranha, Playboy, Powell, Publix, Puma, Pup, Quantum, Rocket, Rogue, Rollsmobile, Romulus, Rowan, Ruger, Russell, Savage, Scarab, Sceptre, Scootmobile, Silver Volt, Sir Vival, Skorpion, Skyline, Squire, Star Dust, Starlite, Storm, Story, Stuart, Studillac, Sundancer, Super Kar, Super Wagon, Supersonic, Surrey, Swift, Tasco, Taylor-Dunn, Thoroughbred, Thrif-T, Tiger, Towne Shopper, Transformer I, Tri-Car, Tri-Muter G, Trident, Trihawk, Triplex, U.S. Mark II, Urba Centurian, Valiente, Valkyrie, Veep, Vokaro, Voltra, Wagon de Ville, Warrior, Westcoaster Super 36, Williams, XK-1, XK-120, XR-6, Yank, Yankee Clipper

The following 29 series designations are names of independent manufacturers coming with a manufacturer designation:

- 21 of them with one series each:

Basson's Star, Burley Hot Rod Beetle, Classic Tiffany, Classic Roadster Saxon, Crosley Farm-O-Road, Daytona Moya, Doval Shadow B, Dow Electric, Flajole Forerunner, Frazer Manhattan, Gordon Diamond, Johnson Rumbleseat Roadster, Kaiser-Frazer Allstate, Lyon Mark V, Piper Rogue, Reminiscent Golden Eagle, Rockefeller Yankee, Saviano Scat, Tucker Torpedo, Weitz X-600, Woodill Wildfire

- Four with two series each (i.e. eight names):

Arnolt: Bristol, Continental Sportster; Mohs: Ostentatienne Opera, Safarikar; Shelby: Cobra, Mustang; Yenko: Camaro, Stinger

The following four series designations are Checker (independent manufacturers) names:

Deluxe, Marathon, Marathon Town Custom, Superba

The following four series designations are Excalibur (independent manufacturers) names:

J, Series II, Series III, Series IV

The following twelve series designations are Kaiser (independent manufacturers) names:

Carolina, Custom, Darrin, Deluxe, Dragon, Henry J, Manhattan, Pinconning Special, Special, Traveler, Vagabond, Virginian

The following nine series designations are Stutz (independent manufacturers) names:

Bearcat, Biarritz, Blackhawk, DV32, H.C.S., Monte Carlo, Royale, Versailles, Victoria

The following six series designations are Willys (independent manufacturers) names:

Ace, Aero, Bermuda, Custom, Jeepster, Station Wagon

The following four series designations are Zimmer (independent manufacturers) names:

Classic, Golden, Golden Spirit, Quicksilver

5.2.2 Variation in the form of the names

On average 22.0% of all the series designations are simplexes but some makes have clear preferences for this or another form. Makes that use noticeably less simplexes than average are Lincoln (8.3%), Chrysler (13.1%), and Cadillac (14.3%). These are the uppercrust makes of the Big Three. Mercury (38.7%), AMC and its forerunners (36.6%), Plymouth (32.8%), and the small makes of the Big Three (30.0%) on the other hand use a lot more simplexes than average. With names taken from syntagmatic word-formations the average is 27.6% but this portion varies from 11.4% in the names of Cadillac to 46.7% in the names of Studebaker. Non-syntagmatic word-formations (4.5% of all the series designations) are not used on some makes at all: neither Oldsmobile, Lincoln, Mercury, nor Dodge use such a name. Thus, name-makers at the Ford Corporation are least fond of non-syntagmatic formations: they do not use them at all on their upper and middle class makes, and only three times (3.8%) on Ford: *LTD*, *EXP*, and *XL*. Series designations on Plymouth cars (12.1%), and on cars of independent manufacturers (7.1%), on the other hand, are taken more frequently than usual from non-syntagmatic word-formations. Phrases, accounting for 21.3% of all the series designations, may account for as many as 45.8% of the names of one make, namely Lincoln. They are also frequently used by Oldsmobile (38.6%) and Chrysler (36.1%) but comparatively rarely by independent manufacturers (9.9%) and Plymouth (12.1%). Studebaker is the only manufacturer never to use a proper noun as a series designation. The use of proper nouns varies between 7.0% (AMC and its forerunners) and 28.1%

(independent manufacturers). On Cadillacs proper nouns also frequently make series designations (25.7%). The average use of proper nouns is 15.7%. The use of non-established borrowings (6.4% for all the series designations) is highest with Cadillac (20.0%), and lowest with AMC and its forerunners and Packard as in neither of these two a non-established borrowing occurs as a series designation. The use of numerals differs most notably among the various makes: the average figure is 2.8% but while Buick, Lincoln, Mercury, Plymouth, the small makes of the Big Three, Studebaker and independent manufacturers do not use numerals at all, they account for as much as 16.1% of all the series designations used by Packard, and 11.4% of those used by Cadillac. Thus, numerals are of a comparatively high frequency on these two high status makes. Generally, it is Cadillac, a make of a very special status, that differs in its use of the formal types of names most notably from the average. However, it uses the same types of names albeit in a differing portion.

Three of the formal types occurring as automobile names will now be examined in some more detail. Ch. 5.2.2.1 discusses what types of syntagmatic word-formations are preferred on which makes, ch. 5.2.2.2 the variation in the use of established and non-established formations (syntagmatic and non-syntagmatic), and ch. 5.2.2.3 the types of phrases used.

5.2.2.1 Variation in the types of syntagmatic word-formation according to manufacturer

Compounds account for 15.6% of all the series designations, or 56.5% of all the syntagmatic word-formations. The portion of compounds of the total is highest with Studebaker (36.7%) and Pontiac (23.0%), and lowest with Packard (6.5%), Lincoln (8.3%), and Cadillac (8.6%). Thus, it is again high-class makes that show deviating patterns from the rest of the corpus. The 15 series designations that are taken from neo-classical compounds (1.5% of the total, 5.3% of all the syntagmatic formations) are used by Pontiac (4.1% of all its series designations - *Strato Star*, *Strato Streak*, *Monkeemobile*), the independent manufacturers (3.2% - *Argonaut*, *Triplex*, *Electro-Master*, *Electromotion*, *Dual-Ghia*, *Diehlmobile*, *Scotmobile*, *Pedicar*), Ford (2.6% - *Aerostar*, *Quadricycle*), Oldsmobile (1.8% - *Autocrat*), and Chrysler (1.6% - *TurboFlite*). Prefixations are only slightly more frequent than neo-classical compounds: there are 18 prefixations (1.8% of the total, 6.4% of all the syntagmatic formations), and they are used by Lincoln (8.3% of all its series designations - *Super Marauder*, *Super Spoiler*), Packard (6.5% - *Superbird*, *Pan American*), Chevrolet (3.1% - *International*, *Independence*), Cadillac (2.9% - *Bicentennial*), Ford (2.6% - *Super Cobra*, *Super Deluxe*), the independent manufacturers (2.4% - *Trihawk*, *Super Kar*, *Super Wagon*, *Tri-Car*, *Supersonic*, *Trident*), Plymouth (1.7% - *Superbird*), Dodge (1.4% - *Intrepid*), and Pontiac (1.4% - *Super Chief*). The use of suffixations

(8.8% of the total, 31.8% of all the syntagmatic formations) varies between lows of 0.0% (Cadillac) and 1.4% (Pontiac) and highs of 19.7% (AMC and its forerunners) and 19.4% (Packard).

5.2.2.2 Variation in the use of established and non-established formations according to manufacturer

With regard to all the 329 series designations derived from a word-formation process, syntagmatic or non-syntagmatic, the non-established items outnumber the established ones by 10%: 55.0% are non-established, 45.0% established. Half of all the makes, however, prefer established names over non-established ones. The proportion is most notably reversed in the series designations of AMC and its forerunners, which use 79.2% established formations against 20.8% non-established ones. The difference is likewise very pronounced in the names of Mercury (75.0% against 25.0%) and Packard (72.7% against 27.3%). In the names of Dodge (66.7% against 33.3%), the small makes of the Big Three (61.1% against 38.9%), Chrysler (60.0% against 40.0%), Lincoln (57.1% against 42.9%), and Oldsmobile (54.5% against 45.5%) the difference between established and non-established formations is less marked but all of them prefer established formations to non-established ones. Of the Plymouth names taken from word-formations half of them are established and half are non-established. In the names of the other makes non-established formations outnumber established ones but their ratios differ from the average. They do so most pronouncedly in the names of Pontiac, where there are 19.2% established formations against 80.8% non-established ones, and in the names of Ford and Cadillac, where the ratio is for both makes 20.0% against 80.0%. Interestingly the highest number of those compounds the constituent structure of which could not be determined (cf. ch. 3.2.1.2) occurs with these three makes. Seven out the 29 such series designations are used by Pontiac (*Bonneville Custom Safari, Tempest Safari, LeMans Sport, Luxury LeMans, Tempest Monte Carlo, Streamliner Torpedo, Catalina Brougham*), eight by Ford (*Syrtis Roof-O-Matic, Torino Machete, Mustang Mach I, Thunderbird Saturn, Mustang Milano, Torino Cobra, Falcon Station Wagon, Fairmont Futura*), and three by Cadillac (*Eldorado Brougham, Fleetwood Brougham, Fleetwood Limousine*) - that is 62.1% of all the compounded series designations for the structure of which I cannot account. The rest of these formations is used by Chrysler (*Newport Custom, New Yorker Fifth Avenue, New Yorker Brougham*), Chevrolet (*Kingswood Estate, Impala Super Sport*), independent manufacturers (*Electra-King, Checker Marathon Town Custom*), Buick (*Riviera Silver Arrow*), Packard (*Panther Daytona*), Plymouth (*Valiant Duster*), and Studebaker (*President Speedway*).

5.2.2.3 Variation in the type of phrase according to manufacturer

On average 47.2% of all the phrases used as series designations are combinations with numerals but this figure varies extremely among the makes: 100.0% of all the phrases used by Cadillac and Packard are combinations with numerals, while Mercury and Chrysler do not use a single such combination. The portion of combinations with numerals is also high at AMC and its forerunners (86.7%), Lincoln (81.8%) and Studebaker (80.0%). Phrases in which an adjective modifies a noun account on average for 23.4% of all the series designations but again there are makes that do not use a single such phrase, namely Cadillac, Lincoln, and Packard. Chevrolet (50.0%) and Plymouth (57.1%), the lowest ranking models of GM and Chrysler, on the other hand, use significantly more phrases in which an adjective modifies a noun than average. The uncommon phrase type "combination of letter and numeral" accounts for 21.1% of the series designations but it is not used at all by Cadillac, Chevrolet, AMC and its forerunners, Packard, and Studebaker. With Mercury (80.0%), Chrysler (50.0%), and the small makes of the Big Three (40.0%) it is a phrase type of a very high occurrence, however. Combinations with letters, accounting for 6.0% of all the phrasal series designations, are only used by Dodge (14.3%), Ford (11.1%), Chevrolet (10.0%), Pontiac (9.5%), Chrysler (9.1%), the independent manufacturers (8.0%), and Oldsmobile (4.5%). The other makes do not use such phrases.

5.2.2.4 The use of alliteration by various manufacturers

It has been shown that there is enormous variation in the names of the various manufacturers. Two makes that stand out for their high status, Cadillac and Packard, show naming patterns that distinguish them further from the rest. Apart from this the variation seems to be largely accidental and may be due to individual preferences of the name makers in the marketing divisions of the various makes. A type of variation in the form of a series designation that has not been investigated so far is alliteration. Some name makers seem to prefer series designations that alliterate with the manufacturer designation. This stylistic device could be useful with a family branding strategy (cf. ch. 2.1.2) as it will easily bring home to the consumer that cars the series designations of which alliterate with the manufacturer designation and with each other belong to the same "family" because there is, or rather was, a tradition in the Germanic languages to give siblings alliterating names (cf. Seibicke, 1982: 126). A make that uses alliteration is Mercury: 29.0% of its series designations alliterate (*Marauder, Marquis, Medalist, Merkur XR4Ti, Meteor, Monarch, Montclair, Montego, Monterey*). Of all the series designations only 6.4% begin with the letter *M*. Another one is Studebaker: 30.0% of its names begin with *S* (*Scotsman, Silver Hawk, Sky Hawk, Skyway Champion, Special Six, Standard, State Commander, State President, Surrey*) as against only 13.8% in the whole corpus;

and Packard: 19.4% of its names begin with *P* (*Pan American, Panama, Panther Daytona, Patrician, Predictor, Projector*) as against 5.1% in the whole corpus. With other makes it is not clear whether they make use of alliteration as their use of names beginning with a certain letter is only slightly above average. This is the case with the names of Chevrolet (10.1% beyond average), Ford (8.3% beyond average), Dodge (6.5% beyond average), and Cadillac (2.6% beyond average). The difference between series designations of Chevrolet beginning with the letter *C* (24.6%) and series designations generally beginning with this letter (14.5%) is the highest of these but it has to be taken into account that the alliteration with *Chevrolet* is in most cases only an eye rhyme. The initial <c(h)> of *Chevrolet* represents the phoneme /tʃ/ as it does in *Chevelle, Chevette* and *Chevy II* but it represents the phoneme /k/ in the series designations *Camaro, Capitol, Caprice, Cavalier, Classic Six, Confederate, Copper Cooled, Corsica, Corvair* and *Corvette*, and the phoneme /s/ in *Celebrity, Citation* and *Citation II*. 14.1% of the Ford names begin with *F* (*Fairlane, Fairlane 500, Fairmont, Fairmont Futura, Falcon, Falcon Station Wagon, Festiva, Fiera, Fiesta, Futura, FX-Atmos*) as against 5.8% generally. 11.6% of the Dodge names begin with *D* (*Daroo II, Dart, Daytona, Deluxe, Demon, Diamante, Diplomat, Dynasty*) as against 5.1% generally, and 17.1% of the Cadillac names begin with *C* as against 14.5% generally. Of these those that are pronounced with an initial /k/ (*Calais, Coupe de Ville, Custom*) alliterate genuinely, while those pronounced with an initial /s/ (*Celebrity, Cimarron, Cyclone*) do so only in writing. Makes that have alliterating names but whose occurrence is the same as or even below normal are Chrysler, Oldsmobile, Plymouth and Pontiac. There are eight Chrysler names beginning with *C* (*Concept 70X, Concorde, Conquest, Cordoba, Cordoba de Oro, Crown Imperial, Croydon, Custom Imperial Airflow*), that is 13.1% of all the Chrysler names as against 14.5% of all the series designations. All these names are pronounced with an initial /k/. There is one alliterating Oldsmobile name, *Omega*, which is 1.8% of all the Oldsmobile names against 0.6% in general. Series designations beginning with *P* account for 5.1% of all the names in the corpus, and they account for 5.2% of those used by Plymouth (*Plainsman, Plaza, Prowler*), and for 4.1% of those used by Pontiac (*Parisienne, Phantom, Phoenix*). Of these *Phantom* and *Phoenix* alliterate in print only as they are pronounced with an initial /f/ instead of a /p/.

5.2.3 Variation in the meaning

Metonymies that occur on average in 32.2% of all the series designations are used considerably more often by Lincoln (50.0%), Cadillac (42.9%), and Packard (41.9%) but comparatively rarely by the small makes of the Big Three (16.0%), Studebaker (16.7%), and Mercury (19.4%). Metaphors account on average for 40.5% but are much more often used on the small makes of the Big Three

(70.0%), AMC and its forerunners (62.0%), Studebaker (60.0%), Mercury (58.1%), and Plymouth (53.4%), and much more rarely on Cadillac (11.4%), Ford (28.2%), Chrysler (29.5%), and Buick (29.7%). The frequency of iconic names varies between a low of 5.6% (AMC and its forerunners) and a high of 28.6% (Cadillac). On average it is 15.9%. Their frequency is also comparatively low with Studebaker (6.7%), and comparatively high with Chrysler (27.9%), Buick (27.0%), and Ford (25.6%). The frequency of descriptive designations, on average 7.7%, varies between 2.0% (small makes of the Big Three), and 13.3% (Studebaker). It is also high with the names used by independent manufacturers (12.6%). The variation in the types of the two most important semantic processes in automobile names, metonymy and metaphor, will be examined in detail in ch. 5.2.3.1 and ch. 5.2.3.2.

5.2.3.1 Variation in the type of metonymy according to manufacturer

The most frequently used metonymic concept, accounting on average for 10.0% of the total or 30.9 % of all the metonymies, is "place for car". One manufacturer, Studebaker, does not use it at all, and AMC and its forerunners use it significantly less than average (4.2% of all their series designations). Cadillac (20.0%), Chrysler (18.0%), Chevrolet (16.9%), and Mercury (16.1%), on the other hand, use it a lot more often. The concept "characteristic for car" accounts for 6.3% of all the series designations, and this figure varies comparatively little: it is lowest with AMC and its forerunners (2.8%) and highest with Oldsmobile (14.0%). This is totally different with the concept "producer for product": its percentage in the whole corpus is almost the same as of the afore-mentioned one, namely 6.2%, but it varies considerably across the different makes. It does not occur at all with most of the makes but only with AMC and its forerunners (1.4%), the small makes of the Big Three (2.0%), Chrysler (6.6%), Cadillac (14.3%), and the independent manufacturers (20.6%). The last figure is due to the fact that with independent manufacturers the distinction between manufacturer designation and series designation is not always clear-cut, and that in this respect the series designations of independent manufacturers resemble manufacturer designations very much, where the portion of the use of the metonymic concept "producer for product" is extremely high, namely 61.0%.

The concept "purpose for car" is on average used in 4.2% of all the series designations but is not found at all on Cadillac, Oldsmobile, Lincoln, Mercury, and Studebaker. It is also fairly uncommon with Buick, Chrysler, and Packard, with which only one such name occurs each. It accounts for a portion significantly above average with the lowest ranking makes of the Big Three, however: Pontiac (10.8%) and Chevrolet (7.7%) at GM, Ford (6.4%), and Plymouth (10.3%) at Chrysler. The concept "part for whole" is used in 4.9% of all the series designations but it does not occur at all with Cadillac, Buick,

Mercury, Ford, and the small makes of the Big Three. On the other hand, it accounts for 37.5% of the Lincoln names, for 22.6% of the Packard names, and for 16.9% of the names of AMC and its forerunners. At Lincoln the many names of the *Mark+Numeral* and *Continental Mark+Numeral* type account for the high percentage of this concept, and at Packard and AMC and its forerunners (especially Hudson) all of them are designations deriving from the engine.

5.2.3.2 Variation in the type of metaphor according to manufacturer

The most frequent type of metaphor, personification, accounts for 16.7% of all the series designations or 41.2% of all the metaphors. Makes that use a significantly higher portion of names that draw on the concept "the car is a human being" are AMC and its forerunners (39.4% of all their series designations), and Studebaker (30.0%). The series designations of Ford (3.8%), Pontiac (4.1%), Buick (5.4%), and Cadillac (5.7%), on the other hand use comparatively few names of this type. The concept "the car is an animal", accounting for 8.3% of all the series designations, is not used at all by Lincoln and Chrysler, and only once by the highest-ranking make of GM, Cadillac's *Cimarron*. Furthermore, there is only one animal name used on Oldsmobile, *Thorobred*. Studebaker (26.7%) and Buick (18.9%) use rather many of these names. Especially Studebaker animal names indicate that the cars so named belong to the same family. The names *Gran Turismo Hawk*, *Flight Hawk*, *Golden Hawk*, *Hawk*, *Lark*, *Power Hawk*, *Silver Hawk*, *Sky Hawk* suggest that the Studebaker cars form a family of birds, or more specifically hawks, and can thus be interpreted as part of a family branding strategy much like alliteration discussed above (cf. ch. 5.2.2.4). The variation in the other types of metaphor is rather small. The figure for names that derive from the concept "the car is a man-made object" is 6.4% on average, it is not used on Cadillac and Lincoln at all but is as high as 19.3% in Oldsmobile. The portion of names drawing on the concept "the car is an element or phenomenon of unanimated nature", accounting for 7.1% of all the series designations, varies similarly between 0.0% (Buick, Packard, Studebaker) and 22.0% (small makes of the Big Three). Only half of the manufacturers use a name of the concept "the car is a supernatural being": Pontiac (5.4%), Plymouth (5.2%), Dodge (2.9%), AMC and its forerunners (2.8%), Buick (2.7%), the independent manufactures (2.4%), Oldsmobile (1.8%), and Ford (1.3%).

5.2.4 High- and low-ranking makes in comparison

As with variation in the form of the names, there is also a considerable amount of variation in the types of semantic transfer used in the automobile names of different manufacturers but, likewise, the figures suggest that this variation is mainly due to individual preferences of the various name makers employed. The

make whose names differ most notably from those of other manufacturers is Cadillac. This might reflect the make's high status. A comparison between the top makes of the Big Three (Cadillac, Lincoln, and Chrysler) and their lowest-ranking makes (Chevrolet, Ford, and Plymouth) shows that the names for luxury cars differ from those for less prestigious ones to a certain extent but that the names of Cadillac also stand out among the high-ranking makes.

The use of simplexes, for instance, is comparatively high with the low-ranking makes (Chevrolet: 27.7%; Ford: 20.5%; Plymouth: 32.8%) but significantly lower with the high-ranking makes (Cadillac: 14.3%; Lincoln: 8.3%; Chrysler: 13.1%). The use of phrases also varies with rank: Lincoln (45.8%), and Chrysler (36.1%) use a lot more phrases than Chevrolet (15.4%), and Plymouth (12.1%). Ford (23.1%) uses more phrases than Cadillac (20.0%), however. The other formal types of names do not vary systematically between high- and low-ranking makes. As far as the types of semantic transfer that are used are concerned, it is most interesting to note that the number of metonymic names exceeds the number of metaphorical names in high-ranking models, while it does not do so in the low-ranking makes. Thus, the portions of metonymies and metaphors used by Cadillac are 42.9% and 11.4%, by Lincoln 50.0% and 25.0%, and by Chrysler 32.8% and 29.5%, while in Chevrolet (38.5% and 38.5%), Ford (25.6% and 28.2%), and Plymouth (29.3% and 53.4%) the first portion is always lower than the second, or identical to it as in the case of Chevrolet. The other formal types of names do not vary systematically between high- and low-ranking models.

6 Summary

This investigation into the nature of American automobile names collected in a corpus of more than 2000 such names sets out by studying the place of automobile names in general language (cf. ch. 1). Being trade names various disciplines are concerned with automobile names, especially economics, the law, and linguistics. Their viewpoints on trade names are summarized. The importance of automobile names as household words is stressed by a brief summary of the influence of the automobile on American society and culture.

The constituents of a complete automobile designation, namely model year designation, manufacturer designation, series designation, model designation, and body type designation as in *1958 Pontiac Star Chief Catalina four-door hardtop*, are described together with an investigation into their syntactic structure, which partly deviates from the normal structure of the English noun phrase as the determinant may follow the determinatum (cf. ch. 2). This constituent order is found with the series designation following the manufacturer designation (e.g. *Pontiac Star Chief*) and the model designation following the series designation (e.g. *Star Chief Catalina*). After studying the constituent usage in a few exemplary automobile advertisements three central constituents, manufacturer designation, series designation, and model designation, are singled out for further investigation.

The formal lingual items used as automobile names are simplexes (e.g. *Ace*), syntagmatic word-formations (e.g. *Airway*), non-syntagmatic word-formations (e.g. *AMX*), free syntactic phrases (e.g. *American Buckboard*), proper nouns (e.g. *Cambridge*), non-established borrowings (e.g. *Avanti*), and numerals (e.g. *300*) in various portions (cf. ch. 3). All these types are studied in detail. The etymology of the simplexes, the frequency of certain word-formation types that are rather rare in general language, and the use of uncommon phrase types, for instance, suggest that automobile names are similar with other parts of the vocabulary used for specific purposes. Graphemic variation, a phenomenon considered as being of enormous importance to trade names by many scholars is also studied, and it is shown that it does not play a vital role with automobile names. A comparison with the form of other trade names shows that automobile names exhibit patterns similar to a corpus for all kinds of products but differ widely from names used for drugs and chemical fibres such as *Azo Gantanol*.

While the referents of automobile names i.e. automobiles themselves are very similar to each other, the sense of automobile names may differ widely (cf. ch. 4). These differences are due to the use of semantic transfer in metonymic (e.g. *Malibu*), metaphorical (e.g. *Eagle*) and iconic names (e.g. *XK-1*), which occur in varying portions. Descriptive names (e.g. *Commercial Car*) also occur. These four groups of names are studied in detail. While metaphorical automobile names

draw to a large extent on metaphorical concepts well-established in our society and in general language such as "the car is a human being" (e.g. *Marauder*) or "the car is an animal" (e.g. *Mustang*), some metonymic concepts used, especially "purpose for car" (e.g. *Turnpike Cruising*), are extremely uncommon in general language.

The variation of the formal and semantic types of series designations through time and according to manufacturer is then studied (cf. ch. 5). It is found that names used before 1942 differ to a certain extent systematically from those used after 1945, and that names used on high-ranking makes such as Cadillac, Lincoln, and Packard also differ to a certain extent systematically from those used on other makes. Although a great deal of variation is found with both variables, no further tendencies, or systematic variation, are discovered.

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Appendix: The Corpus

Manufacturer designations

1. AMC
2. Arnolt
3. Basson's
4. Buick
5. Burley
6. Cadillac
7. Checker
8. Chevrolet
9. Chrysler
10. Classic
11. Classic Roadster
12. Crosley
13. Daytona
14. DeLorean
15. DeSoto
16. Dodge
17. Doval
18. Dow
19. Eagle
20. Edsel
21. Essex
22. Excalibur
23. Flajole
24. Ford
25. Frazer
26. Geo
27. GMC
28. Gordon
29. Hudson
30. Imperial
31. Jeep
32. Johnson
33. Kaiser
34. La Salle
35. Lincoln
36. Lyon
37. Marquette
38. Mercury
39. Mohs
40. Nash
41. Oldsmobile
42. Packard
43. Piper
44. Plymouth
45. Pontiac
46. Rambler
47. Reminiscent
48. Rockefeller
49. Saturn
50. Saviano
51. Shelby
52. Studebaker
53. Stutz
54. Tucker
55. Weitz
56. Willys
57. Woodill
58. Yenko
59. Zimmer

Series designations

The series designations are given in alphabetical order. The manufacturer designation is given after the series designation. When no manufacturer designation is given the car was produced by an independent manufacturer.

| | | | |
|--------------------------|------------|------------------------|---------------|
| 1. 'Cuda | Plymouth | 45. Achieva | Oldsmobile |
| 2. 1000 | Pontiac | 46. Advanced Six | Nash |
| 3. 120 | Packard | 47. Adventurer | DeSoto |
| 4. 200 | Packard | 48. Adventurer I | DeSoto |
| 5. 2000 | Pontiac | 49. Adventurer II | DeSoto |
| 6. 2000 Sunbird | Pontiac | 50. Aero | Willys |
| 7. 250 | Packard | 51. Aerostar | Ford |
| 8. 300 | Chrysler | 52. Airflow | Chrysler |
| 9. 300 | Ford | 53. Airflow | DeSoto |
| 10. 300 | Packard | 54. Airscout | |
| 11. 300B | Chrysler | 55. Airstream | Chrysler |
| 12. 300C | Chrysler | 56. Airstream | DeSoto |
| 13. 300D | Chrysler | 57. Airway | |
| 14. 300E | Chrysler | 58. Ajax | Nash |
| 15. 300F | Chrysler | 59. Allante | Cadillac |
| 16. 300G | Chrysler | 60. Alliance | AMC |
| 17. 300H | Chrysler | 61. Allstate | Kaiser-Frazer |
| 18. 300J | Chrysler | 62. Ambassador | AMC |
| 19. 300K | Chrysler | 63. Ambassador | Nash |
| 20. 300L | Chrysler | 64. Ambassador | Rambler |
| 21. 330 | Dodge | 65. Ambulet | Studebaker |
| 22. 4-4-2 | Oldsmobile | 66. American | Rambler |
| 23. 400 | Dodge | 67. American Buckboard | |
| 24. 440 | Dodge | 68. Amitron | AMC |
| 25. 490 | Chevrolet | 69. AMX | AMC |
| 26. 60 Special Fleetwood | Cadillac | 70. Apache | |
| 27. 600 | Dodge | 71. Apollo | |
| 28. 600 | Nash | 72. Apollo | Buick |
| 29. 600 ES | Dodge | 73. Apollo | Oldsmobile |
| 30. 6000 | Pontiac | 74. Argonaut | |
| 31. 61 | Cadillac | 75. Aries | Dodge |
| 32. 62 | Cadillac | 76. Aries K | Dodge |
| 33. 6200 | Cadillac | 77. Arrow | Chrysler |
| 34. 6400 Eldorado | Cadillac | 78. Arrow | Ford |
| 35. 6700 Fleetwood 75 | Cadillac | 79. Arrow | Plymouth |
| 36. 70 | Cadillac | 80. Asardo | |
| 37. 75 Fleetwood | Cadillac | 81. Aspen | Dodge |
| 38. 76 | Oldsmobile | 82. Aspire | Ford |
| 39. 88 | Oldsmobile | 83. Astra | |
| 40. 880 | Dodge | 84. Astre | Pontiac |
| 41. 98 | Oldsmobile | 85. Astro | Chevrolet |
| 42. 999 | Ford | 86. Astro III | Chevrolet |
| 43. Acclaim | Plymouth | 87. Astro-Vette | Chevrolet |
| 44. Ace | Willys | 88. Asymmetrica | Plymouth |

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------|------------------------|------------|
| 89. Aurora | Oldsmobile | 141. Brougham | Mercury |
| 90. Auto Cub | | 142. Brougham | Oldsmobile |
| 91. Autocrat | Oldsmobile | 143. Buckaroo | |
| 92. Autoette | | 144. Buckboard | |
| 93. Avanti | Studebaker | 145. Bugetta | |
| 94. Avanti II | | 146. Business | Plymouth |
| 95. Baby | Oldsmobile | 147. Cab Pick-Up | Hudson |
| 96. Baby Grand | Chevrolet | 148. Cabana | Plymouth |
| 97. Balboa | Packard | 149. Cadet | Plymouth |
| 98. Bangert | | 150. Calais | Cadillac |
| 99. Banshee | Pontiac | 151. Calais | Oldsmobile |
| 100. Banshee III | Pontiac | 152. Caliente | Mercury |
| 101. Barracuda | Plymouth | 153. Camaro | Chevrolet |
| 102. Bearcat | | 154. Camaro | Yenko |
| 103. Bearcat | Stutz | 155. Cambridge | Plymouth |
| 104. Beauty Winner | Dodge | 156. Capitol | Chevrolet |
| 105. Beechcraft | | 157. Capri | Lincoln |
| 106. Bel Air | Chevrolet | 158. Capri | Mercury |
| 107. Belmont | Plymouth | 159. Caprice | Chevrolet |
| 108. Belvedere | Plymouth | 160. Caravan | Dodge |
| 109. Beretta | Chevrolet | 161. Caravelle | Plymouth |
| 110. Berlina | | 162. Caribbean | Packard |
| 111. Bermuda | Willys | 163. Carolina | Kaiser |
| 112. Biarritz | Stutz | 164. Catalina | Pontiac |
| 113. Bicentennial | Cadillac | 165. Catalina 2+2 | Pontiac |
| 114. Big Boy | Hudson | 166. Catalina Brougham | Pontiac |
| 115. Big Six | Pontiac | 167. Cavalier | AMC |
| 116. Big Six | Studebaker | 168. Cavalier | Chevrolet |
| 117. Biscayne | Chevrolet | 169. Cavalier | Packard |
| 118. Blackhawk | Stutz | 170. Celebrity | Cadillac |
| 119. Blakely | | 171. Celebrity | Chevrolet |
| 120. Blazer | Chevrolet | 172. Centaur | |
| 121. Bloomquist | | 173. Centurion | Buick |
| 122. BMC | | 174. Century | Buick |
| 123. Bobbi-Kar | | 175. Century Cruiser | Buick |
| 124. Bobcat | Mercury | 176. Ceres | |
| 125. Bocar | | 177. Chadwick | |
| 126. Bolide | | 178. Challenger | Dodge |
| 127. Bonneville | Pontiac | 179. Challenger | Hudson |
| 128. Bonneville Custom Safari | Pontiac | 180. Challenger | Studebaker |
| 129. Bonneville G | Pontiac | 181. Champ | Plymouth |
| 130. Bonneville Special | Pontiac | 182. Champion | Studebaker |
| 131. Bonneville X-400 | Pontiac | 183. Charger | Dodge |
| 132. Bosley | | 184. Charger 2.2 | Dodge |
| 133. Bradford | | 185. Charger II | Dodge |
| 134. Bradley | | 186. Charger III | Dodge |
| 135. Bravada | Oldsmobile | 187. Charger SE | Dodge |
| 136. Bristol | Arnolt | 188. Charles | |
| 137. Brogan | | 189. Cherokee | Jeep |
| 138. Broganette | | 190. Cherokee Chief | Jeep |
| 139. Bronco | Ford | 191. Chevelle | Chevrolet |
| 140. Brookwood | Chevrolet | 192. Chevette | Chevrolet |

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| 193. Chevy II | Chevrolet | 245. Corporate | Packard |
| 194. Chicagoan | | 246. Corsair | Edsel |
| 195. Chieftain | Pontiac | 247. Corsica | Chevrolet |
| 196. Cimarron | Cadillac | 248. Corvair | Chevrolet |
| 197. Cinderella | | 249. Corvette | Chevrolet |
| 198. Cirrus | Pontiac | 250. Cosmopolitan | Lincoln |
| 199. Citation | Chevrolet | 251. Cougar | Mercury |
| 200. Citation | Edsel | 252. Country Club | Hudson |
| 201. Citation II | Chevrolet | 253. Country Cruiser | Mercury |
| 202. Citicar | | 254. Coupe de Ville | Cadillac |
| 203. CJ-7 | Jeep | 255. Cranbrook | Plymouth |
| 204. Classic | Rambler | 256. Crestline | Ford |
| 205. Classic | Zimmer | 257. Cricket | Plymouth |
| 206. Classic 98 | Oldsmobile | 258. Crofton | |
| 207. Classic Six | Chevrolet | 259. Crosley | |
| 208. Clenet | | 260. Crown | Imperial |
| 209. Clipper | Packard | 261. Crown Imperial | Chrysler |
| 210. Club de Mer | Pontiac | 262. Crown Victoria | Ford |
| 211. Cobra | Shelby | 263. Croydon | Chrysler |
| 212. Colt | | 264. Cunningham | |
| 213. Colt | Dodge | 265. Curved Dash | Oldsmobile |
| 214. Colt | Plymouth | 266. Custer | |
| 215. Colt Vista | Plymouth | 267. Custom | Cadillac |
| 216. Comet | | 268. Custom | DeSoto |
| 217. Comet | | 269. Custom | Dodge |
| 218. Comet | | 270. Custom | Ford |
| 219. Comet | Edsel | 271. Custom | Imperial |
| 220. Comet | Mercury | 272. Custom | Kaiser |
| 221. Commander | Studebaker | 273. Custom | Lincoln |
| 222. Commercial Car | Plymouth | 274. Custom | Mercury |
| 223. Commodore | Hudson | 275. Custom | Packard |
| 224. Comuta-Car | | 276. Custom | Willys |
| 225. Concept 70X | Chrysler | 277. Custom 300 | Ford |
| 226. Concord | AMC | 278. Custom 500 | Ford |
| 227. Concord | Plymouth | 279. Custom 880 | Dodge |
| 228. Concorde | Chrysler | 280. Custom Bonneville | Pontiac |
| 229. Confederate | Chevrolet | 281. Custom Cruiser | Oldsmobile |
| 230. Conquest | Chrysler | 282. Custom Deluxe | Ford |
| 231. Conquest | Dodge | 283. Custom Imperial Airflow | Chrysler |
| 232. Conquest | Plymouth | 284. Custom Royal | Dodge |
| 233. Continental | Lincoln | 285. Custom Super Clipper Eight | Packard |
| 234. Continental Mark II | Lincoln | 286. Custom Torpedo | Pontiac |
| 235. Continental Mark III | Lincoln | 287. Customline | Ford |
| 236. Continental Mark IV | Lincoln | 288. Cutlass | Oldsmobile |
| 237. Continental Mark V | Lincoln | 289. Cutlass Cruiser | Oldsmobile |
| 238. Continental Sportster | Arnolt | 290. Cutlass F-88 | Oldsmobile |
| 239. Contour | Ford | 291. Cutlass S | Oldsmobile |
| 240. Copper Cooled | Chevrolet | 292. Cutlass Supreme | Oldsmobile |
| 241. Cordoba | Chrysler | 293. Cyclone | Cadillac |
| 242. Cordoba de Oro | Chrysler | 294. Cyclone | Mercury |
| 243. Coronado | DeSoto | 295. d'Elegance | Imperial |
| 244. Coronet | Dodge | 296. Daroo II | Dodge |

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|---------------------|------------|---------------------------|------------|
| 297. Darrin | | 349. Eagle | Chevrolet |
| 298. Darrin | Kaiser | 350. Edwards | |
| 299. Dart | Chrysler | 351. Eight | Packard |
| 300. Dart | Dodge | 352. El Camino | Cadillac |
| 301. Davis | | 353. El Camino | Pontiac |
| 302. Daytona | | 354. El Gato | Lincoln |
| 303. Daytona | Dodge | 355. El Morocco | |
| 304. De Courville | | 356. Elcar | |
| 305. Defender | Oldsmobile | 357. Eldorado | Cadillac |
| 306. Del Mar | | 358. Eldorado Brougham | Cadillac |
| 307. Del Ray | Chevrolet | 359. Electra | |
| 308. Del Rio | Ford | 360. Electra | Buick |
| 309. Delmont 88 | Oldsmobile | 361. Electra 225 | Buick |
| 310. Delta | Oldsmobile | 362. Electra-King | |
| 311. Delta 88 | Oldsmobile | 363. Electric | Dow |
| 312. Deluxe | Checker | 364. Electric | Studebaker |
| 313. Deluxe | Chevrolet | 365. Electric Shopper | |
| 314. Deluxe | Chrysler | 366. Electricar | |
| 315. Deluxe | DeSoto | 367. Electro-Master | |
| 316. Deluxe | Dodge | 368. Electromotion | |
| 317. Deluxe | Ford | 369. Electronic | |
| 318. Deluxe | Kaiser | 370. Elite | Ford |
| 319. Deluxe | Plymouth | 371. Encore | AMC |
| 320. Deluxe | Pontiac | 372. Escort | Ford |
| 321. Deluxe 88 | Oldsmobile | 373. Eshelman | |
| 322. Deluxe Torpedo | Pontiac | 374. Estate Carriage | |
| 323. Demon | Dodge | 375. Estate Wagon | Buick |
| 324. Derham | Chrysler | 376. Excalibur | |
| 325. DeSoto | Chrysler | 377. Executive | Chrysler |
| 326. Detrick | | 378. Executive | Packard |
| 327. Detroitier | | 379. Executive | Pontiac |
| 328. DeVille | Cadillac | 380. EXP | Ford |
| 329. Diamante | Dodge | 381. Explorer | Ford |
| 330. Diamond | Gordon | 382. Explorer | Plymouth |
| 331. Diamond Star | Plymouth | 383. F-85 | Oldsmobile |
| 332. Dictator | Studebaker | 384. F-88 | Oldsmobile |
| 333. Diehlmobile | | 385. Fageol | |
| 334. DiNapoli | | 386. Fairlane | Ford |
| 335. Diplomat | Dodge | 387. Fairlane 500 | Ford |
| 336. Dogcart | Oldsmobile | 388. Fairmont | Ford |
| 337. Doray | | 389. Fairmont Futura | Ford |
| 338. Dragon | Kaiser | 390. Falcon | DeSoto |
| 339. DTL | | 391. Falcon | Ford |
| 340. Dual-Ghia | | 392. Falcon Station Wagon | Ford |
| 341. Duster | Plymouth | 393. Farm-O-Road | Crosley |
| 342. DV32 | Stutz | 394. Fast Four | Dodge |
| 343. Dynamic | Oldsmobile | 395. Fergus | |
| 344. Dynamic 70 | Oldsmobile | 396. Ferrer | |
| 345. Dynamic 88 | Oldsmobile | 397. Festiva | Ford |
| 346. Dynasty | Dodge | 398. Fibersport | |
| 347. E Class | Chrysler | 399. Fiera | Ford |
| 348. Eagle | AMC | 400. Fiero | Pontiac |

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|-----------------------------|------------|---------------------------|-------------|
| 401. Fiesta | Ford | 452. Glascar | |
| 402. Fifth Avenue | Chrysler | 453. Glassic | |
| 403. Fina Sport | | 454. Glasspar | |
| 404. Firearri | Pontiac | 455. GM-X | Pontiac |
| 405. Firearrow | Dodge | 456. Goff | |
| 406. Firearrow I | Dodge | 457. Golden | Zimmer |
| 407. Firearrow II | Dodge | 458. Golden Eagle | Reminiscent |
| 408. Firebird | Pontiac | 459. Golden Hawk | Studebaker |
| 409. Firebird I | Pontiac | 460. Golden Rocket | Oldsmobile |
| 410. Firebird II | Pontiac | 461. Golden Rocket 88 | Oldsmobile |
| 411. Firebird III | Pontiac | 462. Golden Spirit | Zimmer |
| 412. Firebird IV | Pontiac | 463. Gran Fury | Plymouth |
| 413. Firedome | DeSoto | 464. Gran LeBaron | Chrysler |
| 414. Fireflite | DeSoto | 465. Gran Torino | Ford |
| 415. Firenza | Oldsmobile | 466. Gran Turismo Hawk | Studebaker |
| 416. Firesweep | DeSoto | 467. Granada | Dodge |
| 417. Fisher | | 468. Granada | Ford |
| 418. Fitch | | 469. Grand Am | Pontiac |
| 419. Fitchbird | Pontiac | 470. Grand Caravan | Dodge |
| 420. Fleetline | Chevrolet | 471. Grand Cherokee | Jeep |
| 421. Fleetmaster | Chevrolet | 472. Grand Marquis | Mercury |
| 422. Fleetwood | Cadillac | 473. Grand National Regal | Buick |
| 423. Fleetwood 60 Special | Brougham | 474. Grand Prix | Pontiac |
| Cad. | | 475. Grand Prix X-400 | Pontiac |
| 424. Fleetwood 75 Limousine | Cadillac | 476. Grand Safari | Pontiac |
| 425. Fleetwood Brougham | Cadillac | 477. Grand Ville | Pontiac |
| 426. Fleetwood Eldorado | Cadillac | 478. Grand Wagoneer | Jeep |
| 427. Fleetwood Limousine | Cadillac | 479. Gray Wolf | Packard |
| 428. Flight Hawk | Studebaker | 480. Gregory | |
| 429. Flight Sweep I | DeSoto | 481. Gremlin | AMC |
| 430. Flight Sweep II | DeSoto | 482. Grey Wolf II | Packard |
| 431. Flintridge-Darrin | | 483. Griffith | |
| 432. Flitewing | Dodge | 484. GS | Buick |
| 433. Flying Roadster | Oldsmobile | 485. GS 350 | Buick |
| 434. Forerunner | Flajole | 486. GS 400 | Buick |
| 435. France Jet | | 487. GS 445 | Buick |
| 436. Frazen | | 488. GSX | Buick |
| 437. Frick | | 489. GT-40 | Ford |
| 438. Fury | Plymouth | 490. GTO | Pontiac |
| 439. Futura | Ford | 491. GTX | Plymouth |
| 440. Futura | Lincoln | 492. Gyron | Ford |
| 441. FX-Atmos | Ford | 493. H.C.S. | Stutz |
| 442. Gadabout | | 494. Hawk | Packard |
| 443. Galaxie | Ford | 495. Hawk | Studebaker |
| 444. Galaxie 500 | Ford | 496. Henry J | Kaiser |
| 445. Galaxie 500 XL | Ford | 497. Highlander | Chrysler |
| 446. Galaxie Special | Ford | 498. Honey Bee | |
| 447. Gashopper | | 499. Horizon | Plymouth |
| 448. Gaslight | | 500. Hornet | AMC |
| 449. Gatsby | | 501. Hornet | Hudson |
| 450. Gaylord | | 502. Hot Rod Beetle | Burley |
| 451. Gazelle | | 503. Hummingbird | |

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|---------------------------|------------|---------------------------|------------|
| 504. Hunt | | 556. LHS | Chrysler |
| 505. Hurst SSJ Grand Prix | Pontiac | 557. Light Four | Studebaker |
| 506. Imp | | 558. Light Six | Nash |
| 507. Impala | Chevrolet | 559. Light Six | Studebaker |
| 508. Impala SS | Chevrolet | 560. Light Tonneau | Oldsmobile |
| 509. Impala Super Sport | Chevrolet | 561. Limited | Buick |
| 510. Imperial | Cadillac | 562. Limited | Oldsmobile |
| 511. Imperial | Chrysler | 563. Lindberg | |
| 512. Imperial Airflow | Chrysler | 564. Little Runabout | Chevrolet |
| 513. Improved | Pontiac | 565. LN7 | Mercury |
| 514. Independence | Chevrolet | 566. Lost Cause | |
| 515. International | Chevrolet | 567. LTD | Ford |
| 516. Intrepid | Dodge | 568. LTD Crown Victoria | Ford |
| 517. Invicta | Buick | 569. LTD II | Ford |
| 518. Italia | Hudson | 570. Lumina | Chevrolet |
| 519. J | Excalibur | 571. Luxury LeMans | Pontiac |
| 520. J2000 | Pontiac | 572. Luxury Liner | Dodge |
| 521. Javelin | AMC | 573. Luxus | Buick |
| 522. Jeepster | Willys | 574. Lynx | Mercury |
| 523. Jet | Hudson | 575. Mach 2 | Ford |
| 524. Jetstar 88 | Oldsmobile | 576. Madame X | Cadillac |
| 525. Jetstar I | Oldsmobile | 577. Magnum XE | Dodge |
| 526. Jimmy | GMC | 578. Maharani | Pontiac |
| 527. Kanzler | | 579. Mainline | Ford |
| 528. Keen | | 580. Major Eight | Hudson |
| 529. Keller | | 581. Malibu | Chevrolet |
| 530. Kew | Chrysler | 582. Malibu Classic | Chevrolet |
| 531. King-Midget | | 583. Manhattan | Frazer |
| 532. Kingsway | Dodge | 584. Manhattan | Kaiser |
| 533. Kingswood | Chevrolet | 585. Manta | |
| 534. Kingswood Estate | Chevrolet | 586. Marathon | Checker |
| 535. La Comtesse | Chrysler | 587. Marathon Town Custom | Checker |
| 536. La Espada | Cadillac | 588. Marauder | Mercury |
| 537. La Fayette | Nash | 589. Mark IV | Lincoln |
| 538. La Galaxie | Ford | 590. Mark V | Lincoln |
| 539. La Salle II | Cadillac | 591. Mark V | Lyon |
| 540. La Tosca | Ford | 592. Mark VI | Lincoln |
| 541. LaCrosse | | 593. Mark VII | Lincoln |
| 542. Lance | | 594. Mark VIII | Lincoln |
| 543. Lancer | Dodge | 595. Marketeer | |
| 544. Lark | Studebaker | 596. Marketour | |
| 545. Laser | Chrysler | 597. Markette | |
| 546. Laser | Plymouth | 598. Marlin | AMC |
| 547. Le Cabriolet | Cadillac | 599. Marlin | Rambler |
| 548. Le Comte | Chrysler | 600. Marquis | Mercury |
| 549. LeBaron | Chrysler | 601. Mars II | |
| 550. LeBaron | Imperial | 602. Master | Chevrolet |
| 551. LeBaron GTS | Chrysler | 603. Master Deluxe | Chevrolet |
| 552. LeMans | Cadillac | 604. Master Eagle | Chevrolet |
| 553. LeMans | Pontiac | 605. Matador | AMC |
| 554. LeMans Sport | Pontiac | 606. Matador | Dodge |
| 555. LeSabre | Buick | 607. Maverick | Ford |

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|------------------------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|
| 608. Mayfair | Packard | 660. Orleans | Cadillac |
| 609. Meadowbrook | Dodge | 661. Ostentatienne Opera | Mohs |
| 610. Medalist | Mercury | 662. Pacemaker | Essex |
| 611. Merkur XR4Ti | Mercury | 663. Pacemaker | Hudson |
| 612. Merlin | | 664. Pacemaker | Oldsmobile |
| 613. Meteor | Mercury | 665. Pacer | AMC |
| 614. Metro | Geo | 666. Pacer | Edsel |
| 615. Metropolitan | Hudson | 667. Pacesetter | AMC |
| 616. Metropolitan | Nash | 668. Palace Touring | Oldsmobile |
| 617. Mile-A-Minute Roadster | Hudson | 669. Palm Beach | Oldsmobile |
| 618. Minimark Classic | | 670. Palm Beach | Rambler |
| 619. Mirada | Dodge | 671. Palmeri | |
| 620. Mona Lisa | Oldsmobile | 672. Palomar | Ford |
| 621. Monaco | Dodge | 673. Pan American | Packard |
| 622. Monarch | Mercury | 674. Panama | Packard |
| 623. Monkeemobile | Pontiac | 675. Panda | |
| 624. Monocoque Box | | 676. Panther | |
| 625. Montclair | Mercury | 677. Panther Daytona | Packard |
| 626. Monte Carlo | Chevrolet | 678. Parisienne | Pontiac |
| 627. Monte Carlo | Stutz | 679. Park Avenue | Buick |
| 628. Montego | Mercury | 680. Park Avenue | Cadillac |
| 629. Monterey | Mercury | 681. Park Lane | Mercury |
| 630. Monza | Chevrolet | 682. Parklane | Ford |
| 631. Moselle | | 683. Parkwood | Chevrolet |
| 632. Moya | Daytona | 684. Patrician | Packard |
| 633. Mustang | Ford | 685. Paxton | |
| 634. Mustang | Shelby | 686. Pedicar | |
| 635. Mustang I | Ford | 687. Phantom | Pontiac |
| 636. Mustang II | Ford | 688. Phoenix | Pontiac |
| 637. Mustang Mach I | Ford | 689. Pinconning Special | Kaiser |
| 638. Mustang Milano | Ford | 690. Pinto | Ford |
| 639. Mystere | Ford | 691. Pinto Sportiva | Ford |
| 640. Nash-Healey | Nash | 692. Pioneer | |
| 641. National | Chevrolet | 693. Piranha | |
| 642. Neon | Dodge | 694. Pirate | Oldsmobile |
| 643. Neon | Plymouth | 695. Plainsman | Plymouth |
| 644. New Value | Dodge | 696. Playboy | |
| 645. New York Special | Chrysler | 697. Plaza | Plymouth |
| 646. New Yorker | Chrysler | 698. Polara | Dodge |
| 647. New Yorker Brougham | Chrysler | 699. Powell | |
| 648. New Yorker Deluxe | Chrysler | 700. Power Hawk | Studebaker |
| 649. New Yorker Fifth Avenue | Chrysler | 701. Powermaster | DeSoto |
| 650. Newport | Chrysler | 702. Predictor | Packard |
| 651. Newport Custom | Chrysler | 703. Premier | Eagle |
| 652. Nomad | Chevrolet | 704. Premiere | Lincoln |
| 653. Norseman | Chrysler | 705. President | Studebaker |
| 654. Nova | Chevrolet | 706. President Speedway | Studebaker |
| 655. NXI | Nash | 707. Prizm | Geo |
| 656. Omega | | 708. Probe | Ford |
| 657. Omega | Oldsmobile | 709. Projector | Packard |
| 658. Omni | Dodge | 710. Prowler | Plymouth |
| 659. One-Fifty | Chevrolet | 711. Publix | |

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| 712. Puma | | 764. Saxon | Classic Roadster |
| 713. Pup | | 765. SC2 | Saturn |
| 714. Quadricycle | Ford | 766. Scamp | Plymouth |
| 715. Quantum | | 767. Scarab | |
| 716. Quicksilver | Zimmer | 768. Scat | Saviano |
| 717. Rambler | AMC | 769. Sceptre | |
| 718. Rambler | Hudson | 770. Scootmobile | |
| 719. Rambler | Nash | 771. Scorpion | Pontiac |
| 720. Rambo Lambo | Jeep | 772. Scotsman | Studebaker |
| 721. Ranchero Squire | Ford | 773. Seattle-ite XXI | Ford |
| 722. Ranger | Edsel | 774. Senior Six | Dodge |
| 723. Reatta | Buick | 775. Series II | Excalibur |
| 724. Rebel | AMC | 776. Series III | Excalibur |
| 725. Rebel | Rambler | 777. Series IV | Excalibur |
| 726. Regal | Buick | 778. Seville | Cadillac |
| 727. Regal Lancer | Dodge | 779. Shadow | Dodge |
| 728. Regal Somerset | Buick | 780. Shadow B | Doval |
| 729. Reliant | Plymouth | 781. Sierra | Dodge |
| 730. Request | Packard | 782. Signet | Plymouth |
| 731. Richmond | Chrysler | 783. Silhouette | Oldsmobile |
| 732. Riviera | Buick | 784. Silver | DeSoto |
| 733. Riviera Silver Arrow | Buick | 785. Silver Hawk | Studebaker |
| 734. Road Runner | Plymouth | 786. Silver Streak | Pontiac |
| 735. Roadking | Plymouth | 787. Silver Volt | |
| 736. Roadmaster | Buick | 788. Single Eight | Packard |
| 737. Rocket | | 789. Single Six | Nash |
| 738. Rocket 88 | Oldsmobile | 790. Single Six | Packard |
| 739. Rogue | | 791. Sir Vival | |
| 740. Rogue | Piper | 792. Six Deluxe | Hudson |
| 741. Rogue | Rambler | 793. Sixty | Oldsmobile |
| 742. Rollsmobile | | 794. Skorpion | |
| 743. Romulus | | 795. Sky Hawk | Studebaker |
| 744. Rowan | | 796. Skyhawk | Buick |
| 745. Royal | Chrysler | 797. Skylark | Buick |
| 746. Royal | Dodge | 798. Skyline | |
| 747. Royal Monaco | Dodge | 799. Skyway Champion | Studebaker |
| 748. Royal Monaco Brougham | Dodge | 800. SL2 | Saturn |
| 749. Royale | Stutz | 801. Somerset | Buick |
| 750. Ruger | | 802. Somerset Regal | Buick |
| 751. Rumbleseat Roadster | Johnson | 803. Sonoma | GMC |
| 752. Runabout | Pontiac | 804. Southampton | Imperial |
| 753. Runabout | Studebaker | 805. Special | Buick |
| 754. Russell | | 806. Special | Chevrolet |
| 755. S-22 | Mercury | 807. Special | Dodge |
| 756. S-55 | Mercury | 808. Special | Kaiser |
| 757. Sable | Mercury | 809. Special | Oldsmobile |
| 758. Safarikar | Mohs | 810. Special | Pontiac |
| 759. Sapporo | Plymouth | 811. Special Deluxe | Chevrolet |
| 760. Saratoga | Chrysler | 812. Special Deluxe | Plymouth |
| 761. Satellite | Plymouth | 813. Special Deluxe Six | Plymouth |
| 762. Savage | | 814. Special Six | Nash |
| 763. Savoy | Plymouth | 815. Special Six | Studebaker |

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| 816. Spectrum | Chevrolet | 868. Sundance | Plymouth |
| 817. Spirit | AMC | 869. Sundancer | |
| 818. Spirit | Dodge | 870. Sunshine | Lincoln |
| 819. Sport Fury | Plymouth | 871. Super | Buick |
| 820. Sport Satellite | Plymouth | 872. Super | Hudson |
| 821. Sportabout | Dodge | 873. Super 88 | Oldsmobile |
| 822. Sportsman | Dodge | 874. Super Chief | Pontiac |
| 823. Sportwagon | Buick | 875. Super Clipper | Packard |
| 824. Sprint | Chevrolet | 876. Super Clipper Eight | Packard |
| 825. Squire | | 877. Super Cobra | Ford |
| 826. St. Regis | Dodge | 878. Super Deluxe | Ford |
| 827. Standard | Chevrolet | 879. Super Eight | Packard |
| 828. Standard | Hudson | 880. Super Kar | |
| 829. Standard | Studebaker | 881. Super Marauder | Lincoln |
| 830. Standard Eight | Hudson | 882. Super Six | Essex |
| 831. Standard Mercury | Chevrolet | 883. Super Six | Hudson |
| 832. Standard Six | Dodge | 884. Super Spoiler | Lincoln |
| 833. Standard Six | Nash | 885. Super Wagon | |
| 834. Star | Basson's | 886. Super-Duty 421 | Pontiac |
| 835. Star Chief | Pontiac | 887. Superba | Checker |
| 836. Star Dust | | 888. Superbird | Plymouth |
| 837. Starfire | Oldsmobile | 889. Superior | Chevrolet |
| 838. Starfire 98 | Oldsmobile | 890. Supersonic | |
| 839. Starlite | | 891. Surrey | |
| 840. State Commander | Studebaker | 892. Surrey | Studebaker |
| 841. State President | Studebaker | 893. SW2 | Saturn |
| 842. Statesman | Nash | 894. Swift | |
| 843. Station Wagon | Dodge | 895. Syrtis Roof-O-Matic | Ford |
| 844. Station Wagon | Edsel | 896. T.C. by Maserati | Chrysler |
| 845. Station Wagon | Ford | 897. T1000 | Pontiac |
| 846. Station Wagon | Mercury | 898. Talon | Eagle |
| 847. Station Wagon | Willys | 899. Tasco | |
| 848. Stealth | Dodge | 900. Taurus | Ford |
| 849. Sterling | Hudson | 901. Taylor-Dunn | |
| 850. Stinger | Yenko | 902. TC3 | Plymouth |
| 851. Storm | | 903. Techna | Ford |
| 852. Storm | Geo | 904. Tempest | Pontiac |
| 853. Story | | 905. Tempest Monte Carlo | Pontiac |
| 854. Straight Dash | Oldsmobile | 906. Tempest Safari | Pontiac |
| 855. Strato Star | Pontiac | 907. Tempest Sprint | Pontiac |
| 856. Strato Streak | Pontiac | 908. Tempo | Ford |
| 857. Streamliner | Pontiac | 909. Terraplane | Essex |
| 858. Streamliner Torpedo | Pontiac | 910. The Challenger | Essex |
| 859. Stuart | | 911. The Free Spirit Hawk | Buick |
| 860. Studillac | | 912. Thorobred | Oldsmobile |
| 861. Stylemaster | Chevrolet | 913. Thoroughbred | |
| 862. Suburban | Chevrolet | 914. Thrif-T | |
| 863. Suburban | Nash | 915. Thunderbird | Ford |
| 864. Suburban | Plymouth | 916. Thunderbird Saturn | Ford |
| 865. Summit | Eagle | 917. Thunderbolt | Chrysler |
| 866. Sun | Essex | 918. Tiffany | Classic |
| 867. Sunbird | Pontiac | 919. Tiger | |

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| 920. Topaz | Mercury | 972. Victoria | Studebaker |
| 921. Torino | Ford | 973. Victoria | Stutz |
| 922. Torino Cobra | Ford | 974. Victory Six | Dodge |
| 923. Torino Machete | Ford | 975. Viking | Oldsmobile |
| 924. Toronado | Oldsmobile | 976. Villager | Edsel |
| 925. Torpedo | Hudson | 977. Villager | Mercury |
| 926. Torpedo | Pontiac | 978. VIP | Plymouth |
| 927. Torpedo | Tucker | 979. Viper | Dodge |
| 928. Touring | Packard | 980. Virginian | Kaiser |
| 929. Town Car | Lincoln | 981. Vision | Eagle |
| 930. Town&Country | Chrysler | 982. Vista Cruiser | Oldsmobile |
| 931. Towne Shopper | | 983. Vixen | AMC |
| 932. Tracer | Mercury | 984. Vokaro | |
| 933. Tracker | Geo | 985. Volare | Plymouth |
| 934. Trans Am | Pontiac | 986. Voltra | |
| 935. Trans Sport | Pontiac | 987. Voyager | Plymouth |
| 936. Transformer I | | 988. Wagon de Ville | |
| 937. Traveler | Chrysler | 989. Wagonaire | Studebaker |
| 938. Traveler | Hudson | 990. Wagoneer | Jeep |
| 939. Traveler | Kaiser | 991. Warrior | |
| 940. Traveler Six | Hudson | 992. Wasp | Hudson |
| 941. Tri-Car | | 993. Wayfarer | Dodge |
| 942. Tri-Muter G | | 994. Westcoaster Super 36 | |
| 943. Trident | | 995. Wildcat | Buick |
| 944. Tridon | Ford | 996. Wildcat I | Buick |
| 945. Trifon Special | Chrysler | 997. Wildcat II | Buick |
| 946. Trihawk | | 998. Wildcat III | Buick |
| 947. Triplex | | 999. Wildfire | Woodill |
| 948. Turbine | Chrysler | 1000. Williams | |
| 949. TurboFlite | Chrysler | 1001. Wimbledon | Chrysler |
| 950. Turismo | Plymouth | 1002. Windsor | Chrysler |
| 951. Turnpike Cruiser | Mercury | 1003. Windsor Deluxe | Chrysler |
| 952. Twin Ignition Eight | Nash | 1004. Wrangler | Jeep |
| 953. Twin Ignition Six | Nash | 1005. X-100 | Ford |
| 954. Twin Six | Packard | 1006. X-1000 | Ford |
| 955. Two-Ten | Chevrolet | 1007. X-400 | Pontiac |
| 956. Typhoon | GMC | 1008. X-600 | Weitz |
| 957. U.S. Mark II | | 1009. XK-1 | |
| 958. Universal | Chevrolet | 1010. XK-120 | |
| 959. Urba Centurian | | 1011. XL | Ford |
| 960. Vagabond | Kaiser | 1012. XL-500 | Lincoln |
| 961. Valiant | Plymouth | 1013. XM-800 | Lincoln |
| 962. Valiant Duster | Plymouth | 1014. XNR | Plymouth |
| 963. Valiente | | 1015. XP-300 | Buick |
| 964. Valkyrie | | 1016. XP-VIP | Plymouth |
| 965. Veep | | 1017. XR-6 | |
| 966. Vega | Chevrolet | 1018. XX-500 | Plymouth |
| 967. Ventura | Pontiac | 1019. Yank | |
| 968. Ventura II | Pontiac | 1020. Yankee | Rockefeller |
| 969. Versailles | Lincoln | 1021. Yankee Clipper | |
| 970. Versailles | Stutz | 1022. Yeoman | Chevrolet |
| 971. Victoria | Ford | 1023. Zephyr | Lincoln |

1024. Zephyr

Mercury

Model designations

The model designations are given in alphabetical order. The manufacturer and series designation are given after the model designation. When no manufacturer designation is given the car was produced by an independent manufacturer. When no series designation is given, none was used with that particular model designation.

| | | | | | |
|------------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| 1. 'Cuda | Plymouth | Barracuda | 43. 4-4-2 | Oldsmobile | F-85 |
| 2. 024 | Dodge | Omni | 44. 400 | Rambler | Classic |
| 3. 024 De Tomaso | Dodge | Aspen | 45. 400 | Pontiac | Firebird |
| 4. I | Plymouth | Belvedere | 46. 400 | Packard | |
| 5. I | Plymouth | Fury | 47. 404 | Mercury | Comet |
| 6. II | Plymouth | Belvedere | 48. 40th | | |
| 7. II | Plymouth | Fury | Package | | |
| 8. III | Plymouth | Belvedere | let | Corvette | |
| 9. III | Plymouth | Fury | 49. 421 | Pontiac | Catalina |
| 10. 100 four | Chevrolet | Chevy II | 50. 425 | Oldsmobile | Delmont 88 |
| 11. 100 six | Chevrolet | Chevy II | 51. 429 SCJ | Ford | Mustang |
| 12. 2+2 | Pontiac | Catalina | 52. 429 SCJ | Ford | Torino Cobra |
| 13. 2+2 | Pontiac | Grand Prix | 53. 440 | Rambler | American |
| 14. 2+2 | Chevrolet | Monza | 54. 440 | Dodge | Coronet |
| 15. 2+2 | Ford | Mustang | 55. 440 | Dodge | Dart |
| 16. 2.2 | Plymouth | Turismo | 56. 440 | AMC Rambler | American |
| 17. 202 | Mercury | Comet | 57. 50 DL | AMC | Eagle |
| 18. 220 | Rambler | American | 58. 500 | Oldsmobile | Calais |
| 19. 220 | AMC Rambler | American | 59. 500 | Dodge | Coronet |
| 20. 225 | Buick | Electra | 60. 500 | Ford | Fairlane |
| 21. 270 | Dodge | Dart | 61. 500 | Ford | Galaxie |
| 22. 30 Limited | AMC | Eagle | 62. 500 | Dodge | Monaco |
| 23. 300 | Chevrolet | Chevelle | 63. 500 | Dodge | Polara |
| 24. 300 | Chrysler | Cordoba | 64. 500 | Dodge | Royal |
| 25. 300 Deluxe | Chevrolet | Chevelle | 65. 500 Series | Lakewood Chevrolet | Corvair |
| 26. 300 four | Chevrolet | Chevy II | 66. 50th Anniversary 1903-1953 | Ford | |
| 27. 300 six | Chevrolet | Chevy II | 67. 550 | Rambler | Classic |
| 28. 300 SS | Chevrolet | Chevelle | 68. 550 Line | AMC Rambler | Classic |
| 29. 318 | Plymouth | Barracuda | 69. 56C | Buick | Super |
| 30. 326 | Pontiac | Firebird | 70. 60 | Oldsmobile | Dynamic |
| 31. 326-HO | Pontiac | Firebird | 71. 60 Special | Cadillac | DeVille |
| 32. 330 | Rambler | American | 72. 600 | Mercury | Meteor |
| 33. 330 | Dodge | Dart | 73. 66 | Oldsmobile | Special |
| 34. 330 | Oldsmobile | Delmont 88 | 74. 660 | Rambler | Classic |
| 35. 340 | Plymouth | Barracuda | 75. 68 | Oldsmobile | Special |
| 36. 340 | Plymouth | Duster | 76. 6900 Brougham | Cadillac | Series |
| 37. 360 | Plymouth | Duster | 6400 Eldorado | | |
| 38. 383 | Plymouth | Barracuda | 77. 70 | Oldsmobile | Dynamic |
| 39. 383-S | Plymouth | Barracuda | 78. 76 | Oldsmobile | Dynamic |
| 40. 4-4-2 | Oldsmobile | Cutlass | Seventy | | |
| 41. 4-4-2 | Oldsmobile | Cutlass S | 79. 76C | Buick | Roadmaster |
| 42. 4-4-2 | Oldsmobile | Cutlass Supreme | 80. 76R Riviera | Buick | Roadmaster |

| | | | | |
|------------------------|------------|---------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 81. 770 | Rambler | Classic | 129. Briarcliff | AMC Rambler Rebel |
| 82. 770 | Dodge | Lancer | 130. Broadmoor | Studebaker President |
| 83. 770 Line | AMC | Rambler | 131. Brougham | Nash 600 |
| Classic | | | 132. Brougham | AMC Ambassador |
| 84. 78 | Oldsmobile | Dynamic | 133. Brougham | Pontiac Bonneville |
| Seventy | | | 134. Brougham | Pontiac Bonneville |
| 85. 79R | Buick | Roadmaster | G | |
| 86. 8 | DeSoto | Firedome | 135. Brougham | Dodge Carger SE |
| 87. 800 | Mercury | Meteor | 136. Brougham | Dodge Coronet |
| 88. 860 | Pontiac | Chieftain | 137. Brougham | Mercury Cougar |
| 89. 870 | Pontiac | Chieftain | 138. Brougham | Oldsmobile Cutlass |
| 90. 880 | Rambler | Ambassador | 139. Brougham | Cadillac Eldorado |
| 91. 990 | Rambler | Ambassador | 140. Brougham | Pontiac Grand Prix |
| 92. 990-H | Rambler | Ambassador | 141. Brougham | Ford LTD |
| 93. AAR | Plymouth | 'Cuda | 142. Brougham | Ford LTD II |
| 94. Ace | Willys | Aero | 143. Brougham | Mercury Marquis |
| 95. Aerosedan | Chevrolet | Fleetline | 144. Brougham | AMC Matador |
| 96. Airflyte | Nash | 600 | 145. Brougham | Dodge Monaco |
| 97. Alembic I | | Glasspar | 146. Brougham | Oldsmobile Omega |
| 98. Ambulet | Studebaker | Champion | 147. Brougham | Pontiac Parisienne |
| 99. Ambulet | Studebaker | Commander | 148. Brougham | Dodge Royal |
| 100. AMX | AMC | Hornet | 149. Brougham | Plymouth Satellite |
| 101. AMX | AMC | Javelin | 150. Brougham | Ford Torino |
| 102. APV | Chevrolet | Lumina | 151. Brougham | Oldsmobile Toronado |
| 103. Ascot | | Glasspar | 152. Brougham | Plymouth Valiant |
| 104. AWD | Dodge | Caravan | 153. Brougham | D'Elegance |
| 105. Bandit | Pontiac | Firebird | | Fleetwood |
| 106. Bantam | | Blakely | 154. Brougham | LS Oldsmobile |
| 107. Barcelona | AMC | Matador | 155. Brougham | LS Oldsmobile Omega |
| 108. Baron | | Bradley | 156. Business | Chrysler New York Special |
| 109. Bearcat | | Blakely | 157. Caballero | Buick Century |
| 110. Bearcat S | | Blakely | 158. Caballero | Cadillac Seville |
| 111. Beauville | Chevrolet | Bel Air | 159. Cabriolet | Cadillac |
| 112. Bel Air | Chevrolet | Deluxe | 160. Cabriolet | Cadillac Eldorado |
| 113. Bel Air | Chevrolet | Special | 161. Cabriolet | Chevrolet Monza |
| 114. Belvedere | Plymouth | Cranbrook | 162. Cadet | Chevrolet Cavalier |
| 115. Berlinetta | Chevrolet | Camaro | 163. Calais | Oldsmobile Cutlass |
| 116. Bermuda | Willys | Aero | 164. Caliente | Oldsmobile Toronado |
| 117. Bermuda | Edsel | Station Wagon | 165. California Special | Ford Mustang |
| 118. Biarritz | Cadillac | Eldorado | 166. Can Am | Bolide |
| 119. Biarritz | Cadillac | Series 62 | 167. Can Am | Pontiac LeMans |
| 120. Biarritz | Cadillac | Series 6400 | 168. Capri | Mercury Comet |
| Eldorado | | | 169. Capri | Lincoln |
| 121. Big Bad | AMC | AMX | | Cosmopolitan |
| 122. Bill Blass | Lincoln | Mark IV | 170. Caprice Custom Sedan | Chevrolet |
| 123. Black Magic | Mercury | Capri | Impala | |
| 124. Bolide | Arnolt | Bristol | 171. Caribbean | Packard |
| 125. Boss 351 | Ford | Mustang | 172. Caribbean Coral | Kaiser Deluxe |
| 126. Boss 427 Dragster | Mercury | Comet | 173. Carribean | Packard Cavalier |
| 127. Breezeway | Mercury | Montclair | | |
| 128. Breezeway | Mercury | Monterey | | |

174. Carroll Shelby edition Dodge
Charger
175. Cartier Lincoln Mark IV
176. Cartier Designer Lincoln Town Car
177. Cassini AMC Matador
178. Cat Swift
179. Catalina Pontiac Chieftain
180. Catalina Pontiac Star Chief
181. Centurion Buick LeSabre
182. Charger Dodge
183. Charger Dodge Omni
184. Charger 2.2 Dodge Omni
185. Cheyenne Chevrolet Suburban
186. Chief Keller
187. Ciera Oldsmobile Cutlass
188. City Marshal Studebaker Lark
189. CJ Mercury Cyclone
190. CL Chevrolet Cavalier
191. Classic Chevrolet Caprice
192. Classic Chevrolet Malibu
193. Classic Studebaker President
194. Classic Landau Chevrolet Malibu
195. Club Sedan Ford Fairlane
196. Club Sedan Studebaker Skyway
Champion
197. Club Victoria Ford Fairlane
198. Club Victoria Ford Fairlane 500
199. Club Wagon Ford Falcon
200. CMX Dodge Mirada
201. Cobra Ford Fairlane
202. Cobra Ford Mustang
203. Cobra Ford Torino
204. Cobra II Ford Mustang
205. Cobra R Ford Mustang
206. Collector Edition Chevrolet
Corvette
207. Collector's Series Lincoln
Continental
208. Collector's Series Lincoln Mark V
209. Colonnade Buick
210. Colonnade Chevrolet Chevelle
211. Colonnade Oldsmobile Cutlass S
212. Colonnade Pontiac Luxury
LeMans
213. Colony Park Mercury Country
Cruiser Station Wagon
214. Colony Park Mercury Marquis
215. Colony Park Mercury Station Wagon
216. Commemorative Edition Cadillac
Seville
217. Commercial Dodge Beauty Winner
218. Commuter Mercury Country
Cruiser Station Wagon
219. Commuter Mercury Station Wagon
220. Concours Chevrolet Chevelle
221. Concours Chevrolet Nova
222. Conestoga Studebaker Champion
223. Continental Lincoln Zephyr
224. Corinthian Edition Chrysler Cordoba
225. Corsa Chevrolet Corvair
226. Cosworth Chevrolet Vega
227. Country Club Nash Ambassador
228. Country Club Chevrolet Fleetline
229. Country Club Chevrolet Fleetmaster
230. Country Club Nash Rambler
231. Country Sedan Ford Customline
232. Country Sedan Ford Station Wagon
233. Country Squire Ford Crestline
234. Country Squire Ford
Custom Deluxe V-8
235. Country Squire Ford LTD
236. Country Squire Ford Station Wagon
237. Coupe DeVille Cadillac Series 62
238. Craig Breedlove AMC Javelin
239. Craig Breedlove Special AMC AMX
240. Crestliner Ford Custom Deluxe V-8
241. Crestwood Dodge Coronet
242. Crestwood Dodge Monaco
243. Cross Country Nash Rambler
244. Crown Chrysler Imperial
245. Crown Coupe Imperial LeBaron
246. Crown Victoria Ford Fairlane
247. Crown Victoria Ford LTD
248. Crown Victoria Country Squire Ford
LTD
249. Crown Victoria Skyliner Ford
Fairlane
250. Cruiser Studebaker Lark
251. Cruising Sedan Studebaker
Skyway Champion
252. Cruising Wagon Ford Pinto
253. CS Chevrolet Cavalier
254. CS Chevrolet Chevette
255. Custom Nash 600
256. Custom Willys Aero
257. Custom Nash Ambassador
258. Custom Rambler Ambassador
259. Custom Rambler American
260. Custom Dodge Aspen
261. Custom Pontiac Catalina
262. Custom Pontiac Chieftain
263. Custom Rambler Classic
264. Custom Packard Clipper

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------|
| 265. Custom | Mercury | Comet | 312. D'Elegance | Cadillac | DeVille |
| 266. Custom | Hudson | | 313. D'Elegance | Cadillac | Eldorado |
| | Commodore | | 314. d'Elegance | Cadillac | Fleetwood |
| 267. Custom | Dodge | Dart | | Brougham | |
| 268. Custom | Oldsmobile | Delta Eighty-Eight | 315. d'Elegance | Cadillac | Seville |
| 269. Custom | Plymouth | Duster | 316. d'Oro | Cadillac | Cimarron |
| 270. Custom | Plymouth | Gran Fury | 317. D-500 | Dodge | Custom Royal |
| 271. Custom | Hudson | Hornet | 318. Dart Sport | Dodge | Dart |
| 272. Custom | Chrysler | Imperial | 319. Daytona | Dodge | |
| 273. Custom | Buick | LeSabre | 320. Daytona | Dodge | Charger SE |
| 274. Custom | Mercury | Meteor | 321. Daytona | Studebaker | Lark |
| 275. Custom | Mercury | Monterey | 322. De Tomaso | Dodge | Omni |
| 276. Custom | Chrysler | Newport | 323. Del Ray | Chevrolet | Deluxe |
| 277. Custom | Chevrolet | Nova | 324. Del Ray | Chevrolet | Two-Ten |
| 278. Custom | Dodge | Omni | 325. Del Rio | Ford | Station Wagon |
| 279. Custom | Hudson | Pacemaker | 326. Delta | Oldsmobile | Dynamic |
| 280. Custom | Hudson | Rambler | | Eighty-Eight | |
| 281. Custom | Rambler | Rebel | 327. Delta 88 | Oldsmobile | Royale |
| 282. Custom | Buick | Riviera | 328. Deluxe | Willys | Aero |
| 283. Custom | Plymouth | Satellite | 329. Deluxe | Kaiser-Frazer | Allstate |
| 284. Custom | Buick | Skylark | 330. Deluxe | Rambler | American |
| 285. Custom | Pontiac | Star Chief | 331. Deluxe | Arnolt | Bristol |
| 286. Custom | Nash | Statesman | 332. Deluxe | Studebaker | Champion |
| 287. Custom | Plymouth | Suburban | 333. Deluxe | Chevrolet | Chevelle |
| 288. Custom | Hudson | Super | 334. Deluxe | Rambler | Classic |
| 289. Custom | Plymouth | TC3 | 335. Deluxe | Packard | Clipper |
| 290. Custom | Pontiac | Tempest | 336. Deluxe | Studebaker | |
| 291. Custom | Plymouth | Valiant | | Commander | |
| 292. Custom | Plymouth | Volare | 337. Deluxe | Dodge | Coronet |
| 293. Custom | Hudson | Wasp | 338. Deluxe | | Diehlmobile |
| 294. Custom | Buick | Wildcat | 339. Deluxe | Oldsmobile | F-85 |
| 295. Custom | Biarritz | Cadillac | 340. Deluxe | Ford | Falcon |
| 296. Custom | Colony Park | Mercury | 341. Deluxe | Ford | Falcon Station |
| | Monterey | | | Wagon | |
| 297. Custom | Country Club | Rambler | 342. Deluxe | Checker | Marathon |
| | Ambassador | | 343. Deluxe | Ford | Maverick |
| 298. Custom | Country Club | Rambler | 344. Deluxe | Hudson | Rambler |
| | Rambler | | 345. Deluxe | Rambler | Rebel |
| 299. Custom | Eight | Hudson | 346. Deluxe | Buick | Special |
| 300. Custom | Limited | Buick | 347. Deluxe | Pontiac | Star Chief |
| 301. Custom | Phaeton | Cadillac | 348. Deluxe | Pontiac | Streamliner |
| 302. Custom | S-55 | Mercury | 349. Deluxe | Plymouth | Suburban |
| 303. Custom | Safari | Pontiac | 350. Deluxe | Pontiac | Torpedo |
| 304. Custom | Safari | Pontiac | 351. Deluxe | Kaiser | Virginian |
| 305. Custom | Six | Rambler | 352. Deluxe | Business | Nash |
| 306. Custom | Virginian | Kaiser | 353. Deluxe | Six | Rambler |
| 307. Custom | Wagonaire | Studebaker | 354. DeLuxe | Super | Chief |
| 308. Cutlass | Oldsmobile | F-85 | 355. Demon | Dodge | Dart |
| 309. Cyclone | Mercury | Montego | 356. Derham | Cadillac | Fleetwood |
| 310. Cyclone | Spoiler | Mercury | | Special | 60 |
| 311. d'Elegance | Cadillac | | 357. Derham | Chrysler | Imperial |

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|--------------|------------|
| 358. Derham Custom | Chrysler | Imperial | |
| 359. Designer | Lincoln | Continental | |
| 360. Designer Series | Lincoln | Mark VI | |
| 361. Designers' Accent Edition | Buick | Skyhawk | |
| 362. Diamond | Crown | Chevrolet | |
| | Master | | |
| 363. Diamond Edition | AMC | Alliance | |
| 364. Diamond Edition | AMC | Encore | |
| 365. Diamond Jubilee Edition | Lincoln | Mark V | |
| 366. Diamond Jubilee Edition | Ford | Thunderbird | |
| 367. Dietrich | Packard | Custom | |
| 368. Diplomat | Dodge | Coronet | |
| 369. Diplomat | Dodge | Monaco | |
| 370. Diplomat | Dodge | Royal | |
| | Monaco | Brougham | |
| 371. DL | AMC | Alliance | |
| 372. DL | AMC | Concord | |
| 373. DL | AMC | Eagle | |
| 374. DL | AMC | Hornet | |
| 375. DL | AMC | Pacer | |
| 376. DL | AMC | Spirit | |
| 377. DL Series 40 | AMC | Spirit | |
| 378. DL Series 50 | AMC | Eagle | |
| 379. DL Series 60 | AMC | Pacer | |
| 380. Double Dater | Studebaker | Skyway | |
| | Champion | | |
| 381. DPL | AMC | Rambler | Ambassador |
| 382. Dragon | Kaiser | Deluxe | |
| 383. Dual | Cowl | Phaeton | Chrysler |
| | Newport | | |
| 384. Duster | Plymouth | Turismo | |
| 385. Duster | Plymouth | Volare | |
| 386. E Checker | Marathon | Town | Custom |
| 387. Eagle | Willys | Aero | |
| 388. Econ-O-Miler | Studebaker | Scotsman | |
| 389. Eight | Pontiac | Chieftain | |
| 390. Eight | Rambler | Classic | |
| 391. Eight | Packard | Clipper | |
| 392. Eight | Hudson | Commodore | |
| 393. Eight | Hudson | Country Club | |
| 394. Eight | Packard | Custom | |
| 395. Eight | Checker | Marathon | |
| 396. Eight | Buick | Roadmaster | |
| 397. Eight | Pontiac | Streamliner | |
| 398. Eight | Buick | Super | |
| 399. Eight | Pontiac | Torpedo | |
| 400. elan | Ford | Thunderbird | |
| 401. Eldorado | Cadillac | Series 62 | |
| 402. Eldorado | Brougham | Cadillac | |
| | Series 70 | | |
| 403. Electric | | Bradley | |
| 404. Electronic | AMC | Encore | |
| 405. Elegante | Cadillac | Seville | |
| 406. Emilio Pucci | Lincoln | Mark IV | |
| 407. ES | Ford | Fairmont | |
| 408. ES | Oldsmobile | Firenza | |
| 409. ES | Dodge | Lancer | |
| 410. ES | Eagle | Premier | |
| 411. ES | Dodge | Shadow | |
| 412. ES | Dodge | Spirit | |
| 413. ES | Dodge | Stealth | |
| 414. ES | Eagle | Summit | |
| 415. ES Limited | Eagle | Premier | |
| 416. Espirit | Pontiac | Firebird | |
| 417. Esprit | Pontiac | Firebird | |
| 418. ESS | Ford | Granada | |
| 419. ESS | Ford | Pinto | |
| 420. Estate | Chevrolet | Celebrity | |
| 421. Estate | Buick | Roadmaster | |
| 422. Estate Wagon | Buick | Electra | |
| 423. Estate Wagon | Buick | LeSabre | |
| 424. Estate Wagon | Buick | Special | |
| 425. Estate Wagon | Buick | Super | |
| 426. Euro | Chevrolet | Lumina | |
| 427. Euro-Sedan | Plymouth | Horizon | |
| 428. Euro-Sedan | Dodge | Omni | |
| 429. Eurosport | Chevrolet | Celebrity | |
| 430. Executive | Pontiac | Star Chief | |
| 431. Executive | Lincoln | Town Car | |
| 432. Executive | Green | Kaiser | Deluxe |
| 433. Explorer | DeSoto | FireFlite | |
| 434. F-85 | Oldsmobile | Omega | |
| 435. F/E | Buick | Le Sabre | |
| 436. Falcon | Willys | Aero | |
| 437. Falcon | Ford | Fairlane | |
| 438. Family Club | Sedan | Hudson | Jet |
| 439. Feather | Plymouth | Duster | |
| 440. Fiesta | Oldsmobile | 98 | |
| 441. Fifth Avenue | Chrysler | LeBaron | |
| 442. Fifth Avenue Edition | Chrysler | New Yorker | |
| 443. Fila | Ford | Thunderbird | |
| 444. Firebird | Pontiac | Trans Am | |
| 445. Firebird | Pontiac | Trans Am | |
| | Silver Anniversary | | |
| 446. Firenza | Oldsmobile | Starfire | |
| 447. First Level | Pontiac | Phoenix | |
| 448. Flair Fashion | Dodge | Coronet | |
| 449. Fleet Special | Hudson | Rambler | |
| 450. Fleet Special | Plymouth | Savoy | |

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|---------------------------|-------------------|-----------|----------------------|------------|------------|
| 451. Fleetline | Chevrolet | Deluxe | 497. Grand | Pontiac | LeMans |
| 452. Fleetline | Chevrolet | Special | 498. Grand | Mercury | Marquis |
| 453. Fleetmaster | Chevrolet | Fleetline | 499. Grand | Plymouth | Voyager |
| 454. Fleetwood | Eldorado | Brougham | 500. Grand Ghia | Mercury | Monarch |
| | Cadillac | Series 70 | 501. Grand National | Buick | Regal |
| 455. Formula | Pontiac | Astre | 502. Grand Safari | Pontiac | Bonneville |
| 456. Formula | Pontiac | Firebird | 503. Grande | Ford | Mustang |
| 457. Formula | Pontiac | Sunbird | 504. Greenbrier | Chevrolet | Corvaire |
| 458. Formula 400 | Pontiac | Firebird | 505. GS | Mercury | Capri |
| 459. Formula S | Plymouth | Barracuda | 506. GS | AMC | Encore |
| 460. Front Runner | Plymouth | Volare | 507. GS | Mercury | Lynx |
| 461. FS | Chrysler | Imperial | 508. GS | Buick | Riviera |
| 462. Fury | Plymouth | Belvedere | 509. GS | Mercury | Sable |
| 463. Futura | Ford | Fairmont | 510. GS | Buick | Skylark |
| 464. Futura | Ford | Falcon | 511. GS | Mercury | Villager |
| 465. Futuramic | Oldsmobile | 98 | 512. GS | Buick | Wildcat |
| 466. Ghia | Mercury | Capri | 513. GSX | Buick | Apollo |
| 467. Ghia | Ford | Granada | 514. GSX | Buick | GS |
| 468. Ghia | Mercury | Monarch | 515. GSX | Buick | GS 455 |
| 469. Ghia | Ford | Mustang | 516. GT | | Apollo |
| 470. GL | Ford | Escort | 517. GT | Pontiac | Astre |
| 471. GL | Ford | Granada | 518. GT | | Bradley |
| 472. GL | Mercury | Lynx | 519. GT | Mercury | Comet |
| 473. GL | Ford | Probe | 520. GT | Mercury | Cyclone |
| 474. GL | Ford | Taurus | 521. GT | Dodge | Dart |
| 475. GL | Ford | Tempo | 522. GT | Ford | Escort |
| 476. GLH | Dodge | Omni | 523. GT | Ford | Fairlane |
| 477. GLX | Ford | Escort | 524. GT | | Ferrer |
| 478. GLX | Ford | Tempo | 525. GT | Pontiac | Fiero |
| 479. Gold Duster | Plymouth | Valiant | 526. GT | Plymouth | Fury |
| | Duster | | 527. GT | AMC | Gremlin |
| 480. Gold Special Edition | | Pontiac | 528. GT | | Kellmark |
| | Firebird | | 529. GT | Dodge | Lancer |
| 481. Golden Airflyte | Nash | Statesman | 530. GT | Dodge | Magnum |
| 482. Golden Anniversary | | Pontiac | 531. GT | Ford | Mustang |
| | Grand Prix | | 532. GT | Ford | Probe |
| 483. Golden Jubilee | | Pontiac | 533. GT | | Savage |
| | Custom Star Chief | | 534. GT | AMC | Spirit |
| 484. Golden Lancer | Dodge | Custom | 535. GT | Plymouth | Sport Fury |
| | Royal | | 536. GT | Oldsmobile | Starfire |
| 485. Grabber | Ford | Maverick | 537. GT | Pontiac | Sunbird |
| 486. Gran | Ford | Torino | 538. GT | Ford | Torino |
| 487. Gran Coupe | Plymouth | Barracuda | 539. GT | Chevrolet | Vega |
| 488. Gran Coupe | Plymouth | Fury | 540. GT II Gull-Wing | | Bradley |
| 489. Gran Coupe | Dodge | Monaco | 541. GT Series 40 | AMC | Spirit |
| 490. Gran Sedan | Plymouth | Fury | 542. GTElectric | | Bradley |
| 491. Gran Sport | Buick | Century | 543. GTO | Pontiac | Tempest |
| 492. Gran Sport | Buick | Skylark | 544. GTO | Pontiac | Tempest |
| 493. Gran Sport | Ford | Torino | 545. GTS | | Kellmark |
| 494. Gran Touring | Dodge | Magnum XE | 546. GTS | Chrysler | LeBaron |
| 495. Gran Turismo | | Manta | 547. GTX | Plymouth | Belvedere |
| 496. Grand | Dodge | Caravan | 548. GTZ | Chevrolet | Beretta |

| | | | | |
|---------------------------|------------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 549. Gucci Sportabout | AMC | Hornet | 594. Land Cruiser | Studebaker |
| 550. Handyman | Chevrolet | Deluxe | | Commander |
| 551. Heavy-Duty | Studebaker | Lark | 595. Landau | Imperial Custom |
| 552. Heritage | Ford | Thunderbird | 596. Landau | Ford LTD |
| 553. High-Country Special | Ford | Mustang | 597. Landau | Chevrolet Monte Carlo |
| 554. High-Performance | Dodge | Dart | 598. Landau | Buick Regal |
| 555. Highlander | Chrysler | New Yorker | 599. Landau | Buick Riviera |
| 556. Highlander | Chrysler | Windsor | 600. Landau | Ford Thunderbird |
| 557. Highline | Dodge | Shadow | 601. Landau Sedan | Ford Thunderbird |
| 558. Highrider | GMC | Sonoma | 602. Landau Silvercrest | Imperial Custom |
| 559. Holiday | Oldsmobile | 88 | 603. Landau Victoria | Chrysler Imperial |
| 560. Holiday | Oldsmobile | Cutlass | 604. Laredo | Jeep Wrangler |
| Ciera | | | 605. Lark | Willys Aero |
| 561. Holiday | Oldsmobile | Delta | 606. LaSaetta | Electronic |
| Eighty-Eight | | | 607. LE | Pontiac 6000 |
| 562. Holiday | Oldsmobile | Seventy-Six | 608. LE | Dodge Aries K |
| 563. Holiday Fiesta | | Oldsmobile | 609. LE | Pontiac Grand Prix |
| Dynamic Eighty-Eight | | | 610. LE | Pontiac J2000 |
| 564. Hollywood | Hudson | Hornet | 611. LE | Chrysler LeBaron |
| 565. Hollywood | Hudson | Super | 612. LE | Plymouth Reliant |
| 566. Hollywood | Hudson | Wasp | 613. LeMans | Pontiac Tempest |
| 567. Hubert de Givenchy | Lincoln | Mark IV | 614. Levi's | AMC AMX |
| 568. Hurst SC | AMC | Rambler | 615. Levi's | AMC Gremlin |
| 569. Hurst/Olds | Oldsmobile | Cutlass | 616. Lido | Lincoln Lincoln |
| 570. Impala | Chevrolet | Bel Air | 617. Lightning | Triplex |
| 571. Indy Pace Car | Oldsmobile | Delta | 618. Limited | AMC Alliance |
| Eighty-Eight | | | 619. Limited | Jeep Cherokee |
| 572. IROC | Dodge | Daytona | 620. Limited | AMC Concord |
| 573. IROC R/T | Dodge | Daytona | 621. Limited | AMC Eagle |
| 574. IROC-Z | Chevrolet | Camaro | 622. Limited | Buick Electra |
| 575. Islander | Jeep | Wrangler | 623. Limited | Buick Estate |
| 576. Jamboree | Jeep | Cherokee | Wagon | |
| 577. Jetfire | Oldsmobile | Cutlass | 624. Limited | Excaltibur Series IV |
| 578. Jetfire | Oldsmobile | F-85 | 625. Limited | Jeep Grand Cherokee |
| 579. Jetliner | Hudson | Jet | 626. Limited | Buick LeSabre |
| 580. K 1500 | Chevrolet | Blazer | 627. Limited | AMC Pacer |
| 581. King Cobra | Ford | Mustang II | 628. Limited | Buick Roadmaster |
| 582. Kingswood Estate | | Chevrolet | 629. Limited | Buick Skylark |
| Caprice | | | 630. Limited | AMC Spirit |
| 583. L | AMC | Alliance | 631. Limited | Jeep Wagoneer |
| 584. L | Ford | Escort | 632. Limited Edition | Landau Ford |
| 585. L | Ford | Granada | Thunderbird | |
| 586. L | Mercury | Lynx | 633. Limited Series 30 | AMC Eagle |
| 587. L | Ford | Tempo | 634. Lite | Dodge Dart |
| 588. LaFemme | Dodge | Custom Royal | 635. LJ | Pontiac Grand Prix |
| 589. Laguna | Chevrolet | Chevelle | 636. LJ | Pontiac Phoenix |
| 590. Laguna S3 | Chevrolet | Chevelle | 637. LJ | Pontiac Ventura |
| 591. Lancer | Dodge | Coronet | 638. LS | Dodge 400 |
| 592. Lancer | Dodge | Custom Royal | 639. LS | Chevrolet Caprice |
| 593. Lancer | Dodge | Royal | 640. LS | Chrysler Cordoba |
| | | | 641. LS | Oldsmobile Cutlass Ciera |
| | | | 642. LS | AMC Encore |

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| 643. LS | Mercury | Sable | 695. MX Brougham | Mercury | Montego |
| 644. LS | Mercury | Villager | 696. MX Villager | Mercury | Montego |
| 645. LSC | Lincoln | Mark VII | 697. Nassau | Chrysler | Windsor |
| 646. LT | Chevrolet | Camaro | 698. New Fun | Runner | Plymouth |
| 647. LT1 | Chevrolet | Corvette | Volare | | |
| 648. LTD | Ford | Galaxie 500 | 699. Newport | Chrysler | Imperial |
| 649. LTS | Mercury | Tracer | 700. Newport | Chrysler | New Yorker |
| 650. Luxury | Oldsmobile | 98 | Deluxe | | |
| 651. Luxury | Lincoln | Mark VIII | 701. Newport | Chrysler | Windsor |
| 652. Luxury | Ford | Thunderbird | 702. Nomad | Chevrolet | Bel Air |
| 653. Luxus | Buick | Century | 703. Nomad | Chevrolet | Impala |
| 654. Luxus | Buick | LeSabre | 704. Nova 400 | Chevrolet | Chevy II |
| 655. LX | Ford | Escort | 705. Nova 400 Sports SS | | Chevrolet |
| 656. LX | Oldsmobile | Firenza | Chevy II | | |
| 657. LX | Ford | LTD | 706. Nova SS | Chevrolet | Chevy II |
| 658. LX | Eagle | Premier | 707. Nova Super Sport | Sports Coupe | |
| 659. LX | Ford | Probe | Chevrolet | Chevy II | |
| 660. LX | Ford | Taurus | 708. Olympia Limited | Buick | Century |
| 661. LX | Chevrolet | Vega | 709. One-Fifty | Chevrolet | Special |
| 662. LX Sport | Eagle | Summit | 710. Pace Car | Chevrolet | Camaro |
| 663. LX-E | Ford | Escort | 711. Pacific | Packard | Packard |
| 664. LXXV | Buick | Riviera | 712. Panama | Packard | Super Clipper |
| 665. Mach I | Ford | Mustang | 713. Park Avenue | Buick | Electra |
| 666. Machine | AMC | Rebel | 714. Parklane | Ford | Station Wagon |
| 667. Malibu | Chevrolet | Chevelle | 715. Parkview | Studebaker | Commander |
| 668. Malibu Classic | Chevrolet | Chevelle | 716. Patrician | Packard | |
| 669. Malibu SS | Chevrolet | Chevelle | 717. Patrol Marshal | Studebaker | Lark |
| 670. Mariner | AMC | Rambler Rebel | 718. Pelham | Studebaker | Champion |
| 671. Mark Donohue SST | AMC | Javelin | 719. Phaeton | Cadillac | DeVille |
| 672. Mark II | Arnolt | Bristol | 720. Phoenix | Dodge | Dart |
| 673. Marshal | Studebaker | Lark | 721. Pierre Cardin | AMC | Javelin |
| 674. Marshal | Studebaker | President | 722. Pinehurst | Studebaker | President |
| 675. Mayfair | Packard | 200 | 723. Pioneer | Dodge | Dart |
| 676. Mayfair | Packard | 250 | 724. Plainsman | | Beechcraft |
| 677. Mayfair | Packard | Cavalier | 725. Police | Dodge | Diplomat |
| 678. McLaren | Ford | Mustang | 726. Poncho | Pontiac | Catalina |
| 679. Medallion | Dodge | Diplomat | 727. Pony | Ford | Escort |
| 680. Medallion | Chrysler | LeBaron | 728. Pony MPG | Ford | Pinto |
| 681. Miser | Plymouth | Horizon | 729. Premier | Dodge | Aspen |
| 682. Miser | Dodge | Omni | 730. Premier | Plymouth | Volare |
| 683. Miser | Plymouth | TC3 | 731. Premium | Dodge | Omni |
| 684. Mod | AMC | Javelin | 732. Premium | Wood-Grained | Dodge |
| 685. Model M | | Panther | Omni | | |
| 686. Monaco | Dodge | Polara | 733. Pullman | Chrysler | Imperial |
| 687. Montage Grand Touring | | Manta | 734. Pursuit Marshal | Studebaker | Lark |
| 688. Monterey | Mercury | | 735. R/T | Dodge | Aspen |
| 689. Monza | Chevrolet | Corvair | 736. R/T | Dodge | Challenger |
| 690. Monza Spyder | Chevrolet | Corvair | 737. R/T | Dodge | Charger |
| 691. MPG | Ford | Mustang | 738. R/T | Dodge | Coronet |
| 692. MS4 | Pontiac | Fiero | 739. R/T | Dodge | Stealth |
| 693. MT | AMC | Alliance | 740. R/T Sport Pak | Dodge | Aspen |
| 694. MX | Mercury | Montego | 741. R/T Turbo | Dodge | Stealth |

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| 742. Rally Sport | Chevrolet | Chevette | 789. S | Ford | LTD |
| 743. Rally Sport | Chevrolet | Nova | 790. S | Ford | LTD Crown Victoria |
| 744. Rallye | Dodge | Challenger | 791. S | Ford | LTD II |
| 745. Rallye | Plymouth | Horizon | 792. S | Chevrolet | Monte |
| 746. Ranch Wagon | Ford | Del Rio | | Carlo | |
| 747. Ranch Wagon | Ford | Mainline | 793. S | Chevrolet | Monza |
| 748. Ranch Wagon | Ford | Station Wagon | 794. S | Buick | Skyhawk |
| 749. Rebel Line | AMC | Rambler Classic | 795. S | Buick | Skylark |
| 750. Redbird | Pontiac | Firebird | 796. S | Jeep | Wrangler |
| 751. Regal | Studebaker | Champion | 797. S Series 90 | AMC | Encore |
| 752. Regal | Studebaker | Commander | 798. S-22 | Mercury | Comet |
| | | | 799. S-22 | Mercury | Comet Special |
| 753. Regal Deluxe | Studebaker | Champion | 800. S-23 | Plymouth | Fury |
| 754. Regal Deluxe | | Studebaker | 801. S-33 | Mercury | Meteor |
| | Commander | | 802. S/E | Pontiac | Firebird |
| 755. Regency | Oldsmobile | 98 | 803. S/R | Buick | Regal |
| 756. Regency | Brougham | Oldsmobile | 804. S/R | Buick | Skylark |
| | 98 | | 805. S10 | Chevrolet | Blazer |
| 757. Regent | Plymouth | Satellite | 806. Safari | Pontiac | Astre |
| 758. Renaissance | Cadillac | Coupe | 807. Safari | Pontiac | Bonneville |
| | deVille | | 808. Safari | Pontiac | Star Chief |
| 759. Riviera | Buick | Century | 809. Salon | Oldsmobile | Cutlass |
| 760. Riviera | Buick | Special | 810. Salon | Dodge | Diplomat |
| 761. Riviera | Buick | Super | 811. Salon | Plymouth | Fury |
| 762. Road Hawk | Buick | Skyhawk | 812. Salon | Chrysler | LeBaron |
| 763. Road Runner | Plymouth | Volare | 813. Salon | Oldsmobile | Omega |
| 764. Rogue | AMC | Rambler American | 814. Sandpiper | Chevrolet | Chevette |
| 765. Rose | Chrysler | Imperial | 815. Satellite | Plymouth | Belvedere |
| 766. Roundup | Edsel | Station Wagon | 816. Savoy | Plymouth | Concord |
| 767. Royal | Dodge | Monaco | 817. SC360 | AMC | Hornet |
| 768. Royal | Chrysler | Newport | 818. Scooter | Chevrolet | Chevette |
| 769. Royal Bobcat | Pontiac | Catalina | 819. Scotsman | Studebaker | Champion |
| 770. Royal Clipper | Chevrolet | Master 85 | 820. SE | Dodge | 600 |
| 771. Royale | Oldsmobile | Delta Eighty-Eight | 821. SE | Dodge | Aries |
| | | | 822. SE | Dodge | Aries K |
| 772. Royale | Excalibur | Series IV | 823. SE | Plymouth | Caravelle |
| 773. RS | Chevrolet | Camaro | 824. SE | Dodge | Charger |
| 774. RS | Mercury | Capri | 825. SE | Dodge | Diplomat |
| 775. RS | Chevrolet | Cavalier | 826. SE | Plymouth | Duster |
| 776. RS | Mercury | Lynx | 827. SE | Pontiac | Grand Am |
| 777. RT/10 | Dodge | Viper | 828. SE | Plymouth | Horizon |
| 778. Runabout | Mercury | Bobcat | 829. SE | Pontiac | J2000 |
| 779. Runabout | Ford | Pinto | 830. SE | Ford | Probe |
| 780. Rural Route | Studebaker | Lark | 831. SE | Plymouth | Reliant |
| 781. S | Pontiac | Astre | 832. Sebring | Plymouth | Satellite |
| 782. S | Plymouth | Barracuda | 833. Sebring-Plus | Plymouth | Satellite |
| 783. S | Chevrolet | Chevette | 834. Sedan | Dodge | Dart |
| 784. S | Chrysler | Cordoba | 835. Sedan DeVille | Cadillac | Series 62 |
| 785. S | Dodge | Diplomat | 836. Seneca | Dodge | Dart |
| 786. S | AMC | Encore | 837. Series 01 | AMC | AMX |
| 787. S | Pontiac | J2000 | 838. Series 01 | AMC | Concord |
| 788. S | Chrysler | LeBaron | 839. Series 01 | AMC | Hornet |

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|---------------------------------------|-----------|---------------|-----------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 840. Series 10 | AMC | Matador | 890. Special | Packard | Clipper |
| 841. Series 30 | AMC | Eagle | 891. Special | Mercury | Comet |
| 842. Series 40 | AMC | AMX | 892. Special | Cadillac | Eldorado |
| 843. Series 40 | AMC | Gremlin | 893. Special | Hudson | Hornet |
| 844. Series 40 | AMC | Spirit | 894. Special | Dodge | Meadowbrook |
| 845. Series 50 | AMC | Eagle | 895. Special | Nash | Rambler |
| 846. Series 60 | AMC | Pacer | 896. Special | Lincoln | Sunshine |
| 847. Series 80 | AMC | Matador | 897. Special | Checker | Superba |
| 848. Series 90 | AMC | Alliance | 898. Special | Kaiser | Virginian |
| 849. Series 90 | AMC | Encore | 899. Special Edition | Dodge | Aspen |
| 850. Seville | Cadillac | Eldorado | 900. Special Edition | Oldsmobile | |
| 851. Seville | DeSoto | Firedome | 901. Special Edition | Dodge | Charger |
| 852. Seville Cadillac Series 6400 | Eldorado | | 902. Special Edition | Dodge | Dart |
| 853. SHO | Ford | Taurus | 903. Special Eldorado Coupe | Cadillac | |
| 854. Shopper | DeSoto | FireFlite | Series 62 | | |
| 855. Sierra | Dodge | Coronet | 904. Speedabout | Essex | Super Six |
| 856. Sierra | Dodge | Custom | 905. Speedline | Nash | Ambassador |
| 857. Sierra | Dodge | Royal | 906. Speedline | Nash | Rambler |
| 858. Sierra | Dodge | Station Wagon | 907. Speedline | Nash | Statesman |
| 859. Signature | Lincoln | Town Car | 908. Speedster | Studebaker | President |
| 860. Signature 20th Anniversary | Excalibur | | 909. Spoiler II | Mercury | Cyclone |
| Series IV | | | 910. Sport | Dodge | Charger |
| 861. Signature Series Lincoln Mark VI | | | 911. Sport | AMC | Concord |
| 862. Signet | Plymouth | Valiant | 912. Sport | Dodge | Dart |
| 863. Silver | Plymouth | Duster | 913. Sport | Dodge | Diplomat |
| 864. Silver Anniversary | Ford | | 914. Sport | AMC | Eagle |
| Thunderbird | | | 915. Sport | Pontiac | Fiero |
| 865. Silver Arrow | Buick | Riviera | 916. Sport | Plymouth | Fury |
| 866. Silver Challenger | Dodge | Coronet | 917. Sport | Ford | Gran Torino |
| 867. Silver Streak | Pontiac | Torpedo | 918. Sport | Plymouth | Horizon |
| 868. Silvercrest | Imperial | Custom | 919. Sport | Chrysler | LeBaron |
| 869. Six | Pontiac | Chieftain | 920. Sport | Ford | Mustang |
| 870. Six | Packard | Clipper | 921. Sport | Dodge | Neon |
| 871. Six | Hudson | Commodore | 922. Sport | Plymouth | Neon |
| 872. Six | Hudson | Country Club | 923. Sport | Plymouth | Suburban |
| 873. Six | Hudson | Jet | 924. Sport Coupe | Ford | Futura |
| 874. Six | Checker | Marathon | 925. Sport Coupe | Pontiac | LeMans |
| 875. Six | Pontiac | Streamliner | 926. Sport Coupe | Buick | LeSabre |
| 876. Six | Hudson | Super | 927. Sport Dynamic | Pontiac | Streamliner |
| 877. Six | Pontiac | Torpedo | 928. Sport Dynamic | Pontiac | Torpedo |
| 878. Six Series 10 | Rambler | Classic | 929. Sport Sedan | Pontiac | Bonneville |
| 879. Sizzler | Dodge | Demon | 930. Sport Suburban | Plymouth | Fury |
| 880. SJ | Pontiac | Astre | 931. Sport Suburban | Plymouth | Satellite |
| 881. SJ | Pontiac | Grand Prix | 932. Sport Tone | Plymouth | Savoy |
| 882. SJ | Pontiac | Phoenix | 933. Sport-Hatch | Pontiac | Sunbird |
| 883. SJ | Pontiac | Ventura | 934. Sportabout | | Eshelman |
| 884. SJ Cordova Landau | Pontiac | Ventura | 935. Sportabout | AMC | Hornet |
| 885. Skylark | Buick | Roadmaster | 936. Sportabout Touring | AMC | Hornet |
| 886. Skyliner | Ford | Crestline | 937. Sportmaster | Chevrolet | Fleetline |
| 887. Skyliner | Ford | Fairlane 500 | 938. Sports | Plymouth | Barracuda |
| 888. Special | Buick | Century | 939. Sports Accent | Mercury | Comet |
| 889. Special | Pontiac | Chieftain | 940. Sports Compact | Ford | Mustang |

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| 941. Sports Rallye | Ford | Pinto | 989. STE | Pontiac | 6000 |
| 942. Sportsman | DeSoto | Custom | 990. Sting Ray | Chevrolet | Corvette |
| 943. Sportsman | DeSoto | Firedome | 991. STS | Cadillac | Seville |
| 944. Sportsman | DeSoto | Fireflite | 992. Styleline | Chevrolet | Deluxe |
| 945. Sportsman | Mercury | Mercury | 993. Styleline | Chevrolet | Special |
| 946. Sportsman | DeSoto | Powermaster | 994. Suburban | Plymouth | Belvedere |
| 947. Sportsman | Ford | Super Deluxe | 995. Suburban | Plymouth | Concord |
| 948. Sportsroof | Ford | Fairlane | 996. Suburban | DeSoto | Custom |
| 949. Sportsroof | Ford | Mustang | 997. Suburban | Plymouth | Deluxe Six |
| 950. Sportsroof | Ford | Torino | 998. Suburban | Plymouth | Fury |
| 951. Sportster | Packard | Clipper Deluxe | 999. Suburban | Plymouth | Savoy |
| 952. Sprint | Ford | Falcon | 1000. Suburban | Dodge | Station Wagon |
| 953. Sprint | Pontiac | Firebird | 1001. Sun Roof Landau | Ford | Thunderbird |
| 954. Sprint | Ford | Futura | 1002. Sun Runner | Plymouth | Volare |
| 955. Sprint | Ford | Mustang | 1003. Sun Valley | Mercury | Montclair |
| 956. Spyder | Chevrolet | Monza | 1004. Sun Valley | Mercury | Monterey |
| 957. Squire | Ford | Fairlane | 1005. Sunliner | Ford | Crestline |
| 958. Squire | Ford | Falcon | 1006. Sunliner | Ford | Fairlane |
| 959. Squire | Ford | Gran Torino | 1007. Sunliner | Ford | Fairlane 500 |
| 960. Squire | Ford | Pinto | 1008. Sunliner | Ford | Galaxie Special |
| 961. Squire Wagon | Ford | Falcon | 1009. Sunrise Coupe | Dodge | Aspen |
| Station Wagon | | | 1010. Sunshine Special | Lincoln | Model K |
| 962. SS | Chevrolet | Camaro | 1011. Super | Nash | 600 |
| 963. SS | Chevrolet | Chevelle | 1012. Super | Nash | Ambassador |
| 964. SS | Chevrolet | Corvette | 1013. Super | Rambler | American |
| 965. SS | | Devin | 1014. Super | Rambler | Classic |
| 966. SS | Ford | Escort | 1015. Super | Hudson | Hornet |
| 967. SS | Chevrolet | Impala | 1016. Super | Hudson | Jet |
| 968. SS | Dodge | Monaco | 1017. Super | Hudson | Rambler |
| 969. SS | Chevrolet | Monte Carlo | 1018. Super | Rambler | Rebel |
| 970. SS | Chevrolet | Nova | 1019. Super | Nash | Statesman |
| 971. SST | AMC | Ambassador | 1020. Super | Hudson | Wasp |
| 972. SST | AMC | Hornet | 1021. Super Bee | Dodge | Coronet |
| 973. SST | AMC | Javelin | 1022. Super Chief | Pontiac | Chieftain |
| 974. SST | AMC | Rambler Rebel | 1023. Super Coupe | Dodge | Aspen |
| 975. SST Trans Am | AMC | Javelin | 1024. Super Coupe | Plymouth | Volare |
| 976. St. Regis | Chrysler | New Yorker | 1025. Super Deluxe | Pontiac | Star Chief |
| 977. St. Regis | Chrysler | New Yorker | 1026. Super Eight | Hudson | Commodore |
| Brougham | | | 1027. Super Hot Shot | | Crosley |
| 978. St. Regis | Chrysler | Newport | 1028. Super Pak | Plymouth | Volare |
| 979. Stallion | Ford | Maverick | 1029. Super R/T | Dodge | Aspen |
| 980. Stallion | Ford | Mustang | 1030. Super Road Runner | | Plymouth |
| 981. Stallion | Ford | Pinto | Volare | | |
| 982. Standard | | Panther | 1031. Super Six | Hudson | Commodore |
| 983. Standard | Buick | Special | 1032. Super Special | Nash | 600 |
| 984. Starfire | Oldsmobile | 98 | 1033. Super Special | Nash | Ambassador |
| 985. Starlight | Studebaker | Champion | 1034. Super Sports | Devin | |
| 986. Starliner | Studebaker | Champion | 1035. Super Spyder | Chevrolet | Monza |
| 987. Starliner | Ford | Galaxie Special | 1036. Super-Duty | Pontiac | Catalina |
| 988. State | Studebaker | Commander | 1037. Superbird | Plymouth | Road Runner |

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| 1038. Supercharged | Kaiser | Manhattan | 1088. Turbo | Dodge | 600 ES |
| 1039. Supreme | Oldsmobile | Cutlass | 1089. Turbo | Dodge | Lancer |
| 1040. SVO | Ford | Mustang | 1090. Turbo Coupe | Ford | Thunderbird |
| 1041. Swinger | Dodge | Dart | 1091. Turbo RS | Mercury | Capri |
| 1042. Swinger Special | | Dodge Dart | 1092. Turbo Z | Dodge | Daytona |
| 1043. SX | Oldsmobile | Firenza | 1093. Turismo | Plymouth | TC3 |
| 1044. SX | Oldsmobile | Omega | 1094. Turismo 2.2 | Plymouth | TC3 |
| 1045. SX/4 | AMC | Eagle | 1095. Turnpike Cruising | | Oldsmobile |
| 1046. SX/4 DL | AMC | Eagle | | Cutlass Supreme | |
| 1047. SX/4 Series 50 | AMC | Eagle | 1096. Two-Ten | Chevrolet | Deluxe |
| 1048. T | | Swift | 1097. Typhoon | AMC | Ambassador |
| 1049. T Type | Buick | Century | 1098. Typhoon | Rambler | Classic |
| 1050. T Type | Buick | Regal | 1099. U | Pontiac | Grand Prix |
| 1051. T Type | Buick | Riviera | 1100. Ultra | Buick | Park Avenue |
| 1052. T&C | Chrysler | LeBaron | 1101. Utility Sedan | Studebaker | Lark |
| 1053. T-37 | Pontiac | LeMans | 1102. Utility Sedanette | Studebaker | Lark |
| 1054. Talisman | Cadillac | | 1103. V-100 | Plymouth | Valiant |
| 1055. Talisman | Cadillac | Eldorado | 1104. V-200 | Plymouth | Valiant |
| 1056. Talladega Torino | Ford | Fairlane | 1105. Vagabond | Kaiser | Deluxe |
| 1057. TC3 | Plymouth | Horizon | 1106. Vagabond | Frazer | Frazer |
| 1058. TC3 Turismo | Plymouth | Horizon | 1107. Valentina | Lincoln | Continental |
| 1059. The Deputy | Dodge | Challenger | 1108. Ventura | Pontiac | Catalina |
| 1060. The Judge | Pontiac | GTO | 1109. VI | Studebaker | Lark |
| 1061. Thunderbolt | Ford | Fairlane | 1110. Victoria | Ford | Crestline |
| 1062. Topper | Dodge | Dart | 1111. Victoria | Ford Custom | Deluxe V-8 |
| 1063. Torino | Ford | Fairlane | 1112. Victoria | Packard | Custom Eight |
| 1064. Torino Cobra | Ford | Fairlane | 1113. Victoria | Chrysler | New Yorker |
| 1065. Torino GT | Ford | Fairlane | 1114. Victoria | Chrysler | Saratoga |
| 1066. Touring | Chrysler | New York | 1115. Victoria | Packard | Super Eight |
| | Special | | 1116. VIII | Studebaker | Lark |
| 1067. Touring Coupe | Cadillac | Eldorado | 1117. Villager | Mercury | Bobcat |
| 1068. Touring Edition | Dodge | St. Regis | 1118. Villager | Mercury | Comet |
| 1069. Town Car | Lincoln | Continental | | Special | |
| 1070. Town Coupe | Lincoln | Continental | 1119. Villager | Mercury | Lynx |
| 1071. Town Landau | Ford | Thunderbird | 1120. Villager | Edsel | Station Wagon |
| 1072. Town Sedan | Ford | Fairlane | 1121. VIP | Plymouth | Fury |
| 1073. Town Traveler | | Airway | 1122. Virginian | Kaiser | Deluxe |
| 1074. Town Victoria | Ford | Fairlane 500 | 1123. Vista | Pontiac | Bonneville |
| 1075. Town&Country | Chrysler | LeBaron | 1124. Vista | Pontiac | Catalina |
| 1076. Town&Country | Chrysler | New | 1125. Vista | Dodge | Colt |
| | Yorker | | 1126. Vista | Pontiac | Star Chief |
| 1077. Town&Country | Chrysler | Newport | 1127. VL | Chevrolet | Cavalier |
| 1078. Town&Country | Chrysler | Saratoga | 1128. Voyager | Mercury | Country |
| 1079. Town&Country | Chrysler | Windsor | | Cruiser Station Wagon | |
| 1080. Towne Coupe | Chevrolet | Monza | 1129. Voyager | Mercury | Station Wagon |
| 1081. Townsman | Chevrolet | Deluxe | 1130. W-car | Oldsmobile | Cutlass |
| 1082. Trans Am | Pontiac | Firebird | 1131. Westerner | AMC | Rambler Rebel |
| 1083. Traveler | Kaiser | Manhattan | 1132. Wildfire | | Glasspar |
| 1084. Traveler | Chrysler | Windsor | 1133. Williamsburg | Lincoln | Continental |
| 1085. TS1 | Chrysler | Conquest | 1134. Wing | Willys | Aero |
| 1086. Tudor | Ford | Custom Deluxe | 1135. Woody | Chevrolet | Chevette |
| 1087. Tudor | Ford | Thunderbird | 1136. X | AMC | Concord |

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| 1137. X | AMC | Gremlin | 1149. XT | Chrysler | Laser |
| 1138. X | AMC | Hornet | 1150. XX Anniversary Edition | Buick | |
| 1139. X | AMC | Matador | Riviera | | |
| 1140. X | AMC | Pacer | 1151. Yellow Bird | Pontiac | Firebird |
| 1141. X | Buick | Roadmaster | 1152. Z 24 | Chevrolet | Cavalier |
| 1142. X11 | Chevrolet | Citation | 1153. Z-28 | Chevrolet | Camaro |
| 1143. XE | Chrysler | Laser | 1154. Z-28 | Commemorative | Edition |
| 1144. XR-3 | Mercury | Cougar | Chevrolet | Camaro | |
| 1145. XR-7 | Mercury | Cougar | 1155. Z24 | Chevrolet | Cavalier |
| 1146. XR3 | Mercury | Lynx | 1156. Z34 | Chevrolet | Lumina |
| 1147. XS | Oldsmobile | Toronado | 1157. ZL-I | Chevrolet | Camaro |
| 1148. XSR | Oldsmobile | Toronado | 1158. ZR-1 | Chevrolet | Corvette |