

Variation in Automobile Naming

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The names of 1024 American automobiles are analyzed according to register variation, diachronic variation and manufacturer variation. Variation through such linguistic means as structural complexity, metonymy and iconicity is shown to not only reflect social realities of automobile producers and consumers but to actively contribute to constructing these realities as well.

Mystique-Although it's not gaining the same popularity as Ford's Contour, the Mercury twin Mystique continues into '97 unchanged, except now there's Dark Pumice Jigsaw fabric inside the new Spree appearance package. Come on. Who names these things? (*Car and Driver* Special 1996, "Exclusive Preview: New Domestic Cars and Trucks." p. 12A)

Introduction

People expect a fit between a brand name, the product it designates and the consumer group at which it is targeted. The quotation that opens this essay suggests that, in the opinion of the editors of *Car and Driver*, the names *Spree*, *Dark Pumice Jigsaw*, and possibly also *Contour* and *Mystique* do not meet these expectations. The perception of fit is a social matter and the authors do not give their reasons for disliking the brand names; they pretend that they and their readers share the same social background and the same presuppositions about the fit, whereas the people who created the names are made out to belong to another social group which does not share the same presuppositions. Readers are often drawn into a presumed in-group with the writer and other readers through the use of tacit assumptions: in the act of reading, readers must construct coherence and if there are few textual cues to go on, they have to bring in their own knowledge and expectations. This creation of coherence by the readers strengthens their impression that a text "makes sense" and that they, the writer, and other readers are on the same wavelength (see Fairclough 1989 or Talbot 1997). Language use,

however, is not simply a reflex or signal of social reality but also constructs social reality (see, e.g., Gal 1995, 412). Linguistic use thus not only reflects membership in social groups but also produces it.

Whereas sociolinguistics traditionally assumes that people talk the way they do because of who they (already) are, the postmodernist approach suggests that people are who they are because of (among other things) the way they talk. (Cameron 1997, 49)

In the following I will argue that automobile names do both; they reflect and create social reality. To do so I will look at three different types of variation in the use of automobile names: register variation, diachronic variation and manufacturer variation.

Register Variation

Registers or text types are “events which define the culture” (Stubbs 1996, 11). They are socially recognized, conventional ways of language use which differ in their subject matter, purpose, form, production, distribution, consumption, etc. Automobile names are characteristically used in expert-to-non-expert communication, or consumer discourse, in which the following registers are prevalent: product information (e.g., a flyer with charts on vehicle type, price, engine, accessories, dimensions and capacities, acceleration, handling, fuel economy, and the like); maintenance information (e.g., *Car Talk* on NPR); background reports and comments (e.g., road test narratives in magazines like *Car and Driver*); and advertisements. This classification is based upon the central function of a certain text type but within these registers many different subtypes occur, depending upon the medium (e.g., sales talk vs. flyer), the producer (e.g., producer’s ad vs. retailer’s ad), or the consumption mode (e.g., reference use of a catalogue vs. brief glance at a flyer). One major use of the car name that does not fit into this classification is on the product itself, making automobile names some of the publicly most salient linguistic signs in contemporary society.

In these different registers, automobile designations take quite different forms. On one page of the *Classified Gazette*’s auto section (May 26, 1993; vol. 26,21; p. 29), for instance, the following vehicles were offered by a used car dealer:

93 Dodge Colt, 91 Geo Metro, 89 Ford Crown Victoria, 87 Toyota Tercel Wagon, 86 Isuzu Trooper 4x4, 90 Dodge Shadow, 91 Chevy S10 Pickup, 88 Cadillac El Dorado, 91 Chrysler New Yorker Salon, 84 Dodge Prospector Wagon, 92 Toyota Extra Cab Pickup SR-5, 91 Toyota Camry, 93 Dodge Spirit, 91 Chrysler Lebaron, 91 Chrysler Fifth Avenue, 89 Jeep Cherokee Laredo, 92 Dodge Full Size Cargo Van, 93 Dodge Dynasty, 91 Chrysler Imperial, 92 Dodge Stealth RT Turbo, 92 Chrysler Lebaron Convertible.

All of these designations contain the model year (93, 91, 89, etc.), the name of the make (*Dodge, Geo, Ford*, etc.), and the series designation (*Colt, Metro, Crown Victoria*, etc). Some also contain the body type (*Wagon, Pickup, Salon*, etc.) or some other specification (*4x4, Turbo*).

In the same edition of the *Classified Gazette* quite different designations were used in ads by owners. Under the heading "Lincoln Mercury" (p. 26, 27), for instance, the following designations can be found:

'91 Capri cnvrt., '89 Mercury Tracer wagon, '88 Lincoln Towncar Signature, '87 Lincoln Mark VII Bill Blass model, '85 Lincoln town car Signature, '79 Lincln Versailles, '78 Zephyr, '77 Linc/Merc 4 door, '77 Merc Marquis sta wgn, '76 Marquis 9 pass wgn 460 V8, '74 Lincoln Mk IV, '69 Lincoln Mark III.

Again, the designation of the model year is obligatory. Since these offers are placed under a heading that indicates the make (*Lincoln Mercury*), we should expect to find no make designations in the ads themselves—which is not true, however. Most ads include the designation of the make nevertheless—although some make do without ('91 Capri, '78 Zephyr or '76 Marquis). All designations except for '77 Linc/Merc 4 door include the series designation, and sometimes we also find model designations in this part of the gazette: *Signature, Bill Blass*. Again, body type designations (*cnvrt., wagon, sta wgn*, etc.) or other specifications (*4 door, 460 V8*) may also be found.

In a road test article (Schroeder 1994) of nine pages, which is considerably longer than the ads sections above, the automobile designations exhibit a lot less diversity: Dodge Avenger ES, Avenger, ES, Dodge Avenger, V-8. The combination of make, series and model designation (*Dodge Avenger ES*) is only used once, in the headline. Throughout the body of the text, series and model designation (*Avenger* and *ES*, respectively) are usually used on their own.

This diversity of designations that a consumer encounters in different registers warrants the question: what is the “real” automobile name?¹ Is it the whole syntagma, or only part of it, and if so, which part or parts? The acceptable variations are as follows:

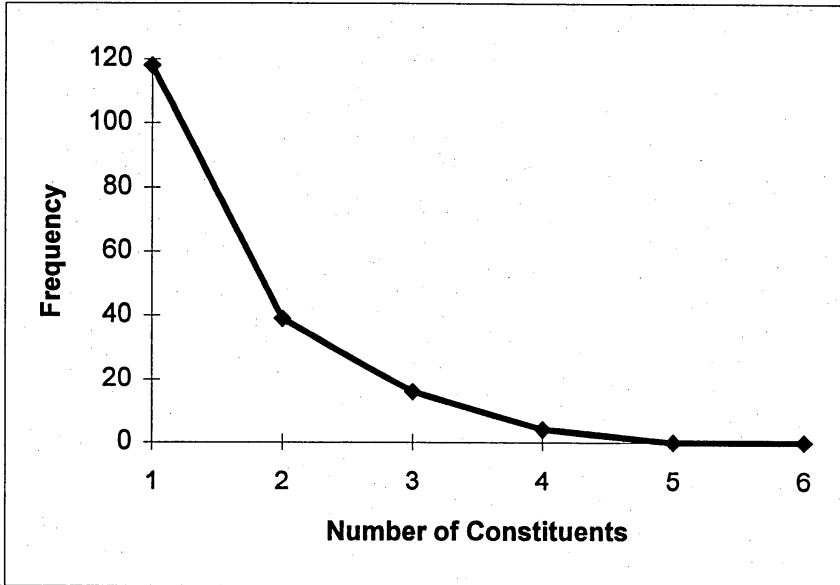
She sold her V-8.	She sold her Avenger.
She sold her station wagon.	She sold her Dodge.
?She sold her ES.	*She sold her 94.

Specifications, body type, series and make can be used. The use of the model designation alone is possible but restricted in use to car buffs, the model year designation alone is clearly impossible. “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 as the examples from the classified ads section above demonstrate. The following phrase structure rule for American car names is adapted from Aronoff (1981, 332):

car name → (year) (make) (line) (model) (body type) (specifications)

Apart from automobile catalogs, information brochures and classified ads, it is quite rare to find all the five possible elements present in a single phrase. An analysis of the constituents used in 177 automobile designations in twenty different printed automobile advertisements (producer’s ads) of single or double page length picked at random² yielded the following results (see also Piller 1996, 85ff): the longest conceivable syntagmas with five or six constituents do not occur at all. Four constituents, namely *year + make + series + model* occur four times (2.3%) as in *1993 Ford Escort GT*, *1993 Ford Ranger Splash* or *1994 GMC Sonoma Highrider*. Three constituents, most frequently of the type *make + series + model* occur 16 times (9.0%), e.g., *Chevy Camaro Z28*, *Dodge Shadow ES*, *Ford Taurus SHO*. Two constituents were found 39 times (22.0%), either of the type *make + series*, e.g., *Buick Park Avenue*, *Chevrolet Corvette*, *Oldsmobile Achieva* or of the type *series + model*, e.g., *Camaro Z28*, *Escort GT*, *Seville STS*. One-constituent designations were found 118 times (66.7%), most frequently the make designation (e.g., *Buick*, *Eagle*, *Ford*) or the series designation (e.g., *Achieva*, *Corvette*, *LeSabre*). The fewer constituents a name has, the more likely it is to be used in the register “print ad” (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Constituent Usage in Print Ads



Register variation in automobile names, which is variation in the number of constituents used, can be accounted for as reflecting the designation needs of users: while readers and writers need precise technical information in classified ads and catalogues, writers aim at personal identification in advertisements and fan discourse. Therefore, technical specifications (model year, body type, etc.) become part of the designation in the former registers, while the name of the manufacturer or the series suffices in the latter.

Register variation does not only reflect designation needs, it also produces different perceptions of the car in different registers: While a '76 *Marquis 9 pass wgn 460 V8* is a machine, a commodity for sale, a *Dodge Avenger* is a creature with a personality, if only a dull one: "I can't get boiling-hot with lust over the Avenger" (Schroeder 1994, 66). Sentences like these can be written about a machine only if it is perceived as a creature (see below on the metaphoric interpretation of the car as creature).

Diachronic Variation in American Automobile Names

In his outline of potential research areas in automotive names, Grieshaber (1990) suggests fashion in car naming as one possibility (see also Platen 1997, 116ff):

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. (39)

To my knowledge the only study ever undertaken in this vein is that of Piller (1996). The following section is based on that research. I will investigate the semantic processes employed in the creation of 1024 American series designations, all of which are listed in the appendix. An attempt was made to include all the names introduced between 1896 and 1994 although I have no doubt that some names have escaped my attention. The introduction period, 1896 to 1994, was divided into twelve sub-periods to facilitate comparison. This categorization is partly based on 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 the "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 periodization differs from Georgano's in starting later—1896 instead of 1805, as I excluded the names of "precursors" of the automobile, i.e., machines that did not use a gas engine, such as the Orukter Amphibolos, the first self-propelled carriage designed and built in America (in 1805 by Oliver Evans). It also differs in breaking up the periods from 1945-1970 and 1970-1992 into smaller chunks in order to be able to survey possible developments within these rather long periods. I will therefore look at the names introduced in the following twelve periods:

- | | | |
|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| (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. Names that were introduced during one period may of course still have been 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 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.

Theoretical Framework

I distinguish four different semantic processes that may be employed in the creation of automobile names: metonymy, metaphor, iconicity, and descriptive designation. Metonymy is based on temporal, spatial or causal contiguity. 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 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 itself or closely associated with it (see Lakoff 1987, 84f). Such conceptual structures that are relevant to automobile names are “place for car” (e.g., *Malibu*), “characteristic for car” (e.g., *Supercharged*), “producer for product” (e.g., *LeBaron*), “purpose for car” (e.g., *Heavy-Duty*), “part for whole” (e.g., *Advanced Six*), and “whole for part” (e.g., *Rebel Line*).

Metaphorical names are based on similarity. The target concept A, which is the car again, is understood through another concept B with which it has some similarity C. The metaphorical concepts that occur in automobile names are “the car is a human being” (e.g., *Monarch*), “the car is an animal” (e.g., *Mustang*), “the car is a man-made object” (e.g., *Javelin*), “the car is an element or phenomenon of inanimate nature” (e.g., *Tempest*), and “the car is a supernatural being” (e.g., *Demon*). Neither the relationship of contiguity in metonymy nor the one of similarity in metaphor may exist independently of the car name. Rather,

in many cases, the name produces the relationship. The difference between objective and experiential relationships is stressed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 154ff). Brand namers get to produce these relationships and thus shape our understanding of cars:

...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 and Johnson 1980, 159f)

Iconic names are also characterized by an experiential relationship in this sense. In the case of iconic names this relationship is a similarity between the signifier and the signified (see, e.g., Saeed 1997, 5). There are two types of iconic names: in the first type, the brand name is part of another language, or seems to be part of another language, and therefore the name suggests that the product so named is also part of another culture and has the qualities stereotypically associated with members of that culture or speakers of that language. These brand names are diagrammatically iconic because the product is related to another culture just as the name is related to another code (e.g., *Parisienn*). In the second type, the brand name is not linked to another language but to a particular register of English, and thus connotes for instance the exactness, and the technological and scientific marvels usually associated with the language of technology. Again, these brand names are diagrammatically iconic because the product is related to a certain field of action just as the name is related to the code of that field of action (e.g., *XX-500*).

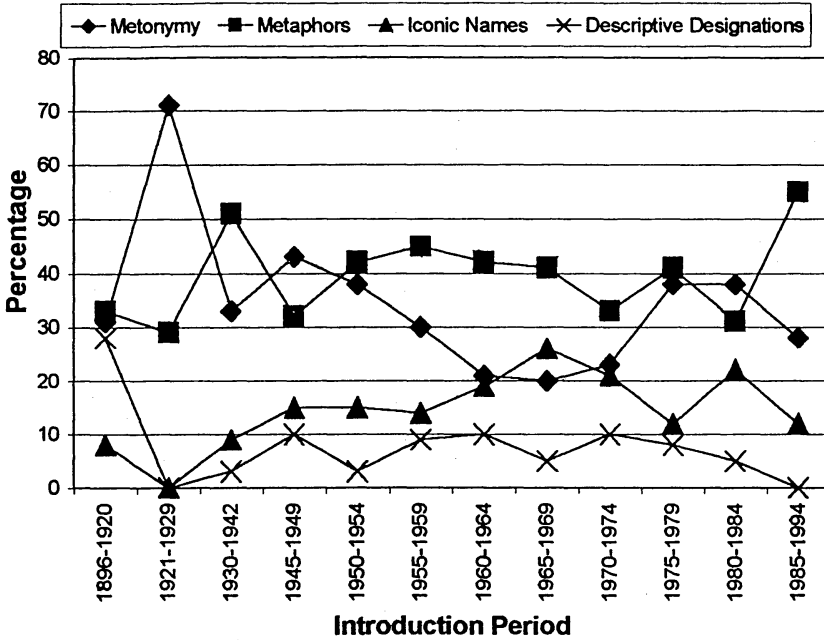
Descriptive names are headed by a generally accepted synonym or hyponym of the lexemes *car* or *automobile* (e.g., *Continental Sportster*).

Analysis of the Data

In the entire corpus of 1024 series designations 330 (32.2%) are metonymies, 415 (40.5%) are metaphors, 163 (15.9%) are iconic names and 79 (7.7%) are descriptive designations. The remaining 37 names (3.6%) were not classified. Figure 2 shows how these numbers vary during the periods under investigation.

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Figure 2. Diachronic Variation in Semantic Processes



During most periods, metaphors account for the highest portion of series designations. Their portion is relatively constant at around 40%, although it falls to a low of 29.0% in 1921-1929, when only nine out of the 31 names introduced during that period were metaphors, and rises to a high of 55.0% 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, metonymies peaked at 71.0% of all the names introduced between 1921 and 1929, and then fell until they 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), accounting for 7.7% of all the names introduced during that period. In

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the second period there were no such names, and in 1930-1942 there were eight, or 8.5%. Five of these are the *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. I attribute this rise in iconic names to registration pressures on name makers. Currently, well over one million trademarks are registered with the United States Patent and Trademark Office and their number is rising by about 30,000 a year (see Bryson 1994, 288). Thus it is becoming increasingly difficult to register new names. It has become a familiar complaint among creators of trade names that new names that have not already been registered in an identical or similar form are difficult to come up with. The probability that an iconic name will infringe upon the rights of a name already registered is much lower than that for any other formal type of name. While simplexes, word formations or proper names make use of words already in the language, an iconic name is taken from a potentially larger supply: letter-number combinations and foreign languages.

The percentage of descriptive designations has been oscillating between around 5% and 10% since 1945. Before the war the portions differ notably. 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., they were not descriptive designations for certain vehicle types 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.

Further examples are drawn from a single semantic process only, metonymies: In the first period, from 1896 to 1920, only two metonymic concepts occur: nine of the twelve 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 nine names based on the concept "part for whole," all but two (*Curved Dash* and *Straight Dash* introduced by Oldsmobile in 1901 and 1906, respectively) 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 (accounting for 59.1% of all metonymies), all 13 names of this type denote the engine, and this holds true for the six names (18.8%), based on the concept "part for whole" introduced between 1930 and 1942. Thus, 26 of the 32 series designations based on the concept "engine for car" (81.3%) were introduced in the pre-war era (as against only 16.0% of all the series designations 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). The concepts "part for whole" and "characteristic for car" have thus clearly lost in appeal to name makers.

In summary, the most interesting feature of the diachronic development of the semantic processes used in automobile names 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 corpus as a whole, 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. During that period marketers relied on the appeal of the comparatively new machine. Since 1945, in

a period of mass automobile use and increased competition, the car name has been employed to promise an additional use. Metaphors, metonymies and iconic names have been used to produce the promise of prestige, masculinity, technology, international flair and freedom. Car names reflect these changing production and consumption patterns but it is also clear—as particularly evidenced by the rather stable figures in the use of metonymy and metaphor overall—that the creation of conceptual structures that turn the machine car into a creature or associate it with places of prestige has been a long-term project of automobile namers.

Different Names for Different Makes?

Automobile production is highly stratified and characterized by the practice of “badge-engineering.” In this system, which was devised by former GM president Alfred P. Sloan, one manufacturer houses a number of “makes” or “divisions” which differ in their prestige and are ranked according to price. Material differences between differently ranked and priced cars are slight or non-existent as the following example shows:

The machine was to be sold in the United States as the Chevrolet Cavalier, the Pontiac J-2000, and the Cadillac Cimarron.... 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 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. (Yates 1983, 17, 59)

In such a system the comparative value of a particular machine resides in its name and the question “what’s in a name?” can be answered in dollars. In the following I will investigate whether certain formal and semantic naming patterns are more apt to reflect these variations in price.

The 1024 series designations in my corpus are used on more than 200 different makes. Of the series designations, 639 (roughly two thirds) are used on a make of the Big Three, GM, Ford, and Chrysler (see table 1). The remainder of 385 series designations that are not used by one of the Big Three come from a host of other producers such as AMC or one

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of its forerunners (Hudson, Essex, Nash, and Rambler), Checker, Excalibur, Kaiser, Packard, Studebaker, Stutz, Willys, or Zimmer.

Table 1. Major Makes of the Big Three

<u>General Motors [278]*</u>	<u>Ford [140]</u>	<u>Chrysler [221]</u>
Cadillac (since 1908) [35]	Lincoln (since 1922) [24]	Imperial (1954-1975) [5]
Buick (since 1904) [37]	Edsel (1958-1960) [7]	Chrysler (since 1923) [61]
Oldsmobile (since 1908) [57]	Mercury (since 1938) [31]	DeSoto (1929-1961) [16]
Pontiac (since 1926) [74]	(no equivalent)	Dodge (since 1928) [69]
Chevrolet (since 1919) [65]	Ford (since 1901) [78]	Plymouth (since 1929) [58]

*Figures in brackets indicate the number of names in the corpus.

Formally, a clear difference can be seen in the use of simplexes as series designations. On average 22.0% of all the series designations are simplexes but some makes have clear preferences for or an aversion to simple forms. Mercury (38.7%; e.g., *Lynx*), AMC and its forerunners (36.6%; e.g., *Eagle*), and Plymouth (32.8%; e.g., *Neon*) make use of an exceptionally high number of simplexes, while Lincoln (8.3%), Chrysler (13.1%), and Cadillac (14.3%) make use of considerably fewer. Instead they prefer compounds (e.g., Chrysler *Custom Imperial Airflow*), phrases (e.g., Lincoln *Continental Mark V*) and borrowings (e.g., Cadillac *La Espada*). The upscale makes of the Big Three thus avoid "simple" names. On Cadillacs, proper nouns are frequently series designators (25.7%; e.g., *Orleans*), which is 10% above average. The prestige value of a proper noun as brand name has been known since the early days of marketing research:

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. (Hopkins 1923, 92)

The use of non-established borrowings (6.4% for all the series designations) is also highest with Cadillac (20.0%; e.g., *Allante*). The use of numerals differs notably among the various makes: the average 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 (e.g., *300*), and 11.4% of those used by Cadillac (e.g., *62*). Thus, numerals are of comparatively high frequency

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on these two high status makes. All in all, it is Cadillac, a make of very special status, that differs in its use of the formal types of names most notably from the average.

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 makes, while it does not do so in the lower-ranking makes (see table 2). On Cadillacs, Lincolns and Chryslers more metonymies than metaphors are used, while the percentage of metonymies is higher than or identical to that of metaphors in Chevrolets, Fords and Plymouths.

Table 2. Metaphors and Metonymies

	Metonymic Names		Metaphorical Names	
	%	e.g.	%	e.g.
Cadillac	42.9	Park Avenue	11.4	Madame X
Lincoln	50.0	Versailles	25.0	Super Marauder
Chrysler	32.8	Newport	29.5	Dart
Chevrolet	38.5	Capital	38.5	Nomad
Ford	25.6	Fairmont	28.2	Mustang
Plymouth	29.3	Belmont	53.4	Barracuda

In summary, names used on Cadillacs differ not only formally from all the other makes in the corpus but also semantically. Thus this high status is distinguished linguistically from other makes. Again names are employed to reflect and produce the "social identity" of this make, its top of the line status. While the names on all top makes of the Big Three (Cadillac, Lincoln, and Chrysler) differ systematically from those on their lowest-ranking siblings (Chevrolet, Ford, and Plymouth), Cadillac names also stand out among the high-ranking makes.

Conclusion

I have set out to investigate sociolinguistic variation in automobile names on three levels: register variation, diachronic variation and manufacturer variation. The premise on which this study is based is that variation not only reflects social differences but actively contributes to creating them. Register variation reflects either technical terminology needs or the marketing need to create a product "personality." The use

of few constituents of the automobile name syntagma in fan discourse and producer ads is one linguistic means to create a product personality for the car. Diachronic variation does not only reflect changing production and consumption patterns but—by the very absence of extreme variation—is also proof to the on-going effort of automobile namers to create conceptual structures that enjoin the car with a personality in the minds of consumers. Finally, manufacturer variation shows that linguistic means contribute substantially to the creation of the status of a make. This study shows that it is indeed naive to assume—as sociolinguistics generally does—that people use language the way they do because of who they are. Rather, linguistic usage is as much a means of producing identity as it is of reflecting identity, in products and in people. It is only that “engineered” identities are more perceptible in products, since they do not have *a priori* identities.

Notes

1. I do not wish to discuss the onomastic status of brand names in general here. I regard brand names as an intermediary category between proper nouns and common nouns (see also Gutknecht and Wehking 1985, 87) because they are common nouns syntactically (they take a determiner) and semantically (they do not identify a unique referent but refer to a class of referents) but proper nouns pragmatically (brand names are intended and perceived as proper nouns). See, e.g., Leech 1966, 132, 156).

2. *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).

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Appendix:

The Names Introduced During Each of the Twelve Introduction Periods

Period 1 (1896-1920): 39 Series Designations

Chevrolet 490	Packard Gray Wolf	Studebaker Runabout
Ford 999	Stutz H.C.S.	Oldsmobile Special
Ford Arrow	Nash La Fayette	Studebaker Special Six
Oldsmobile Autocrat	Studebaker Light Four	Oldsmobile Straight Dash
Oldsmobile Baby	Studebaker Light Six	Hudson Super Six
Chevrolet Baby Grand	Oldsmobile Light Tonneau	Studebaker Surrey
Stutz Bearcat	Oldsmobile Limited	Oldsmobile Thorobred
Studebaker Big Six	Chevrolet Little Runabout	Hudson Torpedo
Chevrolet Classic Six	Hudson Mile-A-Minute	Packard Touring
Oldsmobile Curved Dash	Roadster	Packard Twin Six
Oldsmobile Defender	Oldsmobile Pacemaker	Ford Victoria
Oldsmobile Dogcart	Oldsmobile Palace Touring	Studebaker Victoria
Studebaker Electric	Oldsmobile Pirate	
Oldsmobile Flying Roadster	Ford Quadricycle	

Period 2 (1921-1929): 31 Series Designations

Nash Advanced Six	Cadillac Imperial	Nash Single Six
Nash Ajax	Chrysler Imperial	Nash Special Six
Stutz Biarritz	Chevrolet International	Dodge Standard Six
Chevrolet Capitol	Nash Light Six	Nash Standard Six
Studebaker Commander	Stutz Monte Carlo	Essex Super Six
Chevrolet Copper Cooled	Chevrolet National	Chevrolet Superior
Cadillac Custom	Studebaker President	Essex The Challenger
Chrysler DeSoto	Dodge Senior Six	Stutz Versailles
Studebaker Dictator	Packard Single Eight	Dodge Victory Six
Packard Eight	Packard Single Six	Oldsmobile Viking
Dodge Fast Four		

Period 3 (1930-1942): 94 Series Designations

Packard 120	Buick Century	Dodge Custom
Chrysler Airflow	Hudson Challenger	Lincoln Custom
DeSoto Airflow	Studebaker Champion	Oldsmobile Custom
Chrysler Airstream	Packard Clipper	Cruiser
DeSoto Airstream	Plymouth Commercial Car	Chrysler Custom Imperial
Nash Ambassador	Hudson Commodore	Airflow
Dodge Beauty Winner	Chevrolet Confederate	Pontiac Custom Torpedo
Hudson Big Boy	Lincoln Continental	Ford Deluxe
Pontiac Big Six	Hudson Country Club	Plymouth Deluxe
Plymouth Business	Chrysler Croydon	Dodge Deluxe

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Pontiac Deluxe	Essex Pacemaker	Studebaker State President
Chrysler Deluxe	Hudson Pacemaker	Hudson Sterling
Pontiac Deluxe Torpedo	Studebaker President	Pontiac Streamliner
Chrysler Derham	Speedway	Pontiac Streamliner
Stutz DV32	Chrysler Richmond	Torpedo
Chevrolet Eagle	Plymouth Roadking	Essex Sun
Chrysler Highlander	Buick Roadmaster	Lincoln Sunshine
Chrysler Imperial Airflow	Chrysler Royal	Buick Super
Pontiac Improved	Chrysler Saratoga	Ford Super Deluxe
Chevrolet Independence	DeSoto Silver	Essex Terraplane
Chrysler Kew	Hudson Six Deluxe	Chrysler Thunderbolt
Dodge Kingsway	Buick Special	Pontiac Torpedo
Buick Limited	Dodge Special	Hudson Traveler
Dodge Luxury Liner	Pontiac Special	Chrysler Traveler
Cadillac Madame X	Plymouth Special Deluxe	Hudson Traveler Six
Hudson Major Eight	Chevrolet Special Deluxe	Chrysler Trifon Special
Chevrolet Master	Dodge Sportabout	Nash Twin Ignition Eight
Chevrolet Master Deluxe	Chevrolet Standard	Nash Twin Ignition Six
Chevrolet Master Eagle	Hudson Standard	Chevrolet Universal
Dodge New Value	Hudson Standard Eight	Stutz Victoria
Chrysler New York	Chevrolet Standard	Chrysler Wimbledon
Special	Mercury	Chrysler Windsor
Chrysler New Yorker	Studebaker State	Lincoln Zephyr
Chrysler Newport	Commander	

Period 4 (1945-1949): 84 Series Designations

Cadillac 60 Special	Comet	Oldsmobile Dynamic
Fleetwood	Dodge Coronet	Oldsmobile Dynamic 70
Nash 600	Lincoln Cosmopolitan	Pageol
Cadillac 61	Cadillac Coupe de Ville	Crosley Farm-O-Road
Cadillac 62	Crosley	Fergus
Oldsmobile 76	Chrysler Crown Imperial	Fitch
Oldsmobile 88	DeSoto Custom	Chevrolet Fleetline
Oldsmobile 98	Ford Custom	Chevrolet Fleetmaster
Airscoot	Kaiser Custom	Gadabout
Airway	Packard Custom	Gregory
Beechcraft	Packard Custom Super	Hummingbird
Bobbi-Kar	Clipper Eight	Imp
Brogan	Darrin	Willys Jeepster
Broganette	Davis	Keen
Hudson Cab Pick-Up	Del Mar	Keller
Plymouth Cadet	Kaiser Deluxe	King-Midget
Pontiac Catalina	DeSoto Deluxe	Frazer Manhattan
Pontiac Chieftain	Chevrolet Deluxe	Dodge Meadowbrook
Comet	Gordon Diamond	Kaiser Pinconning Special

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Playboy	Kaiser Special	Super Kar
Publix	Chevrolet Special	Supersonic
Pup	Plymouth Special Deluxe	Tasco
Rocket	Six	Taylor-Dunn
Rogue	Willys Station Wagon	Thrif-T
Russell	Chevrolet Stylemaster	Tucker Torpedo
Scootmobile	Nash Suburban	Towne Shopper
Pontiac Silver Streak	Hudson Super	Kaiser Vagabond
Oldsmobile Sixty	Packard Super Clipper	Dodge Wayfarer
Studebaker Skyway	Eight	Rockefeller Yankee
Champion	Packard Super Eight	

Period 5 (1950-1954): 136 Series Designations

Packard 200	Cunningham	Cadillac Fleetwood 75
Packard 250	Custer	Limousine
Packard 300	Mercury Custom	Frazen
DeSoto Adventurer	Ford Custom Deluxe	Ford FX-Atmos
DeSoto Adventurer I	Ford Customline	Glasspar
DeSoto Adventurer II	Oldsmobile Cutlass	Packard Grey Wolf II
Willys Aero	Oldsmobile Cutlass F-88	Kaiser Henry J
Kaiser-Frazer Allstate	Kaiser Darrin	Hudson Hornet
Autoette	Ford Del Rio	Hunt
Packard Balboa	Oldsmobile Deluxe 88	Hudson Italia
Chevrolet Bel Air	Detroit	Excalibur J
Plymouth Belmont	Doray	Hudson Jet
Plymouth Belvedere	Kaiser Dragon	Chrysler La Comtesse
BMC	Edwards	Cadillac La Espada
Pontiac Bonneville Special	Cadillac El Camino	Chrysler Le Comte
Plymouth Cambridge	Cadillac Eldorado	Cadillac LeMans
Lincoln Capri	Cadillac Eldorado	Buick LeSabre
Kaiser Carolina	Brougham	Ford Mainline
Packard Cavalier	Electric Shopper	Kaiser Manhattan
Cadillac Celebrity	Electricar	Marketeer
Centaur	Eshelman	Packard Mayfair
Chicagoan	Packard Executive	Hudson Metropolitan
Comet	Plymouth Explorer	Nash Metropolitan
Plymouth Concord	Oldsmobile F-88	Oldsmobile Mona Lisa
Arnolt Continental	Fibersport	Mercury Montclair
Sportster	Fina Sport	Mercury Monterey
DeSoto Coronado	Dodge Firearrow	Nash Nash-Healey
Packard Corporate	Dodge Firearrow I	Chrysler New Yorker
Chevrolet Corvair	Dodge Firearrow II	Deluxe
Chevrolet Corvette	Pontiac Firebird I	Chevrolet Nomad
Plymouth Cranbrook	DeSoto Firedome	Nash NXI
Ford Crestline	Cadillac Fleetwood 60	Cadillac Orleans
Imperial Crown	Special Brougham	Oldsmobile Palm Beach

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Packard Pan American	Skorpion	Triplex
Packard Panama	Buick Skylark	Kaiser Virginian
Packard Panther Daytona	Skyline	Hudson Wasp
Pontiac Parisienne	Pontiac Star Chief	Buick Wildcat I
Cadillac Park Avenue	Star Dust	Buick Wildcat II
Packard Patrician	Oldsmobile Starfire	Woodill Wildfire
Paxton	Nash Statesman	Chrysler Windsor Deluxe
Plymouth Plaza	Storm	Ford X-100
DeSoto Powermaster	Story	Lincoln XL-500
Nash Rambler	Pontiac Strato Streak	Lincoln XM-800
Oldsmobile Rocket 88	Stuillac	Buick XP-300
Dodge Royal	Oldsmobile Super 88	Plymouth XX-500
Plymouth Savoy	Packard Super Clipper	Yank
Dodge Sierra	Super Wagon	Yankee Clipper

Period 6 (1955-1959): 152 Series Designations

Chrysler 300	Buckaroo	Detrick
Chrysler 300B	Buckboard	Cadillac DeVille
Chrysler 300C	Plymouth Cabana	Dual-Ghia
Chrysler 300D	Packard Caribbean	Oldsmobile Dynamic 88
Chrysler 300E	Buick Centurion	Pontiac El Camino
Cadillac 6200	Charles	El Morocco
Cadillac 6400 Eldorado	Edsel Citation	Buick Electra
Cadillac 6700 Fleetwood	Pontiac Club de Mer	Buick Electra 225
75	Colt	Electronic
Cadillac 70	Lincoln Continental	Ford Fairlane
Willys Ace	Mark II	Ford Fairlane 500
Rambler Ambassador	Lincoln Continental	DeSoto Falcon
Studebaker Ambulet	Mark III	Pontiac Firebird II
Rambler American	Lincoln Continental	Pontiac Firebird III
American Buckboard	Mark IV	DeSoto Fireflite
Argonaut	Edsel Corsair	DeSoto Firesweep
Asardo	Mercury Country Cruiser	Cadillac Fleetwood
Astra	Crofton	Eldorado
Auto Cub	Imperial Custom	Studebaker Flight Hawk
Bangert	Willys Custom	DeSoto Flight Sweep I
Bearcat	Ford Custom 300	DeSoto Flight Sweep II
Willys Bermuda	Pontiac Custom Bonneville	Flintridge-Darrin
Chevrolet Biscayne	Dodge Custom Royal	Flajole Forerunner
Bloomquist	Cadillac Cyclone	Frick
Bocar	Imperial d'Elegance	Plymouth Fury
Pontiac Bonneville	Chrysler Dart	Lincoln Futura
Bosley	Daytona	Ford Galaxie
Arnolt Bristol	Chevrolet Del Ray	Gaylord
Chevrolet Brookwood	Oldsmobile Delta	Glascar

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Goff	Ford Parklane	Starlite
Studebaker Golden Hawk	Chevrolet Parkwood	Ford Station Wagon
Oldsmobile Golden Rocket	Pioneer	Mercury Station Wagon
Oldsmobile Golden Rocket 88	Plymouth Plainsman	Dodge Station Wagon
Dodge Granada	Powell	Edsel Station Wagon
Packard Hawk	Studebaker Power Hawk	Pontiac Strato Star
Honey Bee	Packard Predictor	Plymouth Suburban
Chevrolet Impala	Lincoln Premiere	Pontiac Super Chief
Buick Invicta	Packard Projector	Surrey
Chevrolet Kingswood	Hudson Rambler	Swift
Ford La Galaxie	Edsel Ranger	Ford Syrtis Roof-O-Matic
Cadillac La Salle II	Rambler Rebel	Ford Thunderbird
Ford La Tosca	Dodge Regal Lancer	Kaiser Traveler
Studebaker Lark	Packard Request	Tri-Car
Imperial LeBaron	Rollsmobile	Trident
Mercury Medalist	Scarab	Mercury Turnpike Cruiser
Ford Mystere	Studebaker Scotsman	Chevrolet Two-Ten
Chrysler Norseman	Studebaker Silver Hawk	U.S. Mark II
Chevrolet One-Fifty	Sir Vival	Edsel Villager
Edsel Pacer	Studebaker Sky Hawk	Buick Wildcat III
Rambler Palm Beach	Imperial Southampton	Williams
Panda	Plymouth Sport Fury	Ford X-1000
Mercury Park Lane	Basson's Star	Chevrolet Yeoman
	Oldsmobile Starfire 98	

Period 7 (1960-1964): 102 Series Designations

Ford 300	Chevrolet Chevelle	Oldsmobile F-85
Chrysler 300F	Chevrolet Chevy II	Ford Falcon
Chrysler 300G	Rambler Classic	Ford Falcon Station Wagon
Chrysler 300H	Oldsmobile Classic 98	Pontiac Firebird IV
Chrysler 300J	Shelby Cobra	Fisher
Chrysler 300K	Edsel Comet	Dodge Flitewing
Dodge 330	Mercury Comet	France Jet
Dodge 440	Lincoln Continental Mark V	Ford Futura
Dodge 880	Ford Custom 500	Ford Galaxie 500
Apollo	Dodge Custom 880	Ford Galaxie 500 XL
Plymouth Asymmetrica	Mercury Cyclone	Ford Galaxie Special
Studebaker Avanti	Dodge Dart	Gaslight
Plymouth Barracuda	Diehlmobile	Pontiac GM-X
Pontiac Bonneville Custom Safari	DTL	Studebaker Gran Turismo Hawk
Pontiac Bonneville X-400	Electra-King	Pontiac Grand Prix
Mercury Caliente	Dow Electric	Pontiac Grand Prix X-400
Chadwick	Electro-Master	Griffith
Studebaker Challenger	Estate Carriage	Ford Gyron
Dodge Charger		

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Studebaker Hawk	Ford Mustang II	Checker Superba
Chevrolet Impala Super Sport	Ford Palomar	Pontiac Tempest
Oldsmobile Jetstar 88	Panther	Pontiac Tempest Monte Carlo
Oldsmobile Jetstar I	Dodge Polara	Chrysler Turbine
Dodge Lancer	Quantum	Chrysler TurboFlite
Lost Cause	Buick Riviera	Plymouth Valiant
Pontiac Maharani	Buick Riviera Silver Arrow	Pontiac Ventura
Checker Marathon	Pontiac Runabout	Mercury Villager
Checker Marathon Town Custom	Mercury S-22	Oldsmobile Vista Cruiser
Mercury Marauder	Saviano Scat	Voltra
Marketour	Ford Seattle-ite XXI	Warrior
Dodge Matador	Plymouth Signet	Westcoaster Super 36
Mercury Meteor	Studebaker Standard	Buick Wildcat
Ford Mustang	Stuart	Pontiac X-400
Ford Mustang I	Lincoln Super Marauder	Plymouth XNR
	Pontiac Super-Duty 421	XR-6

Period 8 (1965-1969): 97 Series Designations

Chrysler 300L	Mercury Cougar	Ford LTD
Oldsmobile 4-4-2	Oldsmobile Cutlass S	Ford Mach 2
Cadillac 75 Fleetwood	Oldsmobile Cutlass Supreme	Markette
AMC Ambassador	Dodge Daroo II	Rambler Marlin
AMC Amitron	Oldsmobile Delmont 88	AMC Marlin
AMC AMX	Oldsmobile Delta 88	Mercury Marquis
Apache	Checker Deluxe	Mars II
Oldsmobile Apollo	Excalibur	Ford Maverick
Chevrolet Astro III	Pontiac Executive	Dodge Monaco
Chevrolet Astro-Vette	Ferrer	Pontiac Monkeemobile
Avanti II	Ford Fiera	Mercury Montego
Pontiac Banshee	Pontiac Fiero	Shelby Mustang
Mercury Brougham	Pontiac Firebird	Ford Mustang Mach I
Bugetta	Pontiac Fitchbird	Chrysler Newport Custom
Cadillac Calais	Cadillac Fleetwood	Chevrolet Nova
Yenko Camaro	Cadillac Fleetwood Brougham	Omega
Chevrolet Camaro	Classic	Palmeri
Mercury Capri	Buick GS	Piranha
Chevrolet Caprice	Buick GS 350	AMC Rambler
Pontiac Catalina 2+2	Buick GS 400	Ford Ranchero Squire
AMC Cavalier	Ford GT-40	AMC Rebel
Buick Century Cruiser	Pontiac GTO	Plymouth Road Runner
Dodge Charger II	Plymouth GTX	Rambler Rogue
Dodge Charger III	AMC Javelin	Rowan
Pontiac Cirrus		Ruger
Chrysler Concept 70X		Mercury S-55

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Plymouth Satellite	Lincoln Super Spoiler	Chrysler Town&Country
Savage	Ford Techna	Valkyrie
Pontiac Scorpion	Pontiac Tempest Safari	Plymouth VIP
Plymouth Sport Satellite	Pontiac Tempest Sprint	AMC Vixen
Buick Sportwagon	Ford Thunderbird Saturn	Wagon de Ville
Yenko Stinger	Ford Torino Machete	Studebaker Wagonaire
Ford Super Cobra	Oldsmobile Toronado	Plymouth XP-VIP

Period 9 (1970-1974): 60 Series Designations

Plymouth 'Cuda	Pontiac Grand Am	Pedicar
Buick Apollo	Pontiac Grand Safari	Pontiac Phantom
Pontiac Banshee III	Pontiac Grand Ville	Ford Pinto
Stutz Blackhawk	AMC Gremlin	Ford Pinto Sportiva
Blakely	Buick GS 445	Buick Regal
Bolide	Buick GSX	Stutz Royale
Pontiac Catalina Brougham	AMC Hornet	Mohs Safarikar
Dodge Challenger	Pontiac Hurst S5J	Plymouth Scamp
Citicar	Grand Prix	Excalibur Series II
Chrysler Cordoba de Oro	Chevrolet Kingswood	Dodge Sportsman
Plymouth Cricket	Estate	Squire
Oldsmobile Cutlass	Pontiac LeMans	Sundancer
Cruiser	Pontiac LeMans Sport	Plymouth Superbird
Dodge Demon	Pontiac Luxury LeMans	Ford Torino
Dodge Diamante	Buick Luxus	Ford Torino Cobra
Plymouth Duster	AMC Matador	Pontiac Trans Am
Lincoln El Gato	Chevrolet Monte Carlo	Ford Tridon
Electra	Ford Mustang Milano	Plymouth Valiant Duster
Electromotion	Chrysler New Yorker	Chevrolet Vega
Buick Estate Wagon	Brougham	Pontiac Ventura II
Pontiac Firearri	Oldsmobile Omega	Ford XL
Ford Gran Torino		

Period 10 (1975-1979): 57 Series Designations

Chrysler Arrow	Comuta-Car	Chrysler LeBaron
Plymouth Arrow	AMC Concord	Ford LTD II
Dodge Aspen	Chrysler Cordoba	Dodge Magnum XE
Pontiac Astre	Dodge Diplomat	Chevrolet Malibu
Cadillac Bicentennial	Elcar	Lincoln Mark IV
Mercury Bobcat	Ford Elite	Lincoln Mark V
Bradley	Ford Fairmont	Mercury Monarch
Oldsmobile Brougham	Cadillac Fleetwood	Monocoque Box
Dodge Charger SE	Limousine	Chevrolet Monza
Chevrolet Chevette	Plymouth Gran Fury	Dodge Omni
Cinderella	Ford Granada	Mohs Ostentatienne Opera
Clenet	Plymouth Horizon	AMC Pacer
	Cadillac Le Cabriolet	

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AMC Pacesetter	Cadillac Seville	Transformer I
Pontiac Phoenix	Doval Shadow B	Veep
Romulus	Silver Volt	Lincoln Versailles
Dodge Royal Monaco	Buick Skyhawk	Plymouth Volare
Dodge Royal Monaco	AMC Spirit	Weitz X-600
Brougham	Dodge St. Regis	Mercury Zephyr
Sceptre	Pontiac Sunbird	
Excalibur Series III	Buick The Free Spirit	
	Hawk	

Period 11 (1980-1984): 92 Series Designations

Pontiac 1000	AMC Encore	Merlin
Pontiac 2000	Ford Escort	Minimark Classic
Pontiac 2000 Sunbird	Chrysler Executive	Dodge Mirada
Dodge 400	Ford EXP	Moselle
Dodge 600	Ford Fairmont Futura	Daytona Moya
Dodge 600 ES	Chrysler Fifth Avenue	Chrysler New Yorker
Pontiac 6000	Oldsmobile Firenza	Fifth Avenue
AMC Alliance	Gashopper	Puma
Dodge Aries	Gatsby	Buick Regal Somerset
Berlina	Gazelle	Plymouth Reliant
Pontiac Bonneville G	Reminiscent Golden Eagle	Piper Rogue
Bradford	Zimmer Golden Spirit	Johnson Rumbleseat
Chevrolet Cavalier	Chrysler Gran LeBaron	Roadster
Chevrolet Celebrity	Mercury Grand Marquis	Plymouth Sapporo
Ceres	Buick Grand National	Classic Roadster Saxon
Plymouth Champ	Regal	Excalibur Series IV
Dodge Charger 2.2	Burley Hot Rod Beetle	Pontiac T1000
Jeep Cherokee	Pontiac J2000	Plymouth TC3
Jeep Cherokee Chief	Kanzler	Ford Tempo
Cadillac Cimarron	LaCrosse	Classic Tiffany
Chevrolet Citation	Lance	Tiger
Chevrolet Citation II	Chrysler Laser	Mercury Topaz
Jeep CJ-7	Lindberg	Lincoln Town Car
Plymouth Colt	Mercury LN7	Tri-Muter G
Plymouth Colt Vista	Ford LTD Crown Victoria	Trihawk
Plymouth Conquest	Mercury Lynx	Plymouth Turismo
Dodge Conquest	Chevrolet Malibu Classic	Urba Centurian
Dodge Daytona	Manta	Valiente
De Courville	Lyon Mark V	Vokaro
DiNapoli	Lincoln Mark VI	XX-1
Chrysler E Class	Lincoln Mark VII	XX-120
AMC Eagle	Mercury Merkur XR4Ti	

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Period 12 (1985-1994): 80 Series Designations

Plymouth Acclaim	Zimmer Golden	Saturn SL2
Oldsmobile Achieva	Dodge Grand Caravan	Buick Somerset
Ford Aerostar	Jeep Grand Cherokee	Buick Somerset Regal
Cadillac Allante	Jeep Grand Wagoneer	GMC Sonoma
Dodge Aries K	Chevrolet Impala SS	Chevrolet Spectrum
Ford Aspire	Dodge Intrepid	Dodge Spirit
Chevrolet Astro	GMC Jimmy	Chevrolet Sprint
Oldsmobile Aurora	Plymouth Laser	Dodge Stealth
Chevrolet Beretta	Chrysler LeBaron GTS	Geo Storm
Chevrolet Blazer	Chrysler LHS	Chevrolet Suburban
Oldsmobile Bravada	Chevrolet Lumina	Eagle Summit
Ford Bronco	Lincoln Mark VIII	Plymouth Sundance
Oldsmobile Calais	Geo Metro	Saturn SW2
Dodge Caravan	Dodge Neon	Chrysler T.C. by Maserati
Plymouth Caravelle	Plymouth Neon	Eagle Talon
Zimmer Classic	Buick Park Avenue	Ford Taurus
Dodge Colt	Eagle Premier	Thoroughbred
Chrysler Concorde	Geo Prizm	Mercury Tracer
Chrysler Conquest	Ford Probe	Geo Tracker
Ford Contour	Plymouth Prowler	Pontiac Trans Sport
Chevrolet Corsica	Zimmer Quicksilver	GMC Typhoon
Ford Crown Victoria	Jeep Rambo Lambo	Dodge Viper
Plymouth Diamond Star	Buick Reatta	Eagle Vision
Dodge Dynasty	Mercury Sable	Plymouth Voyager
Ford Explorer	Saturn SC2	Jeep Wagoneer
Ford Festiva	Dodge Shadow	Jeep Wrangler
Ford Fiesta	Oldsmobile Silhouette	



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The collection was inspired and originally endowed by Lurline H. Coltharp, a past President of the American Name Society and long time Professor of Linguistics and English at the University of Texas, El Paso and who had a special interest in Latin American names.

Information regarding the collection can be obtained directly from the Onomastics Collection, University of Texas at El Paso Library, El Paso, TX 79968 or by email: rarney@mail.utep.edu.

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