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FROM SUBFRAME-MOUNTED SUSPENSION COMPONENTS TO MULTIMEDIA SYSTEMS:
Premodification in Car Advertisements from 1996 and 2016

ABSTRAKTI

Tämän kandidaatintutkielman aiheena on premodifikaatio automainonnassa vuosina 1996 ja 2016. Mainonnan määrän ja roolin kasvaessa yhteiskunnassamme on hyödyllistä tiedostaa keinoja, joilla mainonta vaikuttaa mielipiteisiimme ja ostopäätöksiimme. Premodifikaation, eli nominaalilausekkeen pääsanaa edeltävien ja sitä määrittävien sanojen, tutkiminen on tärkeää, sillä nämä etumääritteet ovat tärkeässä roolissa tuotteen kuvailussa ja kuluttajan suostuttelussa. Premodifikaation avulla voidaankin rakentaa monenlaisia mielikuvia tuotteista ja vaikuttaa kuluttajaan esimerkiksi järkeen tai tunteisiin vetoamalla.

Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on selvittää, millaisia eroja vuosien 1996 ja 2016 automainosten premodifikaatiossa esiintyy. Premodifikaatiota tutkitaan sekä syntaktisella että semanttisella tasolla. Syntaktisella tasolla tutkitaan premodifikaatioketjujen pituutta, kun taas semanttisella tasolla tarkastellaan eri semanttisten luokkien yleisyyttä ja näiden luokkien käytetyimpiä sanoja. Tutkimuksen aineistona toimivat uusien autojen mainokset on kerätty kahdesta autoalan aikakausilehdestä, yhdysvaltalaisesta *Car and Driver* - ja brittiläisestä *Autocar*-lehdistä.

Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että mainosten premodifikaatiossa on havaittavissa eroja erityisesti semanttisella tasolla. Syntaktisella tasolla premodifikaatio taas on pääosin yhtenevää. Semanttisella tasolla eri vuosien automainosten premodifikaation suurimmat erot löytyvät etumääritteiden tyylistä, tunteisiin ja järkeen vetoavien elementtien suhteellisista määristä ja siitä, millaisia pääsanoja etumääritteet määrittävät. Tyyliltään vuoden 1996 etumääritteet ovat usein teknisiä ja monimutkaisia, kun taas vuoden 2016 etumääritteet ovat yksinkertaisempia ja kansantajuisempia. Selkeästi tunteisiin vetoavia etumääritteitä löytyy suhteessa enemmän vuoden 1996 mainoksista. Vuoden 1996 mainoksissa premodifikaatiota käytetään usein auton mekaanisten osien ja suorituskyvyn kuvailuun, kun vuoden 2016 mainoksissa korostuvat erilaiset auton mukavuutta ja ulkonäköä parantavat varusteet.

Tutkimuksen tulosten pohjalta näyttää siltä, että muun muassa automainosten kohdeyleisössä on tapahtunut muutoksia tutkittujen vuosien välillä. Vuoden 1996 mainokset vetoavat autoista kiinnostuneeseen, alan termejä tuntevaan asiantuntijaan. Vuonna 2016 kohdeyleisö taas vaikuttaa laajemmalta, ja mainokset vetoavat selvemmin tavallisiin keskivertokuluttajiin.

Avainsanat: premodifikaatio, automainonta, mainonnan kieli

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1 INTRODUCTION

Advertising discourse is arguably one of the most pervasive discourses in modern societies. We are surrounded by advertising almost everywhere we go: it reaches us in various locations and situations from city centers to our own living rooms. In order to approach as many consumers as possible, advertising exploits multiple different media from print flyers and magazines to billboards, television and the internet. Because advertising has such a central role in contemporary culture, Cook (1992, 5) asserts that studying the discourse of advertising is a valuable way to gain understanding of our psychology and the society we live in.

Another factor besides the prominence of advertising that makes it interesting is its primary purpose: it seeks to attract our attention, affect our emotions and to eventually make us buy a product or service. To achieve these aims, advertisements often rely both on reason and emotion: as Hatim (1990, 117) adequately suggests, advertising is often a mixture of information and manipulation. This results in ingenious ways of using language: consumers' attention is drawn with language that "does not seek to steady the ground beneath our feet, but to make it sway" (Cook 1992, 100). Likewise, language is used skillfully in order to portray products as unique and desirable, often beyond facts and reason. Consequently, to any conscious person seeking to understand how their mind and actions are affected and steered towards different directions on a daily basis, investigating the language of advertising is a good place to start.

These reasons among others have resulted in the fact that the language of advertising has received plenty of scholarly attention. Numerous studies, such as Leech (1966), Cook (1992) and Goddard (1998), have examined the features of advertising language from a general point of view. Other studies have focused on particular aspects of advertising language, such as rhetorical structure and persuasion (Labrador et. al 2014) and figurative language (Mcquarrie and Mick 1996).

Despite the multitude of research on advertising language, there are few studies that concentrate solely on noun phrases in advertising, as for example Rush (1998) and Köyhäjoki (2016) do. This is surprising, as Leech (1966, 84, 127) states that noun phrases stand out as the most elaborate part of the otherwise relatively simple advertising discourse, and that premodification is particularly interesting due to its complexity and ingenuity. Premodification can also play a major part in attracting attention and persuasion, as premodifiers are often used to create imaginative and attractive descriptions of products.

Due to the lack of research concentrating on premodification in advertising, there is room for more research, especially with a contrastive perspective. Serving as a follow-up study to Köyhäjoki's study of premodification in used car advertisements (2016), the present thesis aims to fill this gap by studying some semantic and syntactic aspects of premodification in print advertisements for new cars from the years 1996 and 2016. The aim of the study is to determine what changes, if any, have occurred in between these years. As Cook (1992, 217) notes, advertising is a "restless discourse" that is in a state of continuous change, so this type of contrastive study, even with a short interval of 20 years, can be fruitful.

The structure of the thesis is divided into five sections. Section 2 presents the theoretical background of the study. The section discusses some common features of advertising, the definition of a premodifier, the use of heavy premodification in advertising and the theory concerning premodification zones by Feist (2012). After the theoretical background, section 3 presents the research questions and the material of the study and discusses some methodological issues. Then, section 4 presents and discusses the results of the study. Last, section 5 concludes the study with a summary of the findings and suggestions for future research.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This section first introduces some common features of advertising language. Then, the definition of a premodifier is given. After the types of premodifier are introduced, the use of heavy premodification in advertising is discussed. Finally, the theory of premodification zones (Feist, 2012) which is used in the analysis of the data is introduced.

2.1 Aims and Features of Advertising Language

While there are multiple definitions of advertising, they rarely have major differences. Goddard (1998, 11) sums up the most important motivations behind advertising when she states that advertisements either try to make their receivers act in a certain way or make them "more favourably disposed" towards the advertised commodity. In order to reach these goals and be successful, an advertisement must have four qualities: *attention value*, *readability*, *memorability* and *selling power* (Leech 1966, 27).

An advertisement that has attention value attracts attention. Drawing attention is one of the priorities in advertising because advertisements occupy "the periphery of receiver attention" and compete for attention with other discourses (Cook 1992, 217). That is why advertisers continuously try to invent ways to "shout at us from the page" (Goddard 1998, 11). One of the ways to attract attention is to begin the advertisement with "a hook", such as a question or a puzzle (Goddard 1998, 106-108). In addition, Leech (1966, 27) argues that surprising the receiver with innovative and even deviant use of language, such as misspellings, neologisms and figurative language, is an effective way to draw attention. Dyer (2009, 119) also notes misspellings and new coinages as means of attracting attention and gives examples such as *Beanz Meanz Heinz*, *Supperz*, *Schweppervescence* and *Pontinental*.

Once an advertisement has attracted the attention of a consumer, it needs to maintain the interest. According to Leech (1966, 28), readability refers to making the advertisements "easy to

grasp and assimilate" and thus keeping the receiver interested. Leech (ibid.) continues that this can be achieved with familiar words and simple, informal language. Others have noted the colloquial nature of advertising language as well. Labrador et. al (2014, 45-46) noticed in their study of online advertisements that the language created an impression of conversation for instance by referring to the receiver with the second person pronoun *you,* using shortened forms (*specs*, *apps*), contractions (*it's*) and puns, and omitting auxiliaries and subjects. Delin (2000, 135-136) also emphasizes the importance of everyday language in advertising and states that some of the main reasons for its use is to create an impression of personal connection and to "downplay power differences" between the advertiser and the receiver.

An advertisement must also be remembered at least to some extent. According to Leech (1966, 29), many of the means to draw attention also increase memorability in an advertisement. This is evident when Delin (2000, 134-135) list using various fonts and colors, neologisms and unorthodox use of language as some of the means to increase memorability. As one could expect, repetition of for example product names is one of the main ways to make a lasting impression (Leech 1966, 29). Mcquarrie and Mick (1996, 429) also note this and argue that the repetition of sounds in alliteration and rhyme is an effective mnemonic device. They also suggest that the fact that figurative language allows different interpretations also increases memorability (ibid.).

Finally, advertising needs to have selling power, which means that it needs to increase sales (Leech 1966, 29-30). In order to do this, the receiver is encouraged with frequent imperatives, but more importantly, the product needs to have a "unique selling proposition" that differentiates it from other products (ibid., 30). Leech (ibid., 30-31) argues that the desire to portray the product as desirable and unique accounts for example the overall positivity of advertising language and frequently occurring superlative forms. Other authors also recognize the need to positively evaluate the product. Goddard (1998, 106) mentions that advertisers use language carefully to "promote positive associations" and thus positive adjectives like *economical* and *new* are used, but their negative counterparts are not. Comparative and superlative forms of adjectives are also frequent in advertising,

but the "basis of comparison" is often left out, as in *the smoothest, silkiest shave* (Rush 1998, 162). Goddard (1998, 103-104) states that one of the reasons to use these incomplete comparisons is the tendency to avoid clear comparisons and mentioning rival products.

As Cook (1992, 152) mentions, modern advertising is steering away from facts and direct appeal. Delin (2000, 126) notes the same change and suggests that a modern advertisement needs to make an "emotional selling proposition". In connection to this, Dyer (2009, 118-119) argues that advertisers often prefer "a rush of adjectives" to a straightforward portrayal. This is because adjectives can be used to "stimulate envy, dreams and desires by evoking looks, touch, taste, smell and sounds without actually misrepresenting the product", as many vague adjectives, such as *elegant* and *enchanting*, are essentially just expressions of opinion. Rush (1998, 161) agrees and says that products are described with words that create "a special mood", rather than present concrete facts. This links to the strategy called *tickle advertising*, which relies on evoking emotions and mood, as opposed to *reason advertising* that relies more on direct statements (Simpson 2001, 589).

2.2 Types of Premodifier

As the present thesis studies premodification, it is important to define the elements that can precede and modify the head in a noun phrase. Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002, 265-266) list adjectives, present and past participles, nouns and adverbs as possible premodifiers in a noun phrase. Quirk et al. (1984, 902) add the *-s* genitive in their otherwise similar list of premodifiers. The writers also mention adverbial phrases and even sentences, such as *his far-way cottage* and *his what do-you-call-it cottage* as possible, although rarer types of premodifier (ibid., 902-903). According to them, adverbial phrase and sentence premodifiers tend to be used only in colloquial style and they usually have "a flavour of originality, convention-flouting, and provisional or nonce awkwardness" (ibid.).

As noted above, premodifiers can range from single lexemes to phrases and entire sentences. However, not all items that occur before the head noun in a noun phrase are considered premodifiers.

For instance, determiners are usually differentiated from premodifiers. Huddleston (1988, 93) states that determiners are typically closed class items that have the function of marking for example definiteness, countability, number and quantification in a noun phrase. Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002, 65-66) recognize articles, the words *all*, *both* and *half*, quantifiers, numerals, possessives, demonstratives, wh-words, *-s* genitives, multipliers and semi-determiners such as *other*, *next* and *same* as members of the determiner class. Semi-determiners are word forms on the boundary between determiners and adjectives; they have determiner features as well as adjective features, but no descriptive meaning (Biber, Conrad and Leech, 2002, 77). Another noticeable thing on this list of determiners is that *-s* genitives can function both as modifiers and determiners. As modifiers, genitives have the function of classification, as in *a bird's nest,* where the genitive indicates the kind of nest. As determiners, genitives mark possession, as in *the bird's relieved owner* (Biber, Conrad and Leech, 2002, 80-81).

2.3 Heavy Premodification in Advertising

The tendency to use relatively long noun phrases with complex premodification is characteristic of advertising language (Ghadessy 1988, 57). The complexity of noun phrases is also noted by Rush (1998, 164) as she states that advertising English often has a "relatively high number of premodifiers within a single noun phrase". The possibilities of constructing intricate noun phrases in English are almost infinite, as many writers, such as Huddleston (1988, 92) and Quirk et. al (1984, 902), suggest that there are no grammatical restrictions on the number of premodifiers used in a noun phrase. Even so, Bache (1978, 11-12) argues that most noun phrases tend to have only two or three modifiers and that cognitive limitations restrict the maximum to six or seven modifiers. Even though advertising English is characterized by multiple modification, Rush (1998, 164–165) states that even advertising language tends not to exceed Bache's cognitive limit of six or seven modifiers.

One of the factors contributing to complex premodification are compound premodifiers, which Leech (1966, 107) considers "a hallmark of advertising English". Dyer (2009, 119) adds that ad hoc

adjectives, such as *teenfresh* and *orangemostest*, are frequent in advertising. Rush (1998, 164) elaborates that compound modifiers are used in advertising because their "vivid, colourful and often quasi-comical constructions add dynamism and impact to an advertising message" and thus attract attention. Dyer (2009, 119) agrees and states that adjectival compounds help the advertisement stand out as unique. This applies to complex premodification in general too, as advertisers tend to use innovative and unusual premodification patterns to arouse the reader's interest (Rush 1998, 164).

Besides attracting attention, there are also other reasons for advertisers to use lengthy premodification strings. Rush (1998, 170) suggests that advertisers favor premodifiers because they save space compared to postmodifying alternatives. As an example, she gives "seven skin-specific formulas", which would take more space as "formulas that are designed for seven specific skin types" (ibid.).

In connection to brevity, premodifiers can also express multiple possible meanings in a concise form (Biber, Conrad and Leech 2002, 272). Quirk et. al (1984, 913) exemplify this with *An old man's bicycle*, which could have the meanings "The bicycle belonging to an old man", "An old bicycle designed for a man" or "A bicycle designed for an old man". Leech (1966, 139-140) suggests that advertisers may exploit this vagueness of premodification because it enables consumers to make such various interpretations.

2.4 Introduction to Feist's Premodification Zones

This section will serve as an introduction to the theory of premodification zones by Feist (2012). The analysis of the premodification strings in the present thesis will be based on Feist's theory to make the study comparable to Köyhäjoki's thesis (2016), in which the analysis was also conducted according to Feist's categorization. Feist (2012, 8-10) considers premodifier order in English noun phrases to be a matter of four premodification zones: reinforcers, epithets, descriptors and classifiers. He notes that the order and structure based on zones is motivated semantically (Feist 2012, 23). In fact, the

division of zones is based on five classes of meaning: referential, descriptive, expressive, grammatical and social meaning (ibid.).

First, referential meaning or naming entails a "bare mental referent" and is based on the convention that words act as names of referents (Feist 2012, 25). Elements with referential meaning, such as proper nouns and many noun premodifiers, "identify a referent rather than describe it" (ibid.). Second, elements with descriptive meaning convey concrete perceptual features, as in *broken stick* and *heavy stone*, or more conceptual and abstract qualities, such as *elementary* and *correct* (ibid., 27). Third, expressive meaning expresses either the speaker's emotions or attitudes (ibid.). As examples Feist (ibid.) gives *bloody*, which may convey irritation, and *economical* and *tightfisted*, which convey approval and disapproval, respectively. Fourth, grammatical meaning expresses relationships between words and helps readers to arrive at correct interpretations (Feist 2012, 28). All premodifiers have modificational meaning that guides readers to interpret them as modifying another word, and some modifiers have intensifying meaning that guides readers to apply intensification to another word (as in *very big*) (ibid., 28-29). Last, words with social meaning can express for example different registers, regional varieties and social classes (ibid., 28).

Starting from the zone closest to the head noun, classifiers are characterized by having referential meaning (Feist 2012, 37). Having referential meaning as their main type of meaning, classifiers identify entities or subtypes of the entities denoted by the head noun, as the classifiers in *men's shoes* and *Australian little penguin* do (ibid., 38, 44). Feist (ibid., 39) states that classifiers are so similar to the head noun in having referential meaning, that they may replace the head and be used independently, as in *cashews* for *cashew nuts*. Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002, 277) also agree that the modifiers closest to the head are "more integrated with the meaning of the head noun". Another type of meaning classifiers have is grammatical meaning: they have modificational meaning and constructional meaning that is based on the modifier's position (Feist 2012, 37–38). This constructional meaning explains the difference in meaning between *English French teacher* and *French English teacher* (ibid., 38). However, classifiers usually lack descriptive meaning (ibid., 40). Feist (ibid.) illustrates

this with *amusing black comedy*, where *black* denotes specific kind of comedy, not a perceptual color. Even so, Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002, 197) note that many classifiers, such as *political* and *medical*, have some descriptive content. Furthermore, classifiers tend to not have expressive or social meaning, and they cannot be graded, as examples like *a very Ford sedan* and *the most mobile phone* are unacceptable in most contexts (Feist 2012, 41, 43). As regards parts of speech, classifiers can be nouns, genitives, adjectives, participles or sometimes even numerals (ibid., 44).

The next zone to the left from the head noun is the descriptor zone (Feist 2012, 103). Descriptors differ from classifiers in that they have no referential meaning and therefore cannot identify entities (ibid., 45). The main type of meaning in descriptors is descriptive meaning, that is, their meaning is "a perceptual quality or state which is being ascribed to an entity" (ibid., 47). As noted, descriptors express rather concrete features and qualities that are noticeable through the senses, as *black* in *full-length black leather coat* and *cold* in *cold rain showers* are (ibid.). However, Feist (ibid., 47-48) observes that some descriptors, such as *young* in a *hard young [British] officer*, can be somewhat abstract and have some conceptual meaning, although it is not strong in descriptors. In addition to descriptive meaning, descriptors have modificational grammatical meaning, but no expressive or social meaning (ibid., 49). The majority of descriptors are adjectives, but some nouns and participles can also function as descriptors (ibid., 49-50). Feist (ibid., 48) also argues that descriptors cannot be graded due to their perceptual nature. This statement seems odd since writers such as Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002, 197) consider them gradable. This discrepancy is explained by the fact that Feist (2012, 53) differentiates gradable epithets from descriptors, while Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002, 197) consider all descriptive premodifiers descriptors.

Epithets are situated next to descriptors (Feist 2012, 103) and like descriptors, they have no referential meaning and are characterized by descriptive meaning (ibid., 52-53). However, in contrast to descriptors, epithets are highly conceptual and have less perceptual meaning than descriptors (ibid., 52). As examples of epithets with some perceptual meaning Feist (ibid.) gives *great* (referring to size), *delicious* and *slim*. The conceptuality of epithets is illustrated by the fact when a descriptor is

used as an epithet, conceptual meaning becomes dominant in the word (ibid.). For instance, *black* as an epithet often has the meaning 'macabre', and the perceptual meaning of color is lost (ibid.). Another aspect where epithets differ from descriptors is that epithets often have expressive meaning, both emotive (words like *beautiful* and *ugly*) and attitudinal (words like *modern* and *newfangled*) (ibid., 58). Epithets also have social meaning and grammatical meaning of modification (ibid., 60–62). Similarly to descriptors, epithets are usually adjectives, but some nouns and participles can also be used as epithets (ibid., 62). As Feist states (ibid., 53) the most important difference between descriptors and epithets is that epithets are scalar and are therefore gradable. This means that if a descriptor is graded, it is used as an epithet (ibid., 54).

Nevertheless, Feist (2012, 54) admits that differencing epithets from descriptors is sometimes difficult. This difficulty stems from various reasons: the same words can act as descriptors and as epithets, numerous qualities can be perceived as gradable or non-gradable and modifiers often appear alone without other modifiers that would help to make the distinction (ibid. 54-55). As an illustration, the distinction between Feist's (ibid., 55) examples of *old* as an epithet in *a very old "new" breed* and as a descriptor in *a fat old pig* would be difficult to make if the epithet was not graded. Köyhäjoki (2016, 32) makes similar observations and therefore treats all descriptive premodifiers as descriptors in her study. To make the results of the present thesis comparable to those of Köyhäjoki, and to follow the example of Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002, 197), the same procedure will be followed in the present thesis.

The remaining zone is the reinforcer zone. Feist (2012, 68) observes that reinforcers are exceptional in having grammatical meaning as their main type of meaning and having no referential or descriptive meaning. The expressive and social meaning they may seem to have also stems mainly from the context, not from reinforcers themselves (ibid., 66-67). The grammatical meaning in reinforcers is also exceptional, since reinforcers have no content (ibid., 67). Their grammatical meaning is to amplify or diminish the meaning of other elements, as *complete* and *mere* do, respectively (ibid.). They may also limit another element's meaning, as *very* in *under our very eyes* does (ibid.). Regarding

parts of speech, most reinforcers are adjectives (ibid., 69), but as demonstrated, adverbs are also used as reinforcers. Another unique aspect of reinforcers is that aside from *mere*, they are somewhat synonymous, as for example *outright* and *utter* could substitute *sheer* in *sheer arrogance* (ibid., 66). Feist (ibid.) also states that reinforcers cannot be graded and have no antonyms.

As occurred in connection to descriptors and epithets, a word can occupy different zones. Feist (2012, 16) explains this by stating that "the zone order is an order of word uses, rather than an order of words", which means that words have different senses when they are used in different zones. Feist (ibid., 15) illustrates this with *silken*, which has the meaning 'made of silk' as a classifier and the meaning 'glossy' as an epithet. As a result, the same word can appear twice in a noun phrase, as in *my young young days*, where the first *young* is used as an epithet and the second one as a descriptor (ibid., 16). Feist (ibid., 12) also notes that multiple modifiers can occupy the same zone simultaneously.

Regarding the order of modifiers itself, Feist (2012, 20) argues that the zone order is "grammatically prescribed", but may be violated for some purposes. Feist (ibid., 70) describes premodifier order as "a scale of subjectivity", with subjectivity increasing further from the head noun. Other writers, such as Quirk et. al (1984, 924-926) and Vandelanotte (2002, 242) have also made similar observations. In contrast, the order of modifiers within one zone is free (Feist 2012, 20). Feist (ibid., 12) also states that modifiers in different zones cannot be coordinated, while ones occupying the same zone frequently are.

3 EMPIRICAL STUDY

This section first introduces the aim of the study and the research questions answered in the thesis. Next, the material of the study and some issues related to it are introduced. The section concludes with the methods used in the thesis.

3.1 The Research Questions

The aim of this study was to examine some syntactic and semantic tendencies of premodification in printed advertisements of new cars from the years 1996 and 2016. In addition to this, the aim was to compare the results and to determine whether any changes had taken place during those 20 years. In order to achieve these aims, the following three research questions were answered:

1. How many premodifiers does the premodifying sequence include?

2. How common are the different semantic classes in the analyzed advertisements?

3. What are the most frequently used words in the semantic classes?

3.2 Material and Methods

3.2.1 Material

The material of the present thesis consists of 60 advertisements of new cars: 30 from the year 1996 and 30 from the year 2016. A sample of 60 advertisements was deemed sufficient to examine the phenomenon in question and to be able to observe possible changes. The quantity of the advertisements was restricted to 60 instances also in order to keep the data manageable considering the scale and scope of the study. Analyzing the same amount of advertisements from each year also made the results of the different years more comparable. The time span of 20 years between the advertisements was partly determined by the fact that this type of advertisements predating the 1990s are difficult to access in Finland, but the time span was nevertheless considered long enough to suit the purpose of the study.

The advertisements from 1996 were collected from the American magazine *Car and Driver*, and the advertisements from 2016 from the British magazine *Autocar*. The issues of the magazines used in the study are *Car and Driver* volume 41 numbers 7 and 8, and *Autocar* issues 6184-6191. The

said magazines were chosen because they are prominent in their field and accessible in Finland. The print circulation of *Car and Driver* in 2019 was approximately 1.1 million copies (Alliance for Audited Media, 2019), while the circulation of *Autocar* was roughly 24 000 copies (The Audit Bureau of Circulation, 2020). The fact that the magazines used are from different cultural settings may partly explain the differences between the two sets of advertisements. However, the effect of the different settings is not likely to be significant, as for example Leech (1966, 169-170) has noted the similarity between American and British advertisements, while Cook (1992, 13-15) states that advertising is in part creating "a new global culture which ignores national boundaries". The analyzed advertisements are listed in the appendix.

When collecting the data for analysis, some restrictions were applied to make the data as homogenous and comparable as possible. First, only the advertisements for new cars were selected from the set of various advertisements in the magazines. Second, only advertisements that advertised specific models of cars were analyzed, which means that advertisements promoting the company in general were excluded. Third, as many advertisements appeared on multiple issues of the magazines, each advertisement was analyzed only once. Finally, only the headlines and body copies of the advertisements were analyzed. This excludes small print information relating to for instance pricing and legal issues called "standing details" (Leech 1966, 59) and the manufacturers' slogans.

As the advertisements and sections of them to be analyzed needed to be restricted to suit the present purposes, the same needed to be done to the analyzed noun phrases. The present thesis discusses premodification, so only the noun phrases with one or more premodifiers were analyzed. This presents a problem with the definition of a compound. There are many ways to differentiate between phrases and compounds, such as stress patterns and semantics (Vandelanotte 2002, 234-235). In addition to meaning and stress, Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 449) present various syntactic tests for distinguishing compounds and phrases. However, the basis for distinguishing compounds and phrases in this study is orthography, meaning that elements written as one word were considered compounds. This was deemed sufficient, as Feist (2012, 137) states that "there is no absolute distinction between

compounds and phrases" since they both often contain modification and are semantically similar. Compound adjectives of the type *1.8 liter* present an exception to this classification and are discussed in section 4.

In addition to this, the study focuses on how the cars are described in the advertisements. Thus, only noun phrases with a head noun referring to the car in question or some aspect of it were analyzed. As a result, noun phrases referring to for instance financing offers or the potential customer were excluded from analysis.

3.2.2 Methods

The present thesis is a qualitative study, but some quantitative measures will also be taken to support the qualitative analysis. This means that each of the research questions will first be answered with some quantitative data consisting of numbers and percentages. Then, some examples and tendencies from the data and the possible differences between the different years will be discussed in a qualitative manner.

The first research question regarding the number of premodifiers in the premodifying sequences will be answered by counting the adjectives, nouns, participial verb forms and adverbs in the premodification strings appearing in the advertisements. Naturally, any other elements possibly appearing in the premodification strings, such as determiners and the conjunctions *and* and *or* will not be included in the results.

To determine how common the different semantic classes are, all the instances of the different semantic classes will be counted and the results compared to the number of all the premodifiers in the analyzed premodifying sequences. The semantic classes are based on the premodification zones of Feist (2012), but as discussed earlier, epithets will be included in the descriptor class and not treated as a class of their own. This means that the semantic classes discussed will be reinforcers, descriptors

and classifiers. Finally, the answer to the third question will be given by presenting and discussing the commonest reinforcers, descriptors and classifiers.

4 RESULTS

This section presents and discusses the results of the study. First, the question about the number of premodifiers is answered. Second, the results of the question concerning the use of different semantic classes are given. Last, the most common words in the semantic classes are discussed.

4.1 Number of Premodifiers in the Premodifier Sequences

In this section the number of premodifiers in the premodifier sequences of the advertisements will be examined and the results of the different years compared. As mentioned above, nouns, adjectives, participial verb forms and adverbs are considered premodifiers, while for example determiners are excluded from the analysis. However, the data includes many sequences that contain numerals, which are usually considered determiners. Nevertheless, they do not appear in determiner positions in the said sequences, for example in *powerful new 1.8 liter, 16-valve*, *DOHC engine*, *215 hp Overhead Cam V-8* and *The third generation TT*. Thus, following the example of Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1660), these types of forms are considered parts of compound adjectives, even when no hyphen is used. Some instances of numerals acting as independent premodifiers can also be found, such as the numerals denoting the size of the wheels and the model year of the car in *20" alloy wheels* and *The new 1996 Mazda 626 LX-V6*. Tables 1 and 2 below present the results of the analysis.

	Number of sequences	Percentage
one premodifier	150	47.0%
two premodifiers	107	33.5%
three premodifiers	41	12.9%
four premodifiers	15	4.7%
five premodifiers	6	1.9%
Total	319	100.0%

Table 1: The number of premodifiers in the premodifying sequences of the 1996 advertisements.

	Number of sequences	Percentage
one premodifier	56	40.0%
two premodifiers	66	47.1%
three premodifiers	11	7.9%
four premodifiers	5	3.6%
five premodifiers	1	0.7%
six premodifiers	1	0.7%
Total	140	100.0%

Table 2: The number of premodifiers in the premodifying sequences of the 2016 advertisements.

The sequences with one premodifier form the largest group in the advertisements from the year 1996 with 47.0% of all sequences. As one could expect, most of the premodifiers in this group are adjectives or nouns, such as the modifiers in *sumptuous comfort*, *luxurious interior*, *suspension system* and *interior amenities*, with adjectives being somewhat more frequent. Compound modifiers are also frequent in this group, and some of them include numerals: *easy-to-reach controls*, *well-equipped GS*, *the second row seats* and *the 6000 rpm redline*. Besides compound modifiers, another noticeable tendency is the use of product names or the names of car manufacturers as premodifiers. Such sequences include for example *Traction-Lok Axle*, *the Northstar System* and *Chevy Trucks*.

Compared to the sequences from the year 1996, the sequences with a single premodifier are somewhat less frequent in the advertisements from the year 2016 with a portion of 40.0% of all sequences. This makes the group the second largest group of sequences in the data from 2016. In addition to the relative percentages, other differences can also be detected between the years. As with the older advertisements, the premodifiers in this group tend to be adjectives or nouns. However, adjectives form a clear majority, while nouns are much less frequent. Examples include *Optional extras*, *EFFICIENT ENGINE*, *Xenon headlights* and *brake control*. The sequences from 2016 also differ from the sequences from the year 1996 in that only three compound modifiers are used: *entry-level* in *entry-level model*, *third generation* in *The third generation TT* and *all-new* in for example *the all-new MG6*. The scarce use of compound modifiers results in the fact that numerals are found in only two instances: *16" Alloys* and *The third generation TT*. Furthermore, while product names were frequent in the sequences with one premodifier from the year 1996, no instances can be found in the equivalent sequences from the year 2016.

The sequences with two premodifiers form the second-largest group of sequences in the advertisements from 1996 with 33.5% of all sequences. When two premodifiers are used, the use of product names and compound modifiers is even more frequent than with one premodifier. Examples include *the exclusive InTech™ System*, *JBL audio system*, *Quadra-Shock Rear Suspension* and *The 24-valve, 217 hp E 320*. The majority of the sequences combine an adjective with a noun, as in *powerful V6 engine* and *beautiful woodgrain trim*, while combinations of two adjectives or two nouns are rarer. Some adverbs can also be found, as in *a horizontally opposed engine* and *now famous 3-year-old*.

In contrast with the data from 1996, the sequences consisting of two premodifiers are more common in the data from 2016 and form the largest group with 47.1% of all sequences. Similarly to the year 2016, product names and compound adjectives are again frequent. Examples include *Bang & Olufsen sound system*, *Fiat 500X cars* and *the wonderful award-winning features*. A further similarity is the fact that most of the sequences consist of a noun paired with an adjective, as in *Sleek*

designer curves and *easy air conditioning*. However, while adverbs were used to some degree in the equivalent sequences from 1996, the only adverb used here is *pretty* in *a pretty rugged machine*.

The examination of prevalent syntactic patterns in the premodification sequences becomes more difficult with sequences of three or more premodifiers as the combinational possibilities increase. However, some tendencies can be detected. Sequences with three premodifiers form 12.9% of all sequences from the year 1996 and the most prevalent combinations are two adjectives with a noun and two nouns combined with an adjective. Examples of such combinations are *electronic automatic temperature control* and *the exclusive Mitsubishi Homelink® System*. The use of three premodifiers is somewhat rarer in the advertisements from 2016, as the sequences form 7.9% of all sequences. The commonest syntactic combinations are the same with the advertisements from 1996, but there are differences in the subject matter of the sequences. The majority of the sequences from 2016 refer to comfort features, such as *The fully customisable Virtual Cockpit* and *Full length panoramic sunroof*. While this is also true for the sequences from 1996, many of them also refer to safety features and the engine, for example *steel side-door guard beams*, *Bosch ABS5 Anti-Lock Brakes* and *215 hp Overhead Cam V-8*.

Sequences of four premodifiers are used to similar extent in both years, as sequences of four premodifiers constitute 4.7% of the sequences from 1996 and 3.6% of the sequences from 2016. Four premodifiers are most often used to describe the technical aspects of the car, such as *innovative rear Multi-Link Beam® suspension* and *Power-assisted ventilated front disc brakes*, in the advertisements from 1996. By comparison, the sequences from 2016 tend to focus to styling and comfort features, such as *distinctive 17" Diamond Cut Alloys* and *a versatile Uconnect™ Radio Live system*. Surprisingly, coordination is used scarcely even in sequences of this length in both years, which results in complex strings of submodification, rather than simpler separate modification, which Bache (1978, 20-21) calls hypotactical and paratactical relationships, respectively.

Sequences of five premodifiers constitute 1.9% of all the sequences from 1996 and tend to describe the mechanics of the car, as *a powerful 4.6-liter, 32-valve, 260-hp V-8 engine* and *patented*

Twin Trapezoidal Link rear suspension do. Furthermore, coordination is used in most of the sequences. The sequences from 2016 include only one string with five premodifiers, *7" Touch Screen Navigation and Entertainment System*, which is also coordinated. In addition, the data from 2016 includes one sequence with six premodifiers, namely *5" High Definition Full Colour TFT Screen*. This sequence is interesting, because it verges on Bache's (1978, 11-12) cognitive limit of six or seven premodifiers. However, the high number of premodifiers in the sequence can be explained by submodification.

4.2 The Different Semantic Classes

This section focuses on the use of the different semantic classes of premodifiers and how commonly they are used compared to each other. Some problematic cases that occurred while categorizing modifiers into classifiers, descriptors and reinforcers were the aforementioned compound adjectives of the type *150-horsepower* and *2.4-litre*. Such modifiers have a classificational function as well as a descriptive one. These instances were categorized as classifiers, as Feist (2012, 120-121) considers them classifiers of the "dimension quale". Other complicated cases were the synonyms *dual* and *twin*, as they too have classificational and descriptive meaning. However, Feist (2012, 244) categorizes their antonym *single* as a classifier in *a booming 8-watt single speaker*, which is why both *dual* and *twin* were considered classifiers in this study. A further complication in differentiating different semantic classes was the fact that while coordination can help in differentiating the semantic classes as mentioned above, it was used so scarcely that it could not be used in the task. The results of the analysis are presented in Tables 3 and 4 below.

	Number of premodifiers	Percentage
classifiers	402	69.7%
descriptors	169	29.3%
reinforcers	6	1.0%
Total	577	100.0%

Table 3: The number of premodifiers of the different semantic classes in the 1996 advertisements.

	Number of premodifiers	Percentage
classifiers	161	63.9%
descriptors	89	35.3%
reinforcers	2	0.8%
Total	252	100.0%

Table 4: The number of premodifiers of the different semantic classes in the 2016 advertisements.

4.2.1 Classifiers

As can be seen from Table 3, a clear majority, namely 69.7% of the premodifiers in the advertisements from the year 1996 are classifiers. The vast number of classifiers in these car advertisements is not surprising, as Rush (1998, 161) notes that the technical language many specialty magazines use often contains an abundance of classifiers. The technical nature of classifiers becomes clear especially in the advertisements from 1996, as multiple classifiers focus on the engine and the performance of the car, often with exact figures. Examples include the classifiers in *a revolutionary all-aluminum 190-hp V6 engine*, *a powerful 4.6-liter, 32-valve, 260-hp V-8 engine* and *215 hp Overhead Cam V-8*.

Besides the engine and performance of the car, another tendency in the advertisements is to use classifiers in connection to the other mechanical aspects of the car, such as suspension and brakes. Again, the classifiers are very technical and almost scientific in style, as the classifiers in *patented*

Twin Trapezoidal Link rear suspension and *Power-assisted ventilated front disc brakes* are. Even the classifiers that relate to comfort features, such as the ones in *microprocessor-controlled keyless remote* and *12-Function Memory Profile System*, often share this technical style. Using this type of specialized vocabulary is understandable, as Leech (1966, 128) notes that the target audience of specialty magazines understands and expects it. Even so, Cook (1992, 103) argues that the technical information in car advertising is sometimes so obscure that its main function shifts from being informative to being emotive, which may partly explain the exceedingly technical language of the advertisements.

In addition to technical language, another prevalent feature of the classifiers from 1996 is the use of product names. These product names can be the name of the car manufacturer in question (*The new Mercedes E-Class*), the names of technologies invented by the car company (*the Northstar System*) or the names of other companies whose products the car contains (*JBL audio system*, *a Bose® six-speaker audio system*).

In the advertisements from 2016, classifiers are a little less frequent than in 1996, but still form a clear majority with 63.9% of all premodifiers. While the classifiers in the advertisements from 1996 often relate to the engine and performance of the car, such classifiers are rare in the 2016 material, with the classifiers in *turbo petrol and diesel engines* and *TwinPower Turbo engines* being the only ones relating to the engine, and performance figures being absent altogether. In fact, the few classifiers with exact numbers are used in connection to comfort and styling features, such as the ones in *a 6.5-inch touch screen*, *245-litre luggage compartment* and *16" alloy wheels* are.

While the focus of the advertisements has shifted from mechanical parts and performance to comfort and styling features, the general style of the classifiers has become less technical and the vocabulary simpler. Examples include the classifiers in *The panoramic sunroof*, *Multimedia system*, *Front Sport seats* and *LED daytime running lights*. Moreover, product names, such as the ones in *Fiat 500X cars* and *Bang & Olufsen sound system*, are used even more frequently than in 1996. An interesting subgroup of product names is exemplified by *Uconnect™* and *TwinPower* in *a versatile*

Uconnect™ Radio Live system and *TwinPower Turbo engines*. Jaganathan, Mayr and Nagaratnam (2014, 161) call these forms "closed form compound adjectives". These unconventional adjectives are formed to highlight the hybrid nature of modern cars (ibid.). Surprisingly, one such form, *InTech™* in *the exclusive InTech™ System*, can also be found in the material from 1996.

4.2.2 Descriptors

Descriptors constitute roughly a third of the premodifiers in the material from 1996 with 29.3% of all premodifiers. As was the case with classifiers, many descriptors relate to the performance and mechanical aspects of the advertised car. Examples of such descriptors include the ones in *a highly responsive, high-performance engine*, *a horizontally opposed engine* and *optimally tuned suspension*. As discussed above, the amount of information premodifiers give can vary from informative ones to premodifiers used for emotive purposes. This is especially true within the group of descriptors. The two types of descriptors are used rather evenly in the advertisements from 1996, with informative ones being slightly more frequent than emotive ones. Examples of informative descriptors include the descriptors in *sound-dampened cabin* and *the most aerodynamic car*, while the ones in *Unparalleled Personalization* and *graceful lines* clearly evoke emotions.

Comparative and superlative forms of adjectives are also a noticeable group within the descriptors used in the 1996 material. Superlative forms (*the safest cars*, *the highest standards*) are slightly more common than comparative forms (*a bolder exterior*). As expected, most of the comparative forms are incomplete comparisons. However, some examples of direct comparison to rival car models can be found in the material, despite advertisers' aforementioned tendency to avoid these comparisons. Examples include *Swifter handling […] than a BMW 540i* and *a larger interior than the Lexus ES 300*.

Again, the percentages between the different years are similar as descriptors constitute 35.3% of all premodifiers in the advertisements from 2016, which means that descriptors are used slightly

more frequently in 2016. As was the case when discussing classifiers, descriptors are usually used to describe the car as a whole, its styling or its comfort features (*The rugged new Fiat 500X*, *stunning design*, *assistive technologies*), while the mechanical parts are described rarely. Noun phrases with only descriptors are common, but noun phrases that combine classifiers and descriptors (*The fully Customizable Virtual Cockpit*, *useful driver assist systems*), are also frequent. This is also the case with the advertisements from the year 1996. Leech (1966, 130) states that combining classifiers and descriptors is done in advertising to "mingle praise with practicality", as it is in the advertiser's interest to meld evaluation with fact.

Considering the informational content of the descriptors, informative descriptors are yet again more frequent than emotive ones, although they form a larger majority than in the year 1996. This means that the advertisements from the year 1996 contain more elements that rely on emotion than the ones from 2016, at least in terms of the premodification studied here. Informative descriptors include for example the ones in *The award-winning SEAT LEON* and *illuminated gearshift*, while the ones in *outstanding agility* and *incredible value* are examples of descriptors based on evaluation and emotion.

Similarly to the advertisements from 1996, superlative forms are slightly more frequent than comparative forms, while comparative and superlative forms altogether are a little less common than in the year 1996. In contrast to the material from 1996, direct comparisons to other car models are absent. However, one comparative form, in *a larger than average boot*, does have a basis. Nevertheless, the comparison is still rather vague, as the consumer is not told how large the average boot is. Explicitly stating that your product is better than that of a rival seems to be appropriate in the advertisements from 1996 but not in the ones from 2016. The question of whether this difference stems from the difference in the era or the difference between American and British culture is intriguing and would acquire further research to be properly answered.

4.2.3 Reinforcers

As can be seen from the Tables 3 and 4, the number of reinforcers used in the advertisements is equally low in both years, 1.0% of all premodifiers in the year 1996 and 0.8% in 2016. Adverbs are common in both years, since all the reinforcers from 1996 are adverbs and one of the two reinforcers in the 2016 material is an adverb (*pretty*). However, one reinforcer that is not an adverb can be found, the adjective *total* from the 2016 material.

A further similarity between the years is the fact that all the reinforcers from both years can be considered maximizers that maximize the cars' good qualities. This is especially apparent when examining the reinforcers of the advertisements from 1996, for instance *highly*, *very* and *dramatically*. While *total* from the material from 2016 is clearly a maximizer, *pretty* in *a pretty rugged machine* can be perceived to increase the impact of the following modifier only moderately. However, since it does heighten the impact of *rugged*, it is considered a maximizer in this study regardless of its weaker effect. The most apparent difference between the reinforcers of the different years is the fact that the ones from 1996, for example *incredibly* and *tremendously*, are very colorful and expressive, while the ones from 2016 (*pretty*, *total*) are less vivid.
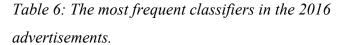
4.3 The Most Frequent Words in the Semantic Classes

This section discusses the most frequent classifiers, descriptors and reinforcers in the two sets of advertisements. The occurrences of the words have been counted by including different spellings and forms of the word. This means that for example the occurrences of the classifier *4-wheel* also include the occurrences of *four-wheel*, and the occurrences of the descriptor *low* include also the comparative and superlative forms *lower* and *lowest*. Tables 5 to 8 present the most frequent classifiers and descriptors with the number of their occurrences.

4.3.1 Classifiers

1.	rear	10
2.	power	9
3.	front	8
4.	audio	7
	driver's	7
	luxury	7
	body	7
8.	all-wheel	6
	interior	6
	dual	6
11.	air	5
	standard	5
13.	multiple words	4

1.	Audi	8
2.	alloy	7
3.	LED	6
4.	Fiat	4
	park	4
	panoramic	4
5.	touch	3
	16"	3
	virtual	3
	Peugeot	3
	Ford	3
	front	3
	19"	3

Table 5: The most frequent classifiers in the 1996 advertisements.

Table 6: The most frequent classifiers in the 2016 advertisements.

Some tendencies can be detected from the most frequent classifiers of the advertisements from 1996. As can be seen from the table, classifiers that locate an item or a feature in the car are among the most common classifiers. Such classifiers are *rear*, *front* and *interior*, which occur for example in *rear decklid spoiler*, *front leg room* and *interior amenities*. Other frequent classifiers are ones that describe how an item functions, such as *power*, *all-wheel* and *air* in for example *power bucket seats*, *All-Wheel Drive* and *air bags*. As discussed earlier, the classifiers from 1996 tend to be very technical in style. This can also be seen here, as the multiple classifiers that occur four times include examples such as *V8*, *DOHC* and *anti-lock*. These occur for instance in *a 4.0-liter V8 engine*, *a 2.5-liter, 16-valve, DOHC beauty* and *an anti-lock braking system*.

Surprisingly, only one product name, *Subaru*, is included on the list with four occurrences. Other peculiar cases are the classifiers *power* and *standard*, as *power* occurs only once in 2016 while *standard* is completely absent. This may be because advertisers deem them unnecessary since

consumers have come to expect power windows and other electrical features in 2016 and labelling equipment as standard may often be irrelevant.

The most frequent classifiers from 2016 differ in many ways from the ones from 1996. While only one product name appeared on the list from 1996, product names are a major part of the list from 2016. Examples include *Audi* in *the Audi Smartphone Interface* and *Fiat* in *Fiat 500X cars*. Although many of the classifiers describe the material or function of an item, they are not very technical and are related to comfort and styling features rather than mechanics, as expected given the discussion in the earlier sections. Examples include *alloy*, *16"*, *panoramic* and *touch* in *16" alloy wheels*, *Full length panoramic roof* and *Touch Screen Navigation*. However, the list of classifiers from 2016 shares one item with the list from 1996, *front*, as for instance in *heated front seats*.

4.3.2 Descriptors

1.	new	20
2.	available	7
3.	powerful	5
	good	5
5.	innovative	4
	low	4
	smooth	4
8.	advanced	3
	all-new	3
10.	multiple words	2

1.	new	17
2.	all-new	12
3.	rugged	3
	sleek	3
	good	3
	full	3
7.	multiple words	2

Tables 7 and 8: The most frequent descriptors and the number of their occurrences in the 1996 and 2016 advertisements, respectively.

When examining the list of the most common descriptors from 1996, it is no surprise to find *new* at the top of the list with its expanded form *all-new* also among the most frequent descriptors. As Dyer (2009, 119) states, *new* is probably the most common adjective in advertising and it is used in relation to any kind of product or feature. In the material from 1996, *new* is used mainly to describe the car

as a whole (*the new Continental*, *the new Mazda 626 LX-V6*) but also in connection to equipment (*A new onboard diagnostic computer*).

Another descriptor expected to appear on the list is *good* with its comparative and superlative forms *better* and *best,* as in *good seats* and *a best overall value*. According to Leech (1966, 152) *good* and *new* are used far more often than any other adjective in advertising. *Better* and *best* are also the among the most common comparative and superlative forms (ibid., 133). Given the popularity of *better* in advertising, it is surprising that the comparative form does not appear in the material. All in all, the descriptors in the list tend to be positive ones that describe positive features, as is most often the case in advertising. However, one descriptor, *low*, is also used to minimize a negative feature in *the lowest overall maintenance cost*.

As expected, *new* and *all-new* are also at the top of the list in 2016. However, they are only used to describe the car as a whole, not to describe features like in 1996. This can be seen for instance in *the new Lotus 3-Eleven* and *the all-new Audi A4*. Similarly to the advertisements from 1996, *good* and its superlative form *best* are present in the list (*rugged good looks*, *best MG6*), while the comparative form is absent. The most frequent descriptors are again positive ones, except for *black*, which is a neutral descriptor. *Black* is also the only color term found in all the advertisements in this study. It is used twice in *Black styling package* and *Piano black inlays*.

4.3.3 Reinforcers

The reinforcers used in the advertisements are not presented in a table, as the advertisements from 1996 contain only six reinforcers and the advertisements from 2016 only two instances. All the reinforcers are also used only once. The reinforcers from 1996 are *incredibly*, *dramatically*, *very*, *amazingly*, *highly* and *tremendously*. The reinforcers used in the 2016 material are *pretty* and *total*. The fact that *very* is used only once is somewhat unexpected, since Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002, 211) found *very* and *so* to be the most common intensifiers in their data. On the other hand, no

reinforcer is likely to occur often in such a limited set of reinforcers. The rarity of reinforcers may be due to the general principle of using non-informative words scarcely to save space in advertisements. This is especially likely in the advertisements from 2016, since the advertisements generally have considerably less text than the ones from 1996.

5 CONCLUSION

The purpose of the present thesis was to examine some syntactic and semantic features of premodification in print advertisements for new cars from the years 1996 and 2016. Furthermore, the aim of the study was also to compare the results of the different years to determine if there were any changes to be found.

The results of the study showed that the advertisements were fairly similar on a syntactic level. Shorter premodifier sequences were preferred in both years, with sequences of one or two premodifiers being most frequent and sequences of more than three premodifiers being rare. The advertisements were also similar on a semantic level, in the sense that classifiers formed a clear majority in both years and descriptors and reinforcers were also used in a similar degree.

However, the main differences of the different years were also found on the semantic level. The style of the classifiers from 1996 was exceedingly technical, while the ones from 2016 were simpler. Premodifiers were also used often to describe the performance, engine or other mechanical parts of the car in 1996, while the appearance of the car and comfort features were more prevalent in 2016. The advertisements from 1996 were also found to include more descriptors that rely on emotion, while informative ones formed a clear majority in 2016.

Consequently, the most important features to be advertised and the target audience seem to have changed between the years. While the advertisements from 1996 appeal to a "petrolhead" who likes powerful engines and advanced engineering, the ones from 2016 appeal to an "everyman" who values clever technology, comfort and striking appearance. The strategies the advertisers have adopted to

promote the cars in question also differ to a certain degree. The advertisements from 1996 include more emotive descriptors than the ones from 2016 and according to Cook (1992, 103), the abundance of highly technical classifiers may also be used for emotive purposes. Given these facts, the advertisements from 1996 use the technique called "tickle advertising" (Simpson, 2001) in a greater degree than the advertisements from 2016.

The limitations of the present study include a restricted sample of advertisements. A more extensive study could reveal more differences and allow some generalizations to be made. The timespan between the examined advertisements was also relatively short. Studying advertisements with a longer period of time between their publishing dates could be fruitful and reveal greater changes.

In addition to larger samples and a longer timespan, further research could be directed to examining premodification in advertisements of different types of cars. Pictures are also an important part of advertisements, which were not examined in this purely linguistic study. Studies examining pictures and the relationship of pictures and text in car advertisements would therefore be relevant. In addition to premodification, a number of other linguistic phenomena in car advertising could also be studied. These phenomena include for instance the portrayal of the ideal customer.

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APPENDIX: THE ANALYZED CAR ADVERTISEMENTS

Car and Driver (1996)

41:7

Ford (0-1)

Porsche (10-11)

Mercedes-Benz (18-19)

Nissan (22-23)

Toyota (25)

Lincoln (26-27)

Cadillac (36-37)

Chevrolet (44-45)

Nissan (56-57)

Land Rover (58)

Dodge (62-63)

Oldsmobile (66)

Mazda (68-69)

Suzuki (70)

Infiniti (74-75)

Mitsubishi (78-79)

Lexus (86-87)

Honda (106-107)

Chevrolet (118-119)

BMW (126-127)

Nissan (132-133)

Subaru (158)

41:8

Nissan (0-1)

Cadillac (8-9)

Land Rover (17)

Toyota (19)

Chevrolet (34-35)

Honda (40)

Lexus (42-43)

Mercury (48-49)

Autocar **(2016)**

6184

Fiat (2-3)

Infiniti (4)

MG (6)

Suzuki (12)

Audi (74-75)

Seat (92)

6185

Audi (2-3)

Peugeot (4)

Honda (6)

Ford (14)

Nissan (18)

Škoda (22)

Audi (70-71)

6186

Volvo (2-3)

Citroën (6)

Hyundai (16)

Peugeot (92)

6187

MINI (2-3)

Volkswagen (4)

Honda (18)

Audi (72-73)

6188

Audi (2-3)

Nissan (18)

Hyundai (28)

Audi (70-71)

6189

Hyundai (22)

Lotus (86)

Citroën (92)

6190

Toyota (32)

6191

Hyundai (4)