A Multimodal Analysis of Embedded Messages and Metaphors in Car Advertisements: From the Perspective of Social Semiotics

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Abstract

In the modern society, people always see advertisements (ads) everywhere in cities, towns, books, magazines, newspapers, TV programmes, and cyberspaces. It seems to be impossible for people to avoid encountering an ad in our daily lives. In order to encourage people to buy the products and services advertised, the aims, beliefs, and ideologies of ad makers are embedded into ads. This study tries to reveal what messages are interweaved in the two car posters, namely the Porsche 911 and the Volkswagen Jetta, by using multimodal analysis and metaphorical analysis. The two posters were analysed in terms of the use of semiotic modes such as visual images, texts, fonts, colours, and layouts. The metaphors embedded into the posters were also analysed. The close analysis revealed that the Porsche 911 poster conveys the superiority and supremacy as a pure sports car by using various semiotic modes and the metaphor of A 911 IS A THOROUGHBRED, and the Volkswagen Jetta poster expresses the qualities of utility and availability through a variety of semiotic modes and the metaphor of A JETTA IS A NECESSITY.

Keywords
advertisement, car poster, multimodal analysis, genre analysis, metaphor

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I. Introduction

Advertisements (henceforth, ads) are thought to be ubiquitous for selling products and services; in fact, it seems almost impossible to avoid encountering an ad in our daily lives (Cook, 1992; Ferreira and Heberle, 2013). Ads are ubiquitous because we can see them everywhere—on the TV and radio and in magazines, posters, underground displays, newspapers, and, especially these days, cyberspace (Internet web sites). People see, look at, listen to, or watch an ad, and some will buy a product or service advertised. In other words, ads have the power to encourage people to purchase an item or service. Though ads occasionally have other functions (non-product ads), such as promoting a political party, amusing, informing, misinforming, troubling, or warning, the most important and main function of an ad—as Cook (1992) explains—is to persuade people to buy. Therefore, advertising can be considered one of the most important aspects of promoting a product or a service (Cook, 1992; Ferreira and Heberle, 2013; Lämmlein, 2014; Reihani and Abbas, 2012), and research on ads is an important part of sociocultural studies.

In the present study an ad is regarded as a genre of communication involving an ad creator or sender of a message and a receiver of the message. Cook (1992) points out that participants in this process have ‘their intentions and interpretations, knowledge and beliefs, interpersonal attitudes, affiliations and feelings’ (p. 2). This means that both the sender and receiver are simultaneously parts of the observable context. Therefore, the context from which ads are derived should be taken into consideration. In this respect, the present study regards ads as discourses and focuses on the analysis of ads as a genre. Additionally, in the present study, the notion of social semiotics is utilised to investigate ads. By utilising Kress’s and van Leeuwen’s (1996, 2006) framework for visual images, the present study accounts for how the aims, beliefs, and ideologies of ad makers are expressed in car ads. The investigation includes a close look at how semiotics, such as texts, fonts, colours, images, and layouts, are used in ads. The present study also focuses on the use of metaphors in ads. Forceville’s (1994) framework of metaphors in ads explains how they convey a certain message to the receiver(s). Based on these facets, the present study is aimed at analysing, from the perspective of multimodality, how the belief and ideology of the sender are intertwined in an ad; additionally, the message the ad conveys to the receiver is examined.

The second part of this article is a description of the relevant literature about ad analyses. In previous studies, research on ads was conducted as a discourse analysis of ads as one genre. A few applicable studies will be mentioned in the first section. Following this, details regarding data on ads is explained. Ads can be found almost any place in the world, but the narrower focus of the present study is car poster ads. The fourth part of the article will present methodologies used to analyse the ads. As mentioned previously, the present study refers to social semiotics and metaphors in ads. After the section of methodologies, results and a discussion will follow. Through the description and analysis of the ads, some characteristics and manifestation of the aims, beliefs, and ideologies
of ad makers will be revealed. The article will conclude with a summary of the analysis.

II. Literature review

1. Analysis of advertisements (ads) as a genre analysis

Studies on ads have been conducted, generally in the form of a discourse analysis of a single genre. Cook (1992) points out that an ad can be analysed as a discourse and that, to analyse a discourse, we should take the context into consideration. He explains the nature of a discourse as follows:

Discourse is text and context together, interacting in a way which is perceived as meaningful and unified by the participants (who are both part of the context and observers of it). The task of discourse analysis is to describe both this phenomenon in general and particular instances of it, and to say how participants distinguish one type of discourse from another. To do this, it needs to pay close attention not only to human cognitive processes in general, but also to features specific to a given culture. (p. 2)

To analyse a discourse, the researcher should look at not only human cognitive processes but also at the effects of the cultural and social backgrounds of participants.

In addition, in systemic functional linguistics (SFL), which was established by Halliday (1978\(^8\), 1985\(^9\); Halliday and Hasan, 1989\(^{10}\)), a genre consists of a certain style of text; the text is derived from a certain kind of cultural context, which has a dialectic relationship with the text. In a genre, a context of situation is formalised by the three elements of field, tenor, and mode, and participants of the context use a certain register suited to the context. According to Hyland (2004)\(^{11}\), the three elements are defined as follows:

Field: the social activity in which people are involved and the subject of the text
Tenor: relationships of participants in the interaction
Mode: the role of language (wholly written, written and spoken, illustrations, et cetera)

(p. 26)

The three elements, in turn, are realised through the three metafunctions, namely ideational, interpersonal, and textual metafunctions. Accordingly, to analyse ads, we should pay close attention to the values, ideologies, and cultures from which the text originates and how they are understood in the ads.

2. Advertising studies

To analyse ads, researchers look at various aspects and utilise several frameworks. However, in terms of the multimodal aspect, it cannot be said that a sufficiency of previous studies related to advertising exists (Ferreira and Heberle, 2013; Xu, 2012\(^{12}\)). Cook (1992) mentions that, though ‘an ad is an interaction of elements’ of pictures, music, and language, the genre analysis tends to ‘concentrate on one or
a few [modes], and ignore the others’ (p. 3). In this section, some previous studies on ads will be mentioned, indicating a need for multimodal discourse analyses on ads.

Fowles (1996) analyses ads from the viewpoint of popular culture. The study by Fowles deals with the relationship between background culture and ad industries in terms of how the culture is intertwined into ads and how both culture and ad industries influence each other. The aim of the study by Fowles is to provide readers with the insight into how advertising, as a cultural discourse, works in a society. However, since this analysis is mainly about the relationship between ads and the background culture or ideology, it lacks a multimodal analysis on the manifestation of the culture and ideology in the ads.

Downing (2003) analyses ads in terms of linguistic choices and features of the context in ads. She claims that these elements would create the text world manifested in an ad and, through the text world, the message of the sender (ad maker) is conveyed to specific receivers (addressees). Deixis, which is important for establishing the relationship between senders and addressees, and frame knowledge—which creates the domain for interpreting the message—are the main subjects of her study. However, as Downing (2003) asserts, this study focuses mainly on textual aspects and deals with little visual information.

Conradie (2013) investigated 120 ads within the framework of intertextuality. Intertextuality is the way in which a pre-existing text is incorporated into texts that are currently being processed. Conradie (2013) adopts Simpson’s (2001) classification of ad types: reason and tickle. The former focuses on ‘a motive or reason for purchase’, whereas the latter focuses on ‘humour, emotion and mood’ (Simpson, 2001, p. 589). Conradie (2013) claims that the sender of an ad combines the intertextual manifestation and tickle strategy to promote a product. The study focuses on headlines and subtexts to understand how the combination of intertextuality and tickle are embodied.

Furthermore, some other studies on ads can be considered genre analyses. For example, Díaz Pérez (2000) investigated presuppositions in ads and Velasco-Sacristan (2010) explored conceptual metaphors of ads. However, the studies mentioned in this section do not address multimodality, through which all the elements in ads—such as text, image, colour, font, and layout—could be targets of investigation. Therefore, findings of the present study point to the need for multimodal investigations of ads.

### III. Rationale for car ads and the data

Since the advent of cars, they have been one of the most important commodities in our daily lives. Cook (1992) states that one of the statuses of cars is its necessity. Lämmlein (2014) insists that cars play significant roles in contemporary society: they not only play a role in transportation but also a role in fulfilling the aspirations of people. Lämmlein (2014) also points out that the competitive environment of the car market compels car makers to establish firm brand images and, in this respect, car ads play a significant role in the financial success of a brand. Thus, since car ads play a remarkable role in the car market, car makers are seeking...
effective and attractive design concepts for their ads to match the needs of users. Therefore, analysing car ads would yield beneficial implications for not only social studies but also for ad creators.

The data used in the present study are two ad posters for two car brands: (1) the Porsche 911 and (2) the Volkswagen Jetta, which are both German car brands. Porsche is one of the most prestigious sports car brands in the world, and Volkswagen—as its German name suggests—is a brand for ordinary citizens. Though the two car makers are based in Germany, they seem to be segregated properly within the entire car market. This means that the two car brands have their own characteristics firmly and a comparison of the two, whose targets are different, would lead to finding differences regarding intentions and purposes. As a consequence, the two car brands were selected as the subjects of this analysis. The data were taken from Internet web sites featuring various kinds of posters, from old car posters to contemporary ones. Though the two car makers sell various kinds of cars and make numerous types of posters to promote the sales of the products, the present study selected the posters of the Porsche 911 and the Volkswagen Jetta because the both posters have at least one picture, two groups of text, and a corporate logo (see section 5.1). From the perspective of social semiotics, while there are various types of posters which have diverse kinds of semiotic items, it can be said that the two posters concerned have almost the same amount of information. Moreover, judging from Conradie’s (2013) explanation, the both car ads can be regarded as the tickle type ad because there is no specific explanation of the advertised cars themselves such as the spec of the car, the price, or a loan simulation. Therefore, the present study selected the two car posters as the target data of the current analysis.

IV. Methodologies

The present study adheres to the framework of the grammar of visual design (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, 2006) and the metaphorical approach (Forceville, 1994; Mulken et al., 2010; Velasco-Sacristán, 2010). Some other perspectives—reason and tickle typology and the problem-solving pattern—are also mentioned in this section.

1. Social semiotics approach

Based on Halliday’s SFL approach, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, 2006) expanded the boundary of analysis to other modes of communication such as images, colours, layouts, and so on. The authors claim that meanings are attributed to culture and ‘what is expressed in language through the choice between different word classes and clause structures, may, in visual communication, be expressed through the choice between different uses of colour or different compositional structures’ (p. 2). This scenario would have effects on meaning. Thus, by investigating various modes in ads and semiotic ensembles (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001), a researcher can recognise the meaning which the ad makers incorporated in the ads.

In the present study, salience of the participants, the role of colours, size of the frame, modality of images and status relation of
image and text (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, 2006) are examined.

2. Metaphor in advertisements

It is said that (pictorial) metaphors and metonymy play significant roles in ads (Forceville, 1994; Mulken et al., 2010; Ungerer, 2000; Velasco-Sacristan, 2010). To sell a product or service, ad makers try to create ads that contain either of these. Velasco-Sacristan (2010) explains how metaphors and metonymy would be incorporated into an ad as follows:

On the one hand, the products advertised are never really present in the advert, but are represented by a picture or a brand name, which metonymically stands for the item in question. On the other hand, the conceptualisation of the advertised item or service is usually expressed by either verbal or non-verbal instantiations of conceptual metaphors... (p. 67)

Metonymy indicates one entity by referring to another which has a very close relation to the entity, whereas a metaphor indicates one entity by referring to another having a similar quality or characteristic as the entity. Thus, metonymy can be incorporated into an ad by allowing a brand name to stand for a product of the brand, and a metaphor may be incorporated into an ad with, for example, a picture like the respective product. The present study analyses ads in terms of conceptual metaphors, as advocated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), who argue that not only rhetorical usages of metaphors but also conceptual usages prevail throughout our human activities. Thus, our language reflects this conceptual metaphor structure. Forceville (1994) claims that conceptual metaphors can be applied to not only language but also to images. Therefore, in the present study, metaphors in ads will be analysed.

In addition, Mulken et al. (2010) illustrate three types of metaphorical instantiations in ads: (1) similes, (2) hybrid metaphors, and (3) contextual metaphors. When a simile is used in an ad, 'both source and target domains are visually presented separately'. When a hybrid metaphor is used, 'two pictorially present terms [...] combine target and source domain into a single “gestalt”'. When a contextual metaphor is used, 'the source domain or the target domain is visually absent, in such a way that the absent domain is evoked by the visual context' (p. 3419). Similarly, in the present study, the use of metaphors is analysed in terms of these three types.

3. Reason versus tickle

It should be mentioned that some other perspectives have been adopted in the present study to analyse car ads. Simpson’s (2001) typology of reason and tickle is utilised in analysing ads in the present study. Through the analysis of metaphors in ads, the present study investigates whether reason or tickle is adopted in an ad by scrutinising the semiotic resources used therein, revealing the overall message of the ad.

4. Problem-solution

Hoey (2001) points out that, in cultural
discourse patterns of text organisation, there is a problem-solution pattern constructed with the elements of Situation (optional), Problem, Response, and Positive Result. Situation stands for the premise of a condition, and Problem stands for a need to change the situation. One can change the situation by deploying a Response and gain a Positive Result. Hoey (2001) claims that ads contain this problem-solution pattern. That is, people have a need (Problem) based on a lack of something (appetite for buying), and they can change the situation by buying a product or a service (Response), resulting in satisfaction (Positive Result). In the present study, problem-solution patterns in car ads are analysed.

5. Summary and research questions

To sum up, car ads—rom the perspectives of social semiotics, metaphorical realisation of semiotic modes, reason and tickle types, and problem-solution patterns—will be analysed in this study. Overall messages of the ads will be investigated as well. Therefore, research questions of the present study are as follows:

1. What semiotic modes are incorporated in the ads and how does their integration occur?
2. What overall messages are conveyed by the ensembles of semiotic modes and metaphors?

V. Analysis and discussion

1. Description of the data

The first ad is a poster for the Porsche 911. Porsche is a car maker in Germany and the 911 is its most famous and popular model. Since its launch in 1964, it has had a long history; in fact, the model is one of the iconic models in the sports car market. The ad consists of a simple white frame and a picture of the car. Some texts are imposed in the picture, with the largest one reading, ‘Flogging it is acceptable. Garaging it is torture’. The other text claims, ‘The 911 was not put on this earth to be stared at, ogled, or pampered. No, the 911 was put on this earth to be ridden hard. And ridden hard routinely. So glorify it. Fetishize it, even. But please, don’t put the 911 on a pedestal. There’s no room to drive up there’. At the bottom left of the poster, we can read the following: ‘The 911. To be driven’. At the bottom right is the logo of the car brand. In the picture, a red 911 is moving from right to left with dust blowing up behind it.

The second poster features the Volkswagen Jetta. Volkswagen is also a German car brand that sells a considerable number of cars per year. It is famous for making various economy car models, and the main target is the general public. The ad has a white frame and a picture of a car, Santa Claus, a sleigh, and reindeer, which has a sign saying “FOR SALE”. A text can be found at the bottom left of the white frame that reads ‘The all-new Jetta. You’ll do anything to drive it’. The logo of the brand is located in the bottom right.

2. The Porsche 911

In the first ad, the most salient participants are the texts in white and a red Porsche 911. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, 2006) mention that the hierarchy of the salience of participants
in a picture can be affected by their placement (foreground or background), size, contrasting colours, and sharpness of the colour. The text in white in the ad is conspicuous because of the significant contrast of its colour with that of the background picture; additionally, the size of the text is larger than other elements in the ad. Though the size of the car is not so large, it is equally salient in the ad because, as O’Toole (1994) points out, red is very striking, causing considerable contrast between the car and the background. This vividness makes the car eye-catching. Therefore, it would be reasonable to say that the most prominent participants would be the white text and the car, and the most important message from the ad maker would be incorporated into these two elements. Another element which should be mentioned here is the dust blowing behind the car. Because of the dust, the car seems to be moving very fast. Thus, the driver must be stepping on the accelerator heavily, running the engine roughly and severely. This means that the engine is operating at a high load and this load, in turn, puts a load on the entire car system such as the drive shafts and chassis. This speculation would lead to the interpretation of a metaphor in the ad.

In terms of the relationship between the text and the image of the ad, it can be said that the combination of these would convey a conceptual metaphor to viewers. As mentioned before, the salient text is ‘Flogging it is acceptable. Garaging it is torture’. ‘It’ would stand for the car; therefore, the pronoun has an anaphorical relationship (Halliday, 1985) with the car. ‘Flogging it’, then, could be expressed as ‘flogging the 911’ and metaphorically paraphrased to ‘accelerating the 911’. A jockey may force a thoroughbred to run fast by flogging it severely, whereas a driver makes a car run fast by accelerating it aggressively. ‘Flogging it is acceptable’ implies that a thoroughbred can bear the flogging from the jockey—perhaps with joy—because such a horse was born to run fast. Likewise, the Porsche 911 was made to be driven fast.

‘Garaging it is torture’ could mean that if you put a Porsche 911 in your garage, the car will not remain in good condition. In other words, the best way to maintain a Porsche 911 is to drive it regularly. Similarly, a thoroughbred should be disciplined routinely. Thus, it would be likely that to keep a thoroughbred in a stable would be torture for the horse.

From the argument above, the metaphor incorporated in the ad would be A PORSCHE 911 IS A THOROUGHBRED. The source domain is a thoroughbred and the target domain is a Porsche 911. This interpretation can be confirmed by looking closely at another text in the top right of the ad. Though the text appears in black and the size of the font is not as large as the white text, it conveys an important message to viewers. In the text, there are some phrases which reflect the metaphor: ‘The 911 was put on this earth to be ridden hard’ and ‘And ridden hard routinely’. The verb ‘ride’ is not the only choice to express the operation of a motor vehicle; rather, we normally use the phrase ‘ride a horse’.

Therefore, it would be true that the maker of the ad dared to use ‘ride’ instead of ‘drive’ to express the similarities with riding a horse.

In addition, the metaphor in the ad could be a combination of a simile and contextual metaphor...
If a simile is used in an ad, pictures or drawings of both the source domain and target domain are directly incorporated into the ad. However, the ad in question does not have a noticeable picture of the source domain (a thoroughbred). To express the source domain, the ad maker presents texts associated with the source domain so that viewers can interpret the metaphor. In other words, the metaphor could be identified in the textual context of riding a horse.

Moreover, the car seems to be running on the surface of water because the shadow of the car is reflecting on the surface (on a beach or a heat haze?). Of course, it is impossible for a car to run on water, so viewers of this ad may think this is not a real photograph, just a created one. Further, the contrast between the water and the car shadow is not clear because of the long shot of the car. Accordingly, the details of the colour, the contrast of the car and the ground, and the outline of the car are blurred. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, 2006) point out that if an entity is not articulated clearly, the conveyed message will be unreal or ethereal (low modality). Thus, this indistinct expression of the boundary could refer to the unreal, imaginary transcendence of the car. This could evoke viewers’ longing for the Porsche 911 as a symbol of success, status, and fortune. In this respect, the ad is a tickle ad attempting to persuade consumers to buy a product by presenting a good impression of it. Thus, the ad does not have a detailed explanation about the specs of the car or the price, which can be regarded as reasons (Simpson, 2001) for buying the product.

To sum up, the ad for the Porsche 911 contains the modes of text, pictures, and colour, which constitute a conceptual metaphor. The ad’s creator expects that through the metaphor, viewers will feel a longing for the car and buy one. Moreover, the ad contains a problem-solution pattern (Hoey, 2001). From the viewpoint of consumers, the Porsche 911 could be a solution (Response) to their need (Problem) for a stimulating and wealthy life (Positive Result). Therefore, the ad effectively utilises semiotic resources to reflect the ad maker’s belief or ideology and creates a superlative impression that persuades consumers to buy the product.

3. The Volkswagen Jetta

The second ad features the Volkswagen Jetta. The most salient entities—based on size and colour—are the car and Santa Claus. The car is located on the left side of the ad, and viewers may look at the car first because it accounts for about 50% of the picture. On the other hand, Santa Claus would draw a lot of attention from viewers because he is wearing his traditional costume, and the red colour of his clothing may make him more noticeable in the ad. Thus, viewers may look at the car and Santa Claus as a set of salient visual entities. After looking at the car and Santa Claus, viewers would notice the reindeer and sleigh—essential for Santa. This shift from the left side to the right side is caused by the difference in the prominence of participants in the ad. As Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, 2006) point out, people in an anglophone culture read from left to right, so they are likely to look at the ad from left to right. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, 2006) suggest that the left-to-right shift can be applied
to the given-to-new information structure. In other words, an element on the left is given information, and an element on the right is new information. Thus, the car would be given information, whereas Santa Claus, the reindeer, and sleigh would be new information. Then, viewers would notice the ‘FOR SALE’ sign attached to the sleigh. At this point, viewers would receive a strong message from the maker of the ad. That is, the quality of the car is very high and someone who wants one is willing to pay a great cost. This message can be confirmed by the text in the bottom left of the ad: ‘The all-new Jetta. You’ll do anything to drive it’. This can be metaphorically paraphrased to ‘The all-new Jetta. Santa Claus will sell his reindeer and sleigh to drive it’.

The argument above points to a conceptual metaphor in the ad—namely, A NEW JETTA IS A SLEIGH. In terms of the typology of metaphors, the metaphor in the ad would be classified as a simile because both domains of the metaphor are presented in the ad (i.e. the car and the sleigh). Santa’s sleigh (pulled by reindeer) is an essential tool for transportation. However, the ad claims that the utility of the car overwhelms Santa Claus’s tradition, which is also vital for Christmas Day. The ad suggests that Santa is going to commit an act that betrays children so that he can drive the all-new Jetta. The ad maker tries to persuade consumers to buy the product by utilising this metaphorical logic.

Furthermore, this metaphor can be expanded into a more schematic or universal one: A JETTA IS A NECESSITY. As mentioned earlier, Volkswagen sells numerous economy cars and its target is ordinary people. This means that the car maker should promote the car to the most common mass. Therefore, the superficial metaphor would be the former one, but the true metaphor which the ad’s creator wants to convey would be the latter one. The latter metaphor can be applied to almost every person who thinks a car is a necessity. However, as Mulken et al. (2010) point out, a conceptual metaphor can be interrupted by its complexity. If cognitive processing is too complicated, viewers may not notice the embedded metaphor. In this case, viewers should process the two steps leading to the latter metaphor: namely, the metaphor with the sleigh as the source domain and the metaphor with necessity as the target domain. There is another metaphor: A SLEIGH IS A NECESSITY. This cognitive processing could cause viewers to fail to notice the metaphor of A JETTA IS A NECESSITY. Ad makers should keep this idea in mind when they create ads containing metaphors.

In summary, the ad for the Volkswagen Jetta contains the modes of text, pictures, and colour. The ad maker promotes the car as having many selling points to attract the general public, incorporating a conceptual metaphor which features cars as necessities. In addition, the medium shot of the car and its realistic picture of the car would indicate high articulation of the ad and this lead to high modality of the ad. This would mean that the car is readily available to anyone. Besides, as Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, 2006) point out, the eye level angle of the viewers indicates equality, which could be related to the quality of availability. For economy car makers, availability should be a priority. In other words, availability of the car would be a Positive Result and a Solution in a
problem-solution pattern. Overall, the ad is in line with the tickle approach towards conveying the message, as no detailed explanation of the product is embedded in the ad.

**VI. Conclusion**

The present study is an analysis of two car ads in terms of social semiotics and conceptual metaphors. The analysis has revealed that, in the ads, various modes such as text, font, image, colour, layout, and angle of the viewers are utilised to incorporate messages from the ad makers. Ensembles of these semiotic modes convey the beliefs and interests of the ad makers. In the ad for the Porsche 911, the ad creator incorporates various modes to impress upon consumers that it is the only car with superiority and supremacy as a pure sports car through the following metaphor: A 911 IS A THOROUGHBRED. On the other hand, in the Volkswagen Jetta ad, various modes are embedded to convey to consumers the qualities of utility and availability through this metaphor: A JETTA IS A NECESSITY.

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**Note**

1) According to corpora of the British National Corpus (BNC)\(^2\) and Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)\(^3\), the hit number for collocation of ‘ride a horse’ is much more than that for ‘ride a car’. In the BNC, the hit number for the latter is five (5), whereas it is 34 for the former. In COCA, the hit number for ‘ride a car’ is 18, whereas that for ‘ride a horse’ is 172.

2) Though the brand logo has a horse in it, the salience would be quite low because of the size of the horse. Therefore, it would be reasonable to think that the horse in the logo would not raise the consciousness of viewers.

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University of Michigan Press.


Data

Porsche 911


VW Jetta