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UKRAINIAN AND ENGLISH METAPHORICAL INSCRIPTIONS ON CLOTHING; HOW ELOQUENT CAN THEY BE?

This paper aims to analyse Ukrainian and English metaphorical clothing inscriptions in a comparative aspect, focusing on the diverse nature of the figure of speech. It deals with Ukrainian and English metaphorical inscriptions on clothing harvested on the Internet over a two-year period (2017–2019). The study shows that metaphorisation is unevenly typical for the two linguocultural environments. The research reveals the ideas which are communicated by metaphorical clothing inscriptions in both languages, discovering the most crucial topics and issues for speakers as well as society in general. The article determines that there are universal thematic groups, typical for humanity as a whole, as well as specific groups inherent only in a particular linguoculture, which reflect certain socio-cultural and historical processes. We argue that metaphorical inscriptions on clothing can be eloquent in terms of social preferences, values and trends of two different European (Slavic and Germanic) linguocultural environments. The outcome of the research can be used as an interesting material for sociolinguistics and linguocultural studies.

Keywords: metaphor, inscriptions on clothing, linguocultural environment.

A metaphor is considered to be one of the means of cognizing and perceiving a reality, so it is not surprising that different aspects of this versatile phenomenon have received a wide theoretic coverage. Within the framework of cognitive linguistics, a metaphor is seen as a linguistic, cognitive, and cultural phenomenon (Lakoff — Johnson 1980; Kövecses 2010), as well as a particular way of thinking (Mac Cormac 1985). Fundamental works are devoted to the problem of classification of metaphors (Арутюнова 1990; Москвин 2006), the syntactic semantics of the trope (Black 1962), grammatical constructions and syntactic alignment in metaphoric language (Sullivan 2016). Modern linguists focus on metaphors in mass media (Khudoliy 2018; Liu 2018) or political discourse (Flusberg at al. 2018; Zeng at al. 2020). Several scholars investigate metaphors in a certain thematic area: economic metaphors (Shenker-Osorio 2012; Pamies — Ramos Ruiz 2017), metaphors in science (Bedrych 2016; Armon 2017), environment metaphors (Ahmadi — Ghazali 2018; Volmert et al. 2013), metaphors and emotions

(Kövecses 2012; Ogarkova — Soriano 2018), immigration metaphors (Cisneros 2008; Montagut — Moragas-Fernández 2020).

Most studies on metaphors have been based on fiction or publicistic texts (Liulka 2019; Smirnova — Shustova 2018), or on the analysis of an individual idiolect (Neary 2017; Lamb 2017), but, to the best of the knowledge of the author, this phenomenon has never been studied on the material of clothing inscriptions in a comparative aspect, which will be the purpose of this research. There are several reasons why metaphorical inscriptions on clothing are worth studying. The first reason relates to the importance of shedding some light on the previously unknown socio-linguistic facts. Another one is connected with the specificity of the concerned microtexts which, in fact, reflect deep cultural and social forces through an individual preference. They actually communicate metaphorical messages about our real identity, showing the link between a personal self and a representative of a certain socio-linguistic group. Thus, we will offer the first linguistic insight into metaphorical clothing inscriptions, which along with prints transform clothing from an ordinary necessary thing in human life into a means of individual thoughts and moods expression, and, if combined and generalised, provide fascinating linguocultural knowledge about the speakers, reflecting their priorities, believes, and associations. The ability of metaphor to reveal the union of thoughts and language, combined with a personal conscious choice of the inscribed clothing, is the main reason for it to be chosen as the object of research that is bound to produce interesting results of linguistic, social and cultural nature. Thus, in what follows, we are going to analyse and compare metaphorical inscriptions on clothing in Ukrainian and English. We intend to shed some light on the communicative potential of the concerned inscriptions which are quite eloquent about the priorities of the speakers.

The research is based on 365 Ukrainian and 1200 English inscriptions on clothes scrutinised in terms of the presence of metaphors. The data were collected over a period of approximately two years (from 09/2017 to 08/2019) from online auctions, shopping websites and e-shops. Although there are fewer Ukrainian inscriptions than English ones, we argue that the sampling is representative, since this is the number of inscriptions possible to harvest from the internet by employing a continuous sampling method. This evident quantitative difference is by no means due to the authors' negligence, — the matter is immediately relevant to the clothing culture of the speakers as well as the uneven spread and popularity of the considered languages: in Ukraine clothing with inscriptions is traditionally not very popular and the use of Ukrainian is far less than that of English. Given that the analyzed units appear with vastly different frequencies, we argue that a study aimed at giving a clear picture of the phenomenon in question should reflect those frequencies. Since this paper is a part of the project devoted to the research of inscriptions on clothing in general, it will deal only with those which contain metaphors, that is 48 (13%) Ukrainian and 92 (7.7%) English inscriptions.

Then, using the method of systematisation and classification, we made an attempt to find out those areas of the speakers' lives where the metaphors on clothing are most commonly used in both lingo-cultural environments. Since some inscriptions enclose several metaphors or sometimes the metaphor can be placed in a particular context which influences its communicative value, the classification was based not on the single metaphors but on the meaning of the whole metaphorical inscription. Seven thematic types of inscriptions were identified and analysed using the quantitative and comparative methods.

It should be noted that while collecting the data and presenting the examples in this paper we tried to preserve the original graphics of the clothing inscriptions: lower and upper case letters, symbols and lack of punctuation.

Despite the variety of approaches to metaphors, the views on its nature and structure are essentially alike. Though metaphors are considered to be one of the most popular tropes, it is basically understood as a product of language and thinking by cognitive linguists since its creation and understanding involve the mapping of mental images (Lakoff — Turner 1989).

The general essence of a metaphor can be defined as "understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff — Johnson 1980: 5). The key role in metaphor formation belongs to the similarity, displayed in the intersection of two meanings.

According to the relevance-theoretic approach, where the metaphor is seen as a phenomenon of language and communication, one concept can be used to represent another due to the similarity in their logico-semantic content (Sperber – Wilson 1995; Carston 2002; Wilson — Sperber 2004).

The multidimensional structure of the metaphor is clarified in the research of Steen (Steen 2011). The scholar suggests that the metaphor consists of three relatively independent and interacting properties (linguistic, conceptual, and communicative) which influence its production, reception, interaction, acquisition, learning and maintenance. (Steen 2011: 44).

It should be noted that since the metaphor is a product of language, thinking and communication, it is closely connected with the cultural and social world. Thus, metaphorical transfer of the meaning is usually based upon actually existing similarities or associations shared by all the members of a language community which contribute to their universal character (Kryshtal 2015: 119). Metaphors evoke associations and every nation has its unique linguistically creative type of thinking in double character: it reflects reality and re-examines the available resources of the language (Khudoliy 2018: 177).

We are in line with the above-mentioned ideas and in this study we consider metaphor as a product of language, thinking, communication and culture, as a figure of speech in which a term or phrase literally denoted to one kind of object or concept is applied to another on the basis of their similarity or associations.

In one of our papers we made an attempt to provide a sufficient semantic classification of this versatile figure of speech (Striuk 2021). However, to fully

understand the use of metaphors in the contemporary lingocultural environment, we consider it important to develop a thematic classification of Ukrainian and English inscriptions on clothing containing metaphors. Such an approach will enable us to figure out those areas and aspects of speakers' lives that provoke the use of metaphors on clothing. In other words, in what follows we are going to analyse what the sampled inscriptions with metaphors are about, what ideas metaphors revolve around and what exactly people communicate by means of metaphors.

Taking into consideration the peculiarities of the source from which the units under analysis were taken and using the ideas presented in the *Metaphors Dictionary* (Sommer — Weiss 2001) the whole scope of Ukrainian and English clothing inscriptions with metaphors can be grouped into seven thematic types:1) People Characteristics/Description; 2) Family and Relations; 3) Look and Fashion; 4) Motivation for Action; 5) Didactic Advice; 6) Warnings and Threats; 7) Patriotism and National Identity.

1. People Characteristics/Description

Metaphors of this group are used in the inscriptions on clothing to characterize or describe people, both the particular owner of the clothing and human beings in general. According to the ways people are represented, the following subtypes of clothing inscriptions can be recognized: Positive Characteristics, Negative Characteristics, Tastes and Preferences, Lifestyle and Peculiar Features, Complaining and Making Excuses, Attitude to Other People, Emotions and Mood; Belonging to a Certain Group of People.

1.1 Positive Characteristics

Such inscriptions describe positive moral human features and were singled out only among the Ukrainian ones. Metaphors of this subtype tend to depict good traits of character such as courage, describing a young man as a young eagle; determination, figuratively showing it as swimming upstream and faithfulness:

(1) молода вовчиця 'a young she-wolf'

In (1) a young widow is compared to a she-wolf who has only one partner for the whole life. Thus, the metaphor is used to emphasize that the woman remains faithful to her husband even after his death.

1.2 Negative Charactirestics

Inscriptions of this subtype depict negative human characteristics, habits or unfavorable traits of character. Ther examples of this subgroup can be the following:

(2) I BROKE A MILLION HEARTS JUST FOR FUN

To characterize an irresponsible person in emotional relationships the metaphor is based on the verb of destruction *to break*. The noun *heart* which is as-

sociated with emotions and feeling is used as an object of this harmful action, thus the inscription in general describes a serial unrepentant philanderer, whom others should beware (2).

(3) *XAPAKTEP У MEHE ЗОЛОТИЙ* * * *TOMУ ТАКИЙ ВАЖКИЙ* 'My temper is gold that is why it is so heavy [difficult]'

The metaphor in (3) is a well-known idiom 3ολοῦμοῦ xapaκῦμep 'gold temper' built on the association with a precious metal meaning 'to be good and kind'. However, in this particular inscription the focus is shifted from the value of the metal to its weight. Moreover, the inscription contains a pun since in Ukrainian the adjective βαθκουῦ means both 'heavy' and 'difficult'. Thus, the metaphor is used to communicate the idea that notwithstanding the owner's self-admiration, she or he is an ill-tempered person to others.

(4) *PEBIB ВЕДМІДЬ*, *HE ТОГО*, ЩО БДЖОЛИ ПОКУСАЛИ, *A TOMY ЩО МЕДУ УЗЯТИ НЕ ДАЛИ*. 'The bear roared not because it was bitten by bees but because it was not allowed to take any honey'.

The inscription (4), which is a Ukrainian folk proverb, metaphorically depicts a person caught red-handed similarly to a bear roaring when it fails to get honey. This person never feels guilty. Moreover, he or she complains about the punishment, which is associated with bear's roaring after being bitten by bees. So, the inscription describes a person who is not morally conscientious, shows no signs of remorse, being sorry for not having been able to commit a felony.

1.3 Tastes and Preferences

This subtype of clothing inscriptions with metaphors can be singled out since likes and dislikes are inevitable characteristics of humans. English inscriptions of this group are typically used to describe people in terms of their gastronomic preferences, quite often associating them with machines consuming food and drinks as fuel.

(5) BROWNIES RULE!

To show that the person is very fond of brownies, the cake is described metaphorically as somebody who controls and has authority over the owner of the clothing (the message is intensified with a pictorial metaphor on clothing — a piece of brownie wearing a crown) (5).

The only Ukrainian inscription of this subtype characterizes a person through their love to money:

- (6) *Мене гроші не Хвилююйь, ВОНИ МЕНЕ засйокоююйь!* 'Money does not make me care, it makes me calm'
- In (6) two opposite actions $xвилюва\overline{u}u$ 'to make somebody care about something' and $3ac\overline{u}o\kappa oio вa\overline{u}u$ 'to make calm' are performed by $\overline{z}po\underline{u}i$ 'money' stating that money is not the reason to feel worried or anxious for the owner of the clothing, on the contrary it brings them peace quietness and calmness. In oth-

er words, the metaphor in the inscription is used to describe a person, whose priorities are shifted towards the material values and who prefers to have a lot of money to feel satisfied.

1.4 *Lifestyle and Peculiar Features*

Besides personality traits and tastes, people can be characterized by the way they live their life and the features that differ them from others. Both English and Ukrainian metaphors are used to characterize people's love for freedom:

(7) ALWAYS IN LOVE RUNNING WILD BORN FREE

In (7) the expression *to run wild*, based on the association of the movement with life, develops its metaphorical meaning 'to grow or develop freely without any control'. Thus, the inscription characterizes the owner of the clothing as the one whose way of life is incompatible with freedom restriction.

(8) CBIT JOBUB MEHE, TA HE BIIIŬMAB 'The world was trying to catch me but it couldn't'

The inscription (8), which is a quotation of a famous Ukrainian XVth century philosopher Hryhorii Skovoroda, metaphorically describes the world full of its own values and rules as a creature trying to catch the run away author. The failure of that action proves the idea that the person remains free despite the efforts of the society.

1.5 Complaining and Making Excuses

This group is not numerous and was singled out only in English inscriptions on clothing. Most metaphors of this subtype describe people complaining about being in trouble:

(9) MY LIFE IS ON THE ROCKS

To express one's grumbling about having problems and feeling a complete wrack, life is associated with a vessel that ran aground on rocks and broke apart (9).

Some metaphors are used to depict people making excuses for getting drunk or not being punctual as in (10):

(10) RUNNING LATE IS MY CARDIO

In (10), to justify a bad habit of being constantly late, the owner of the clothing describes it as a *cardio*. The metaphor communicates the idea that from the person's prospective he or she has to be late because being late makes people run and running is good for one's health. Thus, performing a necessary action, the latter is not perceived as something negative but as an everyday opportunity to keep fit.

1.6 Attitude to Other People

One more aspect that characterizes humans is their attitude toward people surrounding them.

Both English and Ukrainian inscriptions of this subtype depicting people bothered by somebody's behavior or habits as in (11), (12), (13):

(11) There are people who didn't listen to Their teacher's grammar lessons, and They're driving me nuts!

The inscription (11) contains the metaphor based on the verb of motion *to drive* and the adjective *nuts* meaning 'crazy' used as the destination of the movement. The figurative meaning of the adjective might be connected with the association of a nut with a head as a source of human mental and emotional activity. So, the inscription expresses the idea that the owner of the clothing is extremely annoyed by those who do not care about learning grammar.

The Ukrainian clothing inscriptions (12), (13) are traditional folk metaphorical expressions aimed to show anger or irritation with other people.

- (12) ЩОБ ТИ СКИС 'I wish you turned sour'
- In (12) the verb $c\kappa u c h y \bar{u} u$ 'to turn sour', which is often used to name the process of food going bad, is associated with having troubles in life. Thus, the speaker wishes the addressee those troubles.
 - (13) CBIT BU TEEE HE 3HOB 'I wish the world did not know you'

The metaphor (13) can be understood as 'it'd be better if you were not born at all'. To emphasize that the expression is a colloquial one, the inscription contains a dialect variant of the verb *знов* 'to know', the standard form of which is *знав*

Generally, in both inscriptions (12) and (13) the metaphors, which are emotional ill-wishing phrases, are used to express a high degree of irritation or anger of the clothing owner as the result of someone's unfavorable actions.

Within this group one more Ukrainian inscription (14) can be singled out, which is a quotation of a Ukrainian XX century poet Vasyl Symonenko who was persecuted by the Soviet Secret Services:

- (14) *Вірні<u>ш</u>ого йобрайшма, ніж йайір, я не знаю.* 'I don't know any more faithful sworn brother than paper.'
- In (14) $\bar{u}a\bar{u}ip$ 'paper' as a metonymy of writing is associated with $\bar{u}o\delta pa\bar{u}um$ 'the sworn brother', the person who is a reliable friend in a battle. The inscription shows the idea that the author (and the owner of the clothing consequently) does not trust people and expresses his thoughts, especially rebellious ones, only in writing.

1.7 Feelings and Emotions

The role of feelings and emotions in personality is vital since they are central to human behavior and experience. This group contains inscriptions expressing emotional states and feelings such as love (15, 16), and excitement (17).

(15) CATS LEAVE PAW PRINTS ON YOUR HEART FOREVER

To show that it is impossible to be indifferent to cats the noun *heart* is used in its metaphorical meaning 'a container for emotions and feelings'. Thus, *leaving paw prints* on it means 'appealing to your feelings and emotions'. The inscription in general describes deep love and affection for cats (15).

- (16) Любов це хімія, а в хімії я не <u>ш</u>арю 'Love is chemistry, and I am not good at chemistry'
- In (16) love is associated with a difficult science that demands one to know much. The confession of being not good at it emphasizes the high level of complexity of love for the owner of the clothing.

(17) I AM RED WITH LOVE

The red as the colour of blood or fire is metaphorically used to describe feelings of extreme intensity. So, the inscription (17) expresses the state of great excitement caused by love.

Within English inscriptions with metaphors of this type the one depicting such emotional state as passion was found:

(18) PASSION IS A FASHION

In the inscription (18) a very powerful feeling is associated with fashion. The metaphor shows the idea that to demonstrate strong feelings or beliefs is rather trendy and up to date.

1.8 Belonging to a Certain Group of People

Metaphors used to describe people through their belonging to particular groups or communities were found only in English inscriptions on clothing:

- (19) Birthday SQUAD
- In (19) the participants of the birthday celebration are metaphorically depicted as a *squad*, a small group of soldiers working or being trained together. The inscription emphasizes that the owner of the clothing is a member of a well-trained group working together to make the party great fun.

(20) FITNESS MAFIA

In the inscription (20) the noun *mafia* is used to describe a person who belongs to an active and popular fitness community.

2. Family and Relations

Metaphors of this type serve to show various concepts connected with family life, parenting, maternity, childhood and human relations in general.

In both English and Ukrainian clothing inscriptions children are depicted as powerful people or values:

- (21) Daddy's little Welsh Princess
- In (21) the daughter is described as a *princess*, a female member of a royal family. The inscription highlights the power of a little girl over her father.

(22) BABUSYNE ZOLOTKO 'granny's little gold'

The Ukrainian inscription (22), printed in Latin script, emphasizes the preciousness of a grandchild to their grandmother; the boy or a girl is associated with 30ποτω 'gold', the Ukrainian diminutive form 30ποτωκο 'little gold' is used to convey a sense of intimacy or endearment.

Only English inscriptions of clothing contain metaphors describing parenting. They show admiration associating parents with brave and mighty superheroes; describe the toughness of being a mother (23) or express gratitude (24):

(23) I run on caffeine chaos & cuss words. #MomLife

In (23) to depict what maternity is like, the mother is associated with a vehicle that operates on caffeine, chaos and cuss words. The specific fuel emphasizes that mother's life is disordered and exhausting: caffeine helps to overcome the lack of sleep, while cuss words are the way to get rid of negative emotions and feelings.

(24) THANKS DAD FOR BRINGING ME TO THIS WORLD

The verb *to bring* used with a noun *world* as a destination, obtains its metaphorical meaning 'to give birth'. Thus, the inscription expresses the gratefulness of the clothing owner to the father for giving them life (24).

Though, both English and Ukrainian inscriptions of this type characterize relationships, the accents are quite different. English metaphors serve to show how two people complement each other or emphasize importance of a person in one's life (25) while Ukrainian ones tend to depict those relationships as a desirable objective (26) or (27). Compare:

(25) YOU ARE MY SUN MY MOON AND ALL MY STARS

In (25), which is a quotation from the poem by an American poet, painter, essayist, author, and playwright E. E. Cummings, the dear person or the life partner is associated with heavenly bodies which provide light, energy and support life on earth. So, the inscription describes relationships that are indispensable part of clothing owner's life; they make it meaningful and complete.

Ukrainian metaphors of this group are mainly used to express striving for relationships:

(26) ВІДДАМСЯ В ДОБРІ РУКИ 'I will give myself into good hands'

The (26) is built on the metaphorical expression $ei\partial \partial a\bar{u}u$ e $\partial o \delta pi$ pyku 'to give something into good hands' meaning 'to give something to the good caring owner'. Since the ownership is associated with being in relationships, the inscriptions communicates that the owner of the clothing wishes to be taken care of.

(27) ВІЗЬМИ МЕНЕ В ПОЛОН 'Take me prisoner/ Capture me'

The inscription (27) containing the verb phrase $\delta pa\bar{u}u \ \epsilon \ \bar{u}onoh$ 'to capture' in its imperative form is a metaphorical request to become the object of the romantic relations.

3. Look and Fashion

The inscriptions of this kind were found only in English. They focus people's attention on fashionable things and are also used to characterize the way people look:

(28) STYLE speaks LOUDER than words

In (28) the possibility to reveal one's inner world, attitudes, likes, dislikes and even character traits with the help of clothing is metaphorically described as a human ability to speak. Thus, the inscription expresses the importance of being mindful when choosing a dress style.

(29) Smile Is THE BEST Makeup

Since cosmetics serve to make people better-looking, the metaphor is based on the association of *makeup* with the smile on somebody's face. So, the inscription (29) shows the idea that people are more attractive when they smile.

(30) Something to die for...Guess Wear your Passion

In (30), to describe the extreme beauty of clothing of the particular brand (Guess), the garment is depicted as *passion*. The inscription states that wearing Guess clothing is equal to experiencing very strong feelings.

4. Motivation for Action

Metaphors in the clothing inscriptions of this type are used to provoke a person to do something or behave in a particular way.

The isomorphic feature of both English and Ukrainian inscriptions of this group is that all of them call to be active, energetic and fast (31), (32), (33):

(31) A LITTLE PARTY NEVER KILLED NOBODY

In (31) a metaphorical expression is a name of a song recorded by Fergie, Q-Tip and GoonRock for the soundtrack to the 2013 film The Great Gatsby. The good influence of partying is expressed with the negative form of the verb *to kill* meaning 'did not ever cause any harm'. To make the inscription more emotional a double negation is used. So, the metaphor in question is the motivation to take an active part in the celebration and enjoy it because it is the safest and most innocent thing to do.

(32) БУЙНО MPIЙTE 'dream lush'

The metaphor (32), which is a quotation by Bohdan Hawrylyshyn, a Canadian, Swiss and Ukrainian economist, thinker, benefactor and advisor to governments and large companies worldwide, is based on the association of *mpin* 'a dream' with a lush plant. The metaphor inspires one to cherish dreams and make them grow unrestricted since ideas are the basis for further actions.

(33) ДЕДЛАЙНИ ГОРЯТЬ 'The deadlines are on fire'

In (33) the noun $\partial e \partial \pi a \tilde{u} u$ 'deadline' is used with the verb $\bar{z}opi\bar{u}u$ 'to be on fire' in its figurative meaning 'to end very soon'. Thus, the metaphor motivates one to act quickly and not to waste time.

Sometimes the inscriptions of this group can also appeal to a positive attitude and kindness (34), (35):

(34) Throw GLITTER in today's FACE

In (34) to motivate a person to be positive, to develop confidence and a healthy dose of self-esteem the noun *glitter* is used to express little positive actions. The lexeme 'face' metaphorically describes current situation, events in life which are "right in front of us". Since glitter is a popular decoration the metaphor inspires one to brighten one's life, make it more vivid and be optimistic.

(35) ДАРУЙ ТЕПЛО "give warmth"

In the Ukrainian inscription (35) love and affection are associated with $\bar{u}e\bar{u}no$ 'warmth'. The metaphor in question is the motivation to do good things and be kind to other people.

The allomorphic feature of English inscriptions within this group, however, is that only they imply the appeal to act dangerously or against the law (36), (37):

(36) ROCK THE BOAT

The metaphorical expression (36) attributed to American statesman, lawyer and politician William Jennings Bryan, is based on the association of life with a vessel full of people and causing problems. Thus, the idiom means 'to do something that upsets a situation and makes trouble'. Used in its imperative form, the metaphor calls one to do something risky and even dangerous that could hurt others or trigger problems.

(37) BREAK THE RULES

The inscription (37) is a name of a song by an English singer Charli XCX from her studio album, Sucker (2014). The destructive action is metaphorically directed to the rules. So, the inscription in general is a call for people to be disobedient and not follow the social norms.

5. Didactic Advice

Metaphors of this type serve to teach something, especially moral lessons. English inscriptions are focused on recommendations concerning life and how to live wisely:

(38) When LIFE throws you LEMONS ... go BANANAS!

The (38) is built on the recognisable proverb 'When life gives you lemons, make lemonade' teaching us to make the best of any unfortunate experience. In the inscription under study, problems in life are metaphorically described as

lemons comparing their sourness with unpleasant things or situations. However, the idiom *to go bananas* meaning 'to behave crazy or silly' changes the general meaning of the whole expression. Thus, the inscription in general advises one not to worry about life difficulties, take it easy and have a sense of humour.

(39) DEPTH OF LIFE

The metaphor (39) built on the perceiving life as a measurable object is a part of a quotation by Ralph Waldo Emerson, an American essayist, lecturer, philosopher, and a poet of the mid-19th century, 'It is not length of life, but depth of life' (Emerson, 1876, p 281). So, the inscription emphasizes the importance of leading an active life full of events and meaningful things.

Ukrainian inscriptions contain recommendations concerning overcoming unreasonable fears and the importance of the native language in one's life:

(40) НЕ ТАКИЙ СТРАШНИЙ ВОВК, ЯК ЙОГО МАЛЮЮТЬ 'The wolf is not so frightening as it is painted'

The inscription (40), which is a Ukrainian folk proverb, is based on the image of 806κ 'a wolf' as a metaphor of something frightening and terrifying and the verb Manosauu 'to paint' is associated with the process of description. The inscription teaches not be afraid of something based only on other people's impression or opinion.

(41) TBOA MOBA TBOA 35POA "Your language is your weapon"

In (41) the native language is figuratively depicted as *36pos* 'a weapon' that can protect the owner and harm enemies. The metaphor under study emphasizes the importance of studying, development and a correct usage of the mother tongue.

6. Warnings and Threats

This group was singled out only in English inscriptions on clothing. Such metaphors serve as warnings about both people and actions:

(42) I AM A CAPRICORN I CAN BE THE BEST THING IN YOUR LIFE OR YOUR WORST NIGHTMARE CHOOSE WISELY

The metaphor (42), built on the association of a *nightmare* with an extremely unpleasant event or experience, alerts others to possible dangers in the relationships with the owner of the clothing.

(43) KARMA HAS NO DEADLINE

In (43) the idea of *karma* as the effect of one's own actions is associated with an eternal and constant process. The inscription is used to communicate a warning, saying that the responsibility for all good and bad deeds will be shouldered irrespective of the time they were done.

7. Patriotism and National Identity

Clothing inscriptions of this type were found only in the Ukrainian ones. They typically show love to the homeland by using the noun *heart* figuratively; compare Ukrainians to the blossom; admire the honor of dying for freedom and independence, condemn people who do not long for freedom and do not fight for it.

Some inscriptions of this group contain the image of $\kappa o 3a\kappa$ 'kozak 'Ukrainian warrior' as a metaphor of a person ready to fight and die for Ukraine:

(44) Бережено \bar{z} о Бо \bar{z} береже, а козака — <u>ш</u>абля с \bar{u} ереже 'God protects the well-protected, and the kozak is guarded by the saber'

In the proverb (44) <u>madna</u> 'a saber', which was a traditional weapon of kozaks, metaphorically performs human action of protection its owner from danger. The inscription proclaims the statement saying that while ordinary people should be careful and rely on God, those who struggle for independence must fight for it.

(45) Як Козак Шаблею Блисне то москаль в титани дрисне. 'When kozak's saber shines, moskal has diarrhea.'

The inscription (45), which is a folk proverb as well, opposes $\kappa o3a\kappa$ 'kozak' and $Moc\kappa anb$ 'moskal', with the latter standing for the residents of the Grand Duchy of Moscovia from the 14th-18th centuries — what was traditionally regarded as a symbol of people trying to conquer Ukrainian land. To show that moskal is afraid of the mere look of kozak's saber, the metaphorical description of fear as having diarrhea is applied.

The thematic types of Ukrainian and English clothing inscriptions with metaphors are shown in Table 1:

 ${\it Table~1}$ The matic Classification of Ukrainian and English Clothing Inscriptions with Metaphors

Thematic type Language	Ukrainian	English
1. People Characteristics/Description	20 (41,7%)	35 (38%)
1.1 Positive Characteristics	3 (6,3%)	_
1.2 Negative Characteristics	4 (8,3%)	6 (6,5%)
1.3 Tastes and Preferences	1 (2%)	6 (6,5%)
1.4 Lifestyle and Peculiar Features	4 (8,3%)	7 (7,6%)
1.5 Complaining and Making Excuses	_	4 (4,3%)
1.6 Attitude to Other People	3 (6,3%)	3 (3,2 %)
1.7 Feelings and Emotions	5 (10,4%)	7 (7,6%)
1.8 Belonging to a Certain Group of People	-	2 (2,2%)

Thematic type Language	Ukrainian	English
2. Family and Relations	6 (12,5%)	13 (14,2%)
3. Look and Fashion	_	7 (7,6%)
4. Motivation for Action	5 (10,4%)	20 (21,7%)
5. Didactic Advice	6 (12,5%)	10 (10,9%)
6. Warnings and Threats	_	7 (7,6%)
7. Patriotism and National Identity	11 (22,9%)	_
Total	48 (100%)	92 (100%)

As it can be seen in the table, among Ukrainian and English clothing inscriptions with metaphors the most numerous are those which characterize or describe people. That might be explained by the general anthropocentric nature of the source from which the units under study were taken. Moreover, nearly half of the inscriptions of this type in both languages depict the way people live their lives, their peculiar features and emotions. This fact might prove that the main reason when choosing clothing with inscriptions is to differ from others, to show one's inner world and a unique personality.

A relatively equal number of metaphors in Ukrainian and English inscriptions on clothing are used to describe family life and human relations. This topic is common to mankind and shared by everyone regardless of nationality, culture and beliefs. The second popular thematic type in both languages is *Didactic Advice*. This might be explained by the universality of the topic as well, since people tend to teach others or share ideas which can help one to make important choices or decisions.

Almost a quarter of English clothing inscriptions with metaphors are a motivation or call for action. Such inscriptions mainly provoke people to have fun and not to restrain themselves. Taking into consideration that quite a large number of clothing metaphors are used as warnings or threats, we might assume that English clothing inscriptions under study show the tendency to express enjoyment in disobedience or rebellion. Though the metaphors in the thematic group *Motivation for Action* are relatively numerous among Ukrainian inscriptions as well, the metaphors of this type are aimed to promote positive attitude, hard work and responsibility.

It should be noted that many of English metaphorical clothing inscriptions are the names of popular songs. This fact and that a relatively large number of metaphors depict fashion-related issues and appearance might indicate the importance of mass culture and trends for English speakers, which is not the same in Ukrainian linguocultural environment.

English inscriptions with metaphors are more personality-focused since they show the tendency to concentrate on personal preferences and tastes or try to justify own flaws and drawbacks. On the other hand, in Ukrainian metaphorical clothing inscriptions the vector is outward: they prove the inclination of Ukrainians to characterize or evaluate other people.

A quarter of Ukrainian metaphors on clothing honor patriotism and reveal the problems of national identity. This fact might be explained by the centuries of struggle for independence, the current military conflict in the east of Ukraine and the active process of the nation formation. In general, Ukrainian inscriptions with metaphors tend to shape conscious and patriotic personality.

Our investigation of metaphorical inscriptions on clothing in Ukrainian and English has proved that they can be quite expressive due to the complex nature of the metaphor as a product of language, cognition, pragmatics and social values. The research has led us to several important conclusions.

The communicative nature of the metaphoric clothing inscriptions enabled us to reveal the priorities of the speakers in English and Ukrainian linguocultures. The majority of the concerned inscriptions in both languages are anthropocentric. It might prove that people wearing clothes with inscriptions and prints are trying to communicate with the society through showing their identity and inner world. This generally coincides with current trends in the popularity of various social networks. Metaphorical inscriptions on clothing serve as a kind of effective advertisement of one's feelings, preferences and life principles. At the same time, other popular topics of the metaphorical clothing inscriptions are determined by socio-cultural features of each linguocultural environment. We might assume that the priority for the English ones are the call to be active, disobedient, live to the fullest and without restrictions. Ukrainian metaphorical inscriptions are more focused on shaping a patriotic personality longing for self-development and fighting for the better future of the nation.

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Наталија Стрјук

УКРАЈИНСКИ И ЕНГЛЕСКИ МЕТАФОРИЧКИ НАТПИСИ НА ОДЕЋИ: КОЛИКО МОГУ БИТИ РЕЧИТИ?

Резиме

Циљ овог чланка јесте анализа украјинских и енглеских метафоричких натписа на одећи помоћу компаративног метода, с освртом на разнолику природу фигура говора. Чланак се бави украјинским и енглеским метафоричким натписима на одећи, прикупљеним с интернета у двогодишњем периоду (2017–2019). Студија показује да метафоризација није једнако типична за обе лингвокултуролошке средине. Истраживање указује на идеје које се преносе преко метафоричких натписа на одећи на оба језика, откривајући најзначајније теме и проблеме за говорнике, као и за друштво уопште. У чланку се утврђује да постоје универзалне тематске групе, типичне за целокупно човечанство, као и специфичне групе, својствене само одређеној лингвокултурној средини, које приказују друштвено-културне и историјске процесе. Ми сматрамо да метафорички натписи на одећи могу бити речити у смислу друштвених преференција, вредности и трендова две различите европске (словенске и германске) лингвокултуролошке средине. Резултат истраживања може послужити као занимљив материјал за социолингвистичке и лингвокултуролошке студије.

Кључне речи: метафора, натписи на одећи, лингвокултуролошка средина.