

SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION OF METAPHORS IN UKRAINIAN AND ENGLISH INSCRIPTIONS ON CLOTHING

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ABSTRACT: The present research is an attempt to analyse metaphors in English and Ukrainian clothing inscriptions in a comparative aspect. The study focuses on providing a sufficient semantic classification of this versatile figure of speech in the discourse that has never been analysed in terms of metaphors. It deals with English and Ukrainian metaphorical inscriptions on clothing harvested on the Internet over a two-year period (2017-2019). The paper shows that metaphorisation is unevenly typical of English and Ukrainian linguocultural environments. The peculiarities of the source from which the units under analysis were collected allows us to identify seven main vehicle-driven categories of metaphors employed in clothing inscriptions: anthropic, zoomorphic, botanomorphic, creatoremorphic, artefactomorphic, ecomorphic and sensory. The research proves that both English and Ukrainian metaphorical clothing inscriptions have their peculiar sources; moreover, even if metaphors are built on the same or similar images, the focus is usually quite different. This study argues that metaphors on clothing inscriptions can serve as an applicable source to study social priorities, values and tendencies of two different European 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, semantic classification of metaphors, sources of metaphors

1. Introduction

Contemporary linguistic research mostly focuses on metaphors in mass media (Liu, 2018; Khudoliy, 2018) or political discourse (Georgieva, 2015; Bilyk & Pyliachyk, 2018). Several modern scholars investigate metaphors in a certain thematic area: economic metaphors (Shenker-Osorio, 2012; Pamies & Ramos Ruiz, 2017), environment metaphors (Ahmadi & Ghazali, 2018; Volmert et al. 2013), metaphors and emotions (Kövecses, 2003, 2012; Ogarkova & Soriano, 2018), immigration metaphors (Cisneros, 2008; Montagut & Moragas-Fernández, 2020). Most studies on metaphors have been based on fiction or publicistic texts (Smirnova & Shustova, 2018; Liulka, 2019), or on the analysis of an individual idiolect (Lamb, 2017; Neary, 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. Thus, the purpose of the research is to analyse and compare metaphorical inscriptions on clothing in Ukrainian and English. Since clothing inscriptions transform clothing from an ordinary necessary thing in human life into a means of individual thoughts and moods expression, their analysis and generalization might provide linguocultural knowledge about the speakers, reflecting their priorities, beliefs, and associations. The paper intends to determine the basic semantic features of metaphors in question, find out allomorphic and isomorphic peculiarities of such inscriptions in terms of the sources of metaphors in two different European linguocultural environments.

The research is based on 1200 English and 365 Ukrainian inscriptions on clothing 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: Amazon (<https://www.amazon.com/>), eBay (<https://www.ebay.co.uk/>), Stylight (<https://www.stylight.co.uk/>), ZALANDO (<https://www.zalando.co.uk/>), LikeByLook (<http://likebylook.com>), Нюкрейн! (<http://nukrein.ua/magazin/>), ФОЛК МОДА (<https://folkmoda.net/>), ЕТНОХАТА (<https://etnoxata.com.ua/>), УКРМОДА (<https://ukrmoda.ua/>), UA Modna (<http://www.uamodna.com/>), МЕГА ФУТБОЛКА (<http://megafutbolka.com.ua>), ШАЛЕНА МАЙКА (<https://shalena-maika.ua>), DONNA misteriosa (<https://donna-misteriosa.com/>), NU SHO (<https://nusho.com.ua>), Prosto Майки (<http://prostomayki.com.ua>), ППОТЕСТ STRETWEAR (<https://protest.in.ua/>). Although there are fewer Ukrainian inscriptions than English ones, 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 author's 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 analysed units appear with vastly different frequencies, I 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. It should be mentioned that some inscriptions enclose several metaphors, thus the data under analysis are 51 Ukrainian and 96 English metaphors. The identification of metaphors in the clothing inscriptions was performed following the Metaphor Identification through Vehicle terms (MIV) procedure (Cameron, 2003). I used Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (OALD) (<https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com>) and Словник Української Мови 'Ukrainian Language Dictionary' (SUM) (<http://sum.in.ua/>) as a point of reference for basic meanings. Then, using the method of systematisation and classification, I grouped the metaphors into categories according to the semantics of their vehicles. Seven most frequent groups of vehicles were identified. Applying the quantitative and comparative methods I was able to find out allomorphic and isomorphic features of English and Ukrainian clothing inscriptions with reference to the sources of metaphors. It should be noted that the paper preserves the original graphics of the clothing inscriptions: lower and upper case letters, symbols and lack of punctuation.

2. Definition and essence of metaphors

2.1 The diverse nature of metaphor

Cognitive linguists define the essence of the metaphor as “understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 5).

According to the relevance-theoretic approach the pragmatic nature of the metaphor reveals when “addressees follow a path of least effort in deriving contextual implications from the utterance, using the most accessible items of encyclopaedic information associated with lexically encoded concepts, and the inferential process ends when their expectations of relevance are satisfied” (Carston, 2016, p. 46). Fauconnier and Turner, developing the conceptual blending theory, prove that metaphors are products of thought and communication (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002). This idea is supported by Tendahl and Gibbs who argue that relative and cognitive approaches do not contradict but rather complement each other (Tendahl, Gibbs, 2008). Caballero & Ibarretxe-Antuñano state that metaphoricality “needs to be addressed from a cultural perspective, taking into account the communities (cultures) that use the metaphor as well as the broader contexts of those communities” (Caballero & Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2009, p. 284). Consequently, only complementary perspectives, thus, combining relevant, conceptual and sociocultural approaches, can explain why associations and images are activated and why they are interpreted and understood the way they are (Tseng, 2014). Thus, in this study I consider the 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.

2.2 Components of the metaphor

The meaning of a metaphor is the result of the interaction of its two main components. Richards (1936) defined them as the tenor and the vehicle. The tenor is “the underlying idea or principal subject which the vehicle or figure means”. In other words, the vehicle stands for ‘what is transferred’ and the tenor stands for ‘what it is transferred to’ (Richards & Dolch, 1936, p. 98). Black (1962) suggested other terms: the ‘focus’ (i.e. the vehicle) and the ‘frame’ (i.e. the tenor) and emphasized that their interaction in metaphors is not direct, rather it is achieved through the interaction of the correlative properties of the likened concepts. Cognitive linguists use the terms presented by Lakoff (1993) in his definition of metaphor as a mapping from a source domain to a target domain. In this research we use the terms ‘tenor’ and ‘vehicle’ siding with Paul Ricoeur, who considers them to be neutral terms because “they prevent one from talking about tenor apart from the figure, and from treating the vehicle as an added ornament” (Ricoeur, 2004, p. 119).

3. Classification of metaphors in Ukrainian and English inscriptions on clothing according to the semantics of the vehicle

Scholars apply different approaches to the principles of semantic classifications of metaphors focusing on: a) the nature of the semantic relationship between donor and recipient domains (Taverniers, 2003); b) the logical-grammatical meaning of the ground in a metaphor, describing the

process of nomination in it (Tarasova, 1975); c) identification of lexical groups that can obtain figurative meaning according to the transfer formulas “category (meaning) A > category (meaning) B” (Moskvin, 2006). The most appropriate and worthy classification for the understanding of interconnection of the metaphor, thinking and culture would be the semantic classification of metaphors according to the vehicle domain since it reflects “the shared opinions of the speech community” (Cameron, 1999, p. 17). Moskvin (2006) suggests that metaphors which become common in the language depict the interests prevailing among people at a particular period of time, the models and ideals that are the background of the culture at a certain stage of the societal development.

Moskvin distinguishes five main semantic groups of metaphors: anthropomorphic, animalistic, floral, machine and orientation metaphors. A more detailed classification is suggested by Kövecses (2010) who singles out 13 of the most frequent groups of metaphoric sources: The Human Body, Health and Illness, Animals, Plants, Buildings and Construction, Machines and Tools, Games and Sport, Money and Economic Transactions (Business), Cooking and Food, Heat and Cold, Light and Darkness, Forces, Movement and Direction. Based on the above-mentioned approaches I made an attempt to classify the metaphors in the inscriptions on clothing according to the semantics of the vehicle. Since the classification by Moskvin is one of the first and is very general, I took it as a starting point for the classification, using more precise modern terms describing similes and metaphors in specialized literature (anthropic, botanomorph and zoomorphic instead of anthropomorphic, animalistic and floral). It should be noted, however, that the specificity of the research material calls for a certain adjustment and development of the existing classification. As I extend the basic classification with novel categories conditioned by the data collected, the need to fill the terminology gap arises. For this reason, I used the terms introduced by Oleniak (2018) – creaturemorphic, artefactomorphic and ecomorphic. I also found it reasonable to divide the groups into more specific ones using the classification by Kövecses. Moreover, driven by the peculiarities of the source from which the units under analysis were taken, I had the grounds to single out such additional subtypes as: People and Characters, Human Actions/Activities and States, Style and Fashion, War and Destruction, Religion and Beliefs. Thus, the whole scope of metaphors in Ukrainian and English inscriptions on clothing can be grouped into seven vehicle-driven categories with the further subdivision: 1) anthropic; 2) zoomorphic; 3) botanomorph; 4) creaturemorphic; 5) artefactomorphic; 6) ecomorphic; 7) sensory.

3.1 Anthropic metaphors

Such inscriptions on clothing comprise the scope of metaphors that relate to human beings and their characteristics as well as to the actions, states and processes typical of people only. Among them the following vehicle-related subtypes can be singled out: The Human Body, Health and Illness, People and Characters, Human Actions/Activities and States, Religion and Beliefs, War and Destruction.

3.1.1 The Human Body

The human body is considered to be an ideal source of metaphORIZATION, since its parts and functions are clearly depicted and understandable. The names of various organs and parts of the body are used as vehicles of inscribed clothing metaphors. Most Ukrainian metaphors of this group contain the lexeme heart:

(1) *Україна в моєму серці* ‘Ukraine is in my heart’

Taken in its direct meaning, the noun *серце* ‘heart’ means ‘the central organ of the circulatory system, whose rhythmic contractions provide blood circulation’ (SUM). The physiological effect of palpitation is one of the most important bodily responses associated with emotions. Thus, in (1) the word *серце* ‘heart’ is used in its metaphorical meaning ‘a container for emotions and feelings’ and all the inscriptions express the idea that Ukraine is of great importance to the owner of the clothing. The metaphors of the same group in English inscriptions on clothing are more diverse, though most of them relate to the substances that are essential for the structure and functioning of the human body (*DNA, bones*):

(2) *ITALY IT'S IN MY DNA*

The abbreviation ‘*DNA*’ which stands for ‘deoxyribonucleic acid’ and means ‘the chemical in the cells of animals and plants that carries genetic information’ (OALD) is used metaphorically to emphasize that being Italian is a fundamental aspect of one’s nature and is unlikely ever to change (2).

(3) *MUSIC IT'S IN MY BONES*

To describe the importance of music in the life of a person who owns the clothing, the word *bones* ‘hard parts that form the skeleton’ (OALD) is used metaphorically to express the idea that music is a basic and life-insuring material, just like bones are inalienable for the human body (3).

3.1.2 Health and Illness

Illnesses and ailments have always evoked emotional and strong associations. Consequently, many words related to health, illness and injuries can develop metaphorical meanings. Names of diseases, disabilities and treatment can be used as sources of metaphors in the inscriptions on clothing. Ukrainian metaphors of this type always have a negative meaning and are based on illnesses or their symptoms:

(4) *ХОЛЕРА ЯЧА* ‘Clear cholera’

In the inscription (4) which is usually used colloquially as an exclamation expressing anger or dissatisfaction, the name of ‘a contagious epidemic gastrointestinal disease’ (SUM), *холера* ‘cholera’, is associated with trouble or a run of bad luck in one’s life, transferring the meaning from a disease to a life situation. English clothing metaphors employing the names of illnesses – in contrast to Ukrainian ones – do not reflect solely negative emotions: they may carry either negative (5) or positive connotation (6):

(5) *Allergic to Stupid People*

The metaphor in (5) is built on the basis of the semantics of the adjective *allergic* which means ‘to have a medical condition that causes you to react badly or feel ill when you eat or touch a particular substance, an allergen’ (OALD). Using the expression *stupid people* to denote an allergen gives the inscription its metaphorical meaning ‘having a strong dislike for this type of people, whose stupidity can operate like a destructive antigen’.

(6) *IF I AM THE PAIN YOU ARE THE ASPIRIN*

To describe two people harmoniously complementing each other, the concepts of *pain* and *aspirin* are contrasted. The *pain* as ‘the feelings that you have in your body when you have been hurt or when you are ill’ (OALD) is associated with a person who is ill-natured, while the *aspirin*, a pain killer, metaphorically describes another person who is able to counteract these character flaws (6).

3.1.3 People and Characters

As we can see from the two previous groups, anthropic metaphors are easily perceived for they are based on clear and understandable concepts. People themselves with their social traits and characteristics are often employed as the source of metaphors on clothing inscriptions as well. In these cases the focus is usually shifted towards human relations (friendship or family), various fictional characters and nationality. The most common sources of English metaphors of this subtype are the strong or powerful characters (*Supergirl*, *Super hero*, *Queen*, *Princess*):

(7) *MY MUM IS SUPERGIRL*

In (7) the lexeme *Supergirl* is used to name a fiction television series character who has superpowers and protects good people from evil. The metaphor is based on the association between the mother and Supergirl, emphasizing that the mother is also strong, brave, smart and can do anything to protect her children. Ukrainian metaphors of this subgroup, however, are concerned with much less powerful layers of social hierarchy, being mainly concentrated on nationality (*турок* ‘Turk’) (8), friendship (*нобратим* ‘sworn brother’) and excessive humility (*раб* ‘slave’) (16):

(8) *ТУРОК НЕБЕСНИЙ* ‘Heavenly Turk’

The origin of this metaphor is historically bound by complicated relationships of Ukraine with The Ottoman Empire in XVI-XVIII centuries. Now it is used in Ukrainian to describe a very stupid person and is built on the association with a Turk as a foreigner, who does not understand the language, and the adjective *небесний* ‘heavenly’ ‘connected with the air space visible above the surface of the earth’ (SUM) is used as an intensifier having its metaphorical meaning ‘highly, extremely’.

3.1.4 Human Actions/Activities and States

Since ancient times, people have perceived the world through the prism of their own life and activities, thus, in addition to the characteristics that are inherent in a person, different specific human actions, activities and states are used as sources of metaphors to describe abstract concepts. Both English and Ukrainian metaphors of this subtype are built on human ability to create (9, 10), speak (11, 12) and read (13, 14):

(9) *MADE IN THE 80'S*

(10) *ТВОРЮ СЕБЕ САМ* ‘I create myself’

In the inscription (9) the birth is associated with creation and is expressed by the verb *to make* ‘to create or prepare something by combining materials or putting parts together’ (OALD). In (10) the verb *творю* ‘I create’ which is the present tense form of *творити* ‘to create’ – ‘to make something exist’ (SUM) – is used with the reflexive pronoun *себе* ‘myself’ and is metaphorically understood as a process of personal development.

(11) # *DO YOU SPEAK BALMAIN*(12) *КАРПАТИ КЛИЧУТЬ* ‘The Carpathians are calling’

In (11) the word *to speak*, which in its direct meaning denotes the ability to use a particular language (OALD), in combination with the brand name *BALMAIN* gives a metaphorical name to the ability to express somebody’s feelings and thoughts with the help of clothes by the mentioned brand. In the Ukrainian inscription (12), to describe the urgent need of the clothing owner to go to the Carpathians, the mountains are metaphorically endowed with the human ability *кликати* ‘to call’ ‘to shout or say something loudly in order to attract somebody’s attention or to invite someone to come’ (SUM).

(13) *ЧИТАЙ МІЖ РЯДКІВ* ‘READ BETWEEN THE LINES’(14) *READ BETWEEN THE LINES*

The metaphor expressing the idea of searching for a hidden meaning, based on the skill *to read* ‘to look at and understand the meaning of written or printed words or symbols’ (OLD), is found in identical English and Ukrainian inscriptions (13, 14), which might be an instance of borrowing. Unlike in English clothing metaphors, the concept of a heroic death is often used as the source of metaphorisation in Ukrainian inscriptions on clothing:

(15) *СЛАВА НЕ ВМРЕ, НЕ ПОЛЯЖЕ ОДНИНІ ДОВІКУ* ‘The glory will not die, will not lean to the ground [parish] henceforth and forever’

The inscription (15) is a quotation from the historic dramatic poem by a famous Ukrainian author Lina Kostenko “Дума про братів Неазовських” (‘Ballad about the Neazovskyi brothers’). The metaphor is built on the verb *вмерти* ‘to die’ which means ‘to stop living, exist’ (SUM). Metaphorical transference is quite transparent here: the verb, describing a certain type of action performed by a human being, is used to name the same kind of action performed by an abstract notion. The meaning of the word *полягти* ‘to lean to the ground’ [perish] is also metaphoric and is based on the association of death with the movement down, which in this context is understood as to die in a battle. It should be mentioned that the verb *полягти* is often used in patriotic and pathetic context being associated with the struggle for freedom and independence of the native land. Quite on the contrary, English inscriptions on clothing contain metaphors built on human tendency to boss around and impose one’s will on others:

(16) *PROSECCO MADE ME DO IT*

To evade responsibility for reckless or risky actions taken when drunk, the effect of wine is personified and metaphorically described as a person’s habit ‘to force somebody to do something’ (OLD), *to make* (16).

3.1.5 Religion and Beliefs

Religion and beliefs are inalienable parts of culture, civilization and human life in general. In the inscriptions on clothing, various concepts related to religious ideas, are used metaphorically to describe everyday things. Since both English and Ukrainian cultures were shaped by Christianity, the main source for the metaphors in Ukrainian and English inscriptions on clothing of this type is paradise.

(17) *TAKE ME TO Paradise*(18) *Рабів до раю не пускають!* ‘Slaves are not allowed into paradise!’

In (17) the state of happiness and the absence of problems is associated with a perfect place where people are said to go when they die (OALD), so the metaphor means ‘make me happy and relaxed’. The inscription (18) is considered to be the quotation of a famous Cossack Otaman (the chieftain of Cossack troops) Ivan Sirko. The Cossacks are the people who became known as members of democratic, self-governing, semi-military communities on the territory of Eastern Europe in the XVI-XVIII centuries. In the Ukrainian society, they are thought to have been the creators of the first Ukrainian national state. The metaphor is based on the association of *рай* ‘paradise’ – ‘a place where the righteous are blessed after death’ (SUM) – with free and descent life, while the noun *рабу* ‘slaves’ – ‘people who are deprived of all rights and capital goods and are fully owned by their master’ (SUM)

– is used metaphorically to describe passive, inactive and dependent people. Thus, the inscription expresses the idea that people who do not fight for their independence, do not deserve it.

3.1.6 War and Destruction

Since the concept of war is connected with humanity, its existence and development, I single out a group of metaphors that are based on the destructive actions and devices as well as the concepts connected with war as a way to ruin and destroy. Both English and Ukrainian metaphors are built on the lexemes denoting people who are involved in war and weapons. However, while most English metaphors have negative meaning (as in (19)), Ukrainian ones describe positive, and often pathetic ideas (20).

(19) LOVE BOMB

In (19) a feeling of affection and fondness is associated with a *bomb* ‘a weapon designed to explode’ (OALD) which can blast and hurt everyone.

(20) Слово – це зброя ‘A word is a weapon’

In (20) *слово* ‘word’ is described as *зброя* ‘weapon’ – ‘tools for attack or defence’ (SUM), meaning that it can be used both for attack and protection as well. Taking into account the fact that Ukraine has been fighting for independence and territorial integrity, such metaphor emphasizes the importance of language for the defence of freedom as well as national identity.

3.2 Zoomorphic metaphors

Animal world is a popular source of metaphors. Since ancient times people’s actions have been associated with those of animals to represent different aspects of human nature. In zoomorphic metaphors on clothing people, their behaviour, feelings and emotions are understood in terms of animals, their features and characteristics, for instance:

(21) GIRLS BITE BACK WATCH OUT

(22) В тебе від мене МУРАШКИ ‘You have ants [goose bumps] because of me’

In the inscription (21) girls are associated with dangerous animals that can *bite* – ‘wound somebody by making a small hole or mark in their skin’ (OALD). In the Ukrainian inscription (22) the metaphor is based on the similarity of the physical feeling of excitement and the movement of *мурашки* ‘ants’ – ‘small hymenoptera insects’ (SUM) – on one’s skin. In most English inscriptions on clothing the popular domestic animal *sheep* serves as the vehicle of metaphors:

(23) I'M THE RAINBOW SHEEP OF THE FAMILY

In (23) the metaphor is built on the well-known and recognizable idiom ‘black sheep’ meaning ‘a person who is different from the rest of their family or another group, and who is considered bad or embarrassing’ (OALD). The rainbow is the symbol of the LGBT movement. Thus, the metaphor supplies us with the information that the owner of the clothing is a representative of the LGBT community; moreover, he or she is not accepted by the members of his or her own family. Zoomorphic metaphors in Ukrainian inscriptions on clothing were more diverse. A lot of them are built on the associations with wild beasts, though the connotation can be either negative or positive:

(24) З ЛИСАМИ І САМ ЛИСОМ СТАНЕШ ‘Staying with foxes you will become a fox too’

In (24), which is a Ukrainian proverb, the fox is a metaphor for a sly, dishonest or immoral person, so the inscription expresses the idea that if you deal with unworthy people you will eventually become one too.

A very popular source of metaphors in Ukrainian is the bird world: some particular birds (25) as well as birds’ features in general (26):

(25) юний орел ‘young eagle’

(26) Людина нібито НЕ літає, а крила має. А крила має! ‘The man doesn’t fly but has wings. But has wings!’ In (25) a young man is associated with *орел* ‘the eagle’ – ‘a large bird of prey of the hawk family’ (SUM), thus the inscription describes the owner of the clothing as a strong and courageous person. The inscription (26) is a quotation from the poem by a famous Ukrainian author Lina Kostenko “Крила” (‘Wings’). To have *крила* ‘wings’ – ‘the parts of the animal body that are used for flying’ (SUM) – metaphorically means to have the ability to do something inspiring.

3.3 Botanomorphic metaphors

Metaphors of this group are built on the transference of the features of plants to people’s characters or types of behaviour. Various plants, their parts and stages of growth are used as vehicles

of metaphors on clothing. The common tool for English and Ukrainian botanomorphie metaphors on clothing is the lexeme *blossom*:

(27) *SWEET little blossom Strawberry kiss*

(28) *Нашого цвiту по всьому свiту!* 'Our blossom is all over the world!'

To describe a little girl, who is like a tiny flower on the family tree, the lexeme *blossom* 'a flower or a mass of flowers, especially on a fruit tree or bush' (OALD) is used (27). The adjective *sweet* 'containing, or tasting as if it contains, a lot of sugar' (OALD) is used as an intensifier having its metaphorical meaning 'pleasant and attractive'. In the Ukrainian inscription (28), which is a proverb, offspring or people of the same origin are associated with *цвiт* 'blossom' 'flowers on the plant during blooming' (SUM). The proverb is well-known in Ukraine and is typically applied in the contexts expressing the idea that Ukrainian diaspora can be found almost in all countries of the world. Among English inscriptions on clothing the metaphors containing the word *lemon* can be singled out:

(29) *WHEN LIFE gives you LEMONS MAKE lemonade*

The metaphor (29), which is a proverb, is based on the sourness of the *lemon* 'a yellow citrus fruit with juice that has a bitter, sharp taste' (OALD) which is associated with difficulties in life. Making lemonade metaphorically means turning them into something positive or desirable.

3.4 Creaturemorphic metaphors

The vehicles of such metaphors describe characteristics and actions that are typical not only for people but for all living-beings. The metaphors are built on various ways of movement (30, 31), and physiological processes (32, 33).

(30) *TROUBLE FOLLOWS ME*

(31) *Не той козак Що за водою пливе А той, що проти води* 'The cossack [Ukrainian warrior, hero] is not the one who swims downstream but the one who swims upstream'

The metaphor (30) is developed on the basis of the verb *to follow* which means 'to come or go after or behind somebody/something' (OALD). The verb of movement is used to name the action performed by an abstract concept. In the Ukrainian inscription (31) a person who wants to be a hero, *козак* 'the cossack', is not afraid of hard work, taking decisions or resistance. He is associated with a person who swims upstream, which is very difficult and requires a lot of effort.

(32) *Choke Sobs, Swallow Chatter*

(33) *ЩОБ РИБКУ ЇСТИ, ТРЕБА У ВОДУ ЛІЗТИ* 'To eat fish you have to go into the water'

The inscription (32), which is a quotation of Jenny Holzer, a modern American neo-conceptual artist, contains two metaphors. In the metaphor *choke sobs* the verb *to choke* 'to make somebody unable to breathe' (OALD), used with the noun *sobs*, develops the new meaning 'to make the latter less intense'. The metaphor *swallow chatter* is built on the semantics of the verb *to swallow* which means 'to make food, drink, etc. go down your throat into your stomach' (OALD). Using the noun *chatter* to denote the food, gives the metaphor its meaning 'to restrain yourself and try not to talk'. In the Ukrainian inscription (33) the process of eating 'consuming' (SUM) fish metaphorically describes that you get what you need or desire only under the condition of working hard, which is associated with fishing, without which it would be impossible to get fish.

3.5 Artefactomorphic metaphors

Such inscriptions on clothing comprise the scope of metaphors that are built on the associations of human features, abstract notions and mental processes with the material objects, artefacts and actions related to their creation. Among them the following vehicle-related subtypes can be recognised: Style and Fashion, Machines and Tools, Values and Economic Transactions.

3.5.1 Style and Fashion

It is but natural that clothing, especially with prints and inscriptions, is connected with style and fashion. Thus, it is not surprising that various fashion-related concepts such as patterns (34), accessories or make-up (35) are also used as vehicles of metaphors on clothing:

(34) *Spots are the new stripes*

The metaphor (34) is built on the idea that *stripes* 'long narrow lines of colour' (OLD) as the pattern on fabric are neutral and suit almost everyone especially overweight people. So as not to discriminate obese people, the metaphor is used instead of dysphemistic saying 'clothes with spots can fit even overweight people'.

(35) *Happiness looks gorgeous on you*

In the inscription (35) the state of happiness used with the verb *to look* in the meaning ‘to seem’ (OALD) is associated with something that can be worn, like clothing or make up. Hence, the metaphor develops the meaning of really beautiful people when they feel happy.

It should be noted that this group is not represented in the Ukrainian inscriptions might be due to a socially bounded fact.

3.5.2 Machines and Tools

In the inscriptions on clothing of this subtype machines, tools and activities related to them serve as sources of metaphors. The English metaphors are built both on the associations with the particular machines (36) or with operations related to them (37) while the only Ukrainian metaphor implies the action of the tool as vehicle (38).

(36) *I'm feeling supersonic give me gin & tonic*

In (36) the person is associated with a jet which is *supersonic* ‘faster than the speed of sound’ (OALD). The inscription means that the owner of the clothing is extremely fast and energetic.

(37) *This kid runs on SNACKS and YOUTUBE*

In the inscription (37) the child is metaphorically described as a machine that *runs on* ‘uses to work’ (CD) a very specific fuel. The inscription expresses the idea that the one who wears the clothing uses snacks and YouTube to live and be active.

(38) «*А часіки то тикають ...*» *#носи_футболку_не_ярлик* ‘And yet the clock is ticking ...’ #wear a T-shirt not a tag’

In the Ukrainian inscription (38) the ticking clock, associated with the flow of time, is a metaphor generally used to say that there is not much time left to do something. The hashtag *#носи_футболку_не_ярлик* ‘#wear a T-shirt not a tag’ which is used by Ukrainian internet community to identify the topic of gender stereotypes, specifies ‘the ticking clock’ metaphor emphasizing the limited time of woman’s ability to be fulfilled by virtues of wifehood and motherhood.

3.5.3 Values and Economic Transactions

To describe and present abstract things, words denoting economic transactions and values are used in the inscription on clothing. All Ukrainian metaphors of this group are based on such precious metals as *золото* ‘gold’ (39) while English ones involve commercial events (40) and prices (41).

(39) *НЕ ПОТРІБНА СОЛОВ'Ю ЗОЛОТА КЛІТКА, КРАЩЕ ЙОМУ ЗЕЛЕНА КВІТКА* ‘The nightingale doesn’t need a gold cage, it’d rather have a green plant.’

In the inscription (39) the metaphorical development of the expression *золота клітка* ‘gold cage’ – ‘a closed space for birds with walls made of the expensive precious metal’ (SUM) – is based upon the associations with the restriction of freedom even though someone is granted with something valuable to replace it.

(40) *CAN I BORROW A KISS? I PROMISE I'LL GIVE IT BACK*

In (40) a kiss is associated with an object of the commercial transaction that can be *borrowed* ‘taken from a person or bank and agreed to be given back at a later time’ (OALD).

(41) *Happiness Is Expensive*

To emphasize how precious happiness is for someone, the adjective *expensive* ‘costing a lot of money’ (OALD) is used metaphorically, comparing the abstract notion with something valuable and costly (41).

3.6 Ecomorphic metaphors

Metaphors of this type employ as sources of their vehicle features and actions of certain natural phenomena to characterise people, their feelings or actions. This group is only presented in English inscriptions on clothing.

(42) *HEAD IN THE CLOUDS*

The metaphor (42) is based on the idea that clouds are high in the sky and are very far from the land with everyday life. So, this expression means ‘to be thinking about something that is not connected with what you are doing; to have ideas, plans, etc. that are not realistic’ (OALD).

3.7 Sensory metaphors

Such metaphors can be organized into three subtypes: Heat and Fire, Shining and Colour, Smell. These metaphors are built on the associations of human features, abstract notions and mental processes with the feelings that we perceive by means of the sensory system of our body: touch, sight and smell.

3.7.1 Heat and Fire

Metaphors of this group were found only in Ukrainian inscriptions on clothing. High temperature concepts are used metaphorically to talk about attitudes towards people and things or to express feelings and emotions.

(43) *БОГОМЬ ЗАПЕКЛИХ НЕ ПЕЧЕ* ‘Fire doesn’t burn desperados’

In the inscription (43), which is a quotation from the historic poem by a prominent Ukrainian author Taras Shevchenko “Гамалія” (‘Hamaliia), problems and dangers are associated with fire. Moreover, the noun *запеклий* ‘desperado’ which has the direct meaning ‘to become stiff after burning’ (SUM) is also used metaphorically to describe a passionate and determined person.

3.7.2 Shining and Colour

Metaphors built on perceiving colour, its shades or brightness are used to describe abstract concepts, especially feelings and emotions. Such metaphors were singled out only in English metaphors on clothing.

(44) *COLOR YOUR LIFE HAPPY*

The inscription (44) evokes positive emotions and feelings. The verb *to colour* in the meaning ‘to put colour on something’ (OALD) is used with the lexeme *happy* instead of the name of the colour and an abstract concept life as an object of the action.

(45) *DON'T LET ANYONE DULL YOUR SPARKLE*

The metaphor (45) develops its meaning on the association of ‘light and bright’ with ‘good and positive’ and ‘dark and dull’ with ‘bad and negative’. The verb *to sparkle*, meaning ‘to shine brightly with small flashes of light’ (OALD), can be understood as to have good, positive feelings and emotions, while the verb *to dull* meaning ‘to make something less bright’ (OALD) metaphorically expresses the idea of making such emotions weaker.

3.7.3 Smell

There is only one metaphor of this kind found in English inscriptions on clothing:

(46) *LOVE IS IN THE AIR*

To show that people around have romantic mood, love is compared to a gas-like substance or odour that can be smelled in the *air* ‘the mixture of gases that surrounds the earth and that we breathe’ (OALD).

To supplement the research, a quantitative analysis of the metaphors in the inscriptions was conducted according to the semantics of the vehicle. The data obtained are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Classification of metaphors in Ukrainian and English inscriptions on clothing according to the semantics of the vehicle

Type of metaphor	Language	English	Ukrainian
1. Anthropic metaphors		45 (46,9%)	22 (43,1%)
1.1 Human Actions/Activities and States		17 (17,7%)	6 (11,8%)
1.2. People and Characters		8 (8,4%)	3 (5,9%)
1.3. The Human Body		5 (5,2%)	4 (7,8%)
1.4. Health and Illness		4 (4,2%)	2(3,9%)
1.5. Religion and Beliefs		6 (6,2%)	1 (1,9%)
1.6. War and Destruction		5 (5,2%)	6 (11,8%)
2. Zoomorphic metaphors		3 (3,1%)	11 (21,6%)
3. Botanomorphic metaphors		4 (4,2%)	3 (5,9%)
4. Creaturemorphic metaphors		13 (13,6%)	7 (13,7%)
5. Artefactomorphic metaphors		20 (20,8 %)	5 (9,8%)
5.1. Style and Fashion		5 (5,2%)	-
5.2. Machines and Tools		10 (10,4%)	1 (1,9%)
5.3. Values and Economic Transactions		5 (5,2%)	4 (7,8%)
6. Ecomorphic metaphors		5 (5,2%)	-
7. Sensory metaphors		6 (6,2%)	3 (5,9%)

7.1. Heat and Fire	-	3 (5,9 %)
7.2. Shining and Colour	5 (5,2%)	-
7.3. Smell	1 (1%)	-
Total	96 (100%)	51 (100%)

As we may judge from the table, almost all aspects of human life as well as fauna, flora and nature can serve as sources of metaphors on clothing. The most frequent metaphors in both languages are anthropic ones, especially those deriving their meaning from human actions, activities and states since they are based on clear and understandable concepts common to the mankind. However, it is important to note that a great number of English clothing metaphors are built on empowered and imperative human actions whereas Ukrainian metaphors contain lexemes expressing the lack of rights or freedoms and struggle for them. We assume, that tendency might reflect from the fact that English was the language of a dominant nation (British Empire), whereas the language of Ukraine was the language of a land almost constantly conquered by more powerful states. A relatively large number of Ukrainian anthropic metaphors on clothing are built on the ideas connected to war and destruction. This might be explained by the current military conflict in the east of Ukraine and the wave of patriotism in the country. The second productive types of vehicle-related metaphors in English and Ukrainian inscriptions on clothing are artefactomorphic and zoomorphic respectively. Ukrainian metaphors are three times more likely to refer to zoomorphic images, while the English ones contain artefactomorphic concepts twice as often. That might stem from the fact that the mass culture of English is based on the traditional urban culture while the Ukrainian one originates from a rural way of life related to farming and hunting. The absence of the metaphors developed on style and fashion concepts can be explained by this fact as well.

It should be noted, however, that even though the relative number of sensory metaphors is almost equal in both languages, the sources of English metaphors on clothing relate to the visual and olfactory senses while the Ukrainian ones are based on tactility.

4. Conclusion

The research has led to several important conclusions. It should be noted that metaphorization is more inherent in Ukrainian clothing inscriptions that might reflect one's inclination toward romanticism, symbolism and poetics. In contrast, English inscriptions are characterized by more varied sources of metaphorisation, thus, there is a bigger number of concepts in English that can serve as domains of metaphors on clothing inscriptions. The fact that the majority of metaphors in both Ukrainian and English clothing inscriptions are anthropic might speak of their universal character. Whereas, the tendency towards artefactomorphism and mass culture in English metaphorical inscriptions as well as zoomorphism and war concepts in Ukrainian might be explained by cultural peculiarities and socio-economic processes. I believe that similar studies on the material of other languages are promising, because metaphors allow researchers to discover the national consciousness by way of what is reflected on the trends in personal choice of microtexts to demonstrate feelings, priorities and inclinations. Since the research has been done on the material that has not been analysed before, it could be of interest for the linguists who study theoretical aspects of metaphor in general.

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