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CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF TIME IN ENGLISH: AN AXIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Mariia Konnova, Natalia Babenko*

Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University, Kaliningrad, Russia

**Corresponding author*

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Abstract: The paper focuses on historical dynamics of conceptual metaphors of time in the English language. Drawing on lexicographical and textual data from Old-, Middle-, and Modern English, we observe how gradual changes in value systems, from the Christian theocentric outlook of the Middle Ages to the modern secular egocentric worldview, trigger cognitive shifts in the source domain of metaphoric mapping.

Key words: cognitive shift, conceptual metaphor theory, culture, religious outlook, industrial revolution, Renaissance, telecommunications, value.

1. Introduction

Metaphors of time have a long-standing research record. Time differs from other metaphorically conceptualized entities by its inability to be interpreted "literally", in a non-metaphoric manner, as in our every-day worldview there is no natural taxonomic class for time (cf., Бабенко 2010; Плунгян 1997: 160).

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), the foundations of which were laid in Lakoff and Johnson's pioneering book "Metaphors We Live By" (1980), has provided powerful tools to analyze various aspects of time perception and verbalization. A conceptual metaphor of time is defined as a systematic set of correspondences or "mappings" between two domains of experience – TIME as a target domain and SPACE/ MOVING OBJECT/ RESOURCE, etc. as a source domain. Metaphoric conceptualizations as

abstract cognitive processes are manifested by various concrete phenomena. It can be physical objects, e.g., calendars as visual representations of the TIME IS SPACE conceptual metaphor. It can be human behaviour, e.g., the habit of leaning slightly forward when talking about the future and backwards when talking about the past as a physical manifestation of THE FUTURE IS AHEAD, THE PAST IS BEHIND conceptual metaphors. It can be linguistic expressions, e.g., *time flies, passes, flows* as verbal representations of the TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT conceptual metaphor. Close inspection of natural language data, backed by multimodal experimental research, facilitated reconstruction of cognitive schemata that underlie human perception of time (Нильсен 2014; Evans 2013; Evans & Duffy 2017; Huumo 2017; 2018; Moore 2014; Mueller 2016; Pagán Cánovas & Jensen 2013; Radden 2011; Sinha & Enrique 2015; Tenbrink 2011; Traugott 1975; 1978). With CMT's emphasis on the role of the body as the experiential basis of conceptualization much attention is paid to the physiological underpinnings of temporal concepts, particularly, to image-schematic knowledge that is mapped from the bodily-based source domains of space and motion onto the more abstract target domain of time (Boroditsky 2018; Cai & Connell 2015; Casasanto 2016; Kranjec 2006; Kranjec et al. 2010; Kranjec & McDonough 2011; Winter et al. 2015 *inter alia*).

Culturally constructed conceptual metaphors of time have been less visible in cognitive research. These metaphors are conditioned by complex culturally embedded conceptual structures, such as systems of values and beliefs, rather than by sensory motor experience alone. Adopting Sharifian's (2017a; 2017b) approach, we will call them **cultural metaphors**. A notable example in this respect is the TIME IS MONEY conceptual metaphor. Systematic metaphorical correlation between time and money remains one of the most frequently quoted examples when CMT is being discussed. Yet, while it is taken for granted that time is perceived through the prism of material assets, little further linguistic research has been conducted in order to trace the origins of this pervasive, albeit highly culture-specific metaphorical thinking (cf., Mueller 2016). This lack of interest in "cultural roots" of metaphoric expressions for time might

be explained by the predominantly synchronic nature of conceptual metaphor analysis in general. As Musolff states, "historical investigations have not been the foremost concern of cognitive metaphor analysis so far" and the semantics of linguistic metaphors continues to be "explained ahistorically as an extension of a fundamental cognitive process" (2011: 71). Synchronic cognitive analysis of conceptual metaphors of time is by no means unjustified and superfluous: quite the opposite, it is absolutely necessary to reconstruct the fundamental mappings that shape English speakers' understanding of time. Still, cognitive analysis needs to be complemented by a historical dimension if it is expected to show more clearly the subtle interplay of language, culture and cognition.

The **aims** of the present paper are twofold, although to some extent overlapping. The first one is to investigate how changes in the system of conceptual metaphors of time are motivated by the changes in the value system held by the English-speaking socium in Britain and the USA. The focus of the paper is on the dynamics of those conceptual metaphors, which are inherently axiological, i.e. related to the hierarchy of values that are shared by a language community. We explore the sociocultural rationales that have engendered the perception of time as a valuable asset and analyze verbal manifestations of axiological metaphors in the English language. The second aim is to examine cognitive underpinnings of metaphor change, particularly to explore cognitive shifts, which at a certain point in history resulted in restructuring the source and target domains of time metaphors.

The research is conducted drawing on a wide **sample** of linguistic realizations of axiologically motivated time metaphors. These have been retrieved from a variety of lexicographical, textual and corpus sources spanning Old-, Middle- and Modern English periods (see section 2.3. Data and methodology). The main **unit of analysis** is a linguistic metaphor, its scope varying from a combination of two notional words, one of them being *Nomen Temporalis*, to a set of sentences that constitute a sustained metaphor.

With respect to theoretical tenets, this research directly builds on and expands earlier work in CMT (Evans 2013; Kövecses 2010; 2018; Kövecses et al. 2019; Lakoff & Johnson 1980; 1999; 2003; Lakoff & Turner 1989) while putting the main emphasis on the investigation of diachronic processes that have affected the system of English time metaphors over the centuries. We believe the research to be relevant for the further development of present-day metaphor studies as it aims to go beyond CMT in its classical Lakoffian version to interrelated areas of Historical Semantics (Нильсен 2014; Коннова 2017; Чупрына 2000) and Cultural Linguistics (Mischler 2009; Musolff 2011; 2015; Sharifian 2008; 2017a; 2017b; Zyкова 2016).

2. Time and its conceptual metaphors

Conceptual Metaphor Theory has revolutionized the study of temporal metaphors in language. Although the concept of time has always generated considerable and abiding interest, it was Lakoff and Johnson's seminal book on metaphors "we live by" (1980), which prompted extensive research into the cognitive nature of metaphorical thinking about time. The reason behind the remarkable consistency, with which CMT is applied when various aspects of time metaphors are studied, is the highly complex nature of time. It is one of those abstract domains that cannot be perceived by any of the five senses and as such cannot be spoken of in its own, purely "temporal" terms. Time remains incomprehensible unless related to a directly perceivable phenomenon and therefore it is usually interpreted in terms of some other conceptual entity. Conceptual metaphors, which are treated by CMT followers as cognitive operations of relating two experiential spheres by way of analogy, allow the mind to represent vague, abstract domains of knowledge that are, like time, neither perceptual nor sensorial in nature. To quote Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 177):

"Many aspects of our experience cannot be clearly delineated in terms of the naturally emergent dimensions of our experience. This is typically the case for human emotions, abstract concepts, mental activity... Though most of these can be experienced directly, none of them can be fully comprehended on their own terms. Instead, we must understand them in terms of other entities and experiences, typically other kinds of entities and experiences".

In cognitive linguistics, conceptual metaphor itself is understood metaphorically – as a 'mapping' from a more concrete and better structured source domain (e.g., SPACE) to a more abstract and less experientially grounded target domain (e.g., TIME). The mapping that represents the structural identity between two domains takes the form *A* (target domain) is *B* (source domain), e.g., TIME IS A LANDSCAPE WE MOVE THROUGH. Metaphor is thus viewed as a mode of conceptual representation rather than solely a linguistic phenomenon. As Lakoff claims (1993: 208):

"The metaphor is not just a matter of language, but of thought and reason. The language is secondary. The mapping is primary, in that it sanctions the use of source domain language and inference patterns for target domain concepts. The mapping is conventional, that is, it is a fixed part of our conceptual system".

Viewing metaphors as specific mental mappings across two conceptual domains – a source domain and a target domain – Lakoff and other conceptual metaphor theorists stress that a cross-domain mapping deals in relational structures and inferences and not just single elements. The resulting fixed set of ontological correspondences between entities in two conceptual domains enables speakers to perceive one mental space in terms of another.

Another relevant feature of CMT is the systematicity of metaphors. Metaphoric expressions are viewed not as a set of random and disconnected linguistic units but as realizations of a common cognitive scheme. Linguistic metaphors, both novel and conventional, are reflections of underlying conceptual mappings.

Since Lakoff and Johnson's 1980 analysis, conceptual metaphors of time have attracted a lot of scholarly attention. Metaphor has been widely recognized as the main cognitive mechanism that structures the abstract concept of time. Most researchers have focused on the study of spatial metaphors (Boroditsky 2018; Cai & Connell 2015; Casasanto 2016; Huumo 2017; 2018; Moore 2014; Radden 2011; Sinha & Enrique 2015; Traugott 1975; 1978, *inter alia*). Other metaphor types have until now received far less attention. Among the rather understudied metaphors we should mention those that are

axiologically motivated. These are conceptual metaphors that touch upon the system of values shared by members of a linguistic community.

This lack of scholarly attention seems unjustified if we consider the crucial role that values fulfill in shaping the way we perceive the world. Value can be broadly defined as a goal that guides a person in their life and sets the standards of their behaviour. Within the broad range of human activities there does not exist a condition where no values are present. Values pervade everything. They determine the meaning of the world as a whole, as well as the meaning of every event and every action. As Lossky and Marshall (1935: 27) justifiably claim, "even the smallest change introduced into the world by any agent has a value and is undertaken only on the ground and for the sake of some value moments".

Values differ by content, universality, hierarchy, intensity. In the present study, we will, following Lossky and Marshall (1935) and Vyzhletsov (1996) distinguish between an absolute value and multiple relative values. Lossky and Marshall (1935: 103) define absolute value as "a value unquestionably justified in itself, and, consequently, possessing the character of goodness from any standpoint, in any relation, and for any subject". For all sentient beings the only all-embracing absolute intrinsic value is represented by the absolute fullness of being that is given in God (*ibid.*, 57). This primary absolute positive value "possesses within itself the meaning that justifies it, makes it an object of approval, gives it the absolute right to be realized and preferred above everything else" (*ibid.*, 99). All other values are secondary and exist only in correlation with the absolute fullness of being, which contains within itself "the coincidence of value and existence" (*ibid.*, 80). Relative or derived values possess the character of goodness only in a certain relation or for certain subjects, while for other subjects and in any other relations they are necessarily connected with evil. Relativity of these values stems from the fact that they inevitably have in them some degree of evil so that one and the same value might give rise to different and even opposing rules and norms of social activity.

With regard to culturally embedded metaphors of time, the distinction between absolute value and relative values will be taken into account when analyzing the source domains of conceptual metaphors of time. Depending on differing cultural rationales, source domains may be centred around either an absolute value (as it will be demonstrated in Section 4.1) or relative values (as it will be shown in Section 4.2).

Axiologically relevant conceptual metaphors are to a great extent rooted in a particular culture and may be viewed as constituent elements of cultural cognition. The latter, according to Sharifian, "embraces the cultural knowledge that emerges from the interactions between members of a cultural group across time and space" (2017a: 38). Cultural cognition is stored and communicated via language, which "acts both as a memory bank and a fluid vehicle for the (re-)transmission of cultural cognition and its component parts" (ibid.). Cultural cognition is dynamic. To quote Sharifian (2008: 244):

"Members of a cultural group negotiate and renegotiate their cultural cognition across generations, vertically, and, horizontally, through a multitude of communicative events. The notion of cognition here encompasses complex systems that are dynamic and ever evolving, rather than a fixed set of representations that extend to a cultural group".

The dynamic nature of cultural cognition makes the need for historical data on metaphors an imperative for researchers. As Allan (2006: 175) notes, "Many of the metaphors pervasive in everyday language are products of their time, and cannot therefore be accounted for without reference to culture".

3. Data and methodology

Our **sample** consists of 750 verbal realizations of axiologically motivated conceptual metaphors of time retrieved from a variety of sources. We examined conceptual metaphors of time and their linguistic manifestations by means of **lexical method** as outlined by Kövecses (2015; Kövecses et al. 2019). We used lexicographic sources (monolingual and bilingual dictionaries of Middle- and Modern English, thesauri, collocation dictionaries, dictionaries of slang, terminological dictionaries) to obtain lexical information that pertains to Nomina Temporalis used metaphorically in

axiologically charged contexts. Our sample was then supplemented by examples extracted from diverse texts spanning Old-, Middle- and Modern English periods. We also analyzed examples taken from the Corpus of Historical American (COHA). Example sentences, phrases and collocations were identified as metaphoric by applying to them the metaphor identification procedure worked out by the Pragglejaz Group (2007; Steen 2007).

The reason why we drew on such heterogeneous sources was the complexity of the aims we wanted to achieve. The process of diachronic change, both cognitive and semantic, is gradual and far from straightforward. It is hardly possible to "detect" minute changes in temporal metaphors by drawing on homogenous linguistic data (solely dictionaries, or texts, or corpora). All examples in our sample, whether they are highly conventional metaphoric expressions taken from Middle English Dictionary or novel metaphoric coinages in Shakespeare's plays, complement each other and help reconstruct a fuller picture of changing metaphors of time.

With respect to methodological background, this research draws on the CMT in its culturally oriented version (Kövecses 2002; 2010; 2015; 2017). We take as a basic premise that conceptual domains, which are involved in cross-domain mapping, represent structured meaningful wholes. These are "coherent organizations of our experiences in terms of natural dimensions (parts, stages, causes, etc.)" (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 117). Following Kövecses (2017), we treat domains as consisting of frames. Frames involve more specific and conceptually richer information than domains and capture the various aspects of the latter. The frames in a domain consist, in their turn, of roles and relations between the roles.

In the following sections of the paper, we dwell on the historical dynamics of conceptual metaphors, which over the centuries have determined the way English speakers conceive time and its inherent value. Drawing on linguistic data from Old-, Middle-, and Modern English, we observe how gradual changes in value systems, from

the Christian theocentric outlook of the Middle Ages to the modern secular egocentric worldview, trigger cognitive shifts in the source domain of metaphoric mapping. Building upon CMT we focus upon cognitive shifts, which result in restructuring the source and target domains of conceptual metaphors. We look at how the replacement of the pivotal concept of GIVER in the source domain of the TIME IS GOD'S GIFT conceptual metaphor by that of the OWNER gives rise to such metaphors as TIME IS MONEY. We concentrate on how more recently the telecommunications revolution has been responsible for yet another shift in the source domain of metaphoric mapping resulting in a new conceptual metaphor TIME IS A VIRTUAL ENTITY. We argue that it is in the analysis of the historical "roots" of conceptual metaphors where metaphor studies reach into the broad areas of the Humanities and social sciences, providing an insight into the interrelated processes of conceptual dynamics and linguistic change.

4. Metaphorizing time within changing cultural context

4.1 Christian temporal outlook: Conceptual metaphors of creation and gift

When one says that time is commonly conceptualized as something highly valuable, one should bear in mind that the axiological contours of time in the English-speaking community worldview were shaped under the profound influence of Christianity. For over a millennium, Christianity conditioned conceptual boundaries within which the value and purpose of time were generally perceived.

The "restructuring" of the Anglo-Saxon temporal outlook began in the 7th century, when gradual Christianization of Germanic tribes, which had migrated to the British Isles from mainland Europe, caused a qualitative shift in the way Anglo-Saxons perceived time. That was the Anglo-Saxon "conversion period," a pivotal epoch that saw a mostly pagan society converted into a largely Christian one. As Herman (2017: 48-49) states:

"Christianity became the dominant religion and a driving force of change to both the political

and social structure and the culture of Anglo-Saxon England; it was a religion infused with Classical, Mediterranean, and Late Antique influences, which was transmitted through the aegis of the Church, both directly from the papal mission from Rome and more indirectly and somewhat repurposed from the efforts of the Irish Church".

Under the influence of Christianity, time lost the divine status that had been ascribed to it in the pagan worldview. Anglo-Saxons converts to Christianity regarded time as a creation of He who was the Almighty Maker of heaven and earth, of things visible and invisible (Nicene Creed: 1). The deep and far-reaching shift in temporal thinking, which was entailed by Christianity, led to fundamental transformations in the temporal language. Chupryna (Чупрына 2000: 123-125) observes that the lexemes *hwīl*, *mǣl*, *sǣl*, *fyrst*, *niht* were replaced by previously far less frequent words *tīd*, *tīma* ("time"). In the pre-Christian epoch, these words occupied a peripheral place among linguistic units employed to name temporal phenomena and as such were devoid of associations stemming from the archaic cultural experience of Anglo-Saxons. This made them more suitable to express a new, Christian time concept.

The cultural shift was manifested in the emergence of new axiologically motivated conceptual metaphors of time, namely TIME IS GOD'S CREATION and TIME IS GOD'S GIFT. Originating from the Christian worldview, these metaphors differ in the conceptual domains from which analogies for time are drawn. Let us take a closer look at both of these metaphoric mappings and at some of their representative linguistic manifestations.

4.1.1 The TIME IS GOD'S CREATION conceptual metaphor and its linguistic manifestations in Old- and Middle English texts

In the TIME IS GOD'S CREATION metaphor, time is regarded in terms of things that have been created by God. A cross-domain conceptual mapping takes place. It results in the structure of the source domain CREATION being projected onto that of the target domain TIME.

Linguistic manifestations of the TIME IS GOD'S CREATION conceptual metaphor

have been present in English texts since the Old English period. While musing about time Old English writers did not follow the course of modern rationalist thinking. The logic behind their words and images did not separate the concrete from the abstract, the symbol from the reality symbolized (Лосский 2004). In the examples below, which are taken from King Alfred's (849-899) translation of Saint Augustine's "Soliloquies" and the Anglo-Saxon Hymnarium, time's coming into being and its existence are described in terms of things that are "established" and "governed" by the great Ruler: (1) *Du recst þæt gear and redst þurh þæt gewrixle þara feower tyda, þæt ys, lencten and sumer and herfest and winter* (Soliloquies, 53) (*You rule the year, and govern it through the turning of the four seasons, that is, spring and summer and autumn and winter*); (2) *Nihte and dæg ðú ðe gewissast and tīdena ðú selst tīda* (Hymn. Surt. 6, 6) (*Maker of all, eternal King, you bring about day and night and give the seasons in their times*).

In the cited examples, time is conceptualized not as an abstract entity without beginning or end but as something that that was created ("set" or "established") as an element of the universe. Time, which is perceived as years (OE *gear*), seasons (OE *tīde*), nights (OE *nihte*), and days (OE *dæg*), is not independent or "self-governing". The second and the third example show that time is ruled by its Creator, who governs the year (OE *Du recst þæt gear and redst þurh þæt*) and brings about days and nights (OE *Nihte and dæg ðú ðe gewissast*).

In Middle English texts linguistic realizations of the TIME IS GOD'S CREATION metaphor are both numerous and diverse. Verbs of creation, i.e. the ones that actualize such meanings as "to shape", "to set", "to form", collocate with various Nomina Temporalis. Among them, there are those denoting seasonal time (e.g., *summer*, *winter*), time in astronomy (e.g., *night*, *day*), and subjective "event-time" (e.g., *moment*, *hour*). Consider the following sentences (all examples below come from the Middle English Dictionary): (1) *þou madest alle þe termes of þe erþe; soomer and veertyme, þou formedest hem* (a 1382 WBible [1] [Bod 959], Ps. 73, 17) (*Thou hast set all the*

borders of the earth: thou hast made summer and winter); (2) *He is king of blis.. þat delip þe dai fram nizt* (a 1325 Earth 4/78) (*He is the king of bliss who divides the day from the night*); (3) *He which departeth dai fro nyht Of sevene daies made a weke* (a 1393 Gower CA [Frf 3] 7.961) (*He who separates the day from the night of seven days the week has made*); (4) *It lonyzt nought to 3ow.. to knowyn tymys, momentys, and stoundys queche þe fadyr of heuene hatz reseruyd in his power* (1500 [1410] Dives and P. 1. 140) (*It is not for you to know the times, moments and hours, which the Heavenly Father has put in his power*).

There were other areas of temporal experience that were profoundly influenced by Christianity. With its focus on eternity and "the world to come" (Matthew 12: 32; Mark 10: 30; Luke 18: 30) the Christian doctrine was instrumental in shaping the Middle English perception of history. The archaic notion of time as an ever repeating cycle of recurring events was replaced by the linear directional conception of history. For the first time, the biblical conception of time presented Western man "with a purposive, goal-directed interpretation of history" (Montgomery 1975: 42). Historical time acquired its beginning in the world's creation, culminated with the Crucifixion and Resurrection and was to end with the Second Coming, Judgment Day, and the universe's consummation:

"Christianity established the concept of linear (irreversible) time, which has since dominated ideas of time in Western culture. The Christian belief in the birth, Crucifixion and death of Christ as unique, unrepeatable events made people regard time as a linear path that stretches between past and future" (Lee & Liebenau 2000: 44).

The birth of Christ, seen as a pivotal point in human history, marked the beginning of the present time, which in Middle English was referred to as the "days of salvation" (ME *halwende daies*). In Middle English texts, a variety of set phrases refer to the new Christian era, among them *the yeer of Crist, the yeer of grace, the yeer of our Lord, the yeer of Incarnacioun*. Some examples that illustrate the point are given below: (1) *Alfred þis noblemon as in þe 3er of grace he nom Eyzte hundred & sixty & tuelue þe*

kingdom (c1325 [c1300] Glo. Chron. A [Clg A. 11] 5324) (*Alfred the nobleman in the year of grace eight hundred seventy two took the kingdom*); (2) *In the 3ere fro the Incarnacion of our lorde anno Mlxxij was i-belde the castell of oxonforde* (c 1460 Oseney Reg. 5/6) (*In the year of our Lord's Incarnation MLLXXIJ the fortress of Oxford was built*).

Word combinations like *the yeer of grace*, *the yeer of our Lord* do not simply name a year in secular history. They possess an inherent allusive capacity, which allows them to refer the audience to the starting point of the Christian era (ME *Incarnacioun*). Implicitly, they place personal and social events into the broad context of sacred history.

The Christian conception of history is not restricted to time alone. The everlasting realm of eternity unfolds beyond the finite stretch of physical time. In Middle English texts eternity is very often referred to in temporal terms, being called "a day that never ends" (*dæ3, þe næfre ne endæþ*), "the day without a night" (*dei wið-ute nihte, day wiþ oute nyht*), everlasting life "without time" (*wiþ-uten tyme*). Consider the following examples: (1) *On þam life is an dæ3, þe næfre ne endæþ* (c 1175 Bod. Hom.) (*In that life there is the day that never ends*); (2) *Bring mi soule in to þe lyht, þer is day wiþ oute nyht* (c1325 Iesu suete is 180) (*Bring my soul into the light where there is day without night*).

4.1.2 The TIME IS GOD'S GIFT conceptual metaphor and its verbalizations in Middle- and Modern English texts

The second of the two key conceptual metaphors that present time as value is TIME IS GOD'S GIFT. In Middle and Early Modern English texts, its realizations frequently take the form of short prayers, which are embedded in personal wishes accompanying greetings and farewells. In communicative contexts of the kind, temporal lexemes (e.g., *day, night, hour, year*) function as objects within predicate groups whose main verbs are all synonyms of the word "to give" (e.g., *to send, to grant, to give, to spare*). Very often, as in the examples below, the speaker specifies the quality of time with such

attributes as *good* or *fair*: (1) God seend vs a ffayre day! (1450 God be oure [Magd-Ocharter Misc. 306] 1, 6) (*God send us a good day*); (2) I prey Gode gyf yow goode nyght! (c 1475 Mankind [Folg V. a. 354] 156) (*I pray God to give you a good night!*).

The conceptual metaphor TIME IS GOD'S GIFT encompasses diverse facets of temporal experience, structuring both existential and "qualitative" dimensions of time. We encounter realizations of this metaphoric mapping in contexts that refer, on the one hand, to how the entire human lifespan is perceived and, on the other hand, to how every single day and events "within" it are regarded. Let us have a look at the sentences below: (1) Ezechye to deth-ward peyned And yet god addyd ouer xv yere (a 1475 Ldirige [2] [Dc 332] 356) (*Hezekiah was dying and yet God added fifteen years*); (2) Man deieþ on manye wise þe time þat God him sett here Fulfilled is day and zeere (a 1500 Sidrak & B. [Lnsd 793] 2758) (*A man dies in many ways at the time that God has set him and the days and years are fulfilled*). In these examples, the authors reflect upon human destiny. Fifteen years of life that come after what should have been the end for the dying king of Judah Hezekiah are metaphorically described as being *added* by God. The definite point in time when a person's physical existence is to end is referred to as being *set*.

In Middle English realizations of the TIME IS GOD'S GIFT metaphor, temporal lexemes are used not only in their literal meaning. Metonymically reinterpreted linguistic expressions, such as the noun *timing* and the phrase *time and space* (both conveying the meaning of "opportunity"), are also employed, proving that it is usually not the abstract "empty" time but the "event time" that is conceptualized. Consider the following 14th and 15th century examples: (1) I thanke þe lord.. þat hath grauntyd me tyme and space to lyve and byde thys (a 1475 Ludus C.164/ 52) (*I thank the Lord who has granted me an opportunity to live and wait for this*); (2) God...giue me seli timinge To thaunen ðis werdes bigininge (a 1325 [c 1250] Gen. & Ex. 31) (*God give me opportunity to begin this word*).

The source domain GIFT is a complex mental entity that contains several subordinate constituent elements (frames) from which additional, logically inferable, information is drawn. When the elements of the source domain are mapped onto the target domain of TIME, the knowledge that speakers have about the elements of the source domain gives rise to a rich set of correspondences, or entailments. From the GIFT source domain onto the TIME target domain the following frames are mapped: (1) the actional MANAGEMENT OF THE GIFT frame; (2) the teleological PURPOSE OF THE GIFT frame; (3) the axiological VALUE OF THE GIFT frame. In this article, we will, for lack of space, consider only the first of these entailments and its linguistic manifestations in Middle English.

The notion that the gift of time should be properly administrated and used well is central to the MANAGEMENT OF THE GIFT frame. This inference finds its explicit expression in English texts as early as in 1150, as it is articulated in the following example taken from a mid-12th century homily: *Uten we beon carfulle Pæt ure time mid idelnysse us ne losige* (a1150 Vsp. D. Hom. 33Pyc.:34) (*Let us be careful so that we do not lose our time in idleness*). In the cited example, the speaker appeals to his listeners to lead a careful and prudent life (*Uten we beon carfulle*). This plea comes out of concern that time might be misspent or, metaphorically, lost because of idleness (*mid idelnysse*).

Significantly enough, time is not yet generally perceived as individual inviolable property. Conversely, it is widely viewed as a special kind of talent (in its biblical sense, see Matthew 25: 14-30), which is lent for temporary use. Consider the following 14th century example, in which the concept of TIME and, metonymically, of ACTIVITY is inextricably linked to the concept of RESPONSIBILITY: *3e sulle we giue acuntis of al Pat we habbiþ ibe here... of al Ði time fram 3er to 3ere* (a1325 Þe grace of godde) (*We shall account for everything that we have done here, for all the time from year to year*).

The mounting concern that the gift of time might be irretrievably lost leads to the idea of the "misuse of time" being additionally emphasized. Linguistically, it is expressed in 14th century texts by synonymous verb collocations *wasten time*, *lōsen time*, *lēsen time*. The latter often takes the form of Past Participle – *lōre(n)*, *lōrn(e)*. Consider the following examples: (1) *Pet uolk ...late louieþ to soupi and to waki be nizte and wasteþ þane time ine ydelnesse* (1340 Ayenb. 52/19) (*Those people love to feast late and to celebrate during the night and waste their time in idleness*); (2) *Lordynges the tyme wasteth nyght and day* ([c1390] Chaucer CT.ML. [Manly-Rickert] B.19-20) (*Lords waste the time both during the night and during the day*); (3) *Time lorn azen comen ne may* (1372 Ffor lore of p. 62) (*Lost time will not come again*); (4) *Noman mai his time lore Recovere* (a 1393 Gower CA 3.577) (*None can recover their lost time*).

In 15th century texts, the meaning of the above cited verb combinations is frequently modified by adverbs of manner, e.g., *in vayn*, *in vanytees*, *with oute profite*: (1) *Pei goon synginge & lawhinge, spendinge her tymes in vanytees* (a1425 Orch.Syon [Hrl 3432] 346/15) (*They sing and laugh and spend their time in vanity*); (2) *Be war also of hering of tithinges, for þei vnquieten þe hert and..wastith þe tyme with oute profite* (c1460 Tree & Fruits HG [McC 132] 104/24) (*Beware of listening to idle talk because it brings worry to the heart and wastes time needlessly*).

Within the GIFT source domain the MANAGEMENT frame is inseparably connected to that of PURPOSE. When mapped onto the TIME target domain, the latter allows speakers to draw relevant teleological inferences about the ultimate aim of time on earth. With regard to everlasting afterlife and the eternal Giver, who grants the gift of days and years and is going to fairly judge the use of these, time is regarded as a short trial period, which is allotted to prepare for the realm of eternity. Let us have a look at the following 14th century example: *Chese þe good part while þou hast tyme* (1400 7 Gift HG 154) (*Choose the good part while you have time*).

The appellative force of a heartfelt request to "choose the good part" is intensified by

highlighting the notion of "limit", which is actualized by the temporal conjunction *while* ("as long as"). What is thus of particular importance is that temporal existence is conceptualized within a very broad context of eternity. The latter is perceived not in terms of neutral mathematical infinity but rather in terms of everlasting individual existence, either "life everlasting" or "eternal damnation". It is, therefore, such kind of very specific eternity that puts mortal life into perspective and emphasizes time's immense value. Middle English authors express this idea using the attributive phrase *precious time*. Consider the following example: *Be ilke Þet ham ... to moche to ydele worddes, hi zecheþ grat harm.. Vor hy leseþ Þane time precious* (1340 Ayenb. 52/19) (*Those who tell too many idle words do great harm because they lose their precious time*).

In the Modern English period, the conceptual metaphor TIME IS GOD'S GIFT has been of continuing importance to speakers of English. However, the degree of relevance it attained varied greatly throughout the 16th–20th centuries. During the first part of this long and heterogeneous period (from the 16th century to mid-19th century) Christianity remained a living faith. It continued to shape perceptions and attitudes of the English speaking community to time, which was widely regarded as a gift of inestimable worth. Awareness of everyone's ultimate and inescapable destiny foregrounded the teleological dimension of time thus activating the PURPOSE OF THE GIFT frame. Implications of time being "finite" resulted in a certain degree of anxiety, which, in its turn, prompted moral calls to action. Consider the following illustrative example from an early 18th century private letter. The idea of time's scarcity is expressed in the form of a laconic yet clearly emphatic statement that "time is short": *... so, Christians, do all the good ye can, brethren, for the time is short, Death is coming, don't let him surprise ye with one opportunity neglected, for in the grave all our thoughts perish, that is, all our designs, projects, and resolutions to be good, sober, charitable, to do such a kindness for such a one, to apply such a relief to such a poor soul, and the like, are all over* (John Byrom to Mrs. Brearecliffe, January 23rd 1730; Selections from the journals and papers of John Byrom, 1950: 119).

In 18th–19th century texts, linguistic realizations of the TIME IS GOD'S GIFT conceptual metaphor often take the form of conventionalized set expressions, most of which have their origins in the corresponding Old and Middle English word combinations (e.g., *God grant, God give, God send, God bless*). Time reference of such fixed word combinations differs. Some refer to the sphere of the planned future, both immediate and remote, e.g., *if it please God, please God, God willing, God grant*. Other set phrases, namely, those expressing gratitude and relief (e.g., *thank God, Heaven be thanked*) are mostly used in the context of past events. Despite their clichéd character, they are not devoid of their initial meaning and thus not fully automatic or mechanical.

4.1.3 Conceptual metaphors TIME IS GOD'S CREATION, TIME IS GOD'S GIFT in 20th–21st century texts

Throughout the second part of the Modern English period, namely in the late 19th–20th century the scope of linguistic metaphors that are based on the TIME IS GOD'S CREATION, TIME IS GOD'S GIFT conceptual mappings continues to narrow. Nowadays it is mostly limited to religious discourse and scientific texts whose subject matter is religion and its role in culture and history. One comes across numerous realizations of the TIME IS GOD'S CREATION metaphor in popular science publications and academic articles, both in-depth and concise, that explore the Christian view of time. Consider the following fragment of a dictionary entry: *God... established the cycle of days and seasons by which time is known and reckoned and possesses the power to dissolve them* according to *his eternal purposes* (Elwell 2001: 774).

While realizations of the TIME IS GOD'S CREATION metaphor are most frequent in scholarly narratives, manifestations of the TIME IS GOD'S GIFT conceptual mapping tend to occur in non-academic contexts. They are predominantly found in religious texts (sermons, homilies) whose objective is to make recipients (readers, listeners) aware of time's preciousness, thus changing their attitude to time from carefree to responsible. Religious texts, in which the TIME IS GOD'S GIFT metaphor finds its

linguistic expression, are characterized by directive modality. The latter is realized in the form of imperative constructions (commands, requests, proposals, and prohibitions), subjunctive and interrogative sentences as well as rhetorical questions. Axiological entailments of the TIME IS GOD'S GIFT conceptual metaphor are usually explicit. Consider the following example: *Time is the most precious gift we have. With time, everything is possible. The gifts we are born with need time to be birthed. As God gifts us more time every morning, we must give thanks, and use it wisely.* <...> *Time is a precious gift, a rare gem, a priceless commodity. Use it wisely* (Iyabo 2019).

The superlative degree form of the positively charged evaluative attribute *precious* as well as two metaphoric clichés (*a rare gem, a priceless commodity*) is used not only to accentuate time's great value but also to foreground its primary purpose. The latter is articulated by a modal phrase (*we must give thanks, and use it wisely*) which further on takes the form of an imperative (*Use it wisely*). This reinforces the speaker's point of view, bringing to the fore the PURPOSE frame.

4.2 Time and money: "Economic" metaphors of time

This part of the article dwells upon conceptual metaphors of time whose source domains centre around material values. These metaphors are TIME IS A RESOURCE, TIME IS A COMMODITY, and TIME IS MONEY. The section opens with a brief overview of major sociocultural factors that altered the way English speakers perceived time in the late Middle English period. We analyze cognitive shifts in the structure of the source domain of the TIME IS GOD'S GIFT conceptual metaphor. We then focus upon linguistic manifestations of TIME IS A RESOURCE, TIME IS A COMMODITY, and TIME IS MONEY conceptual metaphors. These conceptual metaphors are generally thought to be deeply entrenched in the English-speaking community's worldview. The wide use of their linguistic manifestations in the English language does not require additional evidence. We therefore examine only the lesser known among their verbal realizations. As in Section 4.1, special emphasis is placed on the diachronic aspect of linguistic analysis. We start from the earliest verbalizations

of the TIME IS A RESOURCE metaphor (section 4.2.1). We continue with "economic" metaphors of time in Early Modern English basing our analysis on linguistic metaphors retrieved from William Shakespeare's plays (4.2.2). Section (4.2.3) looks at how the TIME IS A COMMODITY conceptual metaphor affected the way people spoke about labour in 18th century British North America. Finally, section (4.2.4) briefly examines the changes in the metaphoric conceptualization of time in the late 20th century.

4.2.1 Origins of the TIME IS A RESOURCE, TIME IS A COMMODITY, TIME IS MONEY conceptual metaphors

Linguistic communities in Western Europe experienced gradual change in their value systems in the late Middle Ages. The central emphasis shifted away from the absolute value that is inherent in the divine realm and was placed on the human realm and earthly material values. Rapid advances in material culture, proliferation of money economy, growing interest in astronomy, the invention and widespread use of the mechanical clock all prompted the establishment of a humanistic temporal paradigm during the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. This new worldview was not yet purely secular but it was also no longer essentially religious. Time was conceptualized through the lens of material assets and its value was assessed as that of a resource or commodity.

Within this new conceptual framework, which one might call economic, the point of reference for assessing time's value and purpose changed. The concept of ETERNITY was gradually consigned to the periphery of English speakers' conventional worldview. Time ceased to be regarded as a means for obtaining everlasting life and became a means for gaining various kinds of material goods. To quote Menzies (2000: 78-79):

"With the coming of modernity, history (and related time reckoning) became separated from the spiritual frame of personal salvation and applied increasingly to material ends, for example forecasting weather for harvest, or calculating interest on loans. When the mechanical clock came on the scene in the 14th century, the transformation of time was further advanced. Not only was craftspeople's work timed by the clock but the clock hour of standardized equal length gradually replaced horary prayers as the prime unit of time".

The use of time to increase one's own individual material wealth resulted in the gradual shift in the source domain of the TIME IS GOD'S GIFT conceptual metaphor. The central GIVER frame was suppressed, while the formerly peripheral RECIPIENT frame was highlighted. This brought in a new OWNER frame, which became the core element of all "possession" metaphors of time, be it TIME IS A RESOURCE, TIME IS A COMMODITY, or TIME IS MONEY.

The initial stage of the above described cognitive shift dates back to the Middle English period. Linguistic realizations of the TIME IS A PERSONAL POSSESSION metaphor, first attested in the 14th century texts, analogize time to a certain kind of substance or a thing, which one may, at will, "keep" (ME *kepen time*), look for and "find" (ME *fynden time and space*), and even "win" (ME *wynne tyme*). Consider the following late 14th–early 15th century examples: (1) *We bisecheþ..þin help..vor to do attachie þulke misdoeres..where & whenne þt jon mai kepe time* (1344 *Anc.Pet.* [PRO] SC 8-192.9580) (*We implore you to help arrest those villains, where and when you have time*); (2) *Somtyme it is wit To spende a tyme, a tyme for to wynne* (1425 [c1385] Chaucer *TC* [Benson-Robinson] 4.1612) (*Sometimes it is wise to spend time to win time*).

It is in this period that time comes to be perceived as "subservient" to its possessor and as such able of being forced to move faster, if desired. The idea of time losing its "independence" finds its linguistic realization in the late 14th century set phrase *driven awei (forth) the time*, which literally refers to an action of "chasing time away". Consider the following sentence: *Lat us speke of lusty lif in Troie That we han led, and forth the tyme dryve* (1425 [c1385] Chaucer *TC* [Benson-Robinson] 5.394) (*Let us speak about the jolly life that we led in Troy and by doing this drive forth the time*).

The gradual entrenchment of the TIME IS A RESOURCE metaphor was facilitated by the proliferation of usurious (i.e. money lending) practices. The essence of usury was all about "proper" (in economic terms) use of time. Despite the fact that "during much

of human history, the notion of taking interest on a loan made to one's fellow was considered inherently evil and immoral" (Lewison 1999: 330), the charging of interest on borrowed funds continued throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. During the later medieval and Tudor period "money lending was an essential part of the local and regional economies of England" (McIntosh 1988: 557). Usury was condemned by medieval codes, laws, and precepts, both by those that were issued by the Church and by lay authorities. One of the reasons behind usury prohibition was its perception as the sale of time. Usury meant charging interest for the time that money was on loan, therefore, as John Duns Scot (†1308) summarized it in early 14th century, any sale of time was usury. English theologian Thomas of Chobham (†1230) stated that "the usurer sells his debtor nothing that belongs to him, but only the time that belongs to God [*sed tantum tempus quod dei est*]" (Le Goff 1988: 40).

Widespread use of temporal metaphors in discussions of the legitimacy of usury contributed, albeit not deliberately and probably against the will of those who used them, to establishing a new, "monetary" concept of time. The clear metonymic association between time and money that was formed during this period enabled 14th century speakers to conceptualize moneylenders as similar to some sort of "time administrators". This analogy is reflected in the 14th century compound words *time settere* ("creditor"), *time settinge* ("the extending of credit"). These words may actualize a somewhat sinister connotation, as exemplified by the following sentence: *Pet wors is þe time-zettere ontrewē, huanne he yziþ þet uolk mest nyeduol* (1340 *Ayenb.* [Arun 57] 36/6) (*Worst of all acts the deceitful creditor when he abuses people in need*).

A close and well-established association between time and money facilitates a change in the meaning of the lexeme *time*. Semantic narrowing results in it developing a new specialized meaning of "crediting period". This terminological meaning is realized both in the compounds *time-settere*, *time-settinge* and in some verbal collocations, e.g., *to zelle to tyme* ("to sell on credit"), *to sellen tymes* ("to sell credit"): *I seyde to þee*

þat summe of hem lene to vsure, not for to ben iholde open vsureris, but in manye sotile wysis by her couetis þei sillen tymes to her neiȝboris in lenynge of her good (a1425 *Orch. Syon* [Hrl 3432] 291/3) (*I say to you that some of them lend money in a usurious way, but in order not to be considered usurers they do so in many cunning ways, selling times to their neighbours by lending their goods*).

In the example cited above, omission of the preposition *to* shows that time is conceived as something directly affected by economic (monetary) operations, as something that can be equaled to money and thus exchanged or, simply, sold. One may therefore assume that within the communicative context of 15th century money lending, time was regarded as a commodity.

4.2.2 "Economic" perception of time in Early Modern English period: Linguistic realizations of the TIME IS A RESOURCE, TIME IS A COMMODITY conceptual metaphors in W. Shakespeare's texts

Conceptual metaphors based on the concept of POSSESSION initially originated as temporal "reflections" of the late Middle English changing cultural and economic realities. However, it was only in early Modern English that the TIME IS A RESOURCE, TIME IS A COMMODITY, and TIME IS MONEY conceptual metaphors became entrenched. Substantial evidence of the gradual expansion of these conceptual mappings is provided by metaphors of time in Shakespeare's works. Not only does William Shakespeare extensively employ the already existing realizations of the above-mentioned metaphors but he also frequently coins novel metaphoric expressions. In this subsection, we will analyze verbal realizations of the TIME IS A RESOURCE conceptual mapping in Shakespeare's writings.

When one examines Shakespearean temporal metaphors, one notices that time is often presented as something that is owned or possessed by a particular individual. Consider the following examples: (1) *Take thy fair hour, Laertes. Time be thine* ("The tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark", 1604; Act I, Sc. II); (2) *The ripest fruit first falls, and*

so doth he; / His time is spent ("King Richard the Second", 1596; Act II, Sc. I); (3) *Let every man be master of his time / Till seven at night* ("The tragedy of Macbeth", 1606; Act III, Sc. I); (4) *That you your self may privilege your time / To what you will, to you it doth belong* (Sonnet 58, 1609).

In (1) time is metaphorically equated to a possession by way of double repeating 2nd person possessive pronouns *thy* (*thy hour*), *thine* (*time be thine*). In (2) a similar pattern is actualized but for a slightly different purpose: within the conceptual structure activated by the noun *time* only one frame is foregrounded, that of LIFETIME. Thus, "*His time is spent*" means that time allotted to the hero as his lifetime is over or – metaphorically – *spent*. In (3) the notion of possessing time is coupled with the idea of controlling it; this complex conceptual entity is expressed by the noun metaphor *master of one's time*. In (4) the idea of ownership, emphasized by the verbal metaphor *to you it doth belong*, is additionally highlighted by a fivefold referral to the possessor of time by means of the personal pronoun *you*.

In all of the examples cited above, the OWNER frame is actualized along with that of MANAGEMENT. The reason behind such co-occurrence is the associative link that exists between the concepts of POSSESSING and MANAGING in the source domain. Owners not only possess certain assets but also exploit them to the best advantage. In Shakespeare's plays, we regularly come across references to time as something that is distributed by its owner. Time is metaphorically described as being *spent*, *expended*, consumed by the speaker (speakers) themselves as well as *bestowed* on or *given* (granted) to someone else.

In Shakespeare's texts, the MANAGEMENT frame appears to be highly elaborate. When talking about the resource of time being drawn on, the playwright frequently specifies the way it is used – either efficiently and carefully or indiscriminately and improperly. The latter type is particularly diverse. Alongside employing customary metaphors that became part of accepted usage in the late Middle English period (e.g.,

to waste time, to lose time), Shakespeare coins novel creative extensions of conventional metaphors. Take the following examples: (1) The common voice, I see, is verified / Of thee, which says thus: *We trifle time away* ("King Henry the Eighth", 1611; Act V, Sc. III); (2) *If thou shouldst dally half an hour, his life, / With thine ... stand in assured loss* ("The tragedy of King Lear", 1606; Act III, Sc. VI); (3) *Many a duteous and knee-crooking knave... wears out his time* ("The tragedy of Othello, moor of Venice", 1605; Act I, Sc. I).

The way the MANAGEMENT frame is actualized in Shakespeare's texts gives an insight into the mechanical medium of time keeping that prompted the general preoccupation with the idea of efficient time management to a considerable extent. By the "mechanical medium" we mean a mechanical clock (both privately and publicly owned) that witnessed an upsurge of popularity in Elizabethan England and whose introduction turned out to become not only a technological but also a social innovation. By Shakespeare's lifetime, modern hour-reckoning and striking clocks became a necessity for the city-dwellers' increasingly complex way of life (Kinney 2004). The clock "controlled the busy mart, regulating its hours, merchants, practices, and bookkeeping; established international trading, and instilled a kind of Puritan ethic of budgeting time, making time, saving time, banking time" (ibid., 91). Clocks are regularly mentioned in Shakespeare's writings and sometimes the playwright alludes to clocks in his creative realizations of the TIME IS A RESOURCE metaphor.

Take the first example – king Henry the Six's soliloquy in the eponymous history play: "O God! methinks it were a happy life..." ("The third part of King Henry the Sixth", 1591; Act II, Sc. V). The whole monologue is structured by a seven-fold repetition of a temporal quantifier "*So many hours (days, weeks, years)*", preceded by the adverbial phrase "*How many hours (days, years)*" repeated four times. The king is talking about "dividing the times" and then using the periods of hours, days, months, and years appropriately. What one sees here is a philosophy of happiness based on proper time management and timekeeping. The latter is symbolically alluded to by an image of a

clock, carving out whose dials the hero would willingly spend his time on. Note, however, that a private mechanical clock, which in the late 16th century was considered an accessory of the wealthy and the privileged, is replaced by a solar clock.

Consider another example – a short line from "Twelfth night; or what you will": [*Clock strikes.*] OLIVIA. The clock upbraids me with the waste of time ("Twelfth night; or what you will", 1602; Act III, Sc. I).

In Olivia's remark, it is the personified clock whose striking reminds the heroine – metaphorically "upbraids" her – that she is wasting her time. The clock is thus metonymically perceived as embodied, tangible time.

Finally, consider the third example – the prison-scene soliloquy in the history play "King Richard the Second": "I wasted time, and now doth time waste me..." ("King Richard the Second", 1596; Act V, Sc. V). In this soliloquy the hero and the clock switch places, the latter replacing the former as its mirror image. The clock is metaphorically conceived as an elaborate machine that measures not only time but life itself, the latter's flow corresponding to functioning of the clock mechanism.

When considered a human property, the "embodied" time was attributed characteristics of a physical object. Time, equal to material resources, was described as something that can be handled and controlled. Take the following creative metaphors that manifest the notion of time being purposely affected by a human being – split into tiny parts (example 1), stretched out and even added weights to (in 2): (1) He that will divide a minute into a thousand parts, and break but a part of the thousand part of a minute in the affairs of love, ... I'll warrant him heart-whole ("As you like it", 1601; Act IV, Sc. I); (2) I speak too long, but 'tis to peize the time, / To eke it, and to draw it out in length, / To stay you from election ("The merchant of Venice", 1597; Act III, Sc. II).

The notion of embodied and "objectified" time lies beneath yet another conceptual

metaphor, namely the TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY. During the mapping procedure, frames and roles that constitute elements of the source domain COMMODITY are projected onto the target domain of TIME. This conceptual metaphor is almost identical to the above examined TIME IS A RESOURCE. Both enable the speakers to perceive time as something belonging to its owner, something that can be drawn on and exploited at its possessor's will. The main difference between the two is a greater emphasis on the monetary value of the resource in the TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY metaphor. Consider the following example from "The merry wives of Windsor": *There is money; spend it, spend it; spend more; spend all I have; only give me so much of your time in exchange of it as to lay an amiable siege to the honesty of this Ford's wife* ("The merry wives of Windsor", 1601; Act II, Sc. II). In this line, Ford literally offers Falstaff money to buy the time Falstaff would spend on achieving Ford's goal. Although Ford does not overtly employ the "purchasing terminology", he makes his meaning clear by his very actions. He accompanies his words by eloquently putting money on the table in front of Falstaff. In doing so he pays not as much for the latter's assistance but for his time.

In Shakespeare's works, one comes across various manifestations of the TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY metaphor. The playwright uses novel creative linguistic metaphors to express the notion of time's value. In Shakespeare's texts units of time, usually hours, have an estimated financial worth and can be sold or purchased. Nomina Temporalis collocate with words from the financial sphere (e.g., *to buy, to purchase, to sell, to prize*). Unlike the above cited line from "The merry wives of Windsor", these linguistic metaphors have no direct "literal" associations. Yet their very presence in Shakespeare's plays testifies to time's increasing economic relevance: (1) *Though his right arm might purchase his own time, / And be in debt to none* ("The life of Timon of Athens", 1608; Act III, Sc. V); (2) *If this right hand would buy two hours' life...* ("The third part of King Henry the Sixth", 1591; Act II, Sc. VI); (3) *See here these movers that do prize their hours / At a crack'd drachma!* (ibid., 1608; Act I, Sc. V).

It should be mentioned, however, that despite the proliferation of "monetary" temporal metaphors and their gradual entrenchment in the English language, their meaning was not always confined to the sphere of finance and commerce. In some cases, they served as a means to foreground other, axiologically relevant metaphysical entailments, which linked the concept of earthly time to that of eternity. Consider Sonnet 146, where the lyrical hero addresses his soul, voicing an appeal to use the fleeting hours of life (metaphorically, "to sell" them) on overcoming the inevitable death and reaching (metaphorically, "buying") eternity: *Buy terms divine in selling hours of dross;/ Within be fed, without be rich no more,/ So shall thou feed on death, that feeds on men,/ And death once dead, there's no more dying then* (Sonnet 146).

4.2.3 Cultural specificity of the TIME IS A COMMODITY conceptual metaphor: The case of indentured servitude

In the 17th and 18th centuries, time, along with work and money, was a major factor in shaping European economic and technical progress. The newly emerging middle classes subscribed to beliefs of punctuality, orderliness, and diligence, which were often found lacking in the lower orders. With laziness widely criticized, it was the profitable ordering of the day that was advocated. Clocks and watches, the glamorous symbols of technology of the 18th century, "were eulogised as expressions of order and dependability" (Perkins 2001: 12). It was the industrial revolution that made time a valuable resource, the more efficient use of which increased productivity and thus profitability. In business, time became inextricably linked to money as money was made by providing the most output per unit of input and that included the input of time (Stalk & Hout 1990: 149).

All these factors contributed to the "economic" conceptual metaphors TIME IS A RESOURCE, TIME IS A COMMODITY, and TIME IS MONEY achieving permanent acceptance in the English speaking community and establishing themselves firmly in the exceedingly complex network of temporal metaphors. Although lodging in both British and American conceptual worldviews, these conceptual metaphors were

given peculiar linguistic articulation depending on cultural and social differences between the two nations. Due to space limitations, we will dwell on just one case of extra-linguistic influence contributing to the conventionalization of the "economic" metaphors of time. We will consider the impact of indentured servitude in the USA on the TIME IS A COMMODITY conceptual metaphor entrenchment in American English.

The term "indentured servant", applied to employees within a system of unfree labor, was used to refer to an employee who was bound by a signed (or a forced) contract to work for a particular employer for a fixed time. When the contract was completed, indentured laborers were given their freedom. Indentured servitude was extremely common in British North America since it was often the only way for poor Europeans to pay for a costly ship passage to the American colonies. It has been estimated that more than one-half of all white immigrants to the American colonies between the 1630s and 1783 were indentured. It was only in 1865 when indentured servitude was made illegal in the United States.

The contract often enabled the employer to sell the labour of an indenturee to a third party. When this happened it was frequently not labour that was regarded as being sold, but time. Numerous 18th and 19th century advertisements testify to the fact that linguistic realizations of the TIME IS A COMMODITY conceptual metaphor were regularly used when the sale of indentured service was discussed. Consider the following examples from American newspapers of the time (capitalization retained as in original texts; examples quoted after: Thornton 1962: 898): (1) *To be sold for five years, The Time of a hearty young Man, who is a good Sailor* (Boston-Gazette, Nov. 20, 1769); (2) *He has twelve years to serve. I bought his time* (Runaway advertisement, Maryland journal, May 4, 1784); (3) *German Passengers just arrived in the ship Holland, from Hamburg, whose time is to be agreed for* (Gazette of the United States, Philadelphia, Oct. 7, 1795).

All the above given advertisements are linguistic manifestations of the TIME IS A COMMODITY mapping. The speakers – in our case, these are employers who placed the advertisements in local newspapers – clearly intended to sell (or buy) labour but conceptualized it in temporal terms. This testifies to the fact that by the mid-18th century the TIME IS A COMMODITY metaphor had been so deeply entrenched that the process of de-metaphorization began, enabling speakers to understand temporal metaphors literally.

4.2.4 Technological progress and the evolution of the TIME IS A COMMODITY conceptual metaphor in the 20th century

By the end of the 19th century, the ideas of saving and compressing time had been "stamped into the psyche of Western civilization" (Rifkin 1987: 4). In Britain and the USA, time is nowadays regarded as "a premium, a rare resource that is used to shape and mold the social life of the nation in ever more sophisticated ways. Modern man has come to view time as a tool to enhance and advance the collective well-being of the culture" (ibid.).

In the 20th century, continued pressures for higher productivity and time-saving technological innovations, made time an ever more important resource. Plagued by a constant scarcity of time, society becomes time hungry rather than 'time affluent', boosting demand for further timesaving and contributing to the telecommunications revolution (Kellerman 1989: 43).

"Technological and manufacturing innovations saw the concept of time become closely aligned with that of organizational progress. Time, like the individual, became a commodity of the production process, for, in the crucial equation that linked acceleration and accumulation, a human value could be placed upon time" (Hassard 2002: 886).

The last decades of the 20th century saw the advent of the new information age and the new "network society", governed by digital electronic technologies. The rapid spread of the latter resulted in industrialism, which had been dominating the world's leading economies for almost two centuries, being replaced and subsumed by a completely new

socio-cultural paradigm. This new social structure is characterized, as Castells (2004: 36) formulates it, by "timeless time":

"The relationship to time is defined by the use of information and communication technologies in a relentless effort to annihilate time by negating sequencing. This is done, on the one hand, by compressing time (as in split-second global financial transactions or the effort to fight 'instant wars'), and, on the other, by blurring the sequence of social practices, including past, present, and future, in a random order, as in the electronic hypertext, or in the blurring of life-cycle patterns, both in work and in parenting" (Castells 2001: 37).

The central conceptual mechanism that governs time comprehension in this new 'technocentric' temporal model takes the form of the TIME IS A VIRTUAL ENTITY metaphoric mapping. Realizations of this conceptual metaphor start cropping up in everyday language, as it is represented by the Corpus of Historical American (COHA), in 1980-1990s. Chronologically, the first among its verbal manifestations is a set phrase *computer time*. It is a polysemous expression. It can metonymically refer to time spent at a computer, e.g., *The chains buy in bulk, everything from insurance and computer time to ordinary supplies* (The nation 1979/12/15). It can also refer to the internal time of a computer system, e.g., *...five-minute animation, with 16 images per second, that might take 100,000 years of computer time* (Smithonian, 1990). The latter sense is metaphorical: the expression *computer time* refers to some particular type of time – that, which is inherent to the realm of computer mediated reality.

At the turn of the millennium, advances in Internet technology facilitated the entrenchment of the TIME IS A VIRTUAL ENTITY metaphor in the conceptual worldview of the English-speaking communities in the UK and the USA. Its verbal realizations, e.g., *Internet time, cybertime, digital time, virtual time*, all name a specific kind of time. This is 'hyperfast', 'immediate', 'hurried', 'rapid' time. Semantic analysis of the immediate context in which such phrases as *Internet time* usually occur demonstrates that in its new 'virtual' mode time is perceived as an integral element of a new cyber-reality and as such it is seen as congenial to other virtual entities. Consider the following manifestations of the TIME IS A VIRTUAL ENTITY conceptual metaphor: (1) *All the clichés about Internet time running at hyperspeed are true* (PC

World, 1997); (2) *The Internet just has speeded everything up into Internet time* (CBS_Morning, 2004).

Telecommunications innovations of the recent decade have brought forward a combination of telephones and computers in the form of smartphones, thus introducing a new form of time – a phenomenon that sociologist Agger (2011: 119-124) calls "iTime", suggesting that "iPhones create iTime and fundamentally alter the boundaries between public and private and day and night":

"Time morphs into iTime as connection and diversion dominate one's waking hours. iTime is mobile time, time that is portable as well as elastic. ...Mobile time is not only elastic in the sense that it extends into 'private' time; it is densely compressed, weighing heavily on the person who always has too much to do, not enough time to do it".

The neologism *iTime* is indicative of the fact that there are crucial on-going changes in the way speakers of English perceive and structure their time. Agger's words suggest that the TIME IS A VIRTUAL ENTITY metaphor is able to produce novel verbal realizations, which construe the ever changing reality of our life that is at the present moment more computer mediated than ever before.

5. Discussion and conclusions

One of the most challenging questions facing cognitive linguists has been the relationship between language, culture and cognition. The subtle interplay of these diverse yet overlapping phenomena can be studied, among other strategies, by "exploring features of human languages that encode culturally constructed conceptualizations of human experience" (Sharifian 2017a: 54).

This article traced gradual changes in the complex system of conceptual metaphors of time in English speakers' worldviews. Our aim was to shed additional light on a relatively understudied area of metaphor research, namely on axiologically bound metaphors, i.e. metaphors, which shape our perception of time as something valuable. Drawing on lexicographical, textual and corpus data, we examined conceptual shifts

that brought about changes in the source domains of conceptual metaphors of time.

The analysis of Old-, Middle- and Modern English time metaphors in Section 4.1 has shown that for a very long period the axiological contours of the TIME concept in the English worldview were defined by the conceptual metaphors TIME IS GOD'S CREATION and TIME IS GOD'S GIFT. These metaphoric mappings were based on deeply held beliefs that were shared by most members of the English speaking community. These conceptual metaphors had a major influence on language users' attitude to time and served as axiological guidelines in various life situations. The source domains CREATION and GIFT, though different in their ontology, were both structured around the common concept of the ALMIGHTY CREATOR. When mapped onto the target domain of TIME, source domains resulted in the latter becoming inextricably linked to the concept of ETERNITY. It is this concept that provided a wider temporal background, against which the value of time was assessed. Linguistic realizations of the TIME IS GOD'S CREATION, TIME IS GOD'S GIFT conceptual metaphors are broadly represented in English texts dating from the 12th to the 19th century. They take the form of both novel metaphors and conventionalized expressions. The 20th century witnesses the scope of Christian conceptual metaphors narrow, their realizations now being mainly confined to religious discourse.

In Section 4.2 we traced the origins of the TIME IS MONEY/ A COMMODITY/ A RESOURCE conceptual metaphors and analyzed the sociocultural factors that prompted their development in the late Middle English and Early Modern English periods. We demonstrated that gradual changes in the value system of the English-speaking community brought about changes in the source domains of conceptual metaphors of time. In the source domain of the TIME IS GOD'S GIFT conceptual metaphor the pivotal GIVER concept was replaced by the formerly peripheral OWNER concept. This cognitive shift was caused by a confluence of factors. The most relevant among them was the process of the medieval theocentric worldview giving way to the anthropocentric cultural paradigm. Social and economic factors, such as advances in

material culture and the proliferation of the money economy, also played a role. The cognitive shift was gradual: although its beginnings date back to the late 13th century, it was not until the mid-16th century that conceptual metaphors based on the POSSESSION frame became common to most members of the English speaking community. In Section 4.2.2 we demonstrated how conventional metaphors TIME IS MONEY/ A COMMODITY/ A RESOURCE were elaborated on in literary works of William Shakespeare. In Section 4.2.3 we analyzed the case of the TIME IS A COMMODITY metaphor becoming an effective means to conceptualize manipulation with and exploitation of unfree labor of indentured servants in 18th century North America.

The late 20th century telecommunications revolution was conducive to yet another conceptual metaphor of time coming into being – TIME IS A VIRTUAL ENTITY. Within the conceptual boundaries of this metaphoric mapping time is conceived as an element of computer-mediated reality – hyperfast, homogenous, unaffected by, and alienated from natural cycles and rhythms.

By analyzing historical changes in conceptual metaphors of time in the English language, we ventured to go beyond CMT in its classical version to the area of Cultural Linguistics, thus offering a new insight as to how conceptual dynamics, prompted by sociocultural factors, can both bring about language change and be manifested in it.

Abbreviations

CMT – Conceptual metaphor theory
COHA – Corpus of historical American
OE – Old English
ME – Middle English

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<p>Contact data Mariia Konnova DrSc., (Philology), Associate Professor, Institute of Humanities, Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University 56a, Chernyshevsky str., Kaliningrad, 236000, Russia e-mail: mkonnova@kantiana.ru</p>		<p>Fields of interest</p> <p>Cognitive linguistics, conceptual metaphor theory, categorization, cognitive poetics</p>
<p>Contact data Natalia Babenko DrSc., (Philology), Professor, Institute of Humanities, Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University 56a, Chernyshevsky str., Kaliningrad, 236000, Russia e-mail: NBabenko@kantiana.ru</p>		<p>Fields of interest</p> <p>Temporal language and reasoning, semantic change, literary chronotope.</p>

Résumé

Within the field of metaphor studies, conceptual metaphors of time have a long-standing research record. Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) has provided powerful tools to analyze various aspects of temporal reasoning. With CMT's emphasis on the role of the body as the experiential basis of conceptualization much attention is paid to the physiological underpinnings of temporal concepts, particularly, to image-schematic

knowledge that is mapped from the bodily-based source domains of space and motion onto the more abstract target domain of time. Culturally constructed conceptual metaphors of time have been less visible in cognitive research. The current research explores the ways that conceptual metaphors of time are motivated by complex culturally embedded conceptual structures, such as hierarchies of values and beliefs shared by the English-speaking socium. Drawing on lexicographical, textual, and corpus data from Old-, Middle-, and Modern English, we trace gradual changes in value systems – from the Christian theocentric outlook of the Middle Ages to the modern secular egocentric worldview – that trigger cognitive shifts in the source domains of metaphoric mapping. We look at how the replacement of the pivotal concept of GIVER in the source domain of the TIME IS A GIFT OF GOD conceptual metaphor by that of the OWNER gave rise to such metaphors as TIME IS MONEY. We demonstrate that the ever-growing demand for time saving and the telecommunications revolution caused yet another shift in the source domain of metaphoric mapping resulting in a new conceptual metaphor TIME IS A VIRTUAL ENTITY. We argue that it is in the analysis of the historical "roots" of conceptual metaphors where metaphor studies reach into the broad areas of the Humanities thus providing a remarkable insight into the interrelated processes of conceptual dynamics and linguistic change.

Key words: cognitive shift, conceptual metaphor theory, culture, religious outlook, industrial revolution, Renaissance, telecommunications, value.

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