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*Is Time Money? Conception of Time in the  
Mentality of a Contemporary Adult Pole\**

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*Czy czas to pieniądz? Koncepcja czasu w mentalności współczesnego dorosłego Polaka*

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**Abstract.** The aim of the research paper is to enquire how the contemporary Polish adult generation (aged over 19) comprehends time. The study is taken from the cognitive linguistics perspective, revolving around *time* metaphors that are extracted from the Polish definitions and the corpus. *Metaphor* is recognised as a useful tool within Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) to learn about motives, beliefs and the way the reality is construed. The results obtained in the research yield quantitative data. The metaphors TIME IS MONEY, TIME IS A VALUE and TIME IS A DOCTOR AND THE BEST CURE can be called “shared metaphors”, since they underlie both the dictionary definitions and corpus discourse. We may conclude that these metaphors are conventional, well-grounded in the awareness of contemporary grown-up Poles and inspire their reasoning and perceiving the concept of *time*. Other time metaphors refer to moral and religious values (within the MORALITY and RELIGION frame) and to the search of one’s identity (within the IDENTITY and PSYCHOLOGY frame). Finally, a few time metaphors derive from everyday functioning and duties of the Polish adult conceptualizers (within the DAILY LIFE frame).

**Keywords:** time, cognitive linguistics, metaphor, corpus research, Critical Metaphor Analysis, discourse

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**Abstrakt.** Artykuł ma na celu zbadanie, w jaki sposób współczesne pokolenie Polaków w wieku dojrzałym (powyżej 19. roku życia) postrzega zagadnienie czasu. Przedmiotem badań podjętych w ujęciu językoznawstwa kognitywnego są metafory językowe i pojęciowe, które zostają wydobyte z definicji słownikowych dotyczących *czasu* oraz z tekstów z Narodowego Korpusu Języka Polskiego. *Metafora* uznana jest – w ramach krytycznej analizy metafor (KAM) – za przydatne narzędzie do poznawania motywów, przekonań i postrzegania rzeczywistości. Wyniki uzyskane w badaniu dostarczają danych znaczących ilościowo. Metafory tj. czas to pieniądz, czas to wartość i czas to lekarz i najlepsze lekarstwo, można nazwać „wspólnymi metaforami”, gdyż leżą u podstaw zarówno definicji słownikowych, jak i dyskursu korpusowego. Można stwierdzić, że metafory te mają status metafor konwencjonalnych, ugruntowanych w świadomości współczesnych dorosłych użytkowników języka polskiego, które motywują ich rozumowanie i postrzeganie rzeczywistości. Niektóre metafory związane z czasem odwołują się do wartości moralnych i religijnych (w ramach MORALNOŚĆ i RELIGIA) oraz do poszukiwania tożsamości (w ramach TOŻSAMOŚĆ i PSYCHOLOGIA). Kilka metafor odwołuje się do codziennego funkcjonowania i obowiązków współczesnego Polaka (w ramie ŻYCIE CODZIENNE).

**Słowa kluczowe:** czas, językoznawstwo kognitywne, metafora, badania korpusowe, krytyczna analiza metafor, dyskurs

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Consider the following frequently used figurative expressions which refer to *czas* [time], which are extracted from the corpus of Polish language, translated literally into English, and listed in (1):

(1) *Czas to pieniądz* [Time is money]

*Czas to ciągła pogoń za karierą* [Time is a constant pursuit of a career]

*Czas jest sprzymierzeńcem* [Time is an ally]

*A dobry czas? To czas równowagi. Nie na darmo mówi się, że czas leczy rany, że czas działa na korzyść* [A good time? It's a time of balance. It is not for nothing that it is said that time heals all wounds, that time is beneficial]

*Nasz czas jest bezcenny* [Our time is priceless]

*Czas świąteczny to czas prezentów* [(Christmas) Time is a gift]

The aim of the research paper is to enquire how the contemporary Polish adult generation (i.e. the speakers of Polish over 19) comprehends *czas* [time]. In detail, we will try to find out the meaning of the concept of *time*, as delineated by the prism of conceptual metaphors. In accordance with the common assumption that *linguistic metaphors* or *metaphorical expressions* concerning entities, qualities, and functions are various linguistic instantiations activated by conceptual metaphors, we treat linguistic metaphors, such as those given in (1), as the “evidence for conceptual metaphors” (Deignan, 2017, p. 102; cf. Lakoff, Johnson, 1980) that we are to examine. The linguistic metaphors are extracted from the dictionary definitions and the discourse available in the Polish corpus.

By way of introducing the Cognitive Linguistics enterprise, let us recall the definition of *meaning* presented by Ronald Langacker, universally acclaimed as one of the founding fathers of the cognitive framework. He states that *meaning* is not identified with concepts themselves but more with conceptualisation, so with the way these concepts are perceived in a given context. With its dynamic nature, conceptualisation covers one's novel or/and fixed associations, which are grounded in the person's sensory, kinaesthetic, and emotional experience, and developed through some period of time. Undeniably, conceptualisation relies on the context, be it a social, cultural, physical, or linguistic one (Langacker, 1987, p. 3; 2008, p. 30). In short, *meaning* resides in conceptualisation, while conceptualisation resides in cognitive processing, involving cognitive events whose occurrence constitutes a given mental experience (Langacker, 2008, p. 31). Notably, for cognitive linguists, *thought* is *embodied* (Lakoff, 1987a, 1987b; Lakoff, Johnson, 1980, 1999), which means that language reflects our conceptual system that is motivated by embodied cognition. Therefore, "[s]ystematic patterns of structure and linguistic behavior are not arbitrary but motivated by recurrent patterns of embodied experience reflecting our perceptual interactions, bodily actions and the manipulation of objects" (Corrêa Ferreira, 2010, p. 546; cf. Gibbs, 2006).

In this light, *metaphor* appears as one of the best cognitive mechanisms which not only derives from physical, bodily, cultural and social experience, but also uses it to conceptualise abstract ideas which form the basis of human thought. In their cognitive (or conceptual) theory of metaphor, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980) postulate that comprehension through metaphor results from the mapping of the conceptual structure of a source domain onto that of a target domain. Accordingly, the essence of conceptual metaphor is "understanding one kind of experience in terms of another" (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980, p. 116), while "the metaphorical meanings are given by conceptual metaphorical mappings that ultimately arise from correlations in our embodied experience" (*ibid.*, p. 247). Indeed, the view of human meaning as embodied in experience constitutes the first major premise of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. It is our experience that strongly influences the way we perceive certain phenomena and conceptualise them. The second premise implies that a conceptual metaphor is a type of gestalt structuring, and the third is a postulate that the majority of conceptual metaphors are highly systematic in nature (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1987b, p. 219; Taverniers, 2003, p. 5).

With our aim to comprehend the concept of *czas* [time] in Polish, we will, certainly, draw from the metaphor theory, which will enable us to conceptualise the abstract concept of *time* and learn its meaning. However, we will make an attempt to go beyond the traditional (Lakoffian) methodology of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, which has been criticised for studying only intuitively arrived-at metaphors

and the impoverished collections of them. Consequently, we are to follow Zoltán Kövecses's (2014, p. 24) proposal to find in a given corpus any linguistic metaphors related to the target, i.e. *czas* [time] in our case. Grounded on the linguistic realisation of metaphor, we will name the very conceptual metaphors that underlie the linguistic phrases. Unquestionably, Kövecses's (2014) suggestion of using a corpus as a search tool for metaphors is significant not only for practitioners of corpus linguistics (Stefanowitsch, 2007, 2020, among others), but, more importantly, for our analysis of *time* metaphors.

With this goal to reach, our study needs to be integrative and interdisciplinary. Taken from the cognitive linguistics perspective, the research revolves around *time* metaphors, extracted from the Polish dictionary definitions and the corpus. The research continues with the analysis along the paradigms of Critical Metaphor Analysis (henceforth "CMA"), which takes the assumption that human conceptualisation is largely structured around conceptual metaphors (Lakoff, 1994; Lakoff, Johnson, 1999; Poppi, Urios-Aparisi, 2019, 2021). CMA has developed within Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth "CDA"), both of which form an interdisciplinary perspective to the study of discourse, and recognise language and communication as a form of social practice, through which we can learn people's reasoning, thoughts and beliefs (Fairclough, 2013; Machin, Van Leeuwen, 2016; Morozova, 2017; Poppi, 2018; Poppi, Urios-Aparisi, 2019).

Consequently, based on the linguistic instantiations of metaphor, we will try to name the conceptual metaphors underlying the expressions, and guess the beliefs and thoughts of the contemporary adult generation of Poles, hidden behind the metaphors. Indeed, making an attempt in this study to specify conceptual metaphors and various cognitive models that are constitutive of people's everyday experience, makes cognitive linguistics a unique discipline within the cognitive sciences (Gibbs, 1996, p. 309).

## 2. THE METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

Our study of *czas* [time] comprises three main stages, outlined here, developed in section 3 and discussed in section 4 of the research paper. In the first stage, we present the contemporary definitions of *czas* [time], as well as the most common collocations and proverbs with this keyword, taken from the updated dictionaries of the Polish language. For the sake of space limit, in some cases we skip the original phrases in Polish but reveal their literal English equivalents. Then, we specify the main conceptual metaphors underlying the dictionary definitions and

time expressions. In stage two, we extract from the corpus of the Polish language all the linguistic realisations of the conceptual metaphors that are associated with this keyword. We follow the search pattern: *czas to/jest/był/będzie* + *wyrażenie rzeczownikowe* [time is/was/will be + a noun phrase]. In fact, due to their simple construction “time is/was/will be + a noun phrase”, these linguistic metaphors may act as conceptual metaphors TIME IS/WAS/WILL BE + A SOURCE CONCEPT. In stage three, we try to reconstruct the meaning of *czas* [time], which resides in the conceptualisation of the contemporary adult generation, as revealed on the ground of metaphors.

To specify, in stage one of the study, the given definitions, collocations and proverbs of the word *czas* [time] are taken from two dictionaries: the Polish-English dictionary called *Wielki multimedialny słownik angielsko-polski i polsko-angielski PWN–Oxford* [*The Great PWN–Oxford Multimedia English-Polish and Polish-English Dictionary*] (2016/2018) (henceforth “PWN–Oxford”) and *Dydaktyczny słownik etymologiczno-historyczny języka polskiego* [Educational Etymological and Historical Dictionary of the Polish Language] (henceforth “DSEHJP”). The sources adequately trace the origin and multi-aspectual meanings of the word *czas* [time]. The *PWN–Oxford Dictionary*, with its data of 1,000,000 English and Polish meanings, phrases, expressions, idioms, and specialised terms from over 100 fields, presents the vocabulary of various stylistic and emotional colours, including the multifaceted dimension of *czas* [time], and the most conventional Polish collocations, idiomatic phrases and proverbs that the keyword occurs with. The *DSEHJP Dictionary*, on the other hand, as the online educational project, initiated by Wanda Decyk-Zięba, Monika Kresa, Izabela Stapor, Alina Kępińska and Agnieszka Piotrowska of the University of Warsaw in 2018,<sup>1</sup> provides the detailed information on the origin, history, changes in form and content, meanings, and examples of use of 152 words in Polish, including the noun *czas* [time]. These words have been listed by Tadeusz Lehr-Splawiński (1938, pp. 469–481) as the most crucial contemporary Polish words of the Proto-Slavic origin.

In stage two of the study, the word *czas* [time] is checked against the Polish language corpus to find out the actual use of the investigated term in some context. For the purpose of our research, *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego* (henceforth

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<sup>1</sup> The main goals of this dictionary educational project are to involve students in research work and to disseminate the results of the research. The intention of the authors of the dictionary is that the published publication (e-test book) is a preview of the project to be implemented in the coming years. The initial assumptions of the project were developed by Wanda Decyk-Zięba, Monika Kresa and Izabela Stapor. Later, Alina Kępińska and Agnieszka Piotrowska for a short time joined the team. An appropriate form for the preparation of a headline article was prepared, to which the indexes of sources, languages and linguistic changes as well as grammatical information were assigned, supplemented as needed.

“NKJP”) [National Corpus of the Polish Language] is chosen.<sup>2</sup> The corpus has been recognised by linguists not only as an essential tool but also as a reliable source in an analysis since it contains a high number of words, a diversity of texts with respect to the subject and genre, and a wide range of conversations that represent both male and female speakers, in various age groups, and coming from many regions of Poland. The NKJP Corpus contains the following sources: classic literature, daily newspapers, specialist periodicals and journals, transcripts of conversations, and a variety of short-lived and Internet texts.<sup>3</sup> The only drawback that we encounter while using the NKJP Corpus is that it comprises the data up to the year 2010. Therefore, at the very moment, after twelve years since the last corpus entry, the authors of the discourse material that we use in our analysis of *czas* [time] must be at least over 19 now. Accordingly, following the generally adopted age 20 as the beginning of adulthood,<sup>4</sup> we can treat these discourse speakers as adults, who will be referred to as “the generation of contemporary adult speakers of Polish”. It is their conceptualisation of *time* that we will learn then, surely not the conceptualisation of *time* represented by the present generation of adolescents or children.

Moreover, for the entry *czas* [time], the so-called PELCRA search engine is used. Prepared by Piotr Pęzik (2012), PELCRA covers 1200 million words from three corpora: IPIPAN, PELCRA, and PWN, which enable us to make an advance search of the collocations with the noun *czas* [time]. Due to space limit, the research paper presents only our corpus research that is based on three metaphor keywords, such as: *czas* [time], *to/jest* [is], and a variable element of a noun phrase. In other words, the NKJP Corpus is searched in terms of any likely collocations, such as: *czas to*, *czas jest/był/będzie* [time is, time is/was/will be].

In stage three, the extracted metaphors are to be analysed in terms of perceiving *time* by the contemporary Polish adult generation. For our methodology, we adopt the stance of one of the key CDA practitioners, Norman Fairclough (1989), that

<sup>2</sup> The National Corpus of the Polish Language is a shared initiative of four institutions: Institute of Computer Science at the Polish Academy of Sciences (coordinator), Institute of Polish Language at the Polish Academy of Sciences, Polish Scientific Publishers PWN, and the Department of Computational and Corpus Linguistics at the University of Łódź (Poland). It has been registered as a research-development project of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education in Poland.

<sup>3</sup> As scrutinised by Adrian Zasina (2018, p. 175), the NKJP Corpus consists of the following texts: journalism and short press releases (50.0%), fiction (16.0%), non-fiction (5.5%), information and guide type (5.5%), scientific-didactic type (2.0%), other written texts (3.0%), unclassified non-fiction book (1.0%), conversational texts, spoken media and quasi-spoken texts together (10.0%), static and dynamic Internet texts together (7.0%).

<sup>4</sup> “Adulthood is commonly thought of as beginning at age 20 or 21 years. Middle age, commencing at about 40 years, is followed by old age at about 60 years” (Britannica, access: 22.10.2022).

ideology – in our case it is the “ideology” of time – can be measured by reviewing “which metaphors are used?” (p. 119). Yet to be clear, the term “ideology” is meant here as “a coherent set of ideas and beliefs adhered to by a group of people that provides an organised and systematic representation of the world about which they can agree” (Charteris-Black, 2011, pp. 21–22). Hence, by following the main tenet of CDA, namely searching for “ideology” in and behind the discourse retrieved from the corpus, we expect to learn about the beliefs, reasoning and way the contemporary adult Poles conceptualise *czas* [time]. Importantly for the coherence of our methodology, the adopted views of Fairclough on metaphor correlate with the studies on metaphor in cognition. Accordingly, *conceptual metaphor* is defined as a cognitive process and a matter of thought that can activate various linguistic instantiations, known as *linguistic metaphors* or metaphorical expressions concerning entities, qualities, and functions (Lakoff, 1993). Through metaphorical mappings, we may associate the same target domain (e.g. LOVE), with a wide number of source domains, e.g. a bond, a captive animal, a disease, a fluid in a container, a journey, a natural force, a nutrient, a social superior, a unity (of complementary parts), an economic exchange (based on mutuality), an opponent, closeness, fire, magic, etc. (Kövecses, 2000, p. 26) – all of which provide a set of relevant information and connotations that frame how we decode the target domain (Kövecses, 2018, p. 126), as well as interact within social and cultural contexts (Kövecses, 2015; Landau, Meier, Keefer, 2010; Musolff, 2019). Therefore, metaphor, taken from the perspective of CMA, is called “a cognitive-semiotic operation [...] in which a source frame is mobilised to provide a template for sense-making inside a target frame, leading to particular framing effects” (Hart, 2018, p. 280).

Finally then, in our interdisciplinary framework, metaphor is recognised as a useful tool of learning about reasoning, beliefs and ways of construing reality within a critical analysis. Not only does metaphor embody, represent, and construct “ideologies” in discourse, but it also evokes cognitive frames or “ideological” constructs that we may remain largely unaware of (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2006, 2012; Goatly, 2007; Poppi, Urios-Aparisi, 2021, p. 162).

### 3. METAPHORICAL CONCEPTUALISATION OF TIME IN POLISH

This section of the research paper constitutes stages one and two of our research. It aims at presenting the preliminary results of the conceptual metaphors that underlie the conventional definitions, collocations, idioms and proverbs referring to the concept of *czas* [time] in Polish (section 3.1) as well as the most frequently used contemporary metaphors retrieved from the corpus (section 3.2).



### 3.1. Metaphors underlying the definitions, collocations and idioms referring to *czas* [time] in Polish

In order to prepare a list of conceptual metaphors that underlie the definitions and collocations concerning *czas* [time] – which is stage one of our study – we use the Polish *PWN–Oxford* and *DSEHJP Dictionaries*. The fifteen metaphors obtained from the search are given in (2).

(2) Conceptual metaphors underlying definitions, collocations, idioms and proverbs connected with the concept of *czas* [time] in Polish:

- (a) TIME IS DURATION<sup>5</sup>
- (b) TIME IS A DISTANCE/LENGTH
- (c) TIME IS AN EVENT
- (d) TIME IS A FASHION
- (e) TIME IS A POINT
- (f) TIME IS RIGHT (A RIGHT MOMENT)
- (g) TIME IS A PLEASURE
- (h) TIME IS A VALUE/GIFT
- (i) TIME IS A RESULT
- (j) TIME IS A BREAK
- (k) TIME IS MONEY
- (l) TIME IS A COUNTABLE OBJECT
- (m) TIME IS A RACER/COMPETITOR
- (n) TIME IS A DOCTOR AND THE BEST CURE
- (o) TIME IS A RULER/GOVERNOR

The first metaphor, namely TIME IS DURATION, as seen in (2a), underlies the main definition of *czas* [time] in Polish, namely *trwanie* [literally: lasting, duration]. The dictionaries provide the following Polish collocations and proverbs associated with *time* meant as DURATION: *czas płynie jak woda* [literally: time passes or goes by like water]; *kawał czasu* [literally: a piece of time]; *process rozłożony w czasie* [literally: a process continued over time]; *z czasem/biegiem/upływem czasu* [literally: with the passing/running/flowing of time] and *czas mijał im na rozmowach o życiu* [literally: they whiled away the time talking about life]. Indeed, in these phrases, *time* is conceptualised in spatial terms, referring either to length, size or movement. Hence, the main metaphor TIME IS DURATION may be divided into more detailed metaphors, e.g. TIME IS A MOVING/FLOWING RIVER, TIME IS WHOLE/PART, TIME IS LENGTH, TIME IS A RUNNER, A FLOWING LIQUID, and TIME IS MOVEMENT.

<sup>5</sup> As commonly accepted in the Cognitive Linguistic literature, conceptual metaphors are written in small capitals.



*Czas* [time] in Polish can be measured as a distance. Hence, the main metaphor TIME IS A DISTANCE/LENGTH (presented in (2b)) underlies such expressions as: *po jakimś czasie* [after some time]; *w tym czasie* [at that time]; *od dłuższego czasu* [for a long time]; *przez cały czas* [all the time]; *w czasie* [during]; *w czasie wakacji/podróży* [during a holiday/trip/journey]; *ona będzie pod ścisłą obserwacją na czas leczenia* [she will be under close observation for the duration of the treatment]; and *na czas remontu* [while the building work is being carried out].

TIME IS AN EVENT (IN WHICH SOMETHING HAPPENS AND WHICH TAKES PLACE) is another metaphor, as seen in (2c), underlying a long list of collocations presented in the Polish dictionaries. These expressions and their literal translations are: *rok minął od czasu ich ostatniego spotkania* [a year had/has passed since the time of their last meeting]; *ciężkie czasy* [hard times]; *od niepamiętnych czasów* [since time immemorial / time out of mind]; *po wieczne/wsze/wszystkie czasy* [for all the times / forever]; *w czasach minionych* [in days gone by]; *w dzisiejszych czasach* [nowadays, in today's time]; *w ostatnich czasach / ostatnimi czasy* [in the recent time / lately]; *z czasów czegoś* [from the time of sth / dating back to sth]; *dziennik/broń z czasów wojny* [a diary/weapons from the time of / dating back to the war]; *za czyichś czasów* [in sb's time/day]; *za dawnych czasów* [in old times / in days of old]; *za wszystkie czasy* [for all the time / as if there was no tomorrow]; *pamiętać lepsze czasy* [to have seen better time / days]; *wyprzedzić swoje czasy* [to be ahead of one's time]; *po czasie każdy mądry* [after time, everyone is wise]; and *przyjdzie czas, przyjdzie rada* [the time will come, the advice as well].

The next metaphor associated with *czas* [time] in Polish is TIME IS A FASHION, as given in (2d), which may be realised by the following phrases with the word under scrutiny: *aktor/serial wszechczasów* [an all-time favourite actor/series]; *gest był nie na czasie* [the gesture was ill-timed/untimely]; *kapelusze są teraz na czasie* [hats are in right (time) now]; *narkomania to temat na czasie* [drug addiction is an issue of this time / a very topical issue]; and *czasy się odmieniają, z czasem i ludzie* [times change, with time people change as well].

Furthermore, the metaphor TIME IS A POINT, listed in (2e), activates such Polish collocations, idioms and proverbs referring to *czas* [time] as: *czas odjazdu/przyjazdu* [arrival/departure time]; *określić przybliżony czas wybuchu* [to determine the approximate time of the explosion]; *od czasu skończenia studiów* [after the time of graduating]; *co jakiś czas* [once every time / once in a while]; *od czasu do czasu* [from time to time, every now and then, occasionally]; *od tego czasu* [since then/that time]; *do czasu naszego wyjazdu* [before the time we leave/left]; *do tego czasu nie dowiedzieliśmy się* [up this time we still don't know]; *na czas* [on time]; and *do czasu dzban wodę nosi* [the jug carries water up to some time / until it takes it].

The TIME IS RIGHT (A RIGHT MOMENT) metaphor presented in (2f) triggers the following expressions with *czas* [time], as the dictionaries provide: *właściwy, odpowiedni czas* [right, suitable time]; *czas żniw/zbiorów* [harvest time]; *nadszedł czas, żeby stąd wyjechać* [the time has come to leave this place]; *o czasie* [on time/schedule]; *koncert rozpoczął się o czasie* [the concert began/started on time]; *przyszedliśmy po czasie / przed czasem* [we arrived late/ahead of time]; *najwyższy czas, żebyś się ożenił / żebyśmy poszli do domu* [it's high/about time you got married/we went home]; *czas (jest) po temu* [it's (high) time; it's about time]; *nie czas na żarty* [this is no time for joking around]; *czas spać* [it's bedtime, it's time to go to sleep]; *czas, żeby poważnie pomyśleć o przyszłości* [it's time to do some serious thinking about the future]; *czas na mnie/nas* [it's time for me/us to go]; *w swoim czasie* [in due time/course]; *daj Boże w dobry czas mówić, a we zły milczeć* [God forbid it was good time to speak and evil time to be silent]; *każda rzecz ma swój czas* [every thing has its time]; and *komu w drogę, temu czas* [time to hit the road].

What is more, *czas* [time] can be understood in terms of pleasure, which leads to the metaphor TIME IS A PLEASURE, as given in (2g). The metaphor covers the following collocations and proverbs with the concept under study: *korzystaj z czasu, póki czas* [use time while you can]; *zleci czas, jak biczem trząś* [time will fly as the whip cracked]; and *to były czasy!* [those were the days!].

In a similar vein, *czas* [time] may be perceived as a value or gift, evoking the metaphor TIME IS A VALUE/GIFT (in (2h)), as visible in such expressions: *cenny, drogocenny, stracony czas* [precious, valuable, lost time]; *szkoda czasu i atlasu* [it's a waste of time and money, it's not worth the trouble]; and *Pan Bóg czasy rozdaje* [God gives the time].

We can use the following expressions referring to sport events: *uzyskał najlepszy czas* [he had the best time]; and *jaki masz czas na 100 metrów?* [what's your time for the 100 metres?], which generate the metaphor TIME IS A RESULT, illustrated in (2i). While the collocation *trener poprosił o czas* [the coach asked for a timeout] triggers the metaphor TIME IS A BREAK, placed under (2j).

The well-acknowledged metaphor seen in (2k), i.e. TIME IS MONEY, can be realised by means of the expressions such as: *trwonić/marnować czas na coś* [to waste time on sth]; *spędzać czas na czymś* [to spend time on sth]; *czas to pieniądz* [time is money]; and *czas traci czas płaci* [time wastes time pays].

Another metaphor, namely TIME IS A COUNTABLE OBJECT, listed in (2l), underlies such collocations as: *mieć czas na coś/dla kogoś* [to have time for sth/sb]; *nie mieć czasu na coś / dla kogoś* [to have no time for sth/sb]; *mieć mało czasu* [to be pressed for time]; *mieć dużo czasu* [to have lots of time / time on one's hands]; *dawać/dać komuś trzy dni / dwie godziny czasu na coś* [to give sb three days / two hours to do sth]; *przygotowania zajęły mi mnóstwo czasu* [the preparations took up a lot of

my time]; *zabrakło nam czasu* [we ran out of time]; and *panie pośle, pański czas się skończył* [Sir, your time's up].

In the last group of metaphors, given in (2m)–(2o), *czas* [time] is personified, activating the following three metaphors and their linguistic realisations: TIME IS A RACER/COMPETITOR: *wyścig z czasem* [a race against time/the clock; and *czas ucieka, śmierć goni, wieczność czeka* [time is running out, death is chasing, eternity is waiting]; TIME IS A DOCTOR AND THE BEST CURE: *czas leczy/goi rany* [time heals all wounds, time cures all things]; and *czas najlepszy lekarz/doktor* [time is the best doctor]; and TIME IS A RULER/GOVERNOR: *czas nie pozwala na coś komuś* [time does not allow one to do something].

### 3.2. The corpus study of *time* metaphors

Having provided the enriched dictionary definitions of the word under scrutiny, its commonly recognised collocations, idioms and proverbs as well as the conceptual metaphors underlying these defining terms, our study continues – in stage two – with checking the word *czas* [time] in the NKJP Corpus to find out the meaning of the investigated term, as perceived by the contemporary adult Polish generation.

Based on Alice Deignan's (2005) conviction that a corpus linguistics approach can contribute in a substantial way to our understanding of metaphor, the aim of this part of the study is to search for any quantitative data that refer to the concept of *time* overtly, and which follow the pattern: *czas to + wyrażenie rzeczownikowe* [time is + a noun phrase] and *czas jest/był/będzie + wyrażenie rzeczownikowe* [time is/was/will be + a noun phrase]. Thanks to this constraint, we expect to find out sentences with two constituent elements, i.e. (1) the concept of *czas* [time] as our target we desire to describe, and (2) another concept (source) with the help of which *czas* [time] is to be explained. These two distinct and apparently unrelated elements represent various domains between which conceptual mappings occur. The cross-domain mappings are the very essence of metaphor. Consequently, our technique of metaphor search is consistent with Jonathan Charteris-Black's (2004) method, who takes “the presence of incongruity or semantic tension – either at linguistic, pragmatic or cognitive levels – resulting from a shift in domain use” (p. 35) as a guiding criterion for the identification of a metaphor.

For the sake of clarity, let us remind that the linguistic metaphors searched in the corpus by following the pattern “time is/was/will be + a noun phrase”, act as conceptual metaphors “TIME IS/WAS/WILL BE + A SOURCE CONCEPT”. The results obtained in the research yield quantitative data, consisting of text passages ranging from 3 words to several lines. The collocations with the word *time* and the variable *be* occur 3,938 times in the corpus. The found phrases have been arranged

automatically according to the frequency of occurrence, being provided even the Chi-Square calculator data, i.e. the coefficient between the two elements. The list organised in (3) presents *time* conceptual (linguistic) metaphors received from the corpus, which are to be discussed further in section 4 of the research paper. The metaphors are segregated into four main groups which specify the frame to which the metaphors belong, namely: (a) CONSUMERISM, ECONOMY and POLITICS frame; (b) IDENTITY and PSYCHOLOGY frame; (c) MORALITY and RELIGION frame; and (d) DAILY LIFE frame.

(3) The list of *time* metaphors retrieved from the Polish NKJP Corpus:<sup>6</sup>

**(a) CONSUMERISM, ECONOMY and POLITICS frame**

1. TIME IS MONEY
2. TIME IS PRESSURE
3. TIME IS A CONSTANT PURSUIT OF A CAREER
4. TIME IS THE CARETAKER: TIME IS MONEY, MONEY IS LAND, LAND IS LAND
5. TIME IS A PHYSICAL, OPERATIONAL AND LOGISTIC SKILL
6. TIME IS A PREPARATION FOR COMPETITIVENESS
7. TIME IS NEGOTIATIONS, TALKS, PROPOSALS
8. TIME IS A MATTER OF TALK AND DISCUSSION
9. TIME IS MOBILISING STRATEGIC RESOURCES AND POWERS AS IF LITTLE WARS WERE BEING WAGED
10. ELECTION TIME IS A PROMISE
11. CAMPAIGN TIME IS A FAMILY LOSS
12. TIME IS A POLITICAL GAME

**(b) IDENTITY and PSYCHOLOGY frame**

1. TIME IS AN ALLY
2. TIME IS A CHANGE
3. TIME RUNNING AWAY IS AN ENEMY
4. TIME OF CHANGE IS A TIME OF FEAR OR NEW OPPORTUNITIES
5. TIME OF ADOLESCENCE IS A REBELLION AND DENYING ALL AUTHORITIES, AND BEING ONESELF SOMETIMES

6. TIME IS BECOMING RECOGNISED ON THE INTERNET

7. WASTED TIME IS A TIME OF CHAOS, A TIME OF RANDOMNESS

8. TIME OF ILLNESS IS A KILLER

9. TIME IS A DOCTOR AND EQUILIBRIUM

**(c) MORALITY and RELIGION frame**

1. TIME IS A PRECIOUS VALUE

2. TIME IS A PRAYER

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<sup>6</sup> The translation of the Polish metaphors into English is provided by the author of the article.

3. TIME IS A JUDGE
  4. TIME IS A WAR AGAINST POOR AND DISHONEST JUDGES
  5. TIME IS (NOT) MONEY BUT A VALUE
  6. TIME IS QUALITY
  7. TIME IS AN ALLY OF PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL
  8. TIME IS THE TIME OF THE RETURN OF THE LORD'S WORD AND THE TIME OF THE JUDGMENT OF THE WORLD
  9. TIME IS A GRACE, A SHARD OF MERCY
- (d) DAILY LIFE frame**
1. TIME IS A PLEASURE / TELEVISION (WATCHING)
  2. (CHRISTMAS) TIME IS A GIFT
  3. (FREE) TIME IS A WASTE
  4. (HOLIDAY) TIME IS A JOURNEY
  5. VACATION TIME IS AN INCREASED ROAD ACTIVITY OF THE WHOLE SOCIETY

In brief, the list displayed in (3) presents a big inventory of 35 conceptual metaphors concerning *czas* [time] in Polish but given in their English version for the sake of space limit. The largest group is represented by 12 metaphors from the world of economy, consumerism and politics. Particularly the metaphor TIME IS MONEY hits the biggest number of scores in the corpus. The next group comprises 9 metaphors which refer to the identity and psychology frame. The most popular metaphors from this group, in terms of their occurrence in the corpus, are: TIME IS AN ALLY, TIME IS A CHANGE and TIME RUNNING AWAY IS AN ENEMY. Group three covers 9 metaphors concerning morality and religious life, with the most frequent metaphors such as: TIME IS A PRECIOUS VALUE and TIME IS A PRAYER. The last group includes 5 metaphors dealing with everyday functioning, with the well-known metaphors such as: TIME IS A PLEASURE and (CHRISTMAS) TIME IS A GIFT.

#### 4. DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

The chief aim of this part of the article – which constitutes stage three of the study – is to discuss the results received and outlined in the previous section, namely to analyse the metaphors retrieved from the dictionaries and corpus through the prism of CMA. To begin with, the definitions, collocations, idioms and proverbs referring to the concept of *czas* [time] in Polish, extracted from the Polish *PWN–Oxford* and *DSEHJP Dictionaries*, present the idea of *time* that certainly has been shaped for ages, and which has been grounded in the social, cultural and national awareness of people. As the dictionaries provide, for common people, *time* in Polish is recognised in the vast majority of cases, as a process that involves some

movement, which justifies the metaphor TIME IS DURATION. What is more, *time* can be measured from a given point to the other point, both in the past, presence and in the future (therefore, TIME IS A POINT). The length of *time* may be short or long (hence, TIME IS A DISTANCE/LENGTH), right or improper (thus, TIME IS RIGHT [A RIGHT MOMENT]), eventful and challenging (TIME IS AN EVENT), or filled with pleasure and rest (hence, TIME IS A PLEASURE and TIME IS A BREAK). The meaning of *time* can entail competing, which results in the metaphor TIME IS A RACER/COMPETITOR. *Time* spent at work to earn some money embeds the metaphor TIME IS MONEY. In addition, especially when *time* is short and associated with duties and tasks to do, it becomes a ruler or governor (hence, TIME IS A RULER/GOVERNOR). Undeniably, *time* must be a valuable aspect of human life (TIME IS A VALUE/GIFT), since we tend to recall memorable days as well as pleasurable and successful events. We wish to forget in the course of time any painful moments of our lives, any hard times and wounds we have received. Then, *time* is the best doctor and cure, which triggers the metaphor TIME IS A DOCTOR AND THE BEST CURE. Change and focusing on selected and more appealing moments in our lives are the next characteristic features of *time*, which are reflected in the metaphor TIME IS A FASHION. Finally, as an abstract concept, *time* seems to be difficult to be explained; accordingly, we tend to emphasise the actions, events, tasks and any results experienced during a given period more than the time itself (TIME IS A RESULT). Consequently, *time* becomes a countable object (TIME IS A COUNTABLE OBJECT), which is much easier to comprehend and talk about.

These dictionary characteristics of *time* can be exemplified with different phrases, idioms, proverbs and sentences taken from the discourse of contemporary adult Polish people, available in the Polish NKJP Corpus. However, in our corpus study, what we meant was not to search for further instances of the dictionary usage of *time*, but to find out which of these dictionary metaphors, if any, are the most frequent and whether some new views on *time* can be elicited. In view of that, the results obtained in the corpus study yield a quantitative data of 35 metaphors. They prove that *time* is conceptualised by the contemporary adult generation mostly, i.e. in the one third of the cases, in the frame of CONSUMERISM and ECONOMY. To be detailed, *time* is mainly defined as money (hence, the metaphor TIME IS MONEY). Undeniably, our contemporary life revolves around our job and taking overtime work to earn the living and be able to pay off loans or buy any products necessary for life. The following extract from the discourse from the NKJP Corpus,<sup>7</sup> given in its English version for the sake of space limit, underlines this reality:

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<sup>7</sup> The translation into English of all the extracts from the corpus is provided by the author of the article.

Beauty or solid construction does not know what time is. But time is money! And the prices for tiling services are not the lowest. Exactly! First the price, then all the rest – that's the market we have today. (NKJP, 2008)

In fact, money appears to be both a means to our dignified life and a driving force for our career, prosperity and higher social standing. It is illustrated in the novel metaphor TIME IS THE CARETAKER: TIME IS MONEY, MONEY IS LAND, LAND IS LAND, which underlies the following words from the corpus:

[...] time is the caretaker: Time is money, money is the ground, the ground is the earth, the earth is the mother, the mother is the angel, the angel is the guardian and the guardian is the caretaker. (NKJP, 2006)

Furthermore, *time* is marked with a constant pursuit of a career, which is generally associated with our incessant longing for challenge. The pursuit of a contemporary adult Pole usually starts as their chase for knowledge, better grades, a better university, a better paid job, a more prominent position in the company – all of which give rise to the metaphor TIME IS A CONSTANT PURSUIT OF A CAREER. The fact that making a career requires physical, operational and logistic skills, in order to face new challenges, pressure, and competitiveness, leads to generating such metaphors in the corpus as: TIME IS A PHYSICAL, OPERATIONAL AND LOGISTIC SKILL, TIME IS PRESSURE and TIME IS A PREPARATION FOR COMPETITIVENESS. These metaphors explain the contemporary requirement of constant readiness, improvement and expected growth, and they can be visualised in the following discourse extracted from the corpus:

This project [...] allows you to take a fresh look at the companies and find out what needs to be improved in order to be competitive on the market. Time of growth is a time of preparation [...] We want to transfer solutions that have proven successful in large corporations to medium-sized enterprises. The time of economic growth is the best time to prepare your company for hard times. Because growth doesn't last forever. (NKJP, 2007)

In addition, *time* is conceptualised with reference to the world of POLITICS, by means of such three metaphors: TIME IS NEGOTIATIONS, TALKS, PROPOSALS; TIME IS A MATTER OF TALK AND DISCUSSION and TIME IS MOBILISING STRATEGIC RESOURCES AND POWERS AS IF LITTLE WARS WERE BEING WAGED. The source concepts that describe the target of *time* are: negotiations, talks, proposals, discussions and organising strategic resources and powers as if little wars were being waged. Consider the following discourse extract, which is the basis of one of the metaphors already mentioned, and illustrates the situation in politics clearly enough:



These are the new hallmarks of our time. The hope for a collision-free world management has vanished, and a period of tough game has begun between all those who want to pretend to a subjective role and dominate the new order. The great period of “stratification of powers” had begun. Such time is the time of mobilising resources, determining one’s place in this order, looking for alliances, securing existence, building strategic advantages, constructing scenarios for the future and choosing the most advantageous options. It is also a time of many “little wars”. (NKJP, 2008)

*Time* connected with political elections and campaigns is perceived as making promises as well as verifying them in due course. The so-generated metaphor ELECTION TIME IS A PROMISE underlies the following discourse:

Election time is a time of promises, there is no need to hide it. These promises can only be verified by personal credibility, that is, people’s knowledge of whether such promises have been kept in the past. (NKJP, 2006)

The election time is also seen as a loss for one’s family life, which generates the metaphor CAMPAIGN TIME IS A FAMILY LOSS: “The time of the campaign is the time taken away from the family” (NKJP, 2002). Finally, *time* is visualised as a political game as well; thus, the metaphor TIME IS A POLITICAL GAME.

By learning so far how *time* is conceptualised by the contemporary adult Polish generation, we get to know the face of our life reality, namely that it is not only difficult but sometimes even brutal, devoid of higher desires, aspirations and values. The sense of constant struggle, competition, change and focus on material issues and possessions often activates chaos and loss of one’s identity, especially strongly experienced among more sensitive people, those of poor and middle status or people from the margins. This truth is well-illustrated by means of such *time* metaphors as: WASTED TIME IS A TIME OF CHAOS, A TIME OF RANDOMNESS; TIME IS A CHANGE; TIME RUNNING AWAY IS AN ENEMY; TIME IS AN ALLY and TIME OF CHANGE IS A TIME OF FEAR OR NEW OPPORTUNITIES (“A time of change is a time of fear or new opportunities. Your attitude will decide” [NKJP, 2007]). All these metaphors belong to the frame of IDENTITY and PSYCHOLOGY.

One of the ways of struggling for one’s recognition is involvement or rebellion. Especially young people fight for their identity since they need to be recognised among their peers. The first of the metaphors which were pronounced nearly two decades ago by former youngsters and now grown-up language users is TIME IS BECOMING RECOGNISED ON THE INTERNET, motivated by the following words from the corpus discourse: “On time! It’s Your Time To Be Online!!” (NKJP, 2004), speaks of a deep human to be noticed, appreciated, cared for and accepted. The other metaphor TIME OF ADOLESCENCE IS A REBELLION AND DENYING ALL AUTHORITIES, AND BEING ONESELF SOMETIMES presents those who mark their existence by means

of denial, rebellion, protests and arguments against all authorities. The metaphor underlies such words:

During adolescence, most of us went through a period of rebellion and became a perch, defying established laws and norms, such as going to Aunt Fruzia's name day wearing pink boots and black lips, or sticking a safety pin in our nose and watching our scandalised neighbours' expressions. The time of rebellion is a time of denying all authorities and being oneself, sometimes at a very, very high price. But then, that time passes, and you imperceptibly begin to live according to the programs you rebelled against. (NKJP, 2000)

Importantly, in each society there is a group of people who are unprivileged due to their chronic or lethal illness. *Time* for them brings either negative connotations, i.e. TIME OF ILLNESS IS A KILLER, or positive ones, particularly when there is hope for a soon recovery. In the second case, the metaphor TIME IS A DOCTOR, AND THE BEST CURE AND EQUILIBRIUM IS EVOKED, which is realised by the following discourse:

A good time? It's a time of balance. It is not for nothing that it is said that time heals wounds, that time works for the benefit [...]. Therefore, in order to make the best use of the time given to us, we should celebrate life and all its moments, the most important and everyday ones. Know when it's time for work and when it's time for pleasure. Life becomes good when we give it a form ourselves, then we feel safe and happy. (NKJP, 2008)

What is more, as cited in the last extract, life and *time* may become "good when we give it a form". Accordingly, when analysed in the MORALITY and RELIGION frame, *time* may become a value and a matter of substantial quality. The most frequent in this group is the metaphor TIME IS A VALUE, which occurs in parallel versions such as: TIME IS A PRECIOUS VALUE; TIME IS QUALITY and TIME IS (NOT) MONEY BUT A VALUE. This type of metaphor emphasises the importance of value over money as well as quality over quantity ("Life reveals itself as time accounted for by God and paid for by people. Scheduled and well-used time is high-quality time" [NKJP, 2007]). The metaphor stresses the necessity of enriching one's knowledge, educating the mind, and providing entertainment to enhance physical and mental development. All this care pays off and results in being more productive and less exhausted at work. Then TIME IS A VALUE, as illustrated in the words below:

Not only is it equally useful, but it is even more useful to use time so that work is more productive with less effort, and that time is used to enrich knowledge and educate the mind, which is the basis of modern civilization and culture, as well as entertainment that makes life more pleasant, and conducive to physical and mental development. It is also wrong to say that time is money. Time is value. (NKJP, 1926, original version)

In addition, when taken from the moral perspective, *time* works as one's conscience that should react against evil doers; hence, the metaphor TIME IS A JUDGE and TIME IS A WAR AGAINST POOR AND DISHONEST JUDGES. In the same vein, the metaphor TIME IS AN ALLY OF PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL proves true:

Time is an ally of people of good will. Unless there is any irreversible burning of the bridges, as long as you manage to maintain an atmosphere of warmth and friendship. (NKJP, 2006)

One more metaphor has proven extremely fruitful in the corpus, i.e. TIME IS A PRAYER, which correlates with two more metaphors: TIME IS THE TIME OF GOD'S WORD RETURN AND THE TIME OF THE JUDGMENT OF THE WORLD and TIME IS A GRACE, A SHARD OF MERCY. The meaning of God's grace is described in the following extract:

When I say the Names of God, I move the chord of the world, when I say the Tetragrammaton, the 26 worlds unite. And in one of them I see your question: why time and space when you can be outside of them? Time is a grace, a shard of mercy. (NKJP, 1996)

Clearly, religious people comprehend *time* through the prism of God's Providence, grace, mercy and new life opportunities; therefore, whatever they encounter is taken as God's grace, thus, as a chance to grow, expiate and improve.

Finally, *time* is conceptualised by means of entities and actions from the frame of OUR DAILY LIFE AND FUNCTIONING. In this light, the metaphors reveal that for contemporary adult Polish generation, TIME IS A PLEASURE / TELEVISION (WATCHING); (CHRISTMAS) TIME IS A GIFT, while for others (FREE) TIME IS A WASTE. To understand the message of a successful life, full of harmony between work and rest, everyday duties and pursuing one's passions, let us carefully listen to the following instructing words, which are the realisations of the TIME IS A WASTE metaphor:

If you feel that you are in a hurry, you have no time for anything. You think that free time is time wasted, you keep thinking about what you still have to do, you have lost contact with others, and most of all "with yourself". You cannot distance yourself from everyday duties, you have stopped pursuing your passions and needs, the happiness of your loved ones is the most important, you have not done anything just for yourself for a long time, and the feeling of guilt accompanies you in your free time, the "Toma. Learn to rest" program is for you. (NKJP, 2005)

Also (HOLIDAY) TIME IS recognised as A JOURNEY, and VACATION TIME IS AN INCREASED ROAD ACTIVITY OF THE WHOLE SOCIETY, as illustrated in the discourse below:

vacation time is a time of an increased road activity of the whole society. After all, we must somehow get to the picturesque places of the longed-for respite. The need to change the environment, the desire to learn about new landscapes often determine us to such an extent that we undertake challenges comparable to extreme rallies. (NKJP, 2003)

As a result, it can be assumed that for some people nothing can regenerate their mental and physical strength and refresh their minds as changing the environment for a while. Nothing can inspire them to work and challenges more than enjoying the beauty of new landscapes.

## 5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The results of the study reveal that *time* has proven a fruitful target concept for metaphors. The metaphors TIME IS MONEY, TIME IS A VALUE and TIME IS A DOCTOR AND THE BEST CURE can be called “shared metaphors”, since they underlie both the dictionary definitions and corpus discourse. We may conclude that these are conventional metaphors which are well-grounded in the awareness of the Polish contemporary adult society. In addition, the corpus search has elicited a few metaphor candidates as the most frequently used in the discourse. These are: TIME IS MONEY; TIME IS A CHANGE; TIME IS A VALUE and TIME IS A DOCTOR AND THE BEST CURE. High-frequency occurrences of these metaphorical patterns point to their conventional nature, which, for Charteris-Black (2004), are of greater interest than novel metaphors, as they are more suggestive of human motives, and, in fact, more likely to be omitted due to their clichéd character.

In detail, the most popular in the corpus is the metaphor, in which *time* is conceptualised in terms of money and distinguishable standards. Hence, the most favourable source domains are represented by the frame of CONSUMERISM, ECONOMY and POLITICS. These are the socio-political determinants of the contemporary generation of adult Poles. Importantly, *time* is also spoken of by means of moral and religious values (within the MORALITY and RELIGION frame) and described as an identity search (within the IDENTITY and PSYCHOLOGY frame). Lastly, a few *time* metaphors originate in the DAILY LIFE frame, making reference to everyday functioning and duties of present grown-up people.

As seen so far, not all uses of *time* are equal, and this simple truth can make a big difference in our lives. *Time* can be our enemy or our ally. While the former will steal our life away; the latter may work with us to achieve our goals and dreams. The importance of *time* needs to be appreciated if we have a specific purpose in our lives and want to realise it. Even though we feel or think that *time* is more valuable than money, i.e. *tempus valet, non pecuniam*, the issue of our excessive financial concern over moral values is more noticeable, and revealed in the metaphors. *Time* is precious partly due to the reason that we are all only allotted a certain amount of it in our lives. Every single person has a chance of making the most of the time we receive, according to our life possibilities. Indeed, time measured by hours, days,

years, seasons and events may encourage us to make a good habit of managing our time better by organising and structuring our daily activities.

We believe that in our study of *czas* [time] in Polish, the use of corpus linguistics and CMA methodology has contributed to a less subjective analysis of metaphorical language, enabled us to learn the actual meaning of time and has revealed the reasoning, motives and the way of construing time represented by contemporary adult Polish generation. Unquestionably, this study of time needs to be broadened on different levels. One of the perspectives for the future research is examining the context of the discourse more and get acquainted with the speakers of the discourse in detail.

### A LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DSEHJP – *Dydaktyczny słownik etymologiczno-historyczny języka polskiego*

NKJP – *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego*

PWN–Oxford – *Wielki multimedialny słownik angielsko-polski i polsko-angielski PWN–Oxford*

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