# A MULTIULTIDISCIPLINARY APPROACH TO THE CONCEPT OF TIME

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*Abstract: The concept of TIME has always been a debatable issue for every domain of science even if we encounter it every day. In this paper we made an attempt to contrast the way TIME is conceptualized in the Romanian, Russian and English languages, thus focusing on the List of Metaphors suggested by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson. The objectives reside upon determining the fact whether the metaphors detected through idioms fit the list suggested by the cognitivists or there are any divergences and the theory that works for the English language cannot be applied for the Romanian and Russian languages.*
*In this context we have to mention important researchers such as George Lakoff, Mark Johnson, Ronald Langacker, Edward Hall, Anna Wierbizka, Elena Kubryakova, Valentina Maslova, Farzad Sharifian, Fons Trompenaars, Zoltán Kövecses and others, whose works designed new paths in the world of Linguistics.*
*The methodology for metaphor analysis used in this paper is based on the ideas proposed by Professor Jonathan Charteris-Black: collecting examples of linguistic metaphors and then determining what conceptual metaphors they create and later use the results to suggest thought patterns which construct people's actions and beliefs.*

*Keywords: cognitive method, cross-cultural linguistic study, time, time concept, cultural metaphor*

More than two thousand years ago, Aristotle noted that, "time is the most unknown of all unknown things". Very often we say that *time* is "mysterious" and "ineffable", but that does not give us a complete understanding of the true nature of *time*. We identify that it is the ticking of the clock or the pages of a calendar. These are just physical expressions of the underlying concept. *Time* is a universal and fundamental ingredient of our everyday life and academic thought. We deal with this manifestation daily and it seems we can give a definition to it. But it turns out that a clear and comprehensive definition of *time* is difficult to produce.

According to Merriam Webster Online Dictionary, time is defined as: "a: the measured or measurable period during which an action, process, or condition exists or continues: DURATION; b: a non-spatial continuum that is measured in terms of events which succeed one another from past through present to future; c: LEISURE".[1] In comparison to these definitions, Oxford Online Dictionary provides a less complex one, such as: "what is measured in minutes, hours, days, etc."; it also provides a different approach to the concept by making it more "visible" and country specific: "the time shown on a clock in minutes and hours" and "the time measured in a particular part of the world". [2]

All animals, except the human beings live in a continual present and do not distinguish between the past, the present and the future. Thus, our consciousness of

[1] https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/time [Consulted on 20.02.2021].
[2] oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/time_1?q=time [Consulted on 20.02.2021].

*time* is one of the most significant distinguishing features of humanity, and one that separates us from the animals. A lot of philosophers, teachers, physicians and theologians have speculated on the true nature of *time.*

The ancient philosophers from India and Greece were among the first to try and search for the true nature of things that had been taken for granted (for example space, nature, etc.), and time was one of the many enigmatic concepts they argued about.

One major issue to discover was whether *time* is linear or cyclical, and whether it is endless or finite. During the Age of Enlightenment of the 17th and 18th centuries, early modern philosophers were concerned about the question, whether time is real and absolute or just an abstract intellectual manifestation that people use to organize and compare events.

In the 19th century, there appeared new questions related to the concept of *time*, such as: was the present an instantaneous concept or a durative one? The conventionalists and phenomenologists made their contributions to this issue.

Now, in modern philosophy, important is the issue whether *time* is real or "unreal", tensed or not, whether the past and the future really exist. There are also new ideas from modern physics that have generated new philosophical insights and hypotheses regarding the concept of *time.*

Thus, from the anthropological point of view, *time* was largely analysed by Edward T. Hall, who has made early discoveries of key cultural factors. In particular he is known for the introduction of the idea of high and low context cultural factors.

In a high-context culture, there are many contextual nuances that help people understand the rules. Thus, much is taken for granted. This can be confusing for someone who does not understand the "unwritten rules" of the culture.

Vice versa, very little is taken for granted in a low-context culture. Therefore, more explanation is needed and there is less chance of misunderstanding, particularly when it comes to visitors. High context cultures usually use a poly-chronic perception of time, whereas low context cultures use a mono-chronic perception.

According to Edward T. Hall, the internal information that we use to interpret and understand things is called B, whereas the actual communication message is A. On the one hand high context cultures rely on traditions, very strong personal relationships and hierarchies, and therefore have a lot more B. On the other hand, low context cultures do not have the same depth of tradition and have short-term relationships, therefore requiring a lot more A. So, the main information in high context cultures is either in "the physical context or it is internalized by the person. A low-context communication is just the opposite; i.e., the mass of the information is vested in the explicit code."[3]

According to E.T. Hall, we can find mono-chronic perceptions of time primarily in North American and Northern European cultures. Mono-chronic time is linear and the events follow each other. In a mono-chronic culture, this type of schedule is often more important than interpersonal relationships. Such cultures focus on schedules,

[3] HALL, E T. Beyond Culture, Anchor Books, p. 91-131, 1997, p. 91.

punctuality, and preciseness. They also focus on "doing" things and highly value productivity and getting things done "on time."

They view *time* as something that can be killed, lost, or wasted - or as something that can, or should, be managed and planned, and used accordingly. This perception of *time* has the roots probably in the Industrial Revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries, and the most representative examples are the United States of America, Germany and Switzerland, to which we can add Britain, Canada, Japan, South Korea, Turkey, and the Scandinavian countries.

What E.T. Hall's theory says, interpersonal relationships are highly valued in poly-chronic cultures. *Time* is less tangible, and more emphasis is put on the involvement of people than on schedules. In poly-chronic cultures, multitasking is valued. The arbitrary divisions of clock time and calendars have less significance to them than the cycle of the seasons, the pattern of rural and community life, and the calendar of religious festivities. Examples of such cultures are: Latin American, African, Arab, and Native American cultures, especially countries like Mexico, Pakistan, India, rural China, the Philippines, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Their perception of time is viewed as more connected to "natural rhythms," and to "the earth" and "the seasons."

Western cultures vary in their emphasis on mono-chronic or poly-chronic time. Speaking about business negotiations and contracts, we can say that French contracts tend to be short (in physical length) because much of the information is available within the high-context French culture. On the other hand, American culture is a low-context one and so contracts tend to be longer, so they could explain the details. Americans are deeply mono-chronic, while the French have a much greater poly-chronic perception of time. Thus, a French person may come to a meeting and be late and think nothing of it (much to the annoyance of a German or American colleague).

A group of "in between" countries, including Russia, Southern Europe and much of East-Central Europe are considered variably mono-chronic.

G. Hofstede, a Dutch cultural anthropologist did a pioneering study of cultures across modern nations. He analyzed cultures along five dimensions and rated 58 countries on each dimension on a scale from 1 to 100. This scale was named Long- versus Short-term Orientation (LTO). [4]

It investigated on what extent the group invests for the future, is persevering, and is patient in waiting for results. China led this dimension, followed by the oriental countries such as Hong Kong and Taiwan. The USA ranked 17th.

From the medical and scientific point of view, *time* has been widely analyzed by bio-psychologists. What they say is that *time* is not directly perceived, and thus *time* perception is essentially a construction of the brain, which can be manipulated and distorted in various ways. Biopsychology, also known as behavioral neuroscience or psychobiology, studies the way the brain (at the level of neurotransmitters, nerves, brain circuitry and basic biological processes) does that. Even if another person's perception of *time* cannot be directly represented, experienced or understood, there are

[4] Ibidem.

techniques within psychology or neuroscience that can permit us to objectively study the processes.

The speed of our neurons in the brain is also of major interest to psychologists and neuroscientists for more reasons. In contrast to space, *time* is not a concrete or physical sensory experience. Moreover, unlike the human sensory-perceptual apparatus that is specialized for perceiving spatial experience, we do not have specific apparatus dedicated to the processing of temporal experience. Despite this, we are all aware of the fact that time passes. This awareness appears to be a totally introspective, individual and subjective experience. According to V. Evans[5], "temporal experience can ultimately be related to the same perceptual mechanisms that process sensory experience", i.e. perceptual processes are grounded in temporal intervals, named perceptual moments, which ease the integration of sensory practice into perceptual "windows" or "time slots".

Perception is a kind of "windowing' operation, which presents and updates our external environment. The updating is the result of timing mechanisms which happen at all levels of neurological processing. These mechanisms range from fractions of a second to three seconds. Evidence for these mechanisms comes from two sources.

First of all, the brain activity can be measured with the help of electroencephalogram (EEG), for instance. The brain produces electrical impulses, which are measured by attaching electrodes to the scalp. This technique reads the signals and sends them to a galvanometer. Such techniques allow us to analyse the smallest changes in brain activity over split seconds of time. The brain rhythm determined by an EEG is measured by the frequency of electrical pulses per second, and is represented on a galvanometer as a series of "waves".

A second method which demonstrates the existence of timing mechanisms relies on exposing subjects to various stimuli at particular points of brain activity. A well-known experiment bases on apparent simultaneity and apparent motion and involves exposing subjects to two flashing lights. If the lights are set to flash with less than 0.1–0.2 seconds between their respective flashes, the lights will be perceived as flashing simultaneously.

Another technique used in experimental and cognitive psychology is mental chronometry. It assesses how fast a person can execute certain mental operations. This means measuring a person's reaction time: the elapsed time between a sensory stimulus and the subsequent behavioral response, usually the pressing of a button, an eye movement or a vocal response. This can be later used as a measure of cognitive processing speed and efficiency and a person's general intelligence or IQ can be assessed. This kind of techniques are used in other areas of cognitive and behavioral neuroscience and psychophysiology. Because time has an essential role in our everyday life, it is not surprising that cross-cultural differences in temporal perception have been found to have a major impact ranging from the micro to the macro level.

[5] EVANS, V. The Structure of Time: Language, Meaning and Temporal Cognition. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2004.

At the micro level, these differences change the person's behavioral, psychological, and health outcomes, as well as negotiation, teamwork, and job performance. At a higher level, they influence human resource management, marketing, strategic planning, and the economic development of states.

Cross-cultural differences in temporal orientations have been connected to individual psychological traces, that means how people value the present, past, and future and their believes in changes. They influence the extent to which people decide to choose to "enjoy the moment" or "save for future." Moreover, these differences have an impact on the development of a social relationship, specifically intercultural relationships. For example, "in such cultures that are deeply oriented to past and low to future, the process of trust building tends to take much longer and, at the same time, patience is highly valued". [6]

Finally, the methodology used in neuroscience holds promise to facilitate our understanding of the relationship between time and culture. For example, using neuroimaging, neuropsychology, and monkey physiology, the researchers have found that "the common conceptualization of time as space across cultures is based on common region associated with both time and space within the parietal lobe".[7]

This being said, we must underline Cognitive Linguistics, which is indeed a very promising area of research, because it combines the important findings of a certain phenomenon taken from other branches in order to explain it from a more concrete and detailed point of view. It brings the research in various fields of science together, thus giving a complex explanation for the very multilateral aspects of human life, one of which is the language.

As we could follow above *time* has many aspects and tends to represent different ideas in various situations. Linguistically, we use a lot of expressions to refer to *time*. Some examples of the varied contexts in which the word *time* is used may help to indicate how flexible and multi-functional the word is: *(1) Time stood still; (2) Excuse me, do you have time?; (3) It took a very short time; (4) Adolescence is a difficult time; (5) This is the second time this has happened; (6) It's time for lunch; (7) We don't have time now.*

In addition, *time* can also be used in an attributive function: *(8) a time bomb; (9) time signature;* or as a verb: (10) *to time an event*.

Our individual, subjective experience of *time* is comprised of a number of experiences that refer to our ability to evaluate duration, simultaneity and "points" in time; our perception of passing of time - slower or quicker than usual; our experience of "now", etc.

Temporal experience, as it is encoded in language, comprises two levels of organization. The first level refers to lexical concepts. A lexical concept is the meaning that is represented by a lexical form or word. Examples of temporal expressions from the English language include the words *time*, *present, past, future* and others. The lexical

[6] ALON, I., BRETT, J. M. Perceptions of time and their impact on negotiations in the Arabic-speaking Islamic world. Negotiation Journal, 23(1), 55-73, 2007, p. 55-73.
[7] HUBBARD, E., TEUSCHER, U. Neural constraints on temporal-spatial metaphors. SSRN eLibrary, 2010.

concepts that underlie words of this kind can be organized in many of ways at the conceptual level. For example, the languages of the world tend to structure TIME in terms of MOTION.

The second level of organization refers to *cognitive models for time*. This is a level of organization in which different lexical concepts are integrated, together with their patterns of conventional imagery. V.Evans[8] calls this process "concept elaboration". For example, in the expression *a long time*, the lexical concept represented by the word *time* refers to DURATION, while the imagery that elaborates the lexical concept refers to LENGTH, lexicalized by the adjective *long*.

In his work on lexical concepts for TIME, V. Evans[9] distinguishes between "primary lexical concepts" and "secondary lexical concepts". Primary lexical concepts are those that refer to common aspects of cognitive processing. They relate to the experiences of *time* such as: duration, simultaneity, temporal "point" or "moment", "now" and so on. Because practices of this kind can be traced to underlying perceptual processes, this means that concepts of this kind tend to be more common in the languages of the world.

In contrast, secondary lexical concepts are cultural constructs and therefore, may often be culture specific. An example of this is the concept of TIME as something valuable, which can be bought and sold, just like physical objects. This concept, while present in the languages of the industrialized world, is absolutely absent in the non-industrialized cultures, an example being the famous thought of B. Franklin, *(11) Time is money*.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the metaphors related to *time*. They can reveal the cultural specificity of time conceptualization. Metaphors influence our reasoning, attitudes, and actions in different spheres, such as teaching and learning[10], political discourse[11],[12],[13],[14],[15],[16],[17],[18], social policy [19], [20], [21] and foreign policy as well.

As G. Lakoff and M. Johnson put it "all of our understandings of time are relative to other concepts such as motion, space and events." Secondly, "an inquiry into the

[8] EVANS, V. The Structure of Time: Language, Meaning and Temporal Cognition. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2004.
[9] Ibidem.
[10] BLOCK, D. Metaphors we teach and learn by. Prospect, 7(3), 41-55, 1992.
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[21] ROMAINE, S. War and peace in the global greenhouse: Metaphors we die by. Metaphor and Symbolic Activity, 11, 175-194, 1996.

concept of *time* is a complex task which involves an exploration of the cognitive mechanisms, humans use as part of their cognitive unconscious to reason and talk about time". [22]

The concept of *time* has received little contrastive treatment within the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). G. Lakoff and M. Johnson affirm that time does not exist as a thing in itself. In their view, "our concept of time is connected to preceding awareness of continuing change mirrored by events in the world." [23] Therefore, what is literal about *time* is referred to event comparison.

The researchers affirm the following: "We cannot observe time itself-if time even exists as a thing-in-itself. We can only observe events and compare them. In the world, there are iterative events against which other events are compared." [24]

For J. Grady, the concept of *time* is grounded in our personal awareness of a change in our mental state. He notices that "Even if nothing in our environment has changed, the difference between our exact mental states now versus the ones we experienced a moment ago...might be enough for us to feel we have experienced the passage of a moment of time".[25] The most important study on *time metaphors* has been done by G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, who identified a set of eight *conceptual metaphors of time in English*. These include: TIME AS CONTAINER, as an ENTITY MOVING TOWARDS THE OBSERVER, as a CHANGER, as a PURSUER, as a RESOURCE, as MONEY, SUBSTANCE and OBJECT.

*Time orientation metaphor* refers to the concepts EARLIER and LATER and does not involve any egos. Thus, a temporal event is understood relative to another earlier or later temporal event. Linguistically, this cognitive model is represented by examples as:

*(12) Friday precedes Saturday; (13) Tuesday follows Monday.*

*The moving time metaphor* is represented by an Experiencer, who may either be implicit or linguistically coded by expressions like "I". The experiencer is called the ego, whose location illustrates the experience of "now". Here, the ego is static. Temporal moments and events are conceptualized as objects in motion. These objects move towards the ego from the future and then beyond the ego into the past. The passage of time is understood by virtue of this motion.

While many languages, including English, conceptualize the ego as facing the future with the past behind, there is now good evidence that at least one language, Aymara, spoken in the Andean region of South America, conceptualizes the ego as facing the past, with the future behind. Linguistic evidence for this cognitive model, in which the passage of *time* is understood in terms of the motion of a temporal entity towards the ego, are: *(14) Christmas is getting closer; (15) My favorite part of the piece is coming*

[22] LAKOFF, G., JOHNSON M. Philosophy in the flesh: The embodied mind and its challenge to Western thought. NY: Basic Books, 1999, p. 137.
[23] Ibidem, p. 138.
[24] Ibidem, 138.
[25] GRADY, J. Theories are buildings. Cognitive Linguistics, 4, 267-290, 1997, p. 121.

*up; (16) The deadline has passed.* [26] [The examples in Romanian are added by the authors of the article].

In *the moving observer metaphor*, TIME is a scene over which the ego moves. Here, time is understood by means of the motion of the ego across this scene, towards particular temporal moments or events that are conceptualized as locations. Evidence for the moving ego model comes from examples like: *(17) We're moving towards Christmas; (18) We're approaching my favorite part of the piece; (19) She's passed the deadline; (20) We'll have an answer within two weeks; (21) The meetings were spread out over a month.*

In the above mentioned examples TIME is conceptualized as a stationary location or bounded region in space. It is through the motion of the ego that time's passage is understood. [27]

To sum it up we want to emphasize that the present paper puts into discussion the concept of time inter-disciplinarily, a method used by cognitive linguistics as it helps to show the connection between language and thinking.

While comparing various definitions of the concept of time we have analyzed its static and dynamic / linear and cyclic character, its features from classic as well as non-relativistic physics and its place in philosophy, the main question being whether time is real or unreal.

In addition, the concept of time has been analysed from the anthropological point of view based on the ideas of the well-known anthropologist E.T. Hall, theory that is supported by other anthropologists and helps in grouping time expressions existing in various languages into categories according to types of cultures.

Later, time was analysed from the biological point of view, and namely through the perspective of neuroscience. Several experiments have been exposed, thus explaining how the brain perceives time. We have mentioned some techniques, one of which is the mental chronometry, where the scientists can measure how fast a person can execute mental operations. From these aspects we have come to the main aspect which concerns us in our work: Cognitive Linguistics.

We think that Cognitive Linguistics is an innovative direction in Linguistics which, embracing the results of more domains, can offer new insights and new discoveries in the way people perceive the world. The connection language-thought can be widely analysed by applying to Cognitive Linguistics' methods and frameworks. In this regard, we have identified how *time* is expressed linguistically and have come with some examples. It is significant to mention that the temporal experience in language is expressed by lexical concepts and cognitive models, according to the opinion of V. Evans.

From this idea we move to the role of metaphor as a tool in Linguistics, especially the cultural metaphor. But, first of all, we have looked at the way the notorious cognitive linguists such as G. Lakoff and M. Johnson view the concept of time and how they come

[26] EVANS V., GREEN M. Cognitive Linguistics. An Introduction. Edinburgh University Press. ISBN 0 7486 1831 2006, p. 85-86.
[27] Ibidem, p. 86.

to conceptual metaphors, related to this concept. We made use of the Master Metaphor List and compared the metaphors of time in English and Romanian to determine the differences in time conceptualization.

We consider that these metaphors are universal, thus functioning in the languages and helping people construct the reality. Curious are the following expressions in Russian: *дотягивать время, тянуть время.* These expressions can be noticed in Romanian as *a trage de timp, a întinde timpul*: TIME AS CLOTH or as something extendible (structural metaphor). In English we do not say **to pull time* or **to stretch time*. The same idea is represented by the expression *отрезок времени*. In Romanian we say *interval de timp* and in Englsih *time interval* but do not express this idea as **a cut of time*. The word *interval* refers to duration, while *отрезок* refers to substance, to an object. The Russian expression is close to the Romanian *o bucată de timp: bucată - a part of a whole.*

There are idioms in Romanian that do not have any correspondences in English or Russian. For example, during the research, we have encountered the expression *timpuri veștede*. Literally, it would mean *sluggish times* in English or *вялые времена* in Russian, which, of course, sounds strange.

Moreover, the Romanian expression *a răpi timp* is stronger than the English version *to take time.* The sentence *Tema de acasă mi-a răpit mult timp* is much intense in meaning than the equivalents in English and Russian: (*The homework took me a lot of time/ Домашняя работа отняла у меня много времени*); the Russian variant being closer to the Romanian. The same can be said about *a fura timp (Russian украсть время, English *to sleal time ).*

TIME AS AN ADVERSARY metaphor is very strong in English. Other examples are: *a race against time, to fight against time.* In Romanian, this metaphor is missing. However, there is the Romanian expression *în contratimp*, which would apparently have a similar meaning with *against time* but has the sense *at the wrong time, inopportune*.

TIME AS CONTAINER can be seen in Romanian, as well In English and Russian languages, but, in English, it is more intense. The following expressions confirm this: *to be caught / locked / trapped / stuck in a time warp; in the nick of time - at the last possible moment (nick – tăietură / crăpătură / îngustare, щербина / засечка / щель / трещина).*

In Romanian we usually say *timpul o să arate* – the same in Russian *время покажет* (literally *time will show*), while in English, this idea is represented by *time will tell* (literally: *timpul va spune, время скажет* - which are not representative for Romanian and Russian).

These have been some of the variations we have identified in our contrastive study, thus showing that even if TIME is a universal basic concept with the main functions and characteristics being similar in the Romanian, Russian and English languages, there are many curious cultural differences that could serve as a basis for a further study in order to consider their existence.

From the previously mentioned distinction between mono-chronic and poly-chronic types of culture according to Edward Hall's theory in relation to

anthropocentrism, we can say that the English culture is typically mono-chronic, in which *time* is highly appreciated and must be effectively planned and managed. This fact comes in contrast to the Russian expressions *поживем -увидим; еще не вечер, мужик не перекрестится, день да ночь - сутки прочь, гром не грянет* even if *time* in the Russian culture also represents "a valuable commodity which can be lost, spent and wasted". But the previously mentioned idioms reduce from the characteristics of *time* as something that should be more or less strictly planned and taken care of. For most Russians, *time* is not a strict principle of life. Therefore, their attitude towards *time* can be described as frivolous. This is reflected in many kinds of delays and postponements of events. The same can be said about the Romanian culture, Romania and The Republic of Moldova being considered by the anthropologists as in-between countries. *Time* is also valuable for these countries, but the greatest emphasis is not put on the rigid planning and scrupulous management of time, but mainly on interpersonal relations.

A lot of expressions in Romanian suggest the past-oriented view of the society. For example, the expressions: *de când cu jidovii şi cu tătarii – cu foarte mult timp în urmă (very long time ago),* literally *from the period with Jews and Tatars;* the same as *de când cu Moş Adam* (there is the Russian equivalent *адамовы времена*); *de când e lumea; de când lumea şi pământul; de când era mama fată; de când mama m-a făcut; de când muscalii cu coadă; de când se scria musca pe perete* and so on.

Very specific for the Romanian language are the expressions related to time intervals: *a avea zăbavă, zăbavă* meaning *delay*, *slowness: ştiind că o să-i fie drumul lung … şi că va avea zăbavă nu glumă până s-o întoarce acasă; cât cioara-n păr – foarte puţin timp (very little time)* in the context: *de-acum în dulce stabilitate am s-o duc, vesel, fără habar, servindu-mi ţara pe aşezate, iar nu din fugă, ca cioara-n păr; cît ici, cît colea – după puţin timp (in short time / after short time)* in the context: *Dumnezeu porneşte cu Sfântul Petre, şi, cît ici, cît cole, ajung pe Ivan* and the other.

In the Romanian language but especially in our Post-Soviet country, the influence of the Russian culture has been very obvious, that is why in everyday life a lot of people use common Russian expressions translated into the Romanian language. Their usage is disputable. These are called *calques or loan translations*. For the Romanian speakers, well-known are the following expressions: *vom trăi şi vom vedea* (from the Russian *поживем -увидим*) literally *will live and will see* and *dracu ştie când* (from the Russian *черт знает когда*) literally *the devil knows when* and *Dumnezeu ştie când (Бог знает когда)* literally *God knows when.*

The controversies regarding the cognitive approach are often encountered. This is because of the fact that, being a new approach, it has not managed to develop an entire stable framework; it is still in its development regarding the research methodology, research practices and even terminology. Even so, we consider cognitive linguistics a promising area of research incorporating the knowledge of various domains in its investigation for a better understanding of the world pictures of various ethnicities.

In general, the concept of time being a universal basic concept helps people construct the reality. The differences of time conceptualization in English, Romanian and

Russian reside in how evident and intense are the metaphors in a given language and what are the main points the societies focus on, when speaking about time. In future, we consider that we could continue the research by analysing more examples of time conceptualization in varied contexts, to find new meanings, as well as to analyse in more details the imagery created by the conceptual time metaphors.

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