HUNGARIAN STUDIES YEARBOOK
2022 (IV)
sciendo
DOI: 10.2478/HSY-2022-0008

Comparative Analysis of Genitival Components in Time Metaphors

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ABSTRACT

Such a universal yet abstract concept as time can show variation in metaphorical language. This research focuses on metaphorical language within the framework of the cognitive metaphor theory, investigating the image of time through a contrastive cross-linguistic approach. This study attempts to identify genitival components associated with time in a metaphorical context, with a focus on image-based metaphors e.g. *the teeth of time* or *the river of time*. The hypothesis is that certain patterns of lexicalization of cognitive processes related to time could differ in Hungarian, English and Finnish, and to support this claim cognitive underpinnings of metaphors are investigated using an empirical corpus-based method.

Keywords: cognitive linguistics, corpus linguistics, conceptual metaphor theory, rich images, conventional metaphors, novel metaphors.

1. Introduction

Such a universal, yet abstract concept as time shows variation in metaphorical language. This research focuses on metaphors within the framework of the cognitive metaphor theory, investigating time through a contrastive, cross-linguistic approach. The aim is studying genitival components in time metaphors and their cognitive aspects in a sample of three languages, with a focus on spatial schemas and force schemas. The primary objective is to explore such differences and see how they manifest and why, with a focus on cognitive underpinnings. We can agree that such abstract concepts as time are "difficult to define because they form part of the bedrock of our cognitive architecture" (Evans 2004, 8). For this reason, when we speak about time, we often rely on metaphor or metonymy, in fact it is not easy to talk about time without linking it to something more familiar and concrete. Time is therefore often connected with concepts such as money (Lakoff 1987, 210), an

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object (Evans 2004, 253), a moving object (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 42) as well as images such as a wheel (*the wheel of time*), and water (*the river of time*). Such recurrent genitival components are analyzed, which are based on an image, in an attempt to find spatial schemas, force schemas as well as relevant imagery related to time.

To achieve the aims of the research, the following steps are taken: 1. collecting time metaphors that have a genitival component, 2. comparing the metaphors at a linguistic level, at a figurative level, and at a conceptual level, 3. identifying cognitive mechanisms that metaphors are based on.

The metaphor identification method is based on the steps carried out by the Pragglejaz Group (2007). The metaphors are collected from *The Corpus of Contemporary American English, The Hungarian National Corpus (Magyar Nemzeti Szövegtár)*, and *The Finnish Language Bank (Kielipankki*). Each contain three types of texts: formal, informal and literary. Several dictionaries have been consulted to aid with the corpus research, mainly regarding the etymology of certain lexical items, e.g. Zaicz, 2006 for Hungarian and Hoad, 1986 for English.

The corpus research is carried out by searching for genitival components that are used with the node 'time' as a word (not a lemma), generally using a two-space span. At first glance a large number of these appear to have counterparts in each language. Further analysis reveals that even in the case of shared metaphors, we cannot talk about an exact match, because the metaphors can differ on various levels, in various ways; at the same time, we also rarely have a completely unique metaphor at hand. According to the Conventional Figurative Language Theory: "quasi-equivalent conventional figurative units from different languages are never identical with regard to their semantic and/or pragmatic properties if their image components reveal substantial differences" (Dobrovol'skij & Piirainen 2005, 354).

Lakoff talks about rich images in *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things* (1987), and their relevance in metaphors. We can say that on an abstract level linguistic metaphors are linked with the conceptual metaphor, and on a lexical level with rich images (Piirainen 2005, 94). In this sense "the image component assumes the function of a conceptual bridge between "what is said" and "what is meant", i.e., between the lexical structure and the actual meaning" (Piirainen 2005, 4). Kövecses calls them "image-based metaphors" (Kövecses 2002, 50). Not all image-based metaphors signal a novel metaphor[1], images such as *teeth, wheel, sand, bodies of water, clocks* etc. are frequent in conventional metaphors. The image component is relevant in contrastively analyzing idioms and other figurative expressions in languages, because they can reveal differences and similarities at the level of images besides at the conceptual level.

1 A novel metaphor is a non-conventional, poetic metaphor.

The following genitival metaphor components are discussed below: 'The Wheel of Time'[2] (Finnish and Hungarian), 'The Hands of Time' (English), 'The Mill of Time' (Hungarian), 'The Arrow of Time/ Time's Arrow' (English), 'The Tooth of Time' (Finnish and Hungarian), 'The Marks of Time' (Hungarian), 'The Sands of Time' (English), 'The Mists of Time, The Veil of Time' (English), 'The Patina of Time' (Finnish), 'The Water of Time' (English, Hungarian), 'The Current of Time' (Finnish), 'The Winds of Time' (English), 'The Weight of Time' (Hungarian and English), 'The Sieve of Time' (Hungarian).

2. Genitival components

2.1. The Wheel of Time

Motivation: metaphorical expressions with 'the wheel of time' are based on the image schema of cycle. This image stands for a temporal circle (Johnson 1987, 119), it is associated with the constant change through time. It does not suggest that time is an entity with wheels, but time itself is like a wheel, symbolizing the constant movement and most importantly change. 'The wheel of time' is motivated by the conceptual metaphor TIME IS A CYCLE. It can also symbolize fate. Frequency and form: in Hungarian 'the wheel of time', *az idő kerek-e* (the time.UNGEN wheel-3SG.POSS), is most frequently used with the verb *fordul*, 'turn'; in such constructions time can be an agent or a patient. In English *the wheel of time* is rare and almost only used in fiction. The frequency of this collocation is lower in Finnish than in Hungarian, but the variation is higher, there are two words for 'wheel', *ratas* and *pyörä* (the latter being more frequent). In Hungarian there are a few metaphors with *az idő mókuskerek-e*[3], 'the treadmill of time', (the time.UNGEN treadmill-3SG.POSS), with a similar literal, but different figurative information.

A recurrent novel metaphor with a similar figurative meaning is the Hungarian *az idő szekere,* 'the carriage of time', as well as *az idő rokkája*, 'the spinning wheel of time', which appears almost excursively in literature. In English a frequent construction with the same figurative meaning is *the hands of time,* discussed below. Not only does it refer to the power to create change, the symbol of fate, but it is used in a similar manner with verbs expressing circular motion, as the examples show. *Hand* can appear in the plural as well as singular form. Difference pattern: the main difference lies in frequency, the rest of the factors are very similar, but it seems like each language has a variety of images

2 Apostrophes are used when terms that might appear in all three languages are discussed. Language specific examples are mentioned under each idiom component. The language in brackets is the language in which these figurative compounds predominantly appear (often they appear in some form in all three languages).

3 *Forgo-tt az idő történelmi mókus-kerek-e,* (spin-3SG.PST the time.UNGEN historical squirrel-wheel-3SG.POSS), 'The historical treadmill of time was spinning' (press; Romániai Magyar Szó).

associated with this figurative meaning, from 'wheel' to 'carriage' and the more different 'hand'. Here the metaphorical compound 'the wheel of time' is motivated by A CHANGE IS A TEMPORAL CYCLE (Johnson 1987, 119).

(1E) *Some think time is a wheel turning forever.* (magazine; *Omni,* vol. 17, 1994)

(2E) *Nobody can turn back the hands of time.* (blog; americablog.com, 2012)

(3F) *Aja-n ratas pyöri vinha-a vauhti-a.*
(newspaper; *Länsi-Savo* no. 175, 1995)
time.GEN wheel.NOM spin.3SG.PRS fast-PTV speed-PTV
'The wheel of time spins very fast.'

(4F) *Aja-n pyörä ei käänny taakse päin.*
(newspaper; *Länsi-Savo* no. 36, 1999)
time.GEN wheel.NOM NEG turn.3SG.PRS back towards
'The wheel of time does not turn back.'

(5H) *Az idő kerek-e megállíthatatlan-nak látszik.*
(press; article, column: *Publicisztika*)
the time.UNGEN wheel-3SG.POSS unstoppable-DAT seem.3SG.PRS
'The wheel of time seems unstoppable.'

(6H) *Nem lehet vissza-pörget-ni az idő kerek-é-t.*
(official; *National Assembly*)
NEG can.3SG.PRS back-spin-INF the time.UNGEN wheel-3SG.POSS-ACC
'You cannot turn back the wheel of time.'

(7H) *Szalad az idő szeker-e.* (literature; Utassy József: *Tüzek Tüze*)
run.3SG.PRS the time.UNGEN carriage-3SG.POSS
'The carriage of time is running.'

(8H) Két esztendő pergett le az idő rokká-já-n.
(press; Népszava, Vélemény)
two year roll.3SG.PST down the time.NOM spinning.wheel-3SG.POSS-SUPE
'Two years have rolled down on the spinning wheel of time.'

2.2. The Hands of Time

Conceptual motivation: *the hands of time* may be motivated on a metonymic level, where metonymy is used for the action, and the hand stands for activity/control (Kövecses 2010, 243). It could also be possible that this idiom is motivated by a different metonymy, in which the concept 'hand of time' could stand for the hand of the clock. According to the dictionary, the moving hands (pointers) of the clock point out time, they move in a circle and they represent a temporal cycle. As mentioned above, in English *the hands of time* is used to refer to motion, and expresses a similar meaning as *the wheel of time*. It is also plausible to assume that *the hands of time* is related to change, therefore to fate, in fact *to turn back the hands of time* is an idiom, which suggest the possibility to go back to an initial state. Frequency: it is recurrent in English only.

In Hungarian *az idő kez-e,* (the time.UNGEN hand-3SG.POSS), 'the hand of time' is a rare metaphor that only appears in fiction and refers to the powerful nature of time (TIME IS A CHANGER metaphor), and not to the pointers of the clock. In Finnish there is no such metaphorical connection between 'hand' and 'time', except in novel metaphors in literature. Form: *to turn back the hands of time* is a recurrent multiword expression, as the examples show. It is lexically related to the novel metaphor 'legs' of time, used in Hungarian. As this idiom component is only recurrent in English, there is no difference pattern to discuss.

(9E) *I want to turn back the hands of time.* (spoken; *Ind Limbaugh*, 1994)

(10E) *Slow the hands of time by taking care of your own.* (magazine; *Redbook*, 2006)

(11E) *Stay young and turn back the hands of time.* (spoken; *NBC Today*, 2007)

(12H) *Egyéb dolg-ai-nk-ról az idő kez-e gondoskodik.*
(literature; Sütő András: *Omló egek alatt*)
other issue-PL.POSS-1PL.POSS-DEL the time.UNGEN hand-3SG.POSS care.3SG.PRS
'The hand of time cares for our other issues.'

(13F) *Aika laske-e käte-nsä niin kepeästi (…).*
(literature; Walter Scott*: Talismani Romani*)
time.NOM lower-3SG.PRS hand-3SG.POSS so lightly
'Time lowers its hands so lightly.'

2.3. The Mill of Time

Genitival metaphors with this image component can be found in Hungarian. They are rare, and about half of the tokens appear in literary context. These metaphors can be interpreted as variants of the 'the wheel of time', *(az idő kereke),* and in some cases, they both appear within the same metaphor, as example (15) shows. These two metaphors that appear in once sentence are based on the same conceptual motivation: the cycle schema and TIME IS A CHANGER conceptual metaphor. Difference pattern: compared to the other metaphors based on the schema of cycle, 'the mill of time' differs from 'the wheel of time' on a literal level, but the conceptual and figurative meaning coincides with the former. The main difference here is that *the mill of time* usually appears in negative contexts, often with the verb *őröl*, 'mill' or 'grind', frequently suggesting the negative aspects of time.

(14H)*(…) az idő pokoli malm-á-ban morzsolódva (…).*
(literature; *Dobos László: Évgyűrűk hatalma)*
the time.UNGEN hellish mill-3SG.POSS-INE crumbled
'crumbled in the hellish mill of time'

(15H)*Az idő kerek-e, az idő malm-a lassan őröl.*
(spoken; radio)
the time.UNGEN wheel-3SG.POSS the time.UNGEN mill-3SG.POSS slowly mill.3SG.PRS
'The wheel of time, the mill of time mills slowly.'

2.4. The Arrow of Time/ Time's Arrow

This metaphor is typical for English. Motivation: *the arrow of time* or *time's arrow* is associated with science and the view of time in physics that moves from the past towards the future, and it comes from Arthur Eddington's *The Nature of the Physical World* (1928), where he talks about the direction of time through space (Hoad 1986). This is the old view of time, in which time is seen as a linear path. Conceptual motivation: the arrow of time is also described as the "asymmetry between the past and the future", (Bender and Beller 2014, 344), and it is related to the directionality of time and its linearity (ibidem). There is presumably a link between the concept of the arrow and path, a spatial element. An arrow starts at a point and continues to another point in space; in this case it can once again show the motion of time from past to the future, through the present. The cognitive base therefore is embodiment, a conceptualization of time through space. At the same time, to talk about time as an arrow could be based on some sort of visual priming, because time in the Western culture is often represented by an arrow, for example in the case of timelines. Form: the two variations are *the arrow of time* and *time's arrow,* but there is no recurrent expression with this component. Frequency: this idiom is only found in the English corpus, with a few hits of similar expressions in Finnish and Hungarian, presumably examples of linguistic calque.

(16E) *The arrows of time and evolution only go forward.* (newspaper; *San Francisco Chronicle,* 1998)

(17E) *It might be possible to reverse the arrow of time.* (web; blogs.discovermagazine.com, 2012)

(18E) *The arrow of time shoots backward.* (fiction; Ostriker, Alicia: *The Wisdom of Solomon*)

(19E) *Time's arrow of directional history must be responsible.* (magazine; *Natural History* vol. 107, 1998)

2.5. The Tooth of Time

This metaphor is frequent for Hungarian and Finnish. The 'tooth of time' idiom component expresses the passing of time and its causative force. The presence of 'the tooth of time' in metaphors gives them a higher level of figurativeness, because it has an image component, which contributes to figurativeness (Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen 2010, 36). Meaning: the Hungarian saying *meg-e-tt-e az idő vas-fog-a*[4], 'the tooth of time ate it', (PTCL-eat-PST-3SG the time.UNGEN iron-tooth-3SG.POSS), refers to something showing the effects of time, becoming corroded, destroyed.

4 The rarer version, *el-repül-t felett-e az idő vas-fog-a,* 'the tooth of time flew over it', (away-fly-3SG.PST above-3SG.POSS the time.UNGEN iron-tooth-3SG.POSS), is the combination of this expression with *el-repül-t felett-e az idő,* (away-fly- 3SG.PST above-3SG.POSS the time.NOM), which refers to something becoming old, obsolete (Litovkina 2005).

Motivation: the motivation of 'the tooth of time' can be pinpointed to several sources and possibilities. There is an intertextual motivation, an identifiable literary source for this concept. This is the case with several other idioms with time: "there are a great number of figurative units whose image components can be traced back to an existing (mostly identifiable) textual source" (Dobrovol'skij & Piirainen 2010, 79). The combination of 'tooth' and 'time' is rooted in shared cultural traditions, and can be found in several sources. The old Latin saying *tempus edax rerum*, 'time devourer of all things', is probably rooted in the ancient image of time, Chronos, who ate his own children[5] (Leeming 2003, 150). Conceptual motivation: this metaphor is the instantiation of conceptual metaphors at several levels. At the generic-level this metaphor is EVENTS ARE ACTIONS, and at a more specific level TIME IS AN ENEMY, or the even more specific level TIME IS A DEVOURER or TIME IS AN ENTITY WITH TEETH. It is motivated by a correlation that the passing of time leads to objects (and not only) deteriorating. The cognitive base of this metaphor is the connection of time with the unknown, the sublime, through the schema of force and causation. Frequency: it is difficult to determine why this idiom is frequent in Finnish (nf 0.35), in Hungarian (nf 0.24) and rare in English (0.008 nf). It is also present in other languages, for example French (Fazakas 1994, 48).

This discrepancy in frequency compelled further research in other corpora, which did not provide a satisfactory answer either. Within the *British National Corpus,* the hits for *tooth of time* or *teeth of time* are even lower than in the *Corpus of Contemporary American English*. Based on a search in the *Corpus of Historical American English*, it seems that this metaphor was somewhat more frequent in the past (between 1840 and 1920) than after 1990, though the majority of hits show that it mostly appeared in literature, with some exceptions: *the tooth of time has eaten out the layers of the soft old red sandstone* (example from a magazine, 1913).

What these numbers could suggest is that while in English this metaphor became obsolete, in Hungarian and Finnish it did not. In Finnish between 1820 and 1870 the frequency of this expression is slightly lower than after 1990, but the difference does not seem high enough to show a relevant fluctuation between frequencies. This could be what is described as unpredictability of conventional figurative language and how certain aspects can change throughout history in different cultures (Dobrovol'skij & Piirainen 2005, 282). In the Hungarian corpus it usually appears in press as well as in online texts, but also in other contexts.

Form: there are some recurrent forms to be observed. In Finnish this construction is a component of the idiom *kestä-ä aja-n hammas-ta,* 'withstand the tooth of time', (withstand-3SG.PRS time-GEN tooth-PTV), but it can be also found in other constructions. In Hungarian the 'tooth of time' is most often referred to as 'the iron tooth of time', *az idő vas-fog-a*, (the time.UNGEN iron-tooth-3SG.POSS). Some occurrences of the

5 The same type of reference can be found in Ovid's Metamorphoses (Branyon 2001, 256) and Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* (Act V, Scene 1).

simpler *idő fog-a*, 'the tooth of time' can also be found. The concept of 'iron' in the 'iron tooth of time' could be a reference to the strength and powerful nature of time, with an even more specific image component and expressive power than in English and Finnish. In English 'tooth' is typically in the plural: *the teeth of time*; it rarely appears in the singular form or in the possessive form: *time's tooth*. In Finnish it appears in the singular form: *aja-n hammas,* (time-GEN tooth); the compound *ajan-hammas* as a variation also has relevant hits in the corpus. Difference pattern: the literal, figurative and conceptual meaning is the same,[6] a relevant difference lies in frequency.

(20E) *They can throw a challenge in the teeth of time*. (magazine; *Horticulture* vol. 73, 1995)

(21E) *The teeth of time, which have gnawed all her limbs*. (fiction; Meir Shalev: *Esau*)

(22F) *Aja-n hammas pure-e ikuisuute-en asti*.
(magazine; *Karhunkierros*, 1/2012)
time-GEN tooth.NOM bite-PRS.3SG eternity-ILL until
'The tooth of time bites until eternity.'

(23F) *Rakennus on kestä-nyt hyvin aja-n hampaa-n naker-rukse-n*. (newspaper; *Länsi-Savo* no. 154, 1999)
building.NOM be. 3SG.PRS withstand-PTCP.NOM well time-GEN tooth-GEN gnaw-GEN
'The building has withstood the gnawing of the tooth of time well.'

(24F) *Aja-n hammas on-kin si-tä jo nurk-i-sta nakerta-nut.*
(newspaper; *Länsi-Savo,* no. 8, 1998)
time-GEN tooth.NOM be.3SG.PRS.-CLIT it-PTV already corner-PL-ELA gnaw-PTCP.NOM
'The tooth of time has already gnawed its corners.'

(25H) *Meg-e-tt-e az idő vas-fog-a*. (press; *Origó világkörül*)
PTCL-eat-PST-3SG the time.UNGEN iron-tooth-3SG.POSS
'The iron tooth of time ate it.'

(26H) *Az idő vas-fog-a suhan át a lég-en*.
(press; *Kultúra*)
the time.UNGEN iron-tooth-3SG.POSS swoosh.3SG.PRS through the air-SUPE
'The iron tooth of time swooshes through the air.'

(27H) *Az idő fog-a meg-e-tt-e a kerítése-k-et*.
(spoken; radio)
the time.UNGEN tooth-3SG.POSS PTCL-eat-PST-3SG the fence-PL-ACC
'The tooth of time ate the fences.'

2.6. The Marks of Time

The 'mark of time' in some cases appears with 'the tooth of time', as in example (379H), and it shows similarities with it regarding figurative

6 A very rare metaphor with this figurative meaning but different lexical information is the Hungarian *idő moha*, e.g. *csak az idő-k moha fészkel-te meg magá-t rovátkái-ban*, 'only the decay of time nestled itself into its grooves', (only the time-PL 'moh' nestle-PST PTCL itself-ACC groove-INE).

meaning and prosody: just as 'the teeth of time', 'the mark of time' stands for the negative effects that passing time has. Frequency: it can be only found in Hungarian as *az idő nyoma/nyomai*, and rarely in English; in Finnish there is a construction similar from a lexical point of view, *ajan merkki*, but it has a different meaning, referring to 'the signs of the times'. Motivation: these metaphors are based on the conceptual metaphor TIME IS A CHANGER, built on the image schema of force and causation.

(28E) *The sonnet quoted previously ridicules the lady's attempts to fight against the devastating marks of time.* (academic; *Hispanic Review*, 2002)

(29H) *A beton omladozik, ahogy az idő nyomo-t hagy rajt-a.*
(web; *Facebook*)
the concrete.NOM crumble.3SG.PRS as the time.NOM mark-ACC leave.3SG.PRS on-POSS.3SG
'The concrete is crumbling, as time left its mark on it.'

(30H) *Épület-é-n ugyancsak rajt-a hagy-ta a*
building-3SG.POSS-SUPE also on-3SG.POSS leave- 3SG.PST the
nyom-á-t az idő vas-fog-a. (press; *Közélet*)
mark-3SG.POSS-ACC the time.UNGEN iron-tooth-3SG.POSS
'The tooth of time has left its mark also on its buildings.'

2.7. The Sands of Time

This metaphor appears in English. Motivation: *the sands of time* symbolizes the passing of time and it appears in various idioms. There is probably an association with time measurement, the hourglass and the sand running through it, showing the passing of time, therefore it is motivated by a metonymy. The concept of sand, which is trickling away in an hourglass, thus measuring time, stands for a part of time itself. Frequency: *the sands of time* has relevant hits in the American corpus; in Hungarian it has a few hits but not in any relevant context; in Finnish it is very rare. In Hungarian such an expression usually appears as a linguistic calque; the examples and the context suggest that most occurrences are translated from English and infrequent in the language otherwise. The same is true for Finnish, in most cases. Form: this genitival component appears in the idiom *lost to the sands of time* as well as *lost in the sands of time;* in both cases it appears only in the plural form, and can be attached to various other constructions as well, for example lexical items with a similar meaning to *lost*. They all refer to the past.

(31E) *That thought was lost to the sands of time.* (web; jordanmechner.com*;* 2012)

(32E) *Her story is still literally buried under the sands of time.* (newspaper; *Orange County Register,* 2015)

(33F) *Tiima-lasi-ssa valu-i-kin aja-n hiekka.*
(fiction; *Tapio Rikkonen: Lyyra ja paimenhuilu Runosuomennoksia)*
hour-glass-INE trickle-3SG.PST-CLIT time-GEN sand.NOM
'The sand of time trickles in the hourglass.'

2.8. The Mists of Time, The Veil of Time

Conceptual motivation: the English idiom component used in some contexts with a similar meaning to *the sands of time* is *the mists of time*. However, these two expressions have different motivation: in the case of *the sands of time* we have a metonymical connection at hand in addition to a metaphorical one, while here only a metaphorical motivation. This idiom captures how the passing of time causes forgetting and usually refers to something that has been lost, or something that happened a long time ago. *The veil of time* is another English metaphor, which refers to the past and the unknown in a similar way as the *mists of time*. It is rarer than *the mists of time*, it usually appears in fiction and it is more figurative. While *the mist of time* is often based on a container schema, *the veil of time* is not, however, they have the same figurative meaning. The 'veil of time' could be rather based on a force schema, where time is a force entity that hinders a type of action. In fact, this dichotomy of spatial/containment and force/hindering can be observed across several all of the metaphors discussed at this section.

Difference pattern: the similar Hungarian *az idő homály-a,* ('the dimness of time', the time.UNGEN dimness-3SG.POSS,) and *az idő fátyl-a*, ('the veil of time', the time.UNGEN veil-3SG.POSS), could be motivated by TIME IS A MYSTERY metaphor, AZ IDŐ REJTÉLY (Fazakas 1994, 46). There is a difference in the meaning of the Hungarian and the English metaphor, *homály,* 'dimness', being associated with darkness or obscurity, rather than just haziness or blurriness, and closer in meaning with *the shadows of time*, which is very rare in the *Corpus of American English*. The connection between time and such concepts as dimness or haziness is a logical link capturing the enigma of time in general, as well as that of the past, where all things are lost (this is why most of these linguistic metaphors appear in the past tense).

Form: in English *vanish/disappear into the mists of time* is a recurrent form, usually in the past tense. Frequency: this is an English idiom component; in Hungarian *az idő homálya* 'the dimness of time' is relevant regarding frequency, but there are only isolated, novel occurrences in Finnish, mostly in literature (*ajan sumu,* 'the fog of time', *ajan varjo,* 'the shadow of time'). Variation: the typical lexical variant in each language is the following: *the mists of time* and *the veil of time* in English, and *az idő homálya* 'the dimness of time', in Hungarian.

(34E) *(…)it would have already vanished into the mists of time.* (blog; aintitcool.com, 2012)

(35E) *They vanish into the mists of time.* (spoken; *Talk of the Nation 2:00 PM EST NPR*, 2010)

(36E) *(…) trying to see through the veil of time.* (fiction; *Southwest Review* vol. 85, 2000)

(37E) *(…) had vanished into the fog of time.* (magazine; *American Heritage vol. 55,* 2004)

(38E) *(…) lost in the shadows of time.* (fiction; Gerrold, David: *The Dunsmuir Horror*)

(39F) (…) *on levittä-nyt aja-n synkä-t varjo-t kaikk-i-en*
is spread-PTCP.NOM time-GEN gloomy-PL shadow-PL everyone-PL-GEN
meidän ylitse-mme.
(fiction; Betty Elfving: *Härkmanin pojat Historiallinen novelli isonvihan ajoilta tekijä*)
our above-1PL.POSS
'It has spread the gloomy shadows of time over all of us.'

(40H) *(…) el-tűn-ik az idő homály-á-ban*. (web; forum)
PTCL-dissapear- 3SG.PRS the time.UNGEN dimness-3SG.POSS-INE
'It disappears in the dimness of time.'

(41H) *Az idő zavaros köd-é-be vész.* (press; *Kultúra*)
the time.UNGEN hazy fog-3SG.POSS-ILL disappear.3SG.PRS
'It disappears into the hazy fog of time.'

(42H) *(…) ami-t a „múló idő fátyl-ai" ismét el-fed-nek (…)*
(literature; *Pilinszky János: Publicisztikai írások)*
which-ACC the passing time.UNGEN veil-poss.pl again PTCL-cover-3PL.PRS
'Which are covered by the veils of passing time.'

2.9. The Patina of Time

This metaphor is typical for Finnish. The 'patina of time' refers to the effects of passing time on objects as well as on abstract entities. Conceptual motivation: this metaphor is based on the image schema of causation, the patina being the concrete link between the abstract passing of time and its effects on the physical world. This metaphor captures the correlation of the passing of time with physical signs. Frequency: this idiom component is more frequent in Finnish than in the other two languages, which barely have any relevant hits in the corpus; in Hungarian it almost exclusively appears in fiction. In Finnish, on the other hand, it can be found across all genres and seems to be an entrenched idiom component in spoken language. Form: in Finnish 'the patina of time,' *aja-n patina*, (time-GEN patina), is part of the idiomatic expression *kärsi-ä aja-n patina-sta*, 'to suffer from the patina of time', (suffer-INF time-GEN patina-ELA).

Difference pattern: According to the dictionary 'patina' can have two meanings: (1) verdigris, or a type of oxidation of metals, often used figuratively in association with something valuable (positive); (2) being outdated, worn out, obsolete, thus having a negative prosody (Zaicz 2006). It is not always clear which meaning is used in the metaphorical expression due to a lack of longer context in certain cases within the corpus. In English and Hungarian these associations are positive rather than negative, but often neutral, expressing the passing of time. In Finnish 'patina' marks the passing of time, but it carries a negative prosody, as the metaphor *kärsiä ajan patinasta* suggests ('to suffer from the patina of time'). Besides variation in prosody and therefore in figurative meaning, a major difference lies in the form: in Finnish this

idiom component appears in fixed expressions. The literal meaning as well as the conceptual metaphor is the same in the three languages.

(43E) *Nostalgia lingers on ruins, the patina of time and history.* (academic; *Journal of Popular Culture* vol. 46, 2013)

(44F) *(ovat) pahasti kärsi-neet aja-n patina-sta.*
(magazine*; Historiallinen aikakauskirja no. 3, 1992)*
(are) badly suffer-ptcp.pl.NOM time-GEN patina-ELA
'They suffered badly from the patina of time.'

(45F) *Vanha-t kaitee-t ovat kestä-neet aja-n patina-a.*
(magazine; *Tampere* 2, 2015)
old-PL balustrade-PL are resits-PTCP.NOM time.GEN patina-PTV
'The old balustrade resisted the patina of time.'

(46H) *Arany tündéri trükk-jei-t már az idő patiná-ja rejti.*
(literature; *Orbán Ottó: Cédula a romokon)*
golden angelic trick-poss.pl-ACC already the time.UNGEN patina-3SG.POSS hide.3SG
'Its golden angelic tricks are already hidden by the patina of time.'

2.10. The Water of Time

As several motion verbs suggest, time is often linked with water and moving water. The ways in which time linked with a body of water manifests differ in the three languages, varying from 'river' and 'sea' to 'ocean' and 'current'. These links are usually in the genitive case, with some exceptions. Motivation: these metaphors are motivated by TIME IS A BODY OF WATER or TIME IS A STREAM conceptual metaphors, in which time appears as the Path of motion (in some cases) and at the same time the Figure of motion, or even the Ground, as captured for instance here: "time is not a thing that passes… it's a sea on which you float" (Margaret Atwood, *The Year of the Flood).* These associations can be explained by a correlation of motion of a fluid, and the passing of time[7]. Some of these metaphors coincide with what Lakoff and Johnson listed as TIME IS A SUBSTANCE (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 66), although they associate the concept of substance with a resource, which is limited or measurable (ibidem). Another explanation of the association of time with large bodies of water can be traced back to the vastness of the amount in question; often *sea* or *ocean* (*tenger* in Hungarian or *meri* in Finnish) have the meaning of large or immeasurable quantity in general. Time as a moving body of water is also in connection with the past-future dichotomy (Fazakas 1994, 40).

Frequency: metaphors with *the river of time* are relevant in English, rare in Hungarian and can only be found once in the Finnish corpus, in literary context. In Hungarian this source manifests through two metaphors, *az idő folyama* and *az idő folyója*, 'the river of time', which both mean the same, but differ in frequency. The rather archaic version,

7 Time measuring devices also often worked with water, for example water clocks, some of the oldest time measuring devices.

folyam, is more frequent. Other metaphors, which are relevant regarding their frequency, are *aja-n virta,* (time-GEN current) in Finnish, and *az idő sodra,* as well as *az idő árja,* (time.UNGEN current), in Hungarian (both mean 'the current of time'). 'The current of time' in Hungarian and Finnish differ both in frequency and meaning; this metaphor appears more frequently in Finnish and is used in various contexts, while in Hungarian it tends to appear in negative ones, sometimes associated with *veszély*, 'danger', or *baj*, 'trouble'. In English 'the current of time' only appears a few times in literary context.

The *waves of time*, *az idő hullámai*, *ajan allot*, has a similar figurative meaning. Unlike in English and Finnish, in Hungarian it is only recurrent in literature. Rarer correspondences between time and water are with 'sea' and 'ocean'. In Finnish *aja-n meri,* (time-GEN sea), is restricted to literature; in Hungarian *az idő tenger-e,* (the time.UNGEN sea-3SG.POSS), is found predominantly in literature and is rare in other genres. The 'ocean of time' is very rare in English, just like *aja-n valtameri,* (time-GEN ocean) in Finnish, and it does not appear in the Hungarian corpus.

Difference pattern: all of these metaphor components are from the same lexical field. Besides the conceptual metaphors mentioned above which they share, they are also often based on TIME IS A CONTAINER metaphor. While the frequent idiom components in English (for example *the river of time*) are based on the containment schema, the Hungarian and Finnish 'current of time' is based on the force schema.

The river of time
(47E) *You're in the river of time.* (magazine; *Saturday Evening Post* vol. 287, 2015)

(48H) *Az idő folyó-ja meg nem áll.* (press; *Origó programajánló*)
the time.UNGEN river-3SG.POSS PTCL NEG stand.3SG.PRS
'The river of times does not stop.

(49H) *Az idő folyamként rohan át rajt-a.* (scientific; *Wikipedia*)
the time. NOM river.like rush. 3SG.PRS through on-3SG.POSS
'Time rushes through it like a river.'

(50H) *Az idő folyó, mely magá-val ragad.* (scientific; *Wikipedia*)
the time.NOM river.NOM which itself-INSTR grab.3SG.PRS
'Time is a river, which grabs you with itself.'

The current of time
(51F) Aja-n virta vie me-i-tä menne-ssä-än.
(web; Suomi24, 2014)
time-GEN current.NOM take. 3SG.PRS us-PL-PTV go-INF-INE-3SG.POSS
'The current of time takes us with it.'

(52F) Aja-n virta hävitt-i talo-n-kin.
(newspaper; Länsi-Savo no. 200, 1991)
time.GEN current.NOM destroy- 3SG.PST house-GEN-too
'The current of time destroys the house.'

(53H) (…) háborgó idő sodr-á-ban (web; *Facebook*)
surging time.NOM current-3SG.POSS-INE
'In the current of surging time.'

The ocean of time
(54E) There are mermaids in the electric ocean of time. (fiction; Ron Wolfe: Our Friend Electricity)

The sea of time
(55E) They also become symbols of lives that might have been drowned in the sea of time. (newspaper; Christian Science Monitor, 1993)

(56F) Ihmis-olenno-t keinu-i-vat aja-n mere-ssä.
(literature; Frans Emil Sillanpää: Hurskas kurjuus Päättynyt suomalainen elämäkerta)
human-being-PL sway-PST-3PL time-GEN sea-INE
'Human beings are swaying in the sea of time.'

(57H) az élet (…) értelmetlen semmiség az idő tenger-é-ben.
(web; forum)
the life pointless nothing the time.UNGEN sea-3SG.POSS-INE
'Life is a pointless nothingness in the sea of time'.

The waves of time
(58E) Our efforts are at best sandcastles in the waves of time. (web; blog: crystalcoastlife.com, 2012)

(59F) Aja-n aallo-t alko-i-vat horjutta-a myös meidän vapaut-ta-mme.
(magazine; Kalpa 3, 2013)
time-GEN wave-PL begin-PST-3SG shake-INF also our freedom-PTV-IPL.POSS
'The waves of time are shaking our freedom as well.'

(60H) (…) vár-om, hogy el-mossa-nak a kegyetlen idő hullám-ai.
(literature; Kassák Lajos: Kassák Lajos összes versei)
wait-1SG.PRS that away-wash-3PL.PRS the merciless time.NOM wave-poss.pl
'I'm waiting for the merciless waves of time to wash me away.'

The stream of time
(61E) *The stream of time flows on, as it always has and always will.* (fiction; F Gwynplaine MacIntyre: *Time Lines*)

2.11. The Winds of Time

The 'winds of time' can be found in all three languages, with a varying degree of figurativeness, and different figurative as well as conceptual meaning. Motivation: in English, like *mists*, it is often used with the verb *lost*, and it is a spatial element, as the example shows, but also with the verb *blow*, similarly to Hungarian, where the force schema is in evidence. In Finnish *ajan tuuli* or *ajan tuulet*, 'the wind of time' or 'the winds of time', is figurative and usually found in literature; otherwise, it has a similar meaning to *ajan henkki*, the 'spirit of the times' and it refers to a time period or age. In Hungarian, on the other hand, 'the wind of time' appears as an intrusive force, based on the image schema of force and causation. Frequency: it is very rare in Hungarian, less relevant

examples are the only recurrent ones in Finnish, so this metaphor is only recurrent in English.

(62E) *Much about the Etruscans, including their language, is lost in the winds of time.* (web; selectitaly.com 2012)

(63E) (…) *blown away by the winds of time.* (web; *designingforlearning.info*)

(64F) *Mutta sillä-välin oli aja-n tuuli käänty-nyt* (…).
(literature; Eino Kaila: *Valitut teokset,* 1910-1922)
but in-the-meantime was time-GEN wind.NOM turn-PTCL.NOM
'But in the meantime, the wind of time has changed.'

(65F) *Toiminta-muodo-t muuttu-vat aja-n tuul-i-en mukaan.*
(newspaper; Karhunkierros 1/1996)
activity-way-PL change-3PL.PRS time-GEN wind-PL-GEN according
'The activities changed according to the winds of the time.'

(66H) *Ez-t a rendszer-t is el fogja söpör-ni az idő szel-e.*
(press; *Nép Szava, Belföld*, 14)
this-ACC the system-ACC also away will sweep-INF the time.UNGEN wind-3SG.POSS
'This system will be swept away by the wind of time.'

2.12. The Weight of Time

Conceptual motivation: time is linked with heaviness in metaphors through TIME IS A BURDEN as well as TIME IS A WEIGHT conceptual metaphor. Although such metaphors are not necessarily based on an image, they are included because of the Hungarian association of time with led. It appears as *the weight of time*, and in Hungarian through *az idő súlya*, ('the weight of time'), but it is expressed through other constructions as well, such as *ólom*, 'led', used in time metaphors with motion verbs in Hungarian. Another example is the recurrent Hungarian metaphor *el-visel-i az idő nyomás-á-t*, (PTCL-bare-3SG.PRS the time. UNGEN weight-3SG.POSS), 'it bares pressure of time', as well as through some verb constructions in English with 'press'; in these cases the conceptual information and the figurative meaning is different (TIME IS A FINITE ENTITY). Difference pattern: there are no relevant differences, but in Finnish *ajan paine*, 'the weight of time', is very rare.

(67E) *Trains are caving in from the weight of time.* (magazine; *National Parks* vol. 82, 2008)

(68F) *Aja-n paine-et ja muuto-kset heijastu-vat perhe-i-den eläm-ään.*
(newspaper; *Länsi-Savo* no. 298 04.11.1993)
time-GEN pressure-PL and change-PL reflect-3PL.PRS family-PL-GEN life-ILL
'The pressure of time and changes are reflected in the life of the families.'

(69H) *(…) visel-ni tud-ta az idő súly-á-t.* (press; article)
bear-INF can- 3SG.PST the time.UNGEN weight-3SG.POSS-ACC
'He/she could bear the weight of time.'

(70H) *Az idő* *ólom-szárny-on* *jár-t.* (press; *Népszava Szépszó*)
the time.NOM led-wing-SUPE walk-3SG.PST
'Time walked on wings of led.'

2.13. The Sieve of Time

In Hungarian there is an idiom that appears in a variety of contexts (formal, informal and literary), which links the image of time with a sieve used with the verb *hull*, 'fall', occasionally with *esik* 'fall' or *pereg* 'roll'. This might be a variation of an old proverb, 'it falls through the sieve', *ki-hull/át-esik a rostá-n* (out-fall.3SG.PRS/through-fall.3SG.PRS the sieve-SUPE), which refers to something or someone becoming unimportant, worthless with the passing of time (Nagy 1985). A similar, likewise rare construction is *az idő mérleg-e,* 'the scale of time', (the time.UNGEN scale-3SG.POSS), with a similar figurative meaning, but different image component. Conceptual motivation: the conceptual motivation behind this idiom is based on framing: the image of the sieve, through which some things pass through, is similar to values that either disappear in time or maintain their place in society. Through this it has a negative prosody that is associated with a spatial schema, in which the sieve of time is a space that we need to go through to be judged. Thus, it is a boundary, a part of the image schema of containment.

(71H) *Nem* *hull-ott* *ki* *az idő* *rostá-já-n.* (spoken; radio)
NEG fall- 3SG.PST out the time.UNGEN sieve-3SG.POSS-SUPE
'It didn't fall through the sieve of time.'

(72H) *Nép-ek* *hulla-nak* *ki* *az idő* *rostá-já-n.* (press; *Romániai Magyar Szó)*
nation-PL fall- 3SG.PRS. out the time.UNGEN sieve-3SG.POSS-SUPE
'Nations fall through the sieve of time.

(73H) *Az idő* *mérleg-é-n* *annyi-t* *ér-tek,*
the time.UNGEN scale-3SG.POSS-SUPE that.much-ACC worth-2PL.PRS
amennyi érték-et ön- magatok-ban (…) fel-mutat-tok. (press; *article: VKH)*
as.much value-ACC your- selves-INE up-show-2PL.PRS
'You are worth only as much on the scale of time as much value you can show within yourselves.'

An idiom component with a similar figurative meaning as 'the sieve of time' but without an image is *the test of time* or *az idő próbá-ja in Hungarian*(the time.UNGEN test-3SG.POSS). In English this genitival construction is part of the idiom *to stand the test of time*. In Finnish *aja-n haaste,* 'the challenge of time', (time-GEN challenge.NOM), has a similar literal meaning, but as it is used in the expression *vastaa ajan hasteisiin*, 'to meet the challenge of the times', it differs both conceptually and figuratively, as it refers to age, or a period of time, and not the passing of time. The Finnish idiom where the figurative and the conceptual meaning coincides the most with *withstand the test of time* is *kestää ajan hammasta*, 'withstand the tooth of time', although the literal

information is different. Due to the fact of how it is used, it is based on the force schema (opposition), rather than a spatial schema, like the similar 'the sieve of time' (*az idő rostája*).

(74E) *His band has withstood the test of time.* (web; blog: grungereport.net, 2012)

(75F) *Tietokone on vastaus ajan haaste-i-siin.*
(newspaper; *Länsi-Savo no.* 118, 1999)
computer.NOM be.3SG.PRS answer time-GEN challenge-PL-ILL
'The computer meets the challenge of the times.'

(76F) *Abba-n musiikki on kestä-nyt aja-n hammas-ta.*
(newspaper; *Länsi-Savo no. 143,* 1999)
Abba-GEN music.NOM be.3SG.PRS withstand-PTCP.NOM time-GEN tooth-PTV
lit. 'The music of Abba withstood the tooth of time.'
'The music of Abba withstood the test of time'.

(77H) *De a Beatles zené-je kiáll-ta az idő próbá-já-t.* (press; column: *Monitor*)
but the Beatles.UNGEN music-3SG.POSS withstand- 3SG.PST the time.UNGEN test-3SG.POSS-ACC
But the music of Beatles has withstood the test of time.

3. An Overview of Genitival Idiom Components with Time

To sum up, time is expressed by several genitival components that are often based on images and are motivated by similar conceptual underpinnings. Above each idiom component is discussed separately. This section is a contrastive and comparative overview of these metaphors, including their conceptual basis, such as image schemas. Another aspect that is investigated is how transience appears in these metaphors. Causative verbs capture transience without spatial elements, a few exceptions being verbs such as the Hungarian *magával ragad*, 'drag away with it', where there is also motion and the schema of path.

In some cases, time appears with the same idiom component as an agent or as a patient, for instance the *wheel of time* can *turn* and it can also be *turned back*. The majority of these metaphors have no polarity, but if they do, it is negative, such as the 'tooth of time' or the 'patina of time' (*ajan patina,* Finnish).

The overview in Table (1) shows that in most cases the same figurative meaning and conceptual information can be identified across the three languages; what differs most frequently is in the lexical information, e.g., 'the sieve of time' (*az idő rostája,* Hungarian) vs. 'the test of time', or 'the wheels of time' vs. 'the mill of time' *(az idő malma,* Hungarian). In some cases, the lexical information is the same, but the figurative meaning is different, e.g., 'the hands of time' and *az idő keze* (Hungarian). There are some examples when the same conceptual information surfaces through similar, but not identical lexical means, e.g., TIME IS A BODY OF WATER through 'the ocean of time', 'the river of time' (*az idő folyója*, Hungarian) or the 'current of time' (*ajan virta*, Finnish).

Among the list of metaphors there are six that are only characteristic for English: 'the hands of time', 'the arrow of time/ time's arrow', 'the sands of time', 'the mists of time, the veil of time', and 'the winds of time'; three that are typical for Hungarian: 'the mill of time' (*az idő malma*), 'the marks of time', (*az idő nyoma*), 'the sieve of time', (*az idő rostája*); and two that are typical for Finnish: 'the patina of time', (*ajan patina*), and 'the current of time', (*ajan virta*). While many of these metaphors appear in all three languages, more can be found in English that are presumably only linguistic calques or novel occurrences in Hungarian and Finnish.

No.	Metaphor component	Cognitive basis	Most characteristic of	Polarity
1.	'the wheel of time'	spatial schema: image schema of cycle	Hungarian, Finnish	–
2.	'the hands of time'	metonymy spatial schema: image schema of cycle	English	–
3.	'the mill of time'	spatial schema: image schema of cycle image schema of force	Hungarian	negative
4.	'the arrow of time'	spatial schema: path schema	English	–
5.	'the tooth of time'	image schema of force (counterforce)	Hungarian, Finnish	negative
6.	'the marks of time'	image schema of force	Hungarian	negative
7.	'the sands of time'	metonymy spatial schema: image schema of containment	English	–
8.	'the mist of time'	spatial schema: image schema of containment	English	–
9.	'the veil of time'	image schema of force spatial schema: boundary (containment)	English, Hungarian	–
10.	'the patina of time'	image schema of force	Finnish	negative
11.	'the river of time'	spatial schema: containment schema or path schema	English	–
12.	'ocean of time, sea of time'	spatial schema: image schema of containment	rare in all	–
13.	'the current of time'	image schema of force	Hungarian, Finnish	negative
14.	'the winds of time'	image schema of force spatial schema: image schema of containment	English	–
15.	'the weight of time'	the image schema of force	Hungarian, English	negative
16.	'the sieve of time'	spatial schema: boundary (containment)	Hungarian	negative

Table (1) *An Overview of Genitival Idiom Components with Time*

Regarding the transience of time, we can observe what Galton calls consumption (destruction) by time (2011: 702). This surfaces in those metaphors that are based on the force schema. The counterpart of consumption, production or creation (ibidem), cannot be identified in any of these metaphors. In the following selected genitival metaphors consumption can be identified: 'the tooth of time', 'the marks of time', 'the patina of time', 'the weight of time' and the 'the veil of time'.

Several of these metaphors bring into evidence the transience of time through a spatial aspect. These are 'the wheel of time', 'the hands of time', 'the mill of time', 'the arrow of time', 'the sands of time', 'the river of time', 'the current of time', 'the ocean, of time' and 'the winds of time.' 'The mist of time', and 'the sieve of time' are spatial metaphors as well. If we consider type and not token frequency, spatialization seems to prevail in these metaphors compared to transience without the spatial aspect.

Table (1) shows that these metaphors often carry a negative and not a positive attitude towards time, e.g., in the case of 'the tooth of time', 'the current of time' or 'the patina of time'. The positive polarity only surfaces in non-typical, novel examples, e.g., 'the hand of time', *az idő kezе* in Hungarian, which links time with the image of a caring entity.

Below there is an overview by cognitive theories, their mechanism and other factors. In some cases, there are several mechanisms behind a metaphor, for instance 'the mill of time', which is either based on the image schema of cycle, which is a spatial schema, or the image schema of force, depending on the context; *the wheel of time* can be based on the cycle schema in some of the metaphors, in which time is an agent, as well as the force schema, where the antagonist-agonist roles are switched. The idiom components are placed into the category that they most often occur in, unless instances suggest that there are a variety of mechanisms that can motivate them equally.

- spatial schemas:
  - containment: 'the river/ocean/sea of time' (English), 'the sands of time' (English), 'the mists of time' (English), 'the shadow of time' (Hungarian), 'the winds of time' (English);
  - containment through the boundary component: 'the sieve of time' (Hungarian), 'the veil of time' (English, Hungarian), 'the mist of time' (English);
  - path: 'the arrow of time' (English), 'the river of time' (English);
  - cycle: 'the mill of time' (Hungarian), 'the wheel of time' (Hungarian, Finnish), 'the hands of time' (English);

- force schema
  - (transience without spatial aspect)
  - the image schema of compulsion: 'the current of time' (Hungarian, Finnish), 'the waves of time' (Finnish), 'the winds of time'(English);

- the image schema of counterforce: 'the tooth of time' (Finnish, Hungarian);
- other image schemas of force and causation: 'the tooth of time' (Finnish, Hungarian), 'the patina of time' (Finnish), 'the mark of time' (Hungarian), 'the weight of time' (Hungarian, English);

◦ other aspects to note:
- anthropomorphized time: 'the tooth of time' (Finnish, Hungarian);
- metonymical basis: 'the sands of time' (English), 'the hands of time' (English);

4. Conclusion

What this overview of genitival time metaphors shows is that while the schemas are found in each language, some of them are put more into evidence in certain languages through metaphors than in others. The metaphors components discussed are based either on spatial schemas (e.g., containment, path, cycle) or the schema of force (e.g., compulsion). Overall, in the three languages spatial schemas tend to be more frequent than the force schema, which expresses the transience of time without the spatial aspect.

This overview is based on recurrent genitival time metaphor types, and not frequency of tokens. The difference lies therefore in the extent to which spatial schemas or force schemas are preferred, or in other words how much the spatialization versus the transience of time without the spatial aspect is exploited. In English spatial schemas especially the schema of containment and the path schema are frequently used in metaphorical language; force schemas are overall less frequent than in the other two languages. In Hungarian the majority of genitival components are based less frequently on force than spatial schemas, where the image schema of cycle is dominant. In Finnish causation is more productive in these constructions than spatial schemas; from the latter the schema of cycle shows the highest productivity. Other cognitive components that stand out are the metonymical basis in English, which is preferred in contrast to Hungarian and Finnish. The anthropomorphism of time can be seen in examples throughout all three languages.

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