

‘TIME IS MONEY’ METAPHOR IN BRITISH AND ROMANIAN BUSINESS PRESS¹

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Abstract

The present article was written as part of the research project titled “Universals and variants of English and Romanian business metaphors. A corpus-based conceptual mapping of contemporary journalese”, financed by the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research and Innovation. The whole research starts from the hypothesis that cognitive metaphors are instantiations of cultural categories manifested in the language spoken by the community that shares a common set of characteristics within a given cultural matrix, and that metaphors clustered in cognitive categories account for cultural categories, both in terms of conceptual universals and variants, resulting in a complex mapping of interrelated cross-connections. The current work will concentrate on some conceptualisations of TIME as they were extracted from British and Romanian press. The two corpora that we carried our research on were self-made and included the following newspapers: *The Economist*, *The Financial Times*, *The Guardian*, and *The Telegraph* for the English corpus; and *Adevărul*, *Adevărul Financiar*, *Business Magazin*, *Gândul*, *Capital*, *România Liberă* and *Ziarul Financiar* for the Romanian corpus.

Key words: Business metaphors; Concordancers; Corpus-based approach; Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT); Cultural variation; Contemporary business journalese.

1 Introduction

In contrast with General English, Business English features some peculiar traits which lend its peculiarity (Popescu 2007, 2011, 2015a): 1. a certain fixedness of lexical associations, i.e. less free lexical combinations; 2. a certain degree of courtesy and formality which are to be found in the forms and frameworks of conventionalised transactions; 3. sociolinguistic and pragmatic orientation, by which we mean that the language used by business people display “sensitivity to subject matter, the occasion, shared knowledge and social relations holding between companies and communicators” (Pickett 1986:2, as cited in Nelson 2000); 4. metaphoric load: the language used in business materials may be characterised by what we could call

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metaphoric load, i.e. the business language borrows words, phrases, similes, idioms, metaphors, metonymies from the general usage and applies them to the specific contexts of the place of work: abort a product, rat race, throw it at the wall and see if it sticks, golden parachutes, etc.; 5. marked idiomaticity: e.g. Instead, rather than undercutting television networks and producers, Joost might ... give them new juice. (= give vitality). It is particularly the two latter traits that the present project will focus on. The starting point for our endeavours is represented by the seminal works *Metaphors We Live By*, published by Lakoff and Johnson in 1980, whose Theory of Conceptual Metaphor (TCM) has opened endless vistas for subsequent research and debate and Zoltan Kövecses's book on universality and variation of metaphor, which has contributed to our further delving into business metaphors, from this perspective of universals and variants.

2 Literature review

The basic assumption of Lakoff and Johnson's theory is that metaphor is not only a stylistic feature of language, but thought itself is metaphorical in nature. "Conceptual metaphor is a natural part of human thought, and linguistic metaphor is a natural part of human language" (Lakoff, & Johnson 1980:247). Thus, the conceptual structure of metaphors rests on correspondences or mappings between conceptual domains. These mappings function in a natural way, as some of them are already existent in the human mind emerging from background cultural knowledge, as different kinds of similarities between concepts. Further on, Kövecses (2005:64) argues that the cognitive view of metaphor can simultaneously account for both universality and diversity in metaphorical thought. He has proved that certain conceptual metaphors (for anger, time, event structure, and the self) are potentially universal or can be near-universal. He identified these as being "simple" or "primary" metaphors and/or complex metaphors based on universal human experiences. He then explores embedded manifestations of generic level metaphors in order to prove that they are not candidates for near universal metaphors. Besides variations in conceptual metaphors at specific level there are others, such as when a culture uses a set of different source domains for a particular target domain, or when a culture uses a particular source domain for the conceptualization of a set of different target domains (Kövecses 2005:67).

Our theory further draws on Coşeriu's (1997) view on language as a means of conveying knowledge and thoughts, being closely related to society, civilisation, thinking, community, politics, etc. A linguistic community would mould and influence the future evolution of a language by accepting, rejecting or adjusting innovation occurring in language.

Furthermore, we also resort to Rodica Zafiu's (2001) research on Romanian journalese, especially the one published after 1989, and her insights into the passage from a "wooden language" used by communist propaganda. In her writings, there is a general critical and deprecating view on the use of metaphors in Romanian

journalese, especially after 1989. Zafiu (2001:53) states that one could notice a correspondence between the pretence of thematic ennobling (which is denied to a certain extent by the very democratising of phonemic transcription of lexical loans) and the adorning and extravagant metaphor. In a context which should supposedly be informative, in a well-defined relationship with reality, metaphor is felt as an addition and tends, more than ever, to be judged by logical criteria. Adornment to adornment, metaphor is assigned almost exclusively to descriptive passages, which themselves are little connected with the rest of the text. She further contends that journalese resorts quite often to semantic figures – mainly metaphor and metonymy – with an adorning or explanatory role. However, we do not usually come across extreme innovations, surprising associations from everyday life, with an aesthetic function; journalese figures rather correspond to general conceptual frameworks, analogies and associations from our daily life and from common language. These figures are already commonplace, conventionalised – or become so when they are used in journalese. Clichés derived from metaphors and metonymies are often irritating through their recurrence, but have the advantage of accessibility and maximum convenience, manifested both in the production and reception of the text. However, there exists a tendency of pretentiousness and ostentation of the stylistic effect which accumulates semantic figures, leading to involuntary comic effects. In analysing the metaphoric language in the communist regime, Zafiu (2001:54) speaks of a certain metaphorical abuse which prevailed in the “wooden language” of the Romanian totalitarianism, despite an apparent incompatibility between the rigidity of fixed forms, of language and thought clichés, the audacity of name transfers, of innovative semantic associations. Metaphor used to function in public and official discourses either as stereotype with a purely adorning role, or as a form of compensation, of apparent regaining of liberty and individual values. The space where play upon words and meanings in journalese was limited, controlled and kept away from any contact with reality. Thus came into being a pattern of discursive performance based on stylistic ingenuity, which, although in a weaker form, was preserved after 1989 too. Some of its manifestations revealed especially the authors’ incapacity to dominate their discourse, to construct it as a coherent whole, whose parts got out of hand. Words, used solely for their figurative meaning, for their schematic, abstract significance, take revenge by updating their prime, denotative, concrete meaning. In journalese, this association of words often does not take into account the notional compatibility of terms, either certain combinatory restrictions; the result often lies in the humorous or comical effect upon the reader (Zafiu 2001). Journalese generally follows the same language patterns and evolution and so do the metaphors in journalese: at first they display an individual character, of uniqueness, then they are shared and widely accepted by the community of journalists and readers, and finally they turn into language patterns used by the community. This phenomenon has a two-fold purpose: to turn creative language into conventional language, due to frequent occurrence and constant usage and to coin new metaphors or expressive associations that will create a certain impression or effect upon the reader.

According to Coșeriu (2000-2001:20), a special relation is often established among words, attesting to their metaphoric and expressive-figurative load as well as to their associative character and collocability. Such relationships can occur either constantly or sporadically. Linguistic knowledge is often metaphorical, achieved through images which often take the same direction, which makes us think of a certain universal unity of human imagination, beyond linguistic, ethnic or cultural differences. Linguistic creation will obviously resort to other processes, such as analytic description through composition, automatic derivation, phonemic analogy, nominalisation of adjectives that appear in more or less fixed associations with certain nouns, etc. we understand metaphor not as a simple verbal transposition, a shortened comparison, but as a unitary, spontaneous and immediate (i.e. non-mediated) expression of a vision, of a poetic intuition which may entail a momentary identification of different objects, a hyperbolisation of a specific aspect of an object, or even an identification between contraries, absurd if we look at it logically, but with clearly ironic overtones in certain situations.

In Blaga's view (2011:366), from a structural and existential point of view, man finds himself in a two-fold precarious condition. On the one hand, he lives in a concrete world, which he cannot express with the structural means at his disposal and on the other, he lives within the horizon of mystery, which unfortunately he cannot reveal. Metaphor represents, in this context, a complementary ontological moment, through which an attempt at amending this precarious condition is made. By accepting that this human condition stems from his own peculiar being and existence, we are forced to accept the ontological role of metaphor as a complementary moment to some congenitally precarious conditions. Hence, metaphor cannot be only the object of research and analysis for poetics or stylistics which are part of the school curriculum; its importance is immensely reflected on the spheres of meditations. Metaphor is the second hemisphere that rounds up human destiny, it is a special dimension of this destiny and therefore it requires all contemplative efforts from the part of anthropology and metaphysics.

Blaga (2011:349-350) further divides metaphors into two categories: 1) plasticising metaphors and 2) revealing metaphors. Plasticising metaphors are produced in language through the association between two facts, more or less similar, both belonging to the world, the imagined, the experienced or the reasoned one. They do not enrich the fact in itself, but are meant to render as much as possible the flesh and blood of a fact, which words, purely descriptive, always more or less abstract, cannot fully grasp. Its birth is a non-historic moment, which belongs to the birth of man's spiritual constitution. The plasticising metaphor's aspect is not dictated by time constraints, but is inherent to human spirit's structural order. As long as man (not yet fully a man) lives outside mystery, unaware of it, in an unperturbed paradisiac-animal equilibrium, he will only use plasticising metaphors, required by the tension between concrete and abstraction. The second category of metaphors, the revealing ones, comes into play when man becomes a real man, i.e. when he places himself within the horizon of mystery. To sum up, metaphor has two functions: to compensate for the insufficiencies of direct expression / wording for a

given object, and secondly, to reveal the hidden dimensions and meanings, real or imaginary, of a given object. When it performs neither of the two above roles, metaphor can only be an agreeable game, briefly forced upon us by the terms of a given situation, but it is barren of a deeper justification and is unnecessary. This metaphysical approach to metaphor may underline in a way the high-context culture that Romanians belong to. The need for mystery, for unrevealed facts, which are better left untold, or that are shared only by a few elect, are representative for communication patterns among Romanians.

In the following we will turn our attention to time and how it is viewed by different theorists, linguists or philosophers.

Time is an abstract concept and has been the focus of research in numerous fields, from philosophy to linguistics, physics to theology, as well as education, sociology or economy. It is widely used and debated. However it still remains a concept difficult to fully comprehend. The way in which we refer to time in our daily discourses through various linguistic expressions lends a better understanding of the way it is conceptualized, especially by people belonging to different cultural in-groups.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980:8-9) associated the conceptualisation of time with the role of work in Western cultures. Since work is typically connected with the time it takes and time is precisely quantified, it has become customary to pay people by the hour, week, or year. TIME IS MONEY in a great deal of ways: telephone message units, hourly wages, yearly budgets, interest on loans, and paying a debt to society by serving time. Therefore, we understand and experience time as the sort of thing that can be spent, wasted, invested wisely or poorly, budgeted, saved, or squandered.

A more philosophical view on the conceptualisation of time was given by Lucian Blaga. According to him (2011:73-85), there are, metaphorically speaking, three main time frames of human unconsciousness, given the focus on present, past or future:

1. fountain pool time²;
2. waterfall time;
3. river time.

“Fountain pool time” is an open horizon to distant emotions which are mainly future-oriented. Within this dimension, future is granted an exclusive and dominant attribute, and overbearing sovereignty that neither present nor past might ever acquire. These last two are regarded at the most as steps towards a never-ending ascension. This type of time is lived and understood through itself, regardless of its content, of what happens inside it, as in an endless upward movement.

“Waterfall time” represents the horizon of emotions for which the locus of importance lays on the past. Time, through itself, much more through what happens inside it, means downfall, devolution, decadence. The future moment, just because it arrives later, is inferior to the previous moment. “Waterfall time” signifies an endless distancing from an initial reference point, invested with the power of the

² In Romanian, “havuz” is the Turkish-origin term for fountain pool.

supreme value. Time, through itself is a medium of fatal perversion, degradation and disintegration.

“River time” is focused on permanent present. Within this dimension, time is considered as the environment of equal achievements, which are neither more valuable, nor less important than those of the past or those of the future. The present of yesterday, of today or of tomorrow is constantly perceived as something that exists for itself, self-sufficient, neither a step towards something higher, which will exist, nor as dissolution of something higher that once existed. Thus, in its entirety, time represents an equational flow of equally precious moments. Blaga’s philosophy of time conceptualisation focuses on the movement of time and its effect on our conscience and life experience.

3 Research methodology

As our focus is the business metaphor in the two languages, along with the conceptual framework of analysis derived from CMT, the cultural categories constituting our framework of analysis are based on the anthropological research pertaining to the influence of culture on business. Our framework of analysis draws on Geert Hofstede’s (1997) cultural dimensions - Power Distance Index (PDI), Individualism (IDV), Masculinity (MAS), Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI), Long Term Orientation (LTO), E.T. Hall’s (1966) factors influencing culture-bound behaviour (context, time, and space).

Our analysis is based on two corpora (British and Romanian), consisting of articles from general audience and financial broadsheets, written during 2012-2015. The newspapers used for this study are: *The Economist*, *The Financial Times*, *The Guardian*, and *The Telegraph* for the English corpus; and *Adevărul*, *Adevărul Financiar*, *Business Magazin*, *Gândul*, *Capital*, *România Liberă* and *Ziarul Financiar* for the Romanian corpus.

Identification of metaphor entails identification of “ideational meaning”, by which one has to establish whether metaphors can be identified in a text and if there is some “tension between a literal source domain and a metaphorical target domain” (Charteris-Black 2004:35). According to Stefanowitsch (as cited in Chapeton 2010), there exist three main strategies for extracting linguistic expressions:

a) The first strategy is based on searching for source domain vocabulary. This entails selecting a potential source domain and then searching for individual lexical items from this domain using concordancers.

b) The second one resorts to searching for target domain vocabulary. An analysis based exclusively on these two methods will only identify a subset of metaphorical expressions, namely those which contain specific vocabulary belonging to the source or target domain.

c) The third strategy used in the extraction of metaphorical expressions is manual coding. The drawback to this method is that it limits the potential size of the corpus, as the researcher has to carefully read throughout the whole corpus. Moreover, this

strategy involves manual annotation, a very time-consuming and painstaking process. For the purposes of this study, we employed a combined method for the identification of metaphorical linguistic expressions, based on keywords belonging to the target domain and a manual search inside the corpus.

Our tenet (Popescu 2012, 2015b) is that cognitive metaphors are instantiations of cultural categories manifested in the language spoken by the community that shares a common set of characteristics within a given cultural matrix. Thus, we uphold the idea that metaphors clustered in cognitive categories account for cultural categories, both in terms of conceptual universals and variants, resulting in a complex mapping of interrelated cross-connections. Our theory will be applied to contemporary business journalese in English and Romanian and we will try to identify universal metaphors and metaphor variations assignable to cultural characteristics of contemporary Romanian and British business reality reflected in the written press.

The degree of difficulty of the current endeavour is given by the fact that there has been little, if at all, research carried out in Romanian linguistics in order to address the issue of business metaphors (Popescu 2015a). Sporadic contributions have briefly touched upon the political discourse in the media, and in terms of figurative language, metaphor has mostly been tackled from the perspective of grammatical categories – speech parts and syntactic structures occurring in metaphors. The most important limitation of our research lies in the fact that to date, there is no available corpus of Romanian language from none of the 5 possible Romanian genres (*stiluri funcționale*): scientific, official (legal-administrative), journalese, belletristic (literary) and colloquial. The corpora that we will create as part of the project are limited, due to time constraints. A larger corpus of Romanian journalese would have been more appropriate for a larger-scale research. Moreover, the research is limited to British English only, as the cultural differences between the communities speaking other varieties of English (American, Australian, etc.) would have been too time-consuming to address within the scope of this undertaking.

The specific project objectives are:

1. Creation of 2 corpora (English and Romanian) made up of approximately 500,000 words each from British and Romanian journals (daily and weekly broadsheets). The articles will be collected both from business-proper press and general audience, on business and financial topics.
2. Conceptual mapping of business metaphors by cognitive categories identified in contemporary Romanian and English journalese using manual and automated collocation extraction with the help of concordancers.
3. Identifying universals and variants of Romanian and English contemporary business metaphors through contrastive quantitative and qualitative analysis.
4. Creation of an ontology-based automatic classification of business metaphors and inter-relatedness between cognitive categories and cultural categories.
5. Exploiting pedagogical opportunities of teaching Business English through a better understanding of both Romanian and English metaphors, by setting up a small scale corpus linguistics research laboratory based in the host institution and

elaborating appropriate teaching methodology, for the modernisation of university curricula.

6. Creation of a web portal with an extraction tool for electronic retrieval of metaphors, a concordancer and pedagogical support for students and teachers alike (cultural info sheets, lexical exercises, lesson plans, etc.).

The theoretical framework of analysis adopts an interdisciplinary approach, combining theories and methods peculiar to cognitive linguistics, computational and corpus linguistics, socio-linguistics, stylistics, semantics, cultural studies and pedagogy. The research itself - universals and variants of British English and Romanian business metaphors, analysed contrastively, entails a multimodal apparatus, including manual coding and electronic retrieval of selectional preferences in both languages.

4 Results and interpretation

As can be seen in Figure 1 above and Figure 2 below, I first identified the meaning categories of ‘time’ in the English language. With the help of the Visual Thesaurus (an interactive dictionary and thesaurus that creates word maps that cluster meanings and branch further to related words).

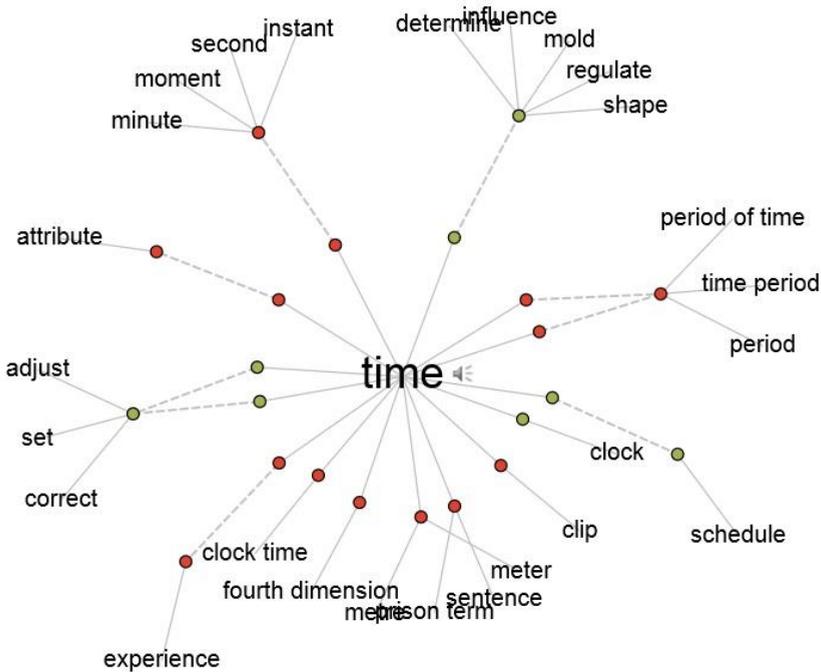


Figure 1. Visual Thesaurus returns for ‘time’

Compared with the WordNet, which is a large lexical database of English, where nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs are grouped into sets of cognitive synonyms (synsets), each expressing a distinct concept, the Visual Thesaurus is a somewhat more creative for the user, who can create his/her own examples starting from the mindmap provided. In WordNet, synsets are interlinked by means of conceptual-semantic and lexical relations. It provides examples (sentences or meaningful units) in order to clarify meaning.

The image shows a screenshot of the WordNet search interface. At the top, it says 'WordNet Search - 3.1' with links for 'WordNet home page', 'Glossary', and 'Help'. Below this is a search bar with the word 'time' entered and a 'Search WordNet' button. There are also 'Display Options' with a dropdown menu and a 'Change' button. A key explains that 'S:' shows synset (semantic) relations and 'W:' shows word (lexical) relations. The display options for the sense of 'time' are set to '(gloss)' and 'an example sentence'. The main section is titled 'Noun' and contains a list of synsets for 'time', each with a gloss and an example sentence. The synsets include: 'time, clip' (an instance or single occasion), 'time' (a period of time considered as a resource), 'time' (an indefinite period), 'time' (a suitable moment), 'time' (the continuum of experience), 'time' (a person's experience on a particular occasion), 'clock time, time' (a reading of a point in time as given by a clock), 'fourth dimension, time' (the fourth coordinate), 'meter, metre, time' (rhythm as given by division into parts of equal duration), and 'prison term, sentence, time' (the period of time a prisoner is imprisoned).

Figure 2. WordNet returns for 'time'

In Romanian, there are four main meaning categories for time, as provided by the Romanian Explanatory Dictionary (DEX, see Figure 3 below). These are: I. objective form of existence for the ever-changing matter, II. 1. Duration of an action or event, successive sequence of moments, interval, 2. Historically determined period, epoch, century, III. The totality of meteorological states of the atmosphere in a given region and within a given period of time, IV. 1. Each of the stages of a movement, of an operation, of an action, 2. (Mus.) Each of the equal parts in terms of duration, but different as intensity, which make up a beat, 3. Each of the phases of the thermodynamic cycle of a thermic piston-activated machine, V. Grammatical category with the help of which one expresses the moment when the action of a verb takes place.

TIMP, timpuri, s. n., și (IV și, învechit, II) timpî, s. m. I. (Fil.) Formă obiectivă de existență a materiei în continuă dezvoltare. *Am început să studiez filozofia... și mai ales problema spațiului și timpului.* CAMIL PETRESCU, U. N. 24. ◊ (Personificat) *Ceasornicele-n casă au început să fugă și inima timpului începe să grăbească.* BOTEZ, P. O. 105. *Timpul mort și-ntinde trupul și devine vecinicie.* EMINESCU, O. I 133. *Astfel ziceau, și timpul un pas a mai făcut.* ALEXANDRESCU, M. 12. II. (În concurență cu vreme) 1. Durata unei acțiuni sau a unui eveniment; scurgere succesivă de momente; interval, răstimp, răgaz. *Întîlnim după un timp o casă pe stînga.* CAMIL PETRESCU, U. N. 264. *Mult timp în mînă l-a-nvîrît. De patruzeci de ani purta Cu el acest cuțit.* COȘBUC, P. I 231. *Viziulul lui... stătu de pază o bună bucată de timp.* ISPIRESCU, L. 109. *Se strecurase ațtea timp, se petrecuseră ațtea întîmplări.* NEGRUZZI, S. I 68. ◊ (Cu determinări în genitiv sau introduse prin prep. «de») *În tot timpul războiului n-am văzut o furnică.* SAHIA, N. 61. *Învățătorul chiar adormise îmbrăcat în timpul convorbirii.* REBREANU, I. 35 ◊ *Timp mort v. mort* (6). ◊ Loc. adv. **Cu timpul** = cu încetul, cu vremea, treptat. **Cîva timp v. cîva**. **La (sau din) timp** = la momentul potrivit, pînă cînd nu este prea tîrziu. *Depeșează-mi îndată: cu ce tren, la ce gară și oră sosește – să pot pleca d-aci la timp.* CARAGIALE, O. VII 15. **De la un timp** sau (rar) **dintr-un timp** = (începînd de) la un moment dat. *Dintr-un timp și vîntul tace; Satul doarme ca-n mormint.* COȘBUC, P. I 148. **Din timp în timp** = din cînd în cînd, la anumite intervale, uneori, cîteodată. *Din timp în timp tresăreau ca de spasaturi.* VLAHUȚĂ, O. A. 137. **(În) tot timpul** = fără întrerupere, într-una, neîncetat. *Stăpînită de teamă a stat tot timpul cît doctorul a făcut cusătura.* BART, E. 382. *Președintele... a fost în tot timpul poetul lăncu Văcărescu.* GHICA, S. A. 149. **În același timp** = deodată, simultan; de asemenea. *Mănăstirea de la Sf. Sava poate fi socotită în același timp și la marginea Bucureștilor, prin căsuțele țărănești din jurul ei.* CAMIL PETRESCU, O. I 197. **Între timp v. între** (2). ◊ Loc. conj. **Cît timp** = în tot timpul în care... ◊ Expr. **A avea timp, a-și omorî timpul, a pierde timpul v. c. (Toate) la timpul lor** = cînd e momentul potrivit. **A fi timp (sau timpul)** = a fi momentul potrivit pentru o acțiune. *Acum nu-i timp să te bocești; Tu vii cu mine-acasă.* COȘBUC, P. I 171. *Bun l zise el în gîndul său. Ia acu mi-e timpul.* CREANGĂ, P. 21. ◊ I *Despot, nu e timpul de zis aste cuvinte. Suceava, te gîndește, e plină de morminte.* ALECSANDRI, T. II 180. **A fi (sau a sosi) timpul cuiva** = a sosi pentru cineva momentul potrivit (și așteptat). *Mie timpul mi-a sosit, Timpul de căsătorit.* ALECSANDRI, P. P. 27. ◊ (Învechit) Anotimp. *Haydn scria în Viena oratoriu «Celor patru timpuri».* ODOBESCU, S. III 95. *Timpul domnitor al acestii cîmpii era numai primăvara.* GORJAN, H. I 113. 2. Perioadă determinată istoric; epocă, secol. *Numai revoluțiile, spuse Mitică Filipescu, te fac să revii pe linia progresului și mai ales revoluțiile sînt singurul mijloc prin care popoarele pot înfrînge timpul, îl pot supune și folosi cu adevărat.* CAMIL PETRESCU, O. I 313. *În calea timpilor ce vin, O stea s-ar fi aprins.* EMINESCU, O. I 191. *Numai tu să fii nevrednic de-acest timp reformator?* ALECSANDRI, P. II 6. ◊ Expr. **Pe timpuri** = demult, mai demult, odinioară. ◊ (La pl.) Împrejurări. *Să ne folosim de timpuri cînd alții de noi se tem.* HASDEU, R. V. 149. III. Ansamblul stărilor meteorologice ale atmosferei într-o regiune dată și într-un interval de timp dat. ◊ *Timpul probabil v. p r o b a b i l*. IV. 1. Fiecare dintre fazele unei mișcări, ale unei operații, ale unei acțiuni etc. *În cîți timpî se strînge vela superioară?* CAMIL PETRESCU, T. II 196. ◊ Expr. **În doi timpî și trei mișcări v. d o i**. 2. (Muz.) Fiecare dintre părțile egale ca durată, dar diferite ca intensitate, care alcătuiesc o măsură; bătaie. 3. Fiecare dintre fazele ciclului termodinamic al unei mașini termice cu piston (motor cu aburi, cu ardere internă), care corespunde unei curse a acestuia. *Motor în patru timpî.* V. Categorie gramaticală cu ajutorul căreia se exprimă momentul în care se petrece acțiunea unui verb; formă verbală care corespunde acestei categorii gramaticale. ◊ *Consecuția timpurilor v. c o n s e c u ț i e*. *Timp compus v. c o m p u s*. *Concordanța timpurilor v. c o n c o r d a n ț a*.

sursa: DLRLC (1955-1957) adăugată de LauraGellner acțiuni ◄

Figure 3. Dex online returns for ‘timp’

In the Romanian language there are two meaning categories for which there is a different lexical rendering in English – IV.2 – musical beat; IV.3 – stroke; V. – tense. As for the English language, the first meaning in WordNet would be best rendered in Romanian as ‘de data asta’, i.e. ‘this time’.

Findings of the preliminary research confirmed again (Popescu 2012) that metaphors clustered in cognitive categories account for cultural categories, both in terms of conceptual universals and variants, resulting in a complex mapping of interrelated cross-connections. Conceptualisations of TIME may be traced as back as Greek mythology, with Kronos, the king of the Titans and the God of time, who fearing that he would be overthrown by one of his children, he swallowed all his sons as they were born, hence the TIME as a DEVOURER metaphor has entered our collective mind. The TIME is a RIVER metaphor is based on the irreversible passage of time, which, just like the flowing water, will never come back. In the following we will concentrate on the most prevalent metaphor of time in the business press, and will provide some relevant examples in case. The examples under scrutiny were presented, in a larger amount, in Popescu 2015b.

The TIME is MONEY metaphor / TIME is a RESOURCE metaphor

(1) Media outlets and sponsors retort that if women’s sport attracted more interest in the first place then they would invest more **time** and money in it. (EC, 2014)

Time is a personal resource and people will use their intelligence to spend it wisely; it is precisely this idea that marketers will exploit – the need to make the female public more aware of the importance of sport among women, who could be willing to “invest” their individual resources into something worthwhile.

(2) having spent lots of **time** and money since the crisis (EC, 2013)

Time, as a resource, is confined and measurable (“lots of”), and just as in the example above, it collocates with “money” – “time and money” comes as a sort of fixed expression, with a high degree of collocability.

(3) people’s most important resource is their **time** (EC, 2013)

Seen as a valuable belonging, a personal resource of high importance, time needs to be respected by both its owner and the people with whom he comes in contact. Employers, friends, family, all have to understand that time is all we have got, especially in this consumerist society, where even individuals tend to become expendable.

(4) an excess of meetings is the biggest *devourer of time* (EC, 2013)

Meetings, one form of spending professional time (supposedly for efficient planning and analysis of processes), if in excess, can eat up this valuable resource, and thus can become counter-productive. In this case a transfer has been made, from the traditional metaphor TIME is a DEVOURER to meetings, a specific instance of TIME, a hyponym of it, if we take the meaning of meeting as a human activity that necessitates time.

(5) are a substantial *waste of the recipients’ time* (EC, 2015)

As a resource, time can obviously be misused, i.e. wasted, especially if it represents a personal belonging. Noteworthy is the fact that in this example as well the genitive is used, with reference to humans.

(6) examine the **time** saved vs. quality tradeoff by comparing the processes and outcomes of Web searches in comparison with more traditional information searches (EC, 2013)

In this example, reference is made to the judicious and wise use of time, i.e. people have to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of saving time, while in some cases, this may prove a waste of time, in the end, if the outcome of the activity is not a quality one, then the time invested in that action, though apparently shorter, and at first sight, saved, will only prove to be squandered.

(7) Greece's €130bn bailout merely *buys* it **time**... (TE, 2012)

The English idiom “to buy time” means to postpone an event hoping that the situation will improve. In Romanian a similar idiom would be “a trage de timp³”. Time, as a resource, can be eked out, to be made sufficient for the owner’s needs.

(8) why women need to *invest* cash, not just **time**, in other women (GU, 2014)

The example above also refers to investing a resource, putting it to some good use, this time investing it in humans, thus helping them appropriate it, and gaining some additional benefits. Time here is again associated with money, i.e. “cash”.

A relatively comparable number of occurrences was found also in the Romanian corpus (the translation provided below the examples is mine).

(9) se face în ritm de melc provocând *pierderi de timp* și financiare de ordinul milioanei de euro. (CA, 2015)

it is carried out at a snail-like rate causing losses of time and finances amounting to millions of euros.

| | |
|-------------|-------------|
| pierderi de | timp |
| losses of | time |

The text above provides an example of metaphor, hyperbole and personification at the same time. Time, associated with money, is a valuable resource which is wasted, due to delays in activities, which are carried at a “snail-like” rate, with tremendous losses – “amounting to millions of euros”. The reader cannot help but feel the exaggeration in the text.

(10) Iar lupta brandurilor din ziua de astăzi se petrece în doar câteva secunde, exact **timpul** pe care astăzi orice consumator este dispus să îl aloce pentru a decide. (CA, 2012)

And the fight between brands nowadays takes place over a few seconds, exactly the time that any consumer today is willing to allocate in order to make a decision.

| | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|----|----------|
| timpul | să ⁴ | îl | aloca |
| time(def.art.m.) | to | it | allocate |

³ Word-for-word transl. “to pull time”.

⁴ 'să' is the specific morpheme (conjunction) for the Romanian '*conjunctiv*' – the subjunctive mood and it is used to form both the present and perfect aspect of this predicative mood. I chose to still translate it word-for-word with the infinitive morpheme 'to' in the English language. In contemporary Romanian the subjunctive is equivalent with the infinitive, which it tends to replace. Otherwise, 'să' has no translation into English.

In the context of "BUSINESS is WAR" ("the fight between brands"), time flows quickly and the psychological influence over consumers' buying decisions will take place very swiftly, therefore, wise use of time from the part of the marketers is crucial for their brands' success.

(11) un zâmbet forțat și strâmb, încearcă să câștige timp:
„Mai repetați o dată!” (SF, 2015)

A crooked and forced smile, trying to gain time: "Please say that again!"

| | | |
|----|---------|------|
| să | câștige | timp |
| to | gain | time |

"Trying to gain time" is a communication strategy, used in order to gather one's thoughts, to prepare an answer to a difficult, unexpected question. In this case, more time represents a gain, something that will help somebody achieve their aims.

(12) RogentOS este, în fapt, un grup de programatori care au decis să își dedice timpul acestui demers. (BM, 2015)

RogentOS is, in fact, a group of programmers who have decided to dedicate their time to this undertaking.

| | | | |
|----|------------|----------|--------|
| să | își | dedice | timpul |
| to | themselves | dedicate | time |

As in (1), (8), (10), people regard time as a *personal asset*, something that they give away as a present and the use of the reflexive pronoun strengthens this idea.

(13) tot aparatul polițienesc și judecătoresc ce-și pierde vremea cu prinderea și trimiterea în judecată a infractorilor. (CA, 2013)

all the police and justice bodies that waste their time catching and sending to court the offenders.

| | | | |
|------|------------|--------|--------|
| ce- | și | pierde | vremea |
| that | themselves | lose | time |

Time as a resource can also be lost or misappropriated, especially if it is employed for useless, profitless activities.

(14) 45 de minute de birou, foarte mulți consideră că timpul pierdut pe drum nu merită" (CA, 2015)

45 minutes away from the office, very many consider that the time wasted on the road is not worth it.

| | | | |
|---------------------|---------|----|------|
| timpul | pierdut | pe | drum |
| time(+ def. art.m.) | lost | on | road |

Time can be lost, i.e. wasted on futile activities, such as travelling to work by a certain means of transport. It is used in the context of choosing the most appropriate means of transportation, which, in the case of business people seems to be the

subway, while it is possible for them to read the online press or electronic correspondence.

(15) care ar presupune consum de timp și bani pentru toți cei implicați. (GA, 2015)

which would entail consumption of time and money for all the people involved.

| | | |
|-------------|----|-------------|
| consum | de | timp |
| consumption | of | time |

Time, as any other resource can be consumed. This is another example of the association between time and money, taken as a meaningful unit, as a combined resource.

(16) Firmele, liber-profesioniștii și contribuabilii persoane fizice din România pierd, anual, zeci sau chiar sute de milioane de ore pregătind dosare, completând formulare și așteptând la rând în fața ghișeelor. (CA, 2011)

Companies, free-lancers and private individual tax-payers in Romania waste annually tens or even hundreds of millions of hours preparing files, filling in forms and waiting in queues in front of official counters.

| | | | |
|-------|----------|----|------------|
| pierd | milioane | de | ore |
| lose | millions | of | hours |

In the above example, the hyperbolic waste of time is meant to state the dimensions of the exaggerated red-tape in Romania and how it hampers the development of free enterprise and private initiative.

As can be seen, time can be *invested/allocated/dedicated* (to sth) (1), (8), (10), (12), *wasted/consumed/lost* (2), (4), (5), (9), (14), (15), (16), *saved/gained* (6), (7), (11), which proves that there is a universal conceptualization of time as a resource that needs to be carefully spent, apportioned, eked out.

The majority of verbs collocating with *time* in the Romanian corpus are “*to waste*”, “*to lose*”, “*to consume*”. The metaphorical expressions extracted above are based on the following mappings:

Investment → a period of time dedicated to an activity;
 Waste → time spent / lost in unfruitful activities;
 Saving → accomplishing something in less time than initially calculated
 Profit-making → obtaining an extended deadline.

This set of mappings derived from the metaphor of TIME are highly conventional, which reveals that people who live by it think of time in terms of profit-making, try to invest their time in the best possible way and keep waste at a minimum.

The TIME IS MONEY / TIME IS A RESOURCE metaphor can be related to the history of industrialization, when work started to be associated with the time it took to be performed (Lakoff, & Johnson 1980:8). Consequently, its association

with the business field and with that of science and technology is perfectly understandable. However, beyond these domains there are other cultural factors to be taken into account.

These results suggest that the Romanian culture emphasises more the idea of time conceptualised as a resource, moreover, a personal one, that they want to have the freedom to spend as they consider appropriate.

5 Conclusions

Apart from the universal conceptualisation of time, e.g. TIME is a RIVER, whereby the flowing of the river entails that time flows beyond the possibility of return; once past, both river and time can never be brought back, there are other conceptualisations of time, assignable to different cultures. A deeper insight into the structure and meaning of metaphors can provide a better understanding of the culture that has coined them. The findings of our research are in line with Geert Hofstede's framework (1997). According to his research, data, Romania scores 42% on the masculinity/ femininity scale, while the United Kingdom registers a score of 66, indicating a masculine society. Such would be a higher concern of the British people for a wiser and more judicious distribution of time, whereas Romanians would be more concerned with the waste of time. Romanians are more preoccupied with spending time in a both useful and pleasant manner (Romanians' favourite expression referring to spending time is 'a îmbina utilul cu plăcutul' / 'to combine the useful with the pleasant'. Even when at work, Romanians still need their own personal time to 'while away', during coffee breaks or snack breaks.

More research needs to be done in order to establish a closer connection between the cultural categories of monochronic vs polychronic time in British and Romanian cultures. Monochronic time, or M-Time, as E.T Hall called it (1966), signifies doing one thing at a time. It entails minute planning, scheduling and following through. Monochronic people tend also to be low context. On the other hand, in polychronic cultures, human interaction is valued over time and material things, leading to a lesser concern for 'getting things done' - they DO get done, but more in their own time. Romanians tend to be polychronic, and there is an anecdotal "academic quarter" when it comes to conceptions of punctuality. Romanians are concerned with their personal time and the need to use it as they please, especially their free time.

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