SLAVICA HELSINGIENSIA

29

Johanna Viimaranta

TALKING ABOUT TIME IN RUSSIAN AND FINNISH

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SLAVICA HELSINGIENSIA 29

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Johanna Viimaranta

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INTRODUCTION

The abstract character of time and its importance in the lives of modern people makes time one of the favourite objects of philosophical analysis and other ponderings of various kinds. Time in language functions as the background for everything that happens. It puts events on a time line with the help of tenses and the temporal relationships between them. But time is also seen in language as an actor in its own right, able to cause things both positive and negative. Furthermore, human beings keep trying to fight back, to convince time to be on their side, even to trick it. The many-sidedness of time as an object of study makes it very difficult to grasp, since a consensus has not been reached as to what the concept of time should be seen to include.

This study explores how people talk about time in Finnish and Russian, and why they use those exact patterns. For the purposes of this analysis, the way in which language deals with time is assumed to reveal wider horizons on the conceptualization of time. This study aims to be able to define the limits of time in language in such a way that covers all the dimensions of time and their internal relationships. The present analysis focuses on Russian and Finnish with the hope of finding tendencies of a more universal nature that transcend language-specific observations.

The material for this study consists of units that I call *expressions*. There are more than a thousand of them from each of the languages; in other words, all that I have been able to find that fulfil certain conditions. These expressions are idiomatic units and constructions that have a semantic relation to time. They range from one-word units, such as adverbs, to nominal phrases, constructions with a noun and a verb, and longer idiomatic units such as proverbs. These are analysed out of context, as entities in their own right. This kind of lexical approach to time expressions is combined with an understanding that sees the forms of time expressions as being meaningful for conceptualization, on another level of cognition that they reflect. This study also searches for regularities both in forms and in meanings, and this can be noticed from the choice of material. The material has been analysed from several viewpoints. These viewpoints are traditional grammatical analysis in the form of morphosyntactic glosses, the functional analysis of the meanings involved, and conceptual metaphor analysis, revealing the tendencies of human conceptualization.

The questions the study hopes to answer are the following: (1) what are the syntactic and lexical ways of talking about time in Russian and Finnish; (2) what kind of inner needs of human self-expression they correspond to; (3) what is the significance of metaphoricity in these expressions. The end result of the study is to be a wide-ranging, comprehensive and analytical account of the structure, semantic parameters, and comparability (not including translation variants) of the time expressions in Russian and Finnish. Finally, I also wish to (4) challenge the methodology used in previous metaphor studies.

The first question, on the syntactic and lexical ways of describing time, involves collecting the available means for talking about time (hence: time expressions) in Russian and Finnish, defining the constructions used in them, and comparing these constructions between the languages. A large body of expressions (over 1,000 per language) collected and analysed for this study and presented in the appendix forms a significant part of the results of the study. These expressions are separate representatives of the structures (constructions) used in them. In other words, the way that language is constructed in this purely formal sense is considered to be meaningful.

The second question, concerning our inner needs of self-expression, has to do with the theory of Functional Syntax – using language material and language intuition in order to define the content to be conveyed, to describe it with a metalanguage, and to group the expressions in the material accordingly. Since the object of study here is time, one objective is to try to answer the question of what we want to say when we talk about time and how this is expressed in Russian and Finnish. The special challenges involved in this are defining the meanings involved and especially the limits and relations between them. Nevertheless, how exact we should be in describing meaning is always a matter of taste, and choosing the ideal amount of generality and specificity to best describe a semantic field is a great challenge that a study such as this inevitably faces.

The third question, concerning the place of metaphoricity, deals with the way cognitive metaphor theories can help us understand why the time expressions are as they are, i.e., what kind of cognitive processes lie behind these expressions – or, more exactly, what kind of traces these cognitive processes can leave in language. The cognitive metaphor theories can help to answer this question by defining, firstly, what kind of conceptual metaphors work on the basis of the expressions in language; secondly, what source domains these metaphors borrow from; thirdly, what the relationships between these metaphors

are like; and, fourthly, what these metaphors tell us about the conceptualization processes of the languages in question, and possibly of other languages as well. The last point is based on the claim that our thinking and categorization processes are metaphorical in nature.

The fourth point, challenging the methodology of conceptual metaphor studies, means that one objective of this dissertation is to arrive at a new kind of understanding of what the methodology of metaphor study could be, and most of all, what kind of material is appropriate or needed. This study attempts to introduce a new kind of empiricity to the study of metaphors, challenging in this way both the methodological and theoretical limits of the conceptual metaphor theory.

Contributing anything completely new to the study of time as such is not easy. Neither is it easy, or even possible, to solve the problem of time, i.e. state on permanent grounds what time "really is", and demonstrate that. My goal is to give an empirical, linguistic account of the matter, to let the material speak for itself without silencing it with the limits set by theories.

The first chapter contains an overview of the concept of time. I will introduce some ways in which time has been classified, and also take a quick look at how time is analysed in philosophy.

Chapter 2 reviews the concept of time in language. This chapter includes a discussion of how time is talked about, and what phenomena in language reflect the different sides of time. These phenomena include measuring time, tense systems, the notion of time line, aspectuality, and different units that time expressions are seen to consist of or to represent.

Chapter 3 deals with the material and the methods of analysis employed in this study. It explains how the material has been collected, comments on the problem of context, and defines the exact methods of analysis. This chapter also defines the place of corpora in this study and justifies the choices made concerning the material and its analysis.

Chapter 4 presents the material from the viewpoint of functional syntax. I first introduce the theory of functional syntax and how time is presented by it. I then show the results of my analysis of the material from this functional viewpoint. In this chapter I will introduce my categorization that includes the 56 basic meanings that speakers can convey when talking about time as well as how these meanings are expressed in Russian and Finnish.

Chapter 5 provides an account of the different metaphor theories. First, I give the historical background for the development of the term *metaphor* by examining how the different schools of thought have defined it. After this historical presentation, I look more closely at the conceptual metaphor theory, how it understands metaphor, how the object of its study can be defined, and what kind of methodology it uses. I also take a look at the problematic issues that arise when applying this theory, and briefly introduce other theories that are closely related to it or that compete with it. The reason for giving such a thorough introduction for the term *metaphor* is the hope of further developing the methodology of metaphor studies.

Chapter 6 introduces the existing literature on the metaphors of time. Here I contrast the different conclusions that the different researchers have arrived at.

Chapter 7 contains the results of the metaphor analysis of the material. I will introduce the conceptual metaphors that explain, in my opinion, why time expressions are as they are. I will attempt to define the limits between different conceptual metaphors as precisely as possible, making the boundaries even more visible by using graphic illustrations that follow the blending theory. I also analyse the way in which the conceptual metaphors are combined in the expressions occurring in my material, and try to find regularities in these combinations.

The conclusion is an attempt to draw together all that has been established in this study and to point out the links between different parts of this work.

1. TIME

The understanding of time consists of three interrelated, but separate elements: the understanding of time in everyday life, the physical understanding of time, and the philosophical understanding of time. The physical understanding of time is mechanistic. Philosophical claims are to be based on logical thinking and things that people just do not see (although they should). The everyday understanding of time is widely reflected in language, and it is a random combination of different kinds of elements.

The physical understanding of time considers time to be merely measurable. Here time is the same as the mechanical movement of clocks or hourglasses. The measurability of time defines its whole existence, since time does not exist outside its measurements. The need to measure time has come about because the development of the modern world has required more cooperation and coordination that can be facilitated by means of measuring time. Any technological success would not have been possible without the development of clocks.

The philosophical understanding of time tries to arrive at a solution of what time is like – either what it is "really" like or how it should be understood. Philosophical pondering over the true nature of time has at different times given different interesting results that tell us not only about time, but also about the age when these notions were born.

The everyday understanding of time sees time through the eyes of a human being. From this perspective time is what affects humans, and it affects us in several ways. The measuring involved (based on the physical understanding of time) is only one aspect. The clock and the calendar also determine how we understand time; the limitedness of these time units dictates much of how we see and "use" time. In other words, the measurable, limited time that goes on exists in our understanding together with other understandings. Another aspect is how time is able to change things. All this is added up with the contradictory fact that time does not have a material existence as such, since it cannot be perceived with the means of perception at our disposal, that is, our sense organs do not recognize time.

In the following I will introduce some central differentiations that concern conceptions of time. The first of them is the differentiation between cyclical and linear time and the second is the differentiation between the notions of relative and absolute time. I will also try to give a short review of time as it is analysed in the field of philosophy.

1.1. Cyclical and linear time

One of the main differentiations of understanding time is the division between cyclical and linear time. Cyclical time is the way time is supposed to have been seen by the so-called primitive, natural societies. Cyclical time is based on repetitions of events and states that are seen as being similar owing to some of their features. This concept of time is seen as a process of coming and going in cycles, the same time coming back to us regularly or irregularly. This kind of understanding of time is explained using two kinds of cyclicity. First, the long-term cyclicity explains how the lives of the living people and the lives of those that lived before have the same characteristics. The second cyclicity is the way certain natural cycles occur. The most regular of these cycles are naturally the seasons, but some others, such as famine years and poor crops, can also be seen to be part of the natural cycles**.**

Linear time is often seen as the creation of the modern world. According to this position, time is seen as measurable (clocks, calendars) and occurring along a time line. This is a trajectory on which time goes on from past to future linearly, and each moment has its own characteristics. Furthermore, each moment can occur only once, and is therefore unique.

Etymologically, the Russian word *время* 'time' comes from the same source as the noun *вращение* 'rotation, twirl'. This suggests that the word has a link to the cyclical understanding of time.[1] The way that the ancient Slavs viewed time as cyclical has been investigated by N.I. Tolstoj (Толстой 1997б). Tolstoj argued that the traditional Slavonic understanding of time makes a distinction between summer and winter only, and the two had different suns (ibid: 17). The shift between them was celebrated by certain rituals, which survive partly even today. Besides these shifting rituals, there were also celebrations marking the

1 The Finnish word *aika* 'time' is etymologically a loan (variously explained as Germanic or Baltic) and does not as such suggest anything as to the ancient Finnish understanding of time.

central point of the summer and winter periods. The different time periods were differentiated by the celebrations involved, although the months were not known. Later on, when the calendar of twelve months was introduced, many of these months derived their Slavonic names from the old names of the festivals. The day is also divided into day and night, shifting points being at dawn and sunset, and these periods also have central points that are lexicalized. (ibid: 17-25.) In this way, the cyclicity in the ancient Slavonic understanding of time comes up as two symmetrical cycles, the year and day, and these have parts that are repeated.

Pentti Leino (1983a) has analysed how the time units work in Finnish. He supports the notion that only day and year are cyclically bound to natural events, as is month (to a certain extent). Any other notions of time that exist are therefore not due to the natural cycles, but based on the clocks and calendars introduced by modern thinking. As for Finnish, the notion of day has two main parts, day and night, whereas year consists of summer and winter. The words referring to these four basic cyclic units that are built on time (day, night, summer and winter) also have their lexicalized central points in Finnish, which other time units in Finnish do not have.

Language, as will be demonstrated in this work, shows traces of both understandings of time. Language even gives reason to assume that the change from the cyclical into the linear understanding of time has never actually taken place, but they both exist and function at the same time. Or, what once was the cyclical understanding of time left its traces in language, and any later developments did not change these traces, but merely left their own marks. It is clear that the cyclical understanding of time could not have fully disappeared, since the natural cycles continue to exist and affect our lives.

1.1.1. Instantaneous time

The way that time is realized is going through changes. Today time is more than a question of linear and cyclical time; time has come to be counted in ever smaller units.

According to the anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen (Eriksen 2001), the sense of time in modern ages is no longer linear in character. Instead, people currently do not see their lives, and time more generally, as consisting of events and states following one another, but rather as short moments that are distinct from one another. During these brief moments one should be able to do as much

as possible and to use time up as effectively as possible. Eriksen argues that when we live our lives with an instantaneous understanding of time, we are no longer able to do anything that would demand long-term concentration. Instead, we are participating in many activities at once, and multi-tasking as quickly as possible. Furthermore, these activities change constantly. According to Eriksen, this prohibits us from being truly creative. The change in understanding of time is the result of the rapid introduction of inventions such as information technology, the Internet, the mobile phone, and other innovations which began in the 1990s and have grown exponentially from the mid-1990s.

We can indeed see the symptoms of instantaneous time everywhere, not least in the way our own actions have changed. But has this tendency already affected our language? Language changes rather slowly, but these processes can be quicker when it comes to the birth of new idiomatic expressions (which can also rather rapidly become extinct). Based on my observations, I doubt whether our understanding of time has really changed from linear to instantaneous. I am more inclined to believe that instantaneous thinking has merely been added to our understanding of time, which is, as already noted, two-sided, consisting of the linear and cyclical aspects competing with each other. As far as my material is concerned, the language of idiomatic expressions shows no traces yet of instantaneous time having significantly changed our behaviour. Nevertheless, the demand on availability and reachability, introduced by the use of mobile phones, may well have changed our notion of time and made (some parts of) it instantaneous.

1.2. Absolute and relative time

The second category that is often mentioned when talking about the essence of time is the division into absolute and relative time. This division is rather telling by its very name. Absolute[2] time is quantitative – time in the abstract sense; it is not the prisoner of a time line, but can (according to common belief) be possessed. Relative time is the opposite of this qualitative time – time bound to other times (that is, to other events and states) – and is able to be plotted on a time line. This distinction is not always useful when dealing with concrete expressions of time. One reason is that it is difficult to determine whether an

2 Absolute time can also be called direct time as suggested by M.V.Vsevolodova (Всеволодова 1975).

expression (with or without context) represents with any certainty absolute or relative time. Even so, the distinction between absoluteness and relativeness can be helpful. For instance, when talking about deixis in expressing time, the differentiation between absolute and relative time is especially relevant. Furthermore, the time independent of a time line (absolute time) has to be presupposed in any case, and any kind of understanding of a sequence requires that the relativeness of time is recognized. In this way it is easy to agree that dividing time into absolute and relative is indeed relevant. In all, absolute time is a notion that has to do with measurable time and the philosophical understanding of time. Besides that, time is relative, and time units even more so.

1.3. Three models of Indo-European time

Discussing Indo-European time as being somehow unified, which is an assumption that could possibly be contrasted with the understanding of time in other language families or cultures, is quite interesting in the context of my study, since Russian is a member of the Indo-European group, while Finnish is not. K.G. Krasuhin (Красухин 1997) has, on the basis of lexical and grammatical material from various Indo-European languages, come to the conclusion that these languages show three different etymological understandings of time. These understandings are notions of time as a space (external time), time as a life spirit (inner time), and time as a wish, an idea, etc. (subjective time). External time is further divided into time as a measure, time as a part of a whole (limited with boundaries), time as movement, and the names of time periods on the basis of the most important event occurring in them. They are external because they do not belong to the inner life of a human being. The second model, that of inner time becomes apparent in words that have meanings such as life and strength. Here the understanding of time as being subjective can be seen in stems for time words that mean ‘good’, or refer to ideas and thinking. Krasuhin also mentions some temporal words whose etymology cannot be explained by applying the above-mentioned understandings. The lexical evidence mentioned above is further fortified by grammatical evidence that is parallel to it. For example, the spatial understanding of time corresponds to deictic categories and understanding events as movement. Aspectual categories are then parallel to the inner time, and the grammatical equivalent of subjective time is modality. On the basis of all this,

Krasuhin comes to the conclusion that these three understandings of time – time as space, time as life spirit, and time as idea – are central to the way that humans conceptualize time.

The notion of inner time, or what is referred to as psychological time, is a fascinating area of study. As I understand it, time as it exists inside the human mind is something quite different from any physical, measurable time. Human thinking has its own time that affects everything. An individual understanding of time is also the basis for time to have any kind of characteristics whatsoever, since time does not exist as such, i.e. does not have any kind of material existence.

1.4. Time in philosophy

The essence of time has been one of the popular themes among philosophers throughout the ages. A common assumption is that there was a shared understanding of time in antiquity. However, this is not true. Since the eleventh century BC, the different thinkers of antiquity developed different understandings of the different sides of time, and of the nature of time in general. Some of the main questions the philosophers of antiquity considered were the beginning and end of the world as well as of time, the character of time and the cycles of time. These reflections on the theme of beginning and end included several issues. One of them was whether or not someone created the world as well as god(s). Moreover, it was also questioned which world or time is a power that rules over the other, and whether time and material are eternal or not. Another central question was whether time was independent of god(s) and existed before them or the other way round. The question of the character of time (especially favoured by Aristotle) was also looked at from different viewpoints. These viewpoints include the questions as to whether or not time is change, what there is between two now-points, into what kind of parts time can be divided, and what the relationship is between time and movement. (Lloyd 1976, Sihvola 1999, Sorabji 1983.)

The same kinds of questions that the philosophers of antiquity raised concerning time are still of interest to philosophers. Yet time for the philosophers of antiquity must have been something very different than it is for us today, since they did not have the equipment for measuring time that we now have, and,

furthermore, their understanding of time was not utilitarian to the same extent as ours is today. Nevertheless, time itself has remained the same.

The philosophies of time have a strong link with the religious concepts of time. Many religions, among them Christianity, understand their gods or deities as different from the human being in relation to time. Only God is understood to be free of time (represents eternity), and the human being is dependent on the time that God gives to him or her.

The following interpretations of how certain well-known scholars saw time are found in an article by N.A. Potaenko (Потаенко 1997). Plato viewed time as a means for God to express eternity. Later, Aristotle thought that time did not exist outside movement and change. For Aristotle, time is neither movement nor change, it is the amount of movement or change. On the other hand, Isaac Newton thought that time and space define all that exists, including time and space themselves. By contrast, Immanuel Kant argued that time does not have an independent existence, but exists in the form of our introspection and is therefore the prerequisite for everything. Later, Albert Einstein understood time as the fourth dimension that, together with the three spatial dimensions, explains the entire spatiotemporal continuum.

According to Hoyt Alverson (1994:7), the most common views on time are: (1) Kantian, in which time does not originate in the senses but is presupposed by them. It is a subjective condition, owing to the nature of the human mind; (2) that of positivist science that considers time as being a variable of nature as measured by clocks; (3) that of relativist anthropology, which sees time as a personification or construction of myth and ideology.

Of the later “time philosophers”, one of the best known was Martin Heidegger, who looked at time in his phenomenological philosophy together with the notion of being. Later, Hans Reichenbach (1956) has approached the philosophical problem of the direction of time from the viewpoint of the evidence provided by the natural sciences.

1.5. Conclusions to Chapter 1

This chapter presented glimpses as to how time has been and can be understood. It introduced several approaches and turning points that the understanding of time has had, and provided insights into how different understandings could be

classified. Mention was made of the notions of measurable physical time, the everyday time that is lived (and whose characteristics are interpreted accordingly), and philosophy that makes assumptions on what is the nature of time. It was claimed that these are the basic variants of approaching the true being of time. When it comes to more specific ways of dealing with what time is, the variants of cyclical and linear understandings of time and the possible recent development of instantaneous time were mentioned, as well as the division into absolute and relative time. All this gives us at least a preliminary notion of the many-sided nature of time, and of how people have understood it in different traditions and ways of thinking.

In the next chapter I will return to a more concrete level and look at time in language.

2. TIME IN LANGUAGE

In this work I attempt to analyse the different manifestations of time in language and to develop an approach that incorporates observations based on a vast, empirical material, dealing with those aspects of time that are easily left unnoticed in other kinds of research. In doing this, I will first have to try to illustrate as best I can the different sides of time in language and how they have been dealt with in earlier research.

Time in language is realized in several phenomena occurring on different levels. These phenomena are the relationship between time and space, talking about time, the time line, tenses, aspectuality, temporal relations, time expressions, and adverbials. The different levels of the phenomena make it indeed difficult to put them into order, since they are intertwined both hierarchically and in ways that seem to be unrelated. These phenomena also do not form a coherent whole, and this is the very characteristic that makes describing time in language so challenging. Furthermore, trying to find a way (a theory) that could account for the whole complexity in some way is almost impossible, but nevertheless worthwhile. This chapter contains an overview of these phenomena as well as a discussion of modality, the semantic field of time, and the universality of time expressions. At the end of this chapter, I will also give an account of the studies conducted so far on the time expressions in Russian and Finnish.

2.1. Time and space in language

The obvious connection between spatial and temporal expressions is one of the reasons why the relationship between time and space is considered to be important. Many means of expressing temporal notions use similar constructions and the same words as for spatial concepts. Space and time are not, however, equal in terms of physical properties. If one starts by assuming that the only "physical" property that time has is its irreversibility and limitedness (often described as linear), it is easy to notice that all the rest of the characteristics time is seen as having are of spatial origin (or, alternatively, share features with the domain of space). Merely assuming that time has these properties can be

disputed. Space, on the other hand, can be grasped fully independently of time and, in most cases, its physical limitations are noticeable.

I will now introduce some viewpoints that different linguists have proposed about time and space in language.

Helena Sulkala has studied temporal adverbials in Finnish and has pointed out the relationship between the temporal and spatial notions used to express temporal relations. Sulkala states that the importance of spatiality in temporal expressions is significant, but that the spatial expressions of time are often optional, while expressing temporal relations is compulsory. On a purely formal level, Finnish expresses the temporal and spatial relations in the same way, using the same cases and constructions. There are, nevertheless, some significant differences. Only time can be past, present or future, only time can be used, and only space can be left behind. In addition, temporal and spatial deixis are different, since one object cannot be in more than one place at a time but one object can be in the same place at different times, and two objects can be in different places at the same time. Since time can be relative, we can talk about simultaneity and non-simultaneity only when there is a coordinated system, taking into consideration the states and events that are being observed. (Sulkala 1981: 15-16.)

The relationship between the physical realities and how different languages reflect them is another issue. Space cannot be directly reflected in language, and this explains exactly why different languages can express space differently despite the assumedly universal experience that humans have of space. To differentiate between the properties of space as a physical entity and space in language, Herbert Clark (Clark 1973) has called these notions P-space and L-space, respectively. P-space is understood to be universal, but L-space differs from language to language. When it comes to time, this position assumes that each temporal term is based on a term of L-space, i.e. on how language represents space rather than real space.

M.A. Krongauz (Кронгауз 2001) has observed how verbs with the prefix *про-* explain the relationship of spatiality and temporality. According to Krongauz, it is impossible to fully differentiate space and time typologically, since they are different sides of the same phenomenon. Although spatial conceptualization can be used for temporal concepts, the opposite is rarely possible.

In [Zima et al. 1998], several scholars deal with the relationship between space and time. Their research shows that this relationship can be found in disparate languages. It is evident in such various categories as tenses and other verbal systems, nominal classifications, locative classes, narrational patterns, spatial metaphors, etc., occurring in the different (exotic) languages.

As can be seen from the examples provided above, the existing research widely recognizes the relationship between space and time in language, and scholars attempt to explain the discrepancy between them. The combination of time and space, seen as the basis for all existence, can either be seen as a pair of equals, or one of them can be regarded as subordinate to the other. Space can be seen as being primary at least on such grounds that spatial notions can be perceived by our senses (for example, a wall stands so that it is easy to perceive), and in this way spatial notions are more primary than temporal notions. As is aptly put by S.V. Dmitrjuk (Дмитрюк 2000: 208), research of this kind does not try to determine the truth about what time really is, but instead ascertain how people understand it. This is also the case when it comes to understanding the relationship between space and time.

Next I will look at the time line and tenses, aspectuality, parts of speech in talking about time, the level of syntax, modality, the semantic field of time, and the universality of time in language. These parts all contribute to the puzzle of talking about time.

2.2. Time line, tenses and aspectuality

The notion of a time line has to do with the modern Western understanding of time. This understanding sees time as being something material, having existence in the sense that time is a substance that is quantifiable and limited and that one has to spend or make use of. Time also renews itself so that a certain amount is available at each moment, and if this amount is not made use of, it will disappear, be wasted, since time, although it is a substance, cannot be stored. In this way the amount of time is both renewable and limited.

The time line is used to describe this kind of time, and even more exactly its feature of going in one direction, typically from left to right, namely from the past to the future. The notion of the time line is at its best in describing the relations between the different time units, including simultaneity and non-

simultaneity, sequence and duration. The notion of time line is likewise useful in describing tense systems, at least the type of tense systems found in Russian and Finnish.

Although the time line as such is simply a line describing the way that time goes on and is dividable into units, the notion of the time line includes possible points of dispute. Such points include whether the time line has a beginning and an end, and what way the events are described on the time line (where the line goes between moments and periods, events and states, what is a point in time line and whether there is another reference unit that is not punctual but longer).

Language uses aspectuality as a system for describing different kinds of actions. Some of the best-known differentiations in this system are the pairs of repeatedness versus one-time action, indefiniteness versus definiteness, limited actions versus unlimited actions, the beginning and end of actions, and continuity versus discontinuity. Different languages have different means to express these things, and the verbal aspect of Slavonic languages is only one example of them. The notion of aspectuality means, in its most general form, the way that events and states are looked at, whereas tense expresses temporal relations.

For a general description of tense as a phenomenon, see Comrie (1985). A classical study on tenses is found in Chapter XIX of Otto Jespersen's *The Philosophy of Grammar* (Jespersen 1926: 254-289). Aspectuality in general is also the topic of a classical study by Bernard Comrie (1975). The way that aspectuality comes up in Finnish and Russian is explored by Hannu Tommola (Томмола 1986). Aspectuality in Finnish is also analysed by Helena Sulkala (1981: 21-34).

2.2.1. Temporal relations

Temporal relations illustrate the way that the net of temporality is organized. The different ways in which temporal relations have been attested has been analysed by Šuvalova (Шувалова 1990), Mustajoki (1993), Reichenbach (1947), Sulkala (1981), and Heino (Хейно 1989). These studies reveal the different possibilities of how different happenings or states can be situated in relation to one another, and the authors cite examples from different languages.

According to Šuvalova (Шувалова 1990: 45-46), the variants of temporal relations that two events can have are: full simultaneity, a simultaneous

beginning, a simultaneous end, situation-2 within situation-1 (with neither beginning or end points coinciding), beginning of situation-2 during situation-1, a contact sequence (event-2 begins at the same point when event-1 ends) and a distance sequence (when there is a gap between the events).

In accordance with the tradition set by Hans Reichenbach in his formal logic (Reichenbach 1947), Mustajoki (for example, 1993) and Heino (Хейно 1989) differentiate between the point of event, the point of speech and the point of reference. All these points are situated on a time line that is supposed to go in one direction, namely from the past to the future, in the picture form from left to right. The point of speech is the point when the speaker utters words. The point of event is the point when the event mentioned took place. The point of reference is the point that is used as a reference from the viewpoint of which the event is observed. Tenses, aspectual categories, and other kinds of temporal relations can all be explained by using the time line and the points of speech, event, and reference. These points (two of them or all three) can also fall together.

According to Helena Sulkala (1981:17), the temporal relations are moment, duration and frequency. She observes that these temporal relations are expressed in terms of tense, aspect, and lexical means (verbs, nouns, adjectives, adpositions, conjunctions, and adverbs). Sulkala argues that tense is the primary means of expressing temporal relations, and temporal information given by other means must therefore be in coherence with the choice of tense.

Although different scholars can interpret the units of temporal relations in slightly different ways, the referent that the speaker wishes to describe remains the same. Temporality is in many ways a question of relations, and time is a relative notion. This relativity works in relation to other time notions and time relations. Any specified time works only in relation to other specified time units that can also be specified in connection to yet other time units and temporal relations. All this is reflected and expressed in natural languages, and described in different ways by different scholars.

2.2.2. Different tense systems – some examples

Russian has three tenses: the past tense, present tense, and future tense (simple future and complex future). The relatively small number of tenses is completed with the morphologically marked system of verbal aspect, in which most of the

verbs have a pair, i.e. two different verbs are used in different contexts according to rather complicated rules.

Finnish has three past tenses (the imperfect, past perfect and pluperfect) as well as the present tense that is also used for expressing the future. Finnish does not have verbal aspect in the sense that Russian has, but it does have many ways of describing aspectuality. The central way is the case of the object. The Finnish tense system is explored, for example, by Helena Sulkala (1981: 19-21).

Benjamin Lee Whorf was well known for his statement that Hopi, an Indian language, did not contain words, grammatical forms, constructions or expressions that would refer directly to what we call time (Whorf 1956, cited by Malotki 1983). Whorf was especially known for claiming that the Hopi language does not have tenses (Whorf 1946). These claims were stated when introducing the theory of linguistic relativity ("the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis"), which claims that the concrete language that we use affects our thinking (or at least they are connected). Time in Hopi was contrasted with time in English (and other representatives of the "Standard Average European languages") and this narrow viewpoint, added to an insufficient collection of data, led to the assumption that Hopi does not know time.

Ekkehart Malotki (Malotki 1983) demonstrated that the Hopi has various ways of expressing time by utilizing a spatio-temporal metaphor, ways of expressing units of time, ways of measuring time, temporal particles, and even tenses (nonfuture and future). In this way the long established myth about the possibility of a language that would not deal with time at all has been shattered.

The way that Chinese conceptualizes time has been studied by Tan Aosuan (Тань 1997) by introducing a complicated system incorporating the expressions of time. Etymological analysis of the morphemes shows that time and space are strictly intertwined in expressing time in Chinese.

It is certain that not all languages of the world look at time in the same way. Russian and Finnish have two different tense systems, and a developed system of verbal aspect in one of them. Languages that have had fewer contacts than Finnish and Russian may likewise differ even more in this respect. Nevertheless, I seriously doubt that there could be a language that does not deal with time at all. This is because the possibility of expressing time relations is at the very core of the human survival strategy. It is a completely different matter what kinds of time units are used for this purpose, how tenses or other corresponding categories are built, and so on. If indeed a linguistic community

does exist that is not affected by clock time, the fact that they do not speak about hours and seconds and that their calendar (or year cycle) system is probably different from the one used in the Western societies does not mean that these people lack a concept of time in their language. Their concept of time would no doubt be different from ours, and their ways of measuring time would likewise be different (but by no means necessarily less sophisticated).

2.3. Parts of speech in talking about time

2.3.1. Nouns

A basic time noun refers here to a basic, common noun reflecting the different sides of time. This word in English would be *time*.[3] Besides the basic time nouns, languages have other, more specific time nouns referring to a time period, such as, for example, *day*, *moment*, and *year*. All time nouns form a semantic family containing the basic time words as prototypical cases that function as hyperonyms. The correspondences between the different languages are not as clear-cut as one might expect, not even when it comes to etymologically related words and loanwords. For example, the English word *moment* is not equivalent in either meaning or usage to the Russian word *момент* (spelled identically).

Defining *aika*, *время* and *пора* 'time' and their plural forms as the basic time nouns in Finnish and Russian can hardly be questioned, at least when it comes to Finnish, which has no other word for time in general. In Russian one might, however, ask whether it is necessary to include *пора* with *время* as basic time words, rather than selecting only *время*, which is stylistically more neutral. *Пора* is, however, despite its high-style reputation, used completely neutrally in many set expressions. For this reason it cannot be excluded. Furthermore, only *время* and *пора* together can account for the different usages of the Finnish *aika*, and although these two words share many collocations, they also differ in this respect. The basic time words have several different meanings which may be differentiated with the help of philosophy and logic, but as the material will show, this differentiation is not clear-cut in language. Rather, the basic time words have one, extremely vague and broad meaning, and determining it more exactly in a given expression is often impossible. Trying to define it with

[3] The semantics of the English noun time is studied more extensively by Vyvyan Evans (2003).

meticulous exactitude may indeed lead to reading interpretations into it that do not actually exist, categorizations that language does not and cannot make. (For further discussion on the meaning and usage of the words *пора* and *время* see, e.g., Jakovleva (Яковлева 1994), Krasuhin (Красухин 1997).) The interesting relationship between the singular form *время* and its plural *времена* is reviewed by Jakovleva (Яковлева 1994) and Plungjan (Плунгян 1997). According to Plungjan (ibid.), the word *время* is used in five basic (and metaphorical) meanings: time-traveller, time-aggressor, time-substance, time-container, and time-possession, of which the plural *времена* can represent only the meaning of time-container.

Besides basic time nouns, several other, more specific time nouns are evident in my material. These nouns are the names of time units (for example, *hetki* 'moment', and *срок* 'deadline'), the different time periods (*joulukuu* 'December', and *месяц* 'month') and points in time (*aamunkoitto* 'dawn', and *утро* 'morning'). Besides these examples, my material includes nouns that, to differentiate them from the names of time units, could be called *temporal nouns*. These nouns describe various phenomena having to do with time, other than naming the time periods and points in time. In this way they describe the mental, expressive and emotional sides of time. Temporal nouns are a heterogeneous category when it comes to their formation as well as to their meaning. Examples include: *käsilläoleva* 'present', *yöjuoksu* 'absence from home at night time', *этап* 'stage', and *прошлое* 'the past'. Moreover, the morphological category of nouns can be used in time expressions in various different ways. Many of these ways make them resemble adverbs and make it difficult to draw the line between nouns and adverbs (especially in Finnish, where the morphological links are often evident).

2.3.2. Other parts of speech occurring in time expressions

Time nouns collocate with a limited set of verbs. Semantically, the verbs signify either the movement of time, limitedness of time, or the role of time as an acting agent. These verbs have been discussed and analysed in my article dealing with the topic of what time is seen to be able to do (Ryhänen 2004).

The verbs that have fully temporal meanings could probably be called time verbs or temporal verbs. These types of time verbs have to follow the meaning categories more generally established for time. This means that the time

verbs signify the beginning or end, existence and prevalence, as well as duration and frequency. Such verbs include *jatkaa* ‘to continue’, *olla* ‘to be’, *длиться* ‘to last’, and *происходить* ‘to happen’.

Adpositions, that is prepositions and postpositions, play an important role in talking about time. Their use in temporal expressions justifies the claim that time is understood in terms of space. This position, however, can be questioned as to the interpretation that this is the necessary direction, i.e. that space is necessarily more primary than time. Other possible interpretations are the opposite of this, i.e. that time is more primary than space and space is thus understood in terms of time. Another plausible interpretation is that both concepts are equally primary, and are for some reason understood in terms of one another. The temporal prepositions of Russians are examined by Kreidlin (Крейдлин 1997). Some examples from both languages are: *päästä* ‘after’, *perästä* ‘after’, *takana* ‘behind’, *kanssa* ‘with’, *ilman* ‘without’, *до* ‘until’, *после* ‘after’, and *перед* ‘before’. Yet distinguishing adpositions from other parts of speech, especially from adverbs, is not always straightforward.

The adjectives used in the time expressions describe the features time is seen as having. Determining which adjectives can be used must be limited in much the same way as the verb occurrences are. Time expressions also include many conjunctions.

According to the commonly accepted grammatical categorizations, one group of adverbs are the temporal adverbs. Many of the expressions on my list can indeed be categorized as temporal adverbs.

2.4. The level of syntax

2.4.1. Temporal adverbials

2.4.1.1. Understanding adverbial

Establishing the difference between an adverb as a word class and an adverbial as a syntactic unit has not always been easy. Traditionally, an adverbial has been defined as the part defining the verb (except direct objects), adjective, or adverb. The limits of adverbials are not, however, clear. As Hakulinen&Karlsson (1979) point out, there are no rules that would be applicable to any adverbial and would

not at the same time also accept object or predicative. Semantically, the adverbials have been defined as expressing different circumstances, among them the temporal circumstances. Morphologically, their definition has included e.g. their independence from the verb form. The function of the adverbial can be fulfilled by an adverb or an adverbial phrase. There are also many kinds of adverbial phrases.

The adverbial constructions in the European languages (and also, in part, in the languages of the Far East) are studied from different viewpoints in *Adverbial Constructions in the Languages of Europe* (ADVERBIAL 1998). Temporal adverbials that occur in various different languages have been explored from a language typological point of view by Haspelmath (1997). Renete Bartsch (1976) has also looked at adverbials.

Temporal adverbials in Finnish are analysed by Helena Sulkala (1981). Sulkala proposes that temporal adverbials have three different functions: pragmatic, semantic, and syntactic. The pragmatic function includes what the speaker wishes to express (either characterizing states and events or characterizing temporal and logical relations between events and states). The semantic function of a temporal adverbial refers to its semantic components or features. The syntactic function means those syntactic units with which the temporal adverbial is realized in language. (Sulkala 1981: 39.)

The question of whether the idiomatic expressions of time should be classified as adverbials or something else is not very relevant from my point of view. What matters most is the communicative value of an expression, i.e. what content can be conveyed with an expression, and also its semantic structure. Traditional (or even more modern) syntactic parsing has little if anything to do with revealing the communicative content of expressions.

2.4.1.2. Tense and temporal adverbials in expressing temporal relationships

Discussions of temporal relations and their expression in language (with tenses) occasionally contain remarks that temporal adverb(ial)s can also “sometimes” fulfil the same types of functions that tenses do in expressing temporal relations (see, e.g., Mustajoki 1993: 126). This position regards tenses as being the main tool for expressing temporal relations.

Putting tenses in the first place can be justified. Each full sentence needs a predicate, and that predicate cannot in most cases escape being in one tense or another. Within the usage of one tense (for example, a narrative in present tense), the importance of temporal adverbials in determining the temporal relations between events is greater. In general, I see the role of temporal adverbials in expressing temporal relationships as highly significant. My material has been constructed in such a way that it does not often include predication in the form of verbs, but instead, temporal adverbials build the temporal relation. For example, when stating that something takes place beforehand (*etukäteen*, *заранее*), whichever tense is used in each context, the adverbial in itself is what makes the temporal relationship.

2.5. Modality and its relation to temporality

Modality plays a central role in interpreting time expressions. Time is expressed by partly resorting to using a modal rather than solely relying on temporal categories. The things we want to say about time have to do with how the modal characteristics of time are seen. In addition, modality is a component of language, existing in the background of everything. Before exploring this concept further, I will present a brief introduction to modality.

Traditionally modality is seen as having to do with (only) modal verbs such as 'must', 'should' and so on. The understanding of modality has, however, developed to include more because modality does not depend on modal verbs only. To analyse Finnish, Hakulinen and Karlsson (1979: 265) have suggested that in addition to modal verbs, modality can be expressed by some fixed phrases (*on lupa* 'it is permitted', *on määrä* 'has to be done', *on pakko* 'must be done'; *on tehtävä* 'must be done'), modal adjectives (*on ilmeistä* 'is evident', *on todennäköistä* 'is probable', *on välttämätöntä* 'is inevitable'; *olen varma että* 'I am sure that'), modal adverbials (*ilmeisesti* 'evidently', *luultavasti* 'presumably', *todennäköisesti* 'probably', *välttämättä* 'necessarily', *arvatenkin* 'supposedly', *ehkä* 'maybe', *kai* 'perhaps', *kaiketi* 'probably', *kenties* 'maybe', *varmaan* 'supposedly') and verbal moods.

Hakulinen and Karlsson (ibid.) have stated that the different types of modality are logical modality (the necessity and possibility of something), epistemic modality (when the speaker supposes something to be true or not true,

sure or probable), and deontic modality (the modality of allowing and obligations). These different types of modality are interesting in that their realizations in language can be the same in many languages. For example, the same verb can indicate possibility, ability, and permission (like the Finnish *voida*).

A different approach to modality is introduced by Eve Sweetser (1990). What makes this approach different is the way it tries to explain the relationship between root modalities (the term she uses for "real-world obligation, permission, or ability") and epistemic modalities ("necessity, probability, or possibility of reasoning"). According to the explanation offered by Sweetser, epistemic modalities have been formed from (are an extension of) root modalities by undergoing a metaphoric process. This includes the human tendency to use the language of the external world to apply to the internal mental world. In this case, this would involve our seeing our reasoning processes as being subject to compulsions, obligations and other modalities in the same way that our real-world actions are subject to modalities. To prove her hypothesis on the relationship between root and epistemic modalities, Sweetser provides evidence from the historical development of the English language as well as from studies on language acquisition. What makes Sweetser different from many other scholars is also her wish to see root and epistemic modalities as having a close interrelationship instead of seeing them as completely different and separate, unrelated meanings. She analyses modalities in terms of force-dynamics and the speech-act theory and concludes (ibid: 75) "an utterance is content, epistemic object, and speech act all at once".

The relationship of time with modality has multiple sides. The different forms of modality carry in themselves temporal notions, hints of temporal reality, especially with regard to the future, and also as a way of defining the speaker's attitude towards things that have happened or are supposed to have happened with more or less certainty. The differences in meaning between the different time expressions could be understood by adopting the notion of modality. In this study I am not, however, able to apply this notion consistently.

2.6. The semantic field of time

Vladimir Gak (Гак 1997) looks at the way that the semantic field of time, or more exactly the word *время* 'time' and its equivalents are built in Russian, Latin, French, English, Spanish and Italian. Many of his conclusions are also probably valid for many other languages. Gak argues that the inner structure of the semantic field of time includes distinguishing between the inner and outer time of process. The outer time of process answers the question "when?" and the inner time, the question "how?". An intermediate between the inner and outer times of process are the answers to the question "how long?". The inner time of process is expressed with adverbs and verbs, especially with aspect. They have the tendency to carry evaluative tones, for example, using the expression *полным ходом*, meaning "very fast", has a positive evaluative tone, and the expression *только пятки сверкают* has a negative evaluative tone.

Gak proposes that the outer time of process is divided into three categories: chronography (absolute and relative definitions of time, date, etc.), chronometrics (the absolute and relative definitions of duration), and chronology (the absolute and relative sequence). Gak (ibid.) also studies the outer structure of the semantic field of time. He compares the concept of time to other concepts, with which time has meaning transfers, including the kinds of meaning differences time words have. As a general tendency for this, Gak mentions the shift from a quality or place into quantity or time and further into logical relations, modality, intensity, evaluation and expressiveness. He provides examples on how time is defined through the concepts of movement, space, action and the human being. Gak also deals with how the different relating concepts are defined through time. These concepts are: appearing and disappearing, action, ownership, appropriate timing, part of time, epoch, weather, age, rhythm, speed, object, a human being, logical relations, evaluation and expressiveness (including long/short time and pleasant/unpleasant time).

Vyvyan Evans (2003) has studied the structure of time on the basis of the different meanings that the word *time* has in English. His approach, called *principled polysemy*, deals with word-meaning not as fixed but as changing, and sees the different senses of a word as being related. According to Evans, the English word *time* has nine senses: the Duration Sense, the Moment Sense, the Instance Sense, the Event Sense, the Matrix Sense, the Agentive sense, the Measurement-system Sense, the Commodity Sense and the sense of Present, Past

and Future. Evans believes that time is not structured metaphorically; it is not seen as something else as is proposed by the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, dealt with in this book in Chapter 5. For him, time is a complex phenomenon that has the inherent structure of a process and the ascribed structure of an object. Temporal experience is, Evans argues, a prerequisite for cognitive mechanisms such as event perception, and not the other way around.

On a more concrete level, the semantic field of time (as something to be deliberately talked about) has to do, in my opinion, with two obvious parts, manipulating time and talking about time. In the following section, I will briefly discuss these parts.

2.6.1. Manipulating time

One factor that determines the relationship between a human being and time is the way that time affects a human's life and the human simultaneously attempts to manipulate time.

The idea of manipulating time is by no means new. The ancient Slavs already had ways to try to do this, to stretch time or to make it go faster, in order to have a better crop or better life in general. These means of manipulation involved magic, and they included such procedures as certain rituals and making magical objects. (Толстой 1997a.)

Time in language is where the notion of manipulating time arises, since the fact that manipulating time is possible in speech also makes it possible in our conceptualization. Any concrete actions to manipulate time can only arise out of the firm belief that it is possible.

2.6.2. Talking about time

Talking about time includes some clearly definable parts that, unlike most of the notions having to do with time, are obvious. Such notions are, first of all, naming time units, expressing clock time and calendar time, and maybe also talking about the simplest temporal relations. Talking about time means those things that the speaker expresses with an independent understanding that s/he is talking about time. In this way, when time is only a background notion in which everything happens, the speaker is not talking about time, but when time is in the focus of his attention s/he is talking about time.

Martin P. Nilsson (1920) conducted a classic study on primitive time-reckoning. In it, Nilsson describes the ways in which different peoples have counted time in the prehistoric and early historic times. Although the book would today not be seen as adhering to political correctness, it contains interesting and still relevant information on the way that such concepts as year, day, month and week have developed prior to the development of the universal, modern calendar and clocks, and on the means whereby time used to be counted (the sun, the stars, and the different natural cycles).

Some of the most obvious categories in talking about time are naming the different parts of the day (and of the year and other time units), and telling the time by the clock. The different parts of the day can have different limits in languages, which is the situation in Finnish and Russian. As noted by A.A. Zaliznjak and A.D. Šmelev (Зализняк & Шмелев 1997), in Russian, the limit of night and morning is different than, for example, in English. According to Zaliznjak and Šmelev, while the limit is at midnight in English, in Russian the morning begins only when either the sun rises or when the person gets up. This is reflected in using the greetings *Good morning* and its Russian "equivalent". However, the notion of night is wider in English than in Russian. In Russian *ночь* 'night' is the period of time for sleeping, and *вечер* 'evening' is what comes before it. By contrast, in English *night* can also be used for doing something. As a consequence, this leads to different usages in Russian and English.

Being able to define clock time with relative precision is one of the most important things that come to mind when discussing talking about time. Clock time makes each moment unique, especially when it is combined with the modern calendar time. Expressing clock time (especially for those entities smaller than hours) has its peculiarities in each language, without much shared logic as to how minutes before and after a full hour are expressed, whether these minutes are considered to belong to the preceding or following hour, and what kind of constructions (cases, prepositions) are used. Expressing clock time is in a way separate from other forms of talking about time. Clock time is absolute, and the ways to express it in one language vary relatively little and the variation mostly occurs only in their exactness.

Proceeding to the level of pragmatics, the expressions of time in language – not understood as the category of tense – can be seen to have the following process of development as their background: (1) There is time. → (2) It influences us. → (3) We have a need to talk about it in order to cooperate with

others. → (4) We cannot talk about it in concrete terms. → (5) We are forced to borrow from other fields of our knowledge. → (6) These borrowings become conventionalized and the earlier processes are thereby hidden from the language users.

2.7. The universality of time in language

Many scholars have suggested that the human experience of time may be universal. Such assumptions have been based on the way that tenses and time expressions are constructed and, among other things, on the universal metaphors that underlie them.

The idea that certain semantic categories are universal is represented in the work of Anna Wierzbicka (Wierzbicka 1980, 1992; Wierzbicka&Goddard 2002, Вежбицкая 1999). Wierzbicka assumes that when it comes to time, universals ("semantic primes") include some notions that give a moment of time, duration and sequence, namely WHEN, NOW, AFTER, BEFORE, A LONG TIME, A SHORT TIME, and FOR SOME TIME. (Wierzbicka 2002: 66-71).

The idea of semantic universals is in some ways similar to the way that cognitive metaphor theory orients towards universality. Both assume that languages include universal elements. The cognitive metaphor theory (or at least its latest stages of development) assumes that this universality is based on our universally shared knowledge of the functioning of our bodies. For the theory of semantic universals, this universality operates on a different level, namely in semantic categories.

The universality and particularity of understanding time in different languages and cultures has been analysed by adopting the notion of *the linguistic perception of the universe* or *the linguistic picture of the world*. Such analysis, based on the information provided in an associative thesaurus, can be found in Dmitrjuk (Дмитрюк 2000). Dmitrjuk argues that the speakers of Russian and English have partly different connotations for their major time words, which is supposed to tell us something about how the representatives of these cultural groups understand time.

In all, expressing time is a field that even provokes an assumption of universality. The way that certain metaphorical patterns seem to repeat from one language to another further reinforces this assumption.

2.8. The previous research on expressions of time in Russian and Finnish

Various issues I am studying have been analysed previously, but no study has yet dealt with the whole spectrum of expressions I have selected. In this chapter I introduce some of these studies, which have proved to be invaluable to my research.

A vast amount of research exists on tense systems in these languages. Many studies focus on aspectuality, especially the system of verbal aspect in Russian and in other Slavonic languages (for example, Comrie 1976).

There are two major studies of time expressions in Russian. Firstly, M.V.Vsevolodova (Всеволодова 1975) has studied the ways of expressing temporal relations in Russian. Her work looks at the nominal phrases used in expressing temporal relations in Russian, with reference to their usage, variation and interchangeability in simple sentences. Vsevolodova also gives a classification of the different kinds of time expressions. This classification is based on the following semantic features: “simultaneity/non-simultaneity”, “filling/not filling a period of time with an event”, “completion/incompletion of event”, “one/several times (frequency)”, and the notions of “direct time/relative time”, and the way that the structures of Russian differentiate these meanings. Vsevolodova assigns a place on the semantic map for expressing temporal relations to each and every one of the nominal constructions having to do with time and temporal notions.

Secondly, V.V. Morkovkin (Морковкин 1977) has reviewed the words with the meaning ‘time’ and their collocations from the point of view of an “ideographical” dictionary, organized according to semantic fields. This work gives a very useful list of the time nouns in Russian as well as the constructions they are used in. Especially interesting are Morkovkin’s classifications of the use of the word *время* ‘time’, made on the basis of a material of approximately 700 expressions including this word. For the other time measuring units, Morkovkin suggests collocations that are available for each of them.

Furthermore, the temporal adverbial constructions in Czech, Russian and English have been analysed by Henry Kučera and Karla Trnka (Kučera&Trnka 1975). For Finnish, the temporal adverbials have been researched in the doctoral dissertation of Helena Sulkala (1981). In addition, a classification of the temporal determinants in Russian can be found in Padučeva (Падучева 1988.)

Furthermore, the semantics of duration in Russian is presented by A.V.Bondarko (Бондарко 1988).

The linguistic picture of time in Russian has been investigated by E.S.Jakovleva (Яковлева 1994). Here Jakovleva concentrates on the differences between nouns denoting “a short period of time”. Jakovleva explores what these differences and the usage and distribution of these nouns can tell us about the peculiarities in the way the speakers of Russian understand time in comparison with the speakers of English, French and Italian. Jakovleva differentiates between the different logical binary oppositions in understanding time and explains the differences with the help of this opposition. Her analysis, however, does not seem to be based on any analysis of language material, but on “logical thinking”. Other research on how time is conceptualized in the Russian language can be found in (Логический 1997).

The earlier studies on the metaphoricity of time are reviewed in Chapter 6.

Whereas outstanding research has been conducted on the expressions of time, especially concerning Russian, I hope that the need for and possibility of this kind of study will become clear in the following chapters.

2.9. Conclusions to Chapter 2

To summarize, time in language is a combination of various factors, including, on the one hand, the way that time works as a background notion in language. This involves the way in which time is constructed with the help of space, how the time line can explain the tenses and temporal relations in general, as well as how aspectuality adds to this picture. When it comes, on the other hand, to time as a notion that is put forward as something to be talked about, I have first examined the grammatical relations of time and language, namely what one can say about the parts of speech used in the time expressions as well as in the syntax. Secondly, I have commented briefly on how modality could be related to time expressions. Thirdly, I have tried to offer an organization scheme for the semantic field of time, the kind of different categories that can be seen as having a semantic connection with time. I have also touched upon the possible universality in talking about time, and have provided a brief review of the existing research on the expressions of time in Russian and Finnish. All these things most certainly have a solid connection to each other, but this connection is

not so easy to explain or even to pin down. The main idea that I have tried to convey in this chapter is that the concept of time in language has many sides to it. This links to the topic of the next chapter, which is the material for this study.

3. THE MATERIAL AND METHODS OF ANALYSIS

The language material consists of expressions (an idiomatic unit to be explained later in this chapter) collected by the author. They are seen as independent units, which have both a meaning and form, and can be explained without reference to context.

In this chapter, I will explain the methods I have used in collecting and analysing the material.

3.1. The method of collecting and criteria for choosing material

In collecting material for this study, the criteria for choosing the expressions had to be determined. This question concerned the sources for the expressions, as well as the methods to be applied. One way to search for idiomatic expressions is to look in dictionaries and language guides. This is not, however, very reliable in the sense that no dictionary, even the special dictionaries of idioms, can include more than just a small part of the expressions in use.

The 1,087 Russian and 1,141 Finnish expressions under analysis have been collected from various dictionaries (cf. references), usage guides, the Internet – and also by using my own language intuition and that of others. The aim has been to find as many of these expressions as possible, and I consider the list of expressions itself one of the results of the study. This list can provide an overall picture of talking about time, an area not dealt with as comprehensively before in either of the languages. Moreover, the explanations and categorizations provided serve to further clarify and make comprehensible the results filtered from the language material.

In collecting idiomatic expressions, intuition plays a significant role. Using only intuition would, however, be bound to result in unreliable results; many things can easily escape our attention if we rely purely on information provided by our intuition, by using introspection only. However, intuition can be useful in determining which expressions are used or acceptable in a language, but also in figuring out how to use other ways of finding expressions, and maybe most importantly in defining the key words for searches in computerized corpora

and on the Internet. These can be a great help in overcoming the limitations of the human intuition considering the amount of information it can process at any particular point.

I will now explain my criteria for choosing expressions, i.e. what I call an expression of time. First, I will try to define what I mean by an expression. An expression refers here to an idiomatic set of words in a certain, preset form, a collocation. The idiomaticity of an expression is understood as the regular use of a certain word form or combination of word forms as a semantic unit that has word-like characteristics. More precisely, I consider the different constructions as being idiomatic expressions. An expression can, in this way, be of varying length (one word, a nominal phrase, a proverb, etc.). An expression can also have different uses and (partly) different meanings in different contexts. Furthermore, an expression is semantically independent in the sense that it often is only partly dependent on the meaning of its different parts, and has the meaning it has only as a whole. Even the most idiomatic expressions differ in the sense that some of them are far more open to variation than others: for example, they may or may not allow the insertion of additional components. The same goes for word order, which is more set in some cases and far less so in others. Even so, the variation is never completely free.

Secondly, what makes an expression an expression of time? What the expressions in my material have in common is that they have to do with different fully expressed aspects of time. As semantic units, the expressions are: (1) names of a point (period) of time line, either (1a) potential points or (1b) realized points (periods); (2) absolute expressions of time; (3) auxiliary words of referential relationships; (4) expressions that tell about actions of time; or (5) sayings and proverbs. Duration and frequency are included in the first group (1).

One further point to be made is that of deciding which cases are considered to be one expression. In this study, I have reduced the need for separate entries by categorizing some very similar sets of expressions as being one expression, i.e. as functioning as a kind of prototype of an expression (marked with an arrow after the word that represents a group of words). This practice has been followed for those very simple variants. When I have been completely sure that changing one word of an expression would not affect its usage or functional analysis in any way, I then assigned those words that can be used in the expression to a clearly definable group, where all members can be used without any exceptions. Since this analysis is fully qualitative, the exact

number of expressions is not important (except for indicating the evidence value of the chosen data.)

Furthermore, those aspects explored in this work – the functional analysis of the meanings to be expressed concerning time and the metaphoricity these expressions are based on – are of such a nature that variation of this kind neither changes the analysis, nor affects the results. In other words, the different kinds of units involved contribute very little to meaning, and nothing to the function on a more general level. Choosing which expressions to look at independently has, unfortunately, not been a fully objective undertaking, nor could it have been. Some subjectivity is inevitably involved no matter how one wishes to avoid it.

Some clear principles have, nevertheless, been followed in this study. First of all, any constructions that are to a large extent irregular, i.e. allow the use of only one or two words (of time) in them, need to be looked at as separate expressions and not as prototypes of constructions used in semantically similar expressions. Second, if the number of expressions with exactly the same construction is very large and the possible variants of a noun (or, in some cases, an adjective) form a well-established class or group of words, then including them as being representatives of the construction should be clear. In these cases, the common denominator of the group is mentioned. The variation caused by normal nominal declension is not taken into consideration here: if the noun is marked as variable, the form of the adjective will follow as a matter of course. The third point is that the time words that are rare and irregular (in the sense that they do not appear often) are worth mentioning separately with each construction in which they appear.

An example of a legitimate group of expressions that can be looked at together are the different numbers in telling clock time, represented in Finnish by [1097] *tasan kolmelta*$^{\rightarrow}$ ‘exactly at three$^{\rightarrow}$ o’clock’ and Russian [1074] *ровно в пять*$^{\rightarrow}$ ‘exactly at five$^{\rightarrow}$ o’clock’. Here this group of words is defined as “whole numbers 1-24”. On the other hand, another group of words that seems quite homogeneous in nature, adjectives formed of the names of months, have been analysed separately. This is because the notions associated with the different months can be so different – for climatic, cultural and even political reasons – that the use of these adjectives is remarkably different. For example, the adjective [498] *октябрьский* ‘related to October’ has had (and to some extent still has), for the political and historical reason of the October Revolution, completely different uses than, for example, [334] *июньский* ‘related to June’.

Not only do some month names have special uses, but some of these adjectives are used more frequently than some others because some are marked with some special climatic conditions or include some important holiday or event.

Although information provided by corpora has been used here to determine when a construction is regular enough to be looked at as a construction, intuition has also been used to decide on this. Nevertheless, when an expression clearly has different meanings in different contexts[4], these cases have been looked at as separate expressions. I still have to comment on the aim of finding all "commonly used" expressions of time. Being commonly used here means not being used only by one author or speaker with artistic goals, but being observed in material reflecting everyday usage, as found on the Internet. Computerized corpora (The Language Bank of Finland for Finnish; Uppsala and Integrum corpora for Russian) have also been utilized in this evaluation. Clearly archaic expressions have been omitted since the goal has been to describe the situation prevailing now. From one point of view, these archaic expressions could also have been included since even the age-old idiomatic expressions reflect the processes of conceptualization (if one were able to take into account systematically the age of different idioms this could yield new information on the process of conceptualization.) The method used in the definition of archaic cases has involved, besides using introspection, consulting corpus material to decide on this. Deciding on the possible archaisms has, however, proved to be difficult, even impossible, and always has been partly subjective. In my opinion, the low frequency of an expression does not necessarily imply that it will become rare in the sense of being archaic – many of the expressions studied are, in fact, not too frequent, but they are still interesting and relevant from the point of view of the system of expressing time.

I have not deliberately left out any expressions that fulfil the requirements mentioned. Despite this, many interesting expressions have, no doubt, escaped my attention. The material is nevertheless rich and is sufficient to allow me to make generalizations and to draw conclusions from it.

One inevitable problem of studying expressions such as these is to specify, for example, which words are to be included in each "expression", i.e.

4 The notion of context is also in no way clear in defining meanings. Can one expression have exactly the same meaning in two different contexts? When is the context the factor that makes the meaning different, and when something else, for example the "independent" meaning of an expression (collocation, etc.)? Is meaning separable from the context, does it exist as such (especially when it comes to expressions, which are more dependent on context than words)?

what limits are to be determined for an idiom, which verbs are to be included, whether a preposition is to be used after the verb as part of the expression or not, and so on.[5] I am not able to provide the reader with any consistent rules for these. This is a problem scholars have yet to solve. This problem has created difficulties in specifying the number of expressions under study and has made me even more reluctant to introduce any kind of quantitative analysis in this study. For now, I can only state that the notion of collocation has to do with all the words of the expression, not merely part of them.

Jens Allwood (2002) has even investigated some of the extralinguistic means of expressing time, including intonation and bodily movement. Such means cannot, however, be incorporated in this study as the material consists of written data only.

Looking at idiomatic expressions gives the researcher the opportunity to glimpse at the whole language, while a restricted text material would allow him or her to face the problem of context in a more sophisticated way. These different approaches represent different attitudes towards language. I believe that idiomatic expressions – and the the greater their number, the better – are very representative when it comes to dealing with conceptualization, since they not only reveal the kind of "illogical" metaphorical namings language contains, but have also preserved such stages of development that are not present in any other way in the current stage of language development.

As I see it, idiomatic expressions are the very essence of natural language. A word as a possible basic unit is problematic, because the meaning of words alone is very vague; it always depends on the context. When it comes to syntax, its basic unit is not the sentence, but the idiomatic expression, at least if one is interested in the semantics. From the viewpoint of semantics, the sentence contains even some unnecessary elements. It is best seen as a combination of idiomatic elements, bound together with other elements, the meaning of which is defined on a different level, which is the formal level of regular combinations rather than idiomaticity.

5 M.V. Vsevolodova (Всеволодова 1975) calls these "extending components of a construction" (*распространяемые компоненты конструкции*).

3.2. Morphosyntactic glossing

The expressions have been glossed morphosyntactically in order to describe the grammatical structure of the expressions and also to compare the constructions.

Traditional morphosyntactic analysis is not very helpful when an expression of time is considered to be an adverb in the grammar of contemporary language. Even so, interesting traces of etymological processes leading to the development of the adverb are readily apparent. For example, Russian [9] *безвременно* is an adverb that means 'prematurely', but it can easily be interpreted as including the preposition *без* 'without' and the adjectivized form of the noun *время* 'time'. In a similar fashion, the Finnish [134] *ajoissa* is an adverb with the meaning 'in time', and is formed of the inessive plural form of the word *aika* 'time'. These kinds of processes reflect the side of the expressions I am interested in, and these remain completely hidden if one resorts to using morphosyntactic analysis alone. The extent to which I have been able to take this into consideration may vary. This is because it is often a matter of taste when to consider the etymology, which in my opinion may secretly still influence the way the expression is understood. The difference between the cases that are marked according to the obvious historical tendencies and those simply glossed as adverbs can be very small indeed. The same is true for some prepositions such as Russian *в течение* 'during', which can be interpreted as 'into flowing' but is used fully as a preposition. Since I apply the second viewpoint to the expressions, namely the metaphor analysis, my position is that such etymological facts are important, and for this reason I have been inclined to show them, at least for those expressions used as examples in the text (for the expressions that are presented only in the Appendix, this kind of interpretation for morphosyntactic glosses would make less sense since the meanings of the expressions cannot be commented on there).

3.3. The method of analysis

The expressions included in this analysis have been collected as an Access database, in which it has been easy to categorize them according to various principles, re-categorize if (when) needed, and then link the examples of usage with context into expressions.

The method of this study could be called one form of feature analysis. The feature analysis used in the semantic studies aims to make explicit the parts of the meaning and to explain their differences in terms of different features. The main challenge of this kind of approach is in finding the most relevant features. In this case, the present analysis is not purely a feature analysis. This is because the different aspects of the problem are analysed and put under categories that are not formed of features that would be fully comparable to one another or built according to the strict rules of feature analysis (marking systematically the existence or lack of a defined feature). The aspects under analysis do, however, have a limited number of possible features which were defined during the analysis process, and these possibilities form the scale on which each classification basis is formed. These categorizations have been various (some of them including additional features that have made it easier to form the bigger categorizations), but in the end, the ones that have proved to be important and thus are shown in this work involve morphosyntactic analysis, the functional categorizations, the analysis of the source domains in conceptual metaphors involved, as well as the possible additional source domain. Furthermore, the definitions of the meaning of the expressions, the comments on their use and stylistic value, as well as concrete examples of their use have been linked to the expressions in the database. This information cannot, however, be found in the list of expressions at the end of this book. The table provided has been made with the consideration of including as much information as possible in a compressed form. As a result, the emphasis is placed on the expressions themselves since the list is a considerable part of the results of this study on the functional and metaphor analyses, and little space is left for anything else, even for such information that might make the results more reliable and credible.

Each expression is therefore seen as a unit that can be characterized in an individual way for each feature. These features have formed clusters only after analysis. That is, the networks they seem to build have not been allowed to influence the process of analysis.

The way that the features under analysis are found is different for functional analysis and metaphor analysis. For functional analysis, the starting point is the theory of functional syntax that provides a set of features to be applied to a real language material. Besides these tools given by functional syntax, a set of about sixty general meanings has emerged from the material itself. Metaphor analysis looks at the expressions from the viewpoint of their

conceptual building mechanisms. This conceptualization can be described in comparison with the more concrete notions having to do with the metaphorical net of conceptualizations which come directly from the material itself. Functional analysis and conceptual metaphor analysis will be dealt with in Chapters 4 and 7.

3.4. The problem of context

Owing to the amount of material used, I am forced to look at the expressions out of context, as is the practice in lexical semantics. The way that context has been taken into consideration is limited to the notion of dealing with the different meanings of the same expression as being different cases. How the different meanings have often been discovered is naturally through the different possible contexts in which the expressions can occur.

Looking at the expressions as separate units without their contexts poses some problems. First, the meaning of these expressions is different in different contexts. It could be said that the meaning of an expression is different each time it is used. On the other hand, defining which contexts are considered as being "the same context" and which are "different" is also very difficult. One way to work around this difficulty is to limit the exact context given in each case, and only talk about the interpretation involved in that particular use of an expression.

The context also influences the stability or variability of an expression. In some contexts, even the most stable and idiomatic expressions bend in ways one could not normally imagine.

Still the meaning of each expression must be defined. The different characteristics of this meaning are reflected in the categorizations made for the expression. For this reason, it is necessary to define some kind of basic meaning in order to deal with an expression outside its context.

As I see it, the problem of context is not so much that the researchers would look at expressions without a context. I think that if the meaning of the expression is well described and determined by consulting corpus material, the researcher is well able to define the meaning of an expression without a specific context. The problem is how to make the expressions understandable also to the readers, since without context, any kind of conceivable meaning can be difficult for them to comprehend, or the meaning that comes to the mind of the reader can be different from the one I intended. I have not been able to solve this problem,

but I have tried to be as consistent as possible. In any case, studying all the expressions that occur in my material in their various different contexts would simply be too much for any individual study. Moreover, this is an introductory study, and as such offers material for further studies that can take context into account.

3.5. The place of corpora in this research

Using corpus material has made it increasingly easy to gather examples of different idiomatic expressions. Computerized corpora (the Language Bank of Finland for Finnish; the Uppsala and Integrum corpora for Russian) have been used in this study for five purposes: (1) as one means of finding expressions of time; (2) for deciding whether one should include a given expression in this study, i.e. whether it is commonly used (occurrences in corpora have been treated as evidence of common usage, but the fact of not occurring has not alone been seen as sufficient evidence for their rejection); (3) for finding examples of the usage of an expression (and thus to decide on its meaning); (4) for deciding what kind of variation the expressions allow (and sticking to the main variant); and (5) for the security provided by having as much material as needed – not being limited to one's (limited) imagination and (one-sided) intuition, but having the support of a wide range of material that besides proof can also generate ideas and inspiration.

The computerized corpora mentioned have not been used for quantitative analysis. The expressions found in my material are not suitable for that kind of analysis because some of them represent a construction, and as such should take the place of more than one item, since the construction can be realized as an expression or even as many different expressions.

3.6. The level of linguistics involved

Defining the level of linguistics that this study works on is not self-evident. The object of this study is how the speakers of Russian and Finnish talk about time, and it is not easy to restrict such a study solely to one level of linguistics or language.

The study at hand is not of the kind that most would regard as a typical syntactical study. While this study does deal with syntax in the sense that it wishes to explore the ways the expressions in question are built, it also has to do with semantics in a way that is traditionally seen as being on a different level. In other words, the whole point of this study is to understand that the meaning and formal aspects of language are closely connected. Besides, the notion of the "levels" of language is also not justified because these levels do not have a hierarchy. Actually they are not in separate layers, as they influence one another. Especially semantics has to do with absolutely all the other layers, as does pragmatics. Only morphology and syntax do indeed to some extent coexist in a hierarchical relationship, at least in terms of traditional syntax. The functional syntax that this work represents also presents a different viewpoint on this issue.

As is easy to notice from the description of the material used in this study, on one level, the object of study consists of the concrete expressions of the languages under study. This means that their characteristics such as their morphological features and syntactic combinational features are analysed, and the variation in these aspects is examined. Yet this is not the end of the story. The object of the study then goes to a different level than this, to the semantic level. The study of the semantic level of the expressions forces us to concentrate not only on the unit of an expression, but also on the semantic units, the units of meaning.

The units of meaning can be understood in several different ways. Traditionally, semantics is seen as a level of language that is comparable to the lexis, morphology or syntax. This kind of understanding does not, however, allow the idea that the semantic level can influence the other levels of language. Yet this kind of influence is noticeable in my material. In other ways, too, I feel that seeing semantics as a separate level (as if a layer) of language is based on a rather old-fashioned way of thinking, quite understandable from the viewpoint of the less theoretically advanced days of linguistics, but not suitable for what we now know about language.

As for the orientation adopted here towards the relationship between the concrete expressions and their meaning structures, since this study is an empirical and synchronic one, it does not represent theoretical linguistics (or the philosophy of language), as the analysis and the conclusions made are completely based on authentic language material. As a consequence, the expressions on the surface level are the starting point for this analysis. Those

expressions have been collected with the principle of "having to do with time, as much as possible". They have then been analysed from the point of view of a semantic level, which is carried out by taking into consideration the two viewpoints – the functional analysis and the metaphor analysis. For functional analysis, defining the semantic structures is not, however, enough; instead it requires going back to the level of concrete expressions, that is, to the surface structure in order to define by what means each deep structure is expressed in language. This kind of cycle is actually also very useful for the reliability of the material collected, since many gaps in the material can be noticed at this very stage when coming back from the deep semantic structures defined on the basis of the concrete expressions to these concrete expressions. This has allowed me to fill in the gaps noticed by going back and forth from the surface level to the semantic level as many times as required.

3.7. Contrastiveness in this study[6]

This study is contrastive in the sense that it deals with two languages, Russian and Finnish. Although it is not able to be fully systematic, both languages are taken into consideration in all the parts of the analysis. No conclusions are therefore drawn solely on the basis of one language. When possible, the forms of the two languages have been compared.

Contrastiveness best emerges in this research when the functional side of the expressions is discussed. Although functional syntax can also be used for describing one language, FS enables the contrast of languages from the viewpoint of what the speaker wishes to convey. When looking at two languages as this study does, certain types of contrastiveness arise very naturally. In a study of this kind, I do not have the possibility to compare the two languages from all the possible viewpoints, for example by going into the more detailed cases of comparing details of meaning and their correspondences in the languages. Nevertheless, I have tried to pay attention to the differences between the two languages. In the cases of the clear differences, I have noted them more clearly.

One objective of this study is the contrastiveness on the morphological level to the extent of introducing the constructions to be used for the different temporal meanings in Russian and Finnish. However, I do not believe in giving

6 The common principles of contrastive analysis are analysed by Vladimir Gak (Гак 1989).

simplified parallels or equations concerning what structure of one language corresponds to what structure in another, since any such correspondence is bound to be a gross oversimplification and does not give an accurate picture of the real laws and restrictions for the structure. As a result, the structural analysis may seem to have been conducted on a rather superficial level. However, more in-depth information is found in the Appendix where all the material is given with full morphological glosses, and any correspondences in meanings and forms should become clear from that information.

When it comes to the conceptual metaphor analysis, looking at the linguistic evidence for conceptual metaphors from the perspective of more than one language is always welcome and makes the analysis more worthwhile. This is especially true since the subjective choice of the analyser always plays a role, and because of this, the comparison made by the same scholar on different languages is more reliable than comparing the results conducted by different people. The whole idea of conceptual metaphor assumes some amount of universality in human conceptualization, and the things that do not follow such rules are especially interesting to study. Yet if the conceptualizations are seen to be rather similar, then the contrastiveness is easily left on a rather superficial level. In order to be as illustrative as possible, the examples chosen from different languages are preferably as different as possible. This all shifts the focus of the conceptual metaphor study away from the relations between the languages.

In all, the form of contrastiveness that I aim at is comparing the way that speakers of Russian and Finnish talk about time. This contrastiveness means comparing the means of expressing certain meanings (defined on the basis of the meanings themselves), and also contrasting the conceptualization behind these meanings. In this way, contrastiveness is a natural part of this study, but the methods and the amount of material used in it do not allow contrastiveness to account for the smallest details.

3.8. The relationship of this and previous research

In section 2.8., I have presented a short commentary on the previous research on expressing time in Russian and Finnish. In this chapter, I try to clarify the way I

envision this study and its results to be in relation to the previous research, especially to that of M.V.Vsevolodova.

The work of M.V. Vsevolodova (Всеволодова 1975) has had a tremendous influence on my work and understanding. This influence is especially evident when it comes to understanding the different time nouns and which constructions contain them. Notwithstanding, it is important to point out that Vsevolodova looks at the nominal phrases semantically, as having to do with time as a semantic field where nominal phrases and the structures they represent are independent. The more general purpose of her research is, in this way, to study the laws of collocation. For this reason, the book by Vsevolodova has served as an important source of material in my study. I have found many of the expressions in my material there, although with the help of the modern technology I have been able to define some of them as outdated and have therefore not taken these into consideration. I also find the categorizations made by Vsevolodova to be very credible, but have not used them as a basis for the categories I have found; in this sense, my analysis is therefore fully independent of the study by M.V. Vsevolodova. As Vsevolodova succeeds so well in describing the nominal constructions of expressing time in Russian, there is no use in my trying to compete with that. My approach is, nevertheless, somewhat different from hers. My aim to find out what we want to say when we talk about time is different from her description of the morphological means of a language to express time. The semantic classification given by Vsevolodova is very detailed, and in my opinion makes perfect sense. There is no doubt in my mind that it would be well suited (perhaps with some modifications) to describing how similar temporal notions are expressed in other languages (for example, Finnish). But are the types of semantic classifications found in nominal constructions identical to what the speaker wants to say? There is an important difference in that when a speaker says something, s/he does not think in semantic categories or their features, but has some kind of concrete wish to express something. In addition, many of the expressions in my material are not nominal constructions, and would therefore not be included in the research of Vsevolodova. To be more precise, such meanings as the different ways of expressing duration and location on a time line as well as temporal units could, no doubt, be explained by using the categories suggested by Vsevolodova. Nonetheless, expressing the passing of time or a suitable time are not able to be explained in the terms put forth by Vsevolodova.

Another Russian scholar who has influenced this study is V. V. Morkovkin. The lists of collocations by Morkovkin (Морковкин 1977) have naturally been of great use in collecting my material. Nevertheless, once again I have not restricted myself to following the (philosophically based) classifications of time that Morkovkin has made.

Helena Sulkala (1981) presents a classification of features having to do with temporal adverbials. From my point of view, this kind of classification also offers insight on expressing temporal notions in other ways than using adverbials.

In all, the departure point in the existing research literature is a somewhat different position on time than this work adopts. This study analyses different material and applies a different method of analysis. Even so, I acknowledge the tremendous work done prior to this study. Nevertheless, by introducing a combination of material and analysing it from a new viewpoint, I hope to bring something totally new to the linguistic studies of expressing time.

3.9. Conclusions to Chapter 3

In conclusion, the material used in this study consists of some 2,200 idiomatic expressions of time, which are listed in the Appendix. These expressions have been collected from various sources. The analysis of these expressions has consisted of classifying and analysing them from three separate viewpoints. For each of the three classifications, a limited number of possibilities exists, and the way that the possibilities have arisen has depended upon the aspects under consideration. These classifications are the morphosyntactic glossing, the functional analysis (dealing with what the speaker wishes to convey), and the metaphor analysis (telling about the conceptualization processes behind these expressions). For morphosyntactic glossing, the possibilities of categorization come directly from the traditional understanding of the parts of speech and the morphological units that make up the features that are being described.

In this chapter I have also looked at the problem of context, or rather, the lack of it. I have justified my choice of dealing with time expressions as lexical entities without a context. The material and its analysis methods are no doubt somewhat original. However, I will demonstrate in the following chapters that my choice has been well founded and that very interesting results can be

achieved using this type of material. I have also looked at what previous research has contributed to my work. In addition, the role of contrastiveness in the present study has also been touched upon; it will be illustrated in practice in the chapters that follow.

4. FUNCTIONAL DESCRIPTION OF TIME IN LANGUAGE

4.1. What does “functional” mean?

The word “functional” is associated with various meanings in the names of linguistic theories. Firstly, it can be used to differentiate the approach from other approaches that are in this way judged to be “old-fashioned”. Secondly, it can also refer to the *functions* of language – whatever this means in different cases (see Määttä 1994).

The way I use the word *functionality* relates to functions of language. In other words, I explore questions such as: what is it that we want to do with language, what is our ultimate goal of language usage, what are the meanings we wish to convey? Functional description uses a metalanguage to describe these functions.

4.2. Contrastive functional syntax

Functional syntax [Chesterman 1998, Mustajoki 1993, 2006, Мустайоки 1993, 1997, 2004, 2005, 2006] takes as its main goal to describe language and its structures starting from meaning. It uses real language material as well as the intuition of the researcher to define what the speaker wishes to convey when saying something, and following this, defines the constructions that the language(s) in question use for conveying that meaning. The meanings are then described by means of a certain kind of special notation system that also aims in its structure to describe how the meanings are constructed.

The similarities and differences between contrastive functional syntax and other theories close to it are dealt with by Mustajoki (Мустайоки 2006: 112-144). These theories include the “Functional grammar” of A.V. Bondarko, the “functional-transformational” method of P. Adamec, the ideas of G. A. Zolotova, the “Functional-communicative syntax” of M.V. Vsevolodova, the model of “meaning-text” of Igor Mel’čuk, “The syntax of Russian” by I. Pete, “La pensée et langue” of Ferdinand Brunet, the “Functional grammar” of S.C. Dik, the “Role and reference grammar” of Robert D.Van Valin, the “Functional grammar of Russian” of M.A. Šeljakin, the “Speaker’s grammar” of B. Norman, the “Active

grammar" of J. Karaulov, and the "Practical grammar" of N.A.Mets. The stage of development of the Functional syntax given here is the one proposed by Mustajoki (Мустайоки 2006).

From the viewpoint of functional syntax, what we can try to describe is how the things that the speaker wishes to convey are expressed in different languages. These things are called *the states of affairs*. A state of affairs is not the same thing as reality. *Reality*, the way that things are in the real world, is something separate from language. Any situation in which language can be used is only a part of the reality, referred to in this theory as *situation*. Even situation is not what a language directly reflects. During each speech event, the speaker interprets and organizes the situation according to his/her communication needs, and because of this, a state of affairs is what a speaker wishes to express. Before we come to the level of language, the concrete forms, there is still one more level to come across, one filter to come through. When the state of affairs is combined with the speaker's commentaries, and this is filtered through the limitations set by the language and the speech event, we arrive at the concrete forms that the language takes to express something, i.e. the semantic structures, which can be expressed according to different surface structures in a language.

The notion *state of affairs* is also important because it is the basic unit of functional syntax. Functional syntax aims at describing different states of affairs as, firstly, the whole field of giving meanings in a systematized fashion, i.e. making a map of the different semantic structures of the whole system of language (probably to a large extent universally). Secondly, the states of affairs arise when discussing the means a particular language has for expressing a certain semantic content. If the different states of affairs are well defined and distinguished from one another, this mapping makes the comparison between languages (of even a very different structure) possible and plausible. The functional syntax tries to define the states of affairs, understood as intuitively definable by any speaker of a language as the thing that a(ny) speaker wishes to convey using a certain construction.

The nucleus of the notation system used by the functional syntax is formed by the core, including the (deep) predicate and actant(s).

The deep predicate in functional syntax means the verbal element that tells the event of the state of affairs. They fall into eight categories (each of which has further semantic subcategories). These main categories are: Action (Ac) (what happens), Relation (Rl) (what the relationship between X and Y is like),

Possession (Ps) (who has what), Location (Lc) (where), Existence (Ex) (what exists), State (St) (what state someone or something is in), Characterization (Ch) (what something or someone is like), and Identification/Classification (Id) (what characteristics differentiate something from other things). The differences in entering and leaving a state of affairs (denoted by the predicate) are indicated by arrows.

Actants are the agents that take part in the action, in the state of affairs. They are of different kinds. For instance, not all actants are concrete functioners in the process, as some of them assume a much more passive role. There are four kinds of actants, namely categories “human-like”, “object”, “material” and “abstract”. The different actants have permanent, inherent characteristics that belong to them not only by definition, but also in the shared views of the speakers. These characteristics (what different kinds of actants are able to do) guide our interpretations on the category of the actant, even for the cases in which the basic interpretation (based on the characteristics of the concrete word used on the surface level) contradicts it. Moreover, different kinds of actants can appear in different actant roles, according to their inherent characteristics. The three kinds of the actants in the subject type are Subject-Agent (Agent for short), Subject-Experiencer (Experiencer), and Subject-Neutral (Neutral). The Agent is the maker and controller of the state of affairs. The Experiencer experiences an emotional or physical state that it cannot control or influence; it can only have an emotional or physical reaction to it. The Neutral does not take any action; it is merely an entity that something is told about. The Actant of the object type is the object of the action of the Agent or the object of the state of Experiencer. The actant role Theme is something about which the Agent performs intellectual or speech actions. The actant role Recipient expresses the one that gets something (either material or, for example, information) or for whom something is meant. The Source as an actant role is the beginning point of something, as in being the giver or provider of information. In this way it is the opposite of the Recipient. Yet another actant role is that of the Instrument, which expresses the means or the instrument for doing something, both in the concrete and abstract senses. The actant role of the Location expresses a location where something is, where it comes from, or where it goes to.

The nucleus can be enriched by various other components that are there to make the meaning more explicit. These components are called *modifiers*, and

specifiers. All the components mentioned here are components of the semantic level (called “deep level” in the earlier versions of Functional Syntax).

Modifiers (also called “commentators” or “modificators”) modify the meaning of semantic structures (the whole semantic core). There is one obligatory modifier, that of the SPEECH FUNCTION, expressing (often only on the semantic level, without occurring explicitly on the surface level) why, with what purpose, the speaker has chosen to act (speak). Such speech functions include stating, asking, and so on. There are also optional modifiers, namely modifiers of TEMPORAL PHASE, HYPOTHETICALITY, AUTHORIZATION, and CAUSATION. The modifiers are expressed with the help of metaverbs (for example, BEGIN, ALLOW, TRY), and can also bring about an additional actant (the metaverbs always include at least an Agent, in some cases also a Recipient or Object).

The Specifiers (also called “specificators”) give additional information, and without these the state of affairs would also make sense. The specifiers can specify either the whole predication (deep predicate + the actant), or the actant alone, or the predicate alone. The Specifiers can also specify metaverbs and actants that come up in modifiers. The central specifiers are Temporality, Confirmation, Definiteness, and Negation.

The different kinds of semantic structures have nuclei consisting of the deep predicate and the actants. A simple semantic structure includes the nucleus plus the obligatory modifier (SPEECH FUNCTION). Adding an optional modifier makes the simple semantic structure extended. Moreover, there are complex semantic structures that consist of two or more simple semantic structures or extended simple semantic structures. Here deep conjunctions reveal the relationships between the different simple semantic structures or the extended, simple semantic structures. An intermediate case between the simple and complex semantic structures is the structure with embedding. When embedding occurs, an embedded construction could also be expressed by a separate semantic structure.

Functional syntax has established certain semantic categories that are found to be central. These are referred to as the core semantic structures. The semantic categories have arisen according to the rules set by the natural phenomenon that some meanings are more closely interconnected (in the opinion of the speakers) than are others. I find it probable that the whole semantic system of language is actually formed of such networks. According to functional syntax,

the core semantic structures are physical functioning, movement and location, social action, intellectual action, existence, possession, emotions, physical states, state of environment, characterization, and identification.

The notation technique of functional syntax has chosen to use words of a natural language, which consists of the language of writing in each case, plus the letters used in abbreviations for describing the semantic level of language. It has not adopted any other symbols for notation. The metalanguage is differentiated from the forms of a natural language (the surface level) by implementing a simple orthographic convention – the metalexemes (metaverbs and metaconjunctions) are written in capital letters to differentiate them from any examples of real language use[7]. These metalexemes aim at full clarity, and as such are not interested in the rules of natural languages. All the different metalexemes have a strict definition as to what kind of meaning they represent, and this meaning does not need to include all the different interpretations that the concrete words used would have in normal language use. The capitalized orthography makes them representatives of a different language system, and this system works at the semantic level. The system of description for functional syntax has to be logical and consistent, but its details can well be slightly different for each concrete need of description in order to ensure the best possible clarity and precision.

4.2.1. Time in functional syntax

Functional syntax does not deal with time as a separate semantic category, but instead time is scattered throughout the theory. This is understandable from the viewpoint that temporal notions are needed to explain various phenomena in language. Nevertheless, different things having to do with time are closely connected to one another, and because of this a separate semantic category could also make sense.

Phase is one of the modifiers mentioned by functional syntax. The Temporal phase (TempPhase) is one of its cases, and it is expressed with the metaverbs BEGIN, END, CONTINUE and STOP. Other kinds of phases mentioned by functional syntax are Irreal, PrePhase, ModPhase, Tempo, and

7 Conceptual metaphor study, which is introduced later in this work, also uses orthographical conventions to differentiate between the two different levels, the level of conceptual metaphors as phenomena of the cognitive functioning of our brains, and the level of language. The use of capital letters in different parts of this work does not, therefore, have the same meaning.

FinPhase. These phases also have to do with time in less concrete senses than the ones mentioned above. The phase Irreal deals with the hypothetical considerations in which time is also conceptualized in a special way. This is an extra dimension of time, that of irreal time, in which things can hypothetically take place. The phase PrePhase covers those things that have not yet begun to exist, but for which some kind of pre-stage or pre-phase of them already exists. Temporally, this is a case of expressing sequence. ModPhase represents the modal conditions having to do with some kind of action, and also represents some kind of hypothetical or irreal placing in time. Tempo means changing the tempo, such as the inner speed, and in this way changing the temporal orientation of something. FinPhase relates to the finishing phase of realization, and these notions are clearly related to time.

Some causal connections claimed to be dependent on time (namely assigning time as being the cause of changes) can be explained with the modifier Causation, and the pure causation is marked by the metaverb CAUSE. The modifier Causation is used to explain only the cases in which it is clearly said that something causes something else. The cases having a less explicitly stated causal relation (different states of affairs are understood to have a causal connection) are described by the causal metaconjunction WHAT IF – THEN.

The specifier of Temporality (Temp) divides time into "time itself", "atemporal (generic) states of affairs", "recurrent states of affairs", and "temporal reference points of states of affairs". "Time itself" refers to the different tenses and how they describe the relationship between the moment of speech (S), the moment or period of reference (R), and the moment or period of event (E). The tenses are (in a somewhat simplified way) defined as following: PAST TENSE (Temp = E S), PRESENT TENSE (Temp = S=E), and FUTURE TENSE (Temp S E). Any other tenses that a language may have can be described in terms of these basic notions.

"Atemporal states of affairs" ($Temp_{Abstr}$), refers to such states of affairs that cannot be located on a time line. They are either always true or true for a very long time.

"Recurrent states of affairs" can be either Frequentative ($Temp_{Fr}$) or Usual ($Temp_{Us}$). The frequentative states of affairs are understood to recur according to what is said of them, and the Usual states of affairs recur regularly.

"Temporal reference points of states of affairs" refers to giving a temporal reference point to something that takes place. Functional syntax names four

possibilities of this: a point in time, a temporal frame, a period of time, or leaving the state of affairs without a temporal point of reference. A point in time involves assigning a name to a point in time (in order to make engagements). A temporal frame gives the period of time during which something is true or takes place (this period can have separate points and periods within it). In the case of a period of time, something is true during the whole period. Leaving the state of affairs without a temporal reference point is possible in the cases of generalized meanings, in which the main point is that something either took place or not. The state of affairs can also be left out when the context makes it clear implicitly.

The specifier Aspectuality (Asp) also has to do with time. Aspectuality characterizes the inner structure of a state of affairs, what the action or process involved (indicated by the predicate) is like. Functional syntax differentiates between the six possibilities for describing the aspectuality of a state of affairs: Stative (Asp = STAT), Processual (Asp = PROC), Dynamic (Asp = DYN), Terminal (Asp = TERM), Momental (Asp = MOM), and Resultative (Asp = RES).

Besides using the abbreviations just noted, FS also uses the illustrative notion of the time line for describing temporal relations and aspectual notions. Durative states of affairs are described in terms of lines, and punctual in terms of stars. The points of speech, reference and event are marked with the corresponding letters, and the periods of reference and event noted by two points on time line. In addition, the different aspectual characteristics of the state of affairs in question can be specified on the time line.

For complex semantic structures, the different metaconjunctions can explain temporal relations (taxis). They can express SIMULTANEITY (metaconjunctions THAT TIME WHEN, THAT TIME WHEN; BY THE TIME, WHEN; AT THE TIME WHEN), or NONSIMULTANEITY (metaconjunctions CLOSED PERIOD OF TIME; AFTER, AFTER; RIGHT AFTER; EARLIER THAN; UNTIL THE MOMENT, and WHEN).

Quantity (Quant) is another specifier that has to do with temporal notions. It can be used to express how many times or with what length of interval something takes place, or how long something lasts. Both the exact and approximate time notions are used in time expressions, and they can also be both absolute and relative. Moreover, the quantity can be neutral, small or large, which indicates the speaker’s evaluation.

4.3. Functional description of the expressions of time in my material

I have used Functional Syntax to address the question of what we want to say when talking about time. Answering this question involves trying to put the things that we supposedly want to say in some kind of order, assuming that the systematicity reflects what the speakers wish to convey. My assumption has been that the things that the speakers of Russian and Finnish wish to say about time are the same: only the means for doing this differ in these languages.

Instead of describing time from the viewpoint of Functional Syntax, my analysis re-formulates the problem so that it is the other way round. I have tried to describe FS from the viewpoint of time. I have used the apparatus and the basic principles of FS in order to explain the material I have, which I believe to be representative when it comes to talking about time in Russian and Finnish. This analysis has also been conducted in order to test how FS can be used to analyse such material, and to determine whether its means of description are adequate for such an abstract notion as time. If FS can be used to define how we talk about time from the comparative viewpoint, that assumes that we all want to express the same things about time (and there are many of them), and the difference can only be found in the means of each language for expressing these things. In other words, both goals – defining what we want to say about time (with the help of a vast material) and defining the means (different constructions) to say these things (as found in the same material) – are of equal importance. This approach to the material comes directly from the principles accepted in FS.

However, the use of the metalanguage that FS offers does not meet my purposes, and my material is not what that notation technique is meant to describe. The problem is that the things that I find that people want to say cannot all be understood as units of the same level in FS. The problems exist in both ways. Firstly, the generality level of the notation technique that has been adopted in functional syntax at this point of its development is not enough for this kind of analysis. The things that people want to say about time need more delicate differentiation, and this would require developing a more accurate means of description that is specially designed for this semantic field. Secondly, the functional syntax deals with whole sentences, while the expressions in my material are idiomatic fragments meant to be used in different contexts. To be more precise, the reason why the notation system of FS is not fully compatible

with my material and goals is that the core in FS is formed with predication**.** Many of the expressions in my material do not have such predication, since at the level of syntax they lack this kind of element (they do not indicate an event or state). I do, nevertheless, (as noted in Chapter 3.4.) believe that the difficulty in using idiomatic expressions without a context is fully on the side of the one that has to understand the results. For the analyser this is not a problem. The result of analysing separate idiomatic expressions may lead the reader in the wrong direction and make him doubt the material proposed also because, without the context, the meaning that first comes to mind may be totally different than the one that the analyser has based his or her analysis on. For the analyser, the background material which is easily available – such as the usages in concrete contexts – makes it completely understandable what the analysis should be, but it is impossible to provide the reader with all that material, or even to provide explanations that are comprehensive enough to solve the problem (especially when the material used is so extensive that the only way to represent it is in a compact table form).

The material to be explained with the fully-fledged metalexemes of FS would be concrete sentences in context. Because of this, for each meaning I have come up with, I will try to provide the guidelines that show the way that the meaning could be explained with the help of FS. Giving these guidelines has a dual function. Firstly, they bind the expressions with the theory of FS and, secondly, they illustrate the relations and similarities between the different meanings in a more objective manner than by mere words.

After analysing my material, I have ended up with about sixty general meanings that explain the expressions of time in Russian and Finnish. These general meanings reflect what we want to say when talking about time**.** I want to emphasize that these general meanings are not part of the theory of FS; they come out of the material analysed and are based on my intuition on what the speaker wishes (on a general level) to express when using certain constructions. These meanings are described by adopting a kind of metalanguage, giving the simplified meaning of each of them (in capital letters). Their relationship with the concepts of functional syntax has been explained using the metalanguage of FS, with the limitations set above. Where useful, I have illustrated the meaning with a picture of the time line so as to aid the reader in understanding and describing it. I have not, however, provided illustrations when the general meanings are obvious or easy to explain, or when just one picture would not make sense since

it would represent only one of many possibilities that the meaning has for the temporal relations.

The semantic structures involved here begin from the presumption that when we talk about time, the things we want to say are concrete. For instance, this occurs when providing a temporal framing for an event or when expressing the culturally shared notion that time has to be made use of. As speakers, we do not think of the semantic content of time expressions in terms of metaphor analysis. For this reason, the only kind of action that time performs in these semantic structures is proceeding (or not proceeding). Furthermore, any causative links between the time progressing and the changes in the universe are explained with the help of the passing of time.

A semantic structure cannot be so exact that all the expressions classified as representing such a structure would have exactly the same meaning. The general meaning mentioned does not define the whole meaning. Instead, it merely gives the generalized meaning of the expressions, the way that they can be classified as opposed to other expressions in relation to their value in communication. In a communicative situation, the speaker refers to something by using an exact meaning (why the speaker utters it and how it is meant to be understood). Yet its function in communication comes not from the exact meaning, but from a more general meaning that is the thing that requires a response from the recipient. The expressions representing the same semantic structure are not necessarily interchangeable, but they do have much in common when it comes to what we wish to convey with them. This difference is called the *denotative* and *presentative* meaning in FS. Here denotative meanings are the same as what I call *general* meanings. The reason why a speaker chooses one exact means and not another is to a large extent not only a question of the differences in their concrete meanings, but a question of context and its requirements and also the limitations that using a certain construction can have in different linguistic structures. Since the idiomatic expressions are analysed here without their respective contexts, the possibility of consulting context for support is not introduced.

Let us now focus on the analysis of general meanings concerning time and the metalexemes I use in describing these meanings. Each metalexeme represents a general meaning I believe the speaker wishes to convey. I will explain the meanings and give examples from both Russian and Finnish. I will make note of the differences in the ways these two languages express these notions only when

the differences are especially interesting. Full contrastive analysis remains beyond the scope of this study. The metalexemes and corresponding meanings to be introduced are hierarchically subordinated under the notions of: duration, point in time, period of time, frequency, sequence, passing of time, suitable time and right time, life as time, limitedness of time, and some others. For *duration*, I introduce the general meanings of DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL, DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG, DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT, DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = NEUTRAL, DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = LONG, and DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT. The notion of *point in time* unites the general meanings POINT IN TIME, AT A POINT IN TIME, STARTING FROM A POINT IN TIME, AT POINTS IN TIME, BEFORE A POINT IN TIME, and RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME. *Period of time*, in its turn, has to do with the following general meanings: PERIOD OF TIME, BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME, DURING A PERIOD OF TIME, DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT, DURING PERIODS OF TIME, END OF A PERIOD OF TIME, FOR A PERIOD OF TIME and RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME. *Frequency* is the unifying notion for the general meanings ALWAYS, NEVER, and FREQUENCY: HOW OFTEN. *Sequence* explains the following general meanings: TEMPORAL ORDER, AN AMOUNT OF TIME AHEAD, AN AMOUNT OF TIME BACK, IMMEDIATELY, NOW, NOWADAYS, ANY TIME, SOON, NOT A LONG TIME AGO, A LONG TIME AGO, SIMULTANEUOUSLY, NOT FOR A LONG TIME, and AFTER A LONG PAUSE. *Passing of time* is the notion that includes the general notions PASSING OF TIME, TIME PROCEEDS → SITUATION CHANGES, TIME PROCEEDS FAST, TIME PROCEEDS SLOWLY, and TIME DOES NOT PROCEED. *Suitable time* and *right time* are related notions, and they occur in the general meanings of SUITABLE TIME, RIGHT TIME, NOT SUITABLE TIME, and NOT RIGHT TIME. Life can be seen as time, as reflected in the general meanings LIFE AS TIME and STAGE OF LIFE. Time as a limited notion unites the general meanings LITTLE TIME, MUCH TIME, ENOUGH TIME, USE TIME, and SPEAKERS' ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF. Besides all these, I will also introduce some other notions having to do with time, namely APPROXIMATE TIME, CLOCK TIME, REALIZATION and INTERJECTION.

From the viewpoint of FS, the metalexemes I have used to describe the general meanings are mostly to be understood as indicating the different cases of time as a specifier, but some of them should be understood as being full states of affairs. Time as a specifier provides the temporal frame for something to be talked about. When the role of time itself is stronger than that, when time is the very thing talked about, the metalexeme then describes something different – something that should be understood as a separate state of affairs, something the speaker wishes to say something about, and not just a background notion for something else.

4.3.1. Duration

The expressions with the meaning of duration answer either the question of "how long" or "in what time". Neither of these locates the time mentioned on the time line, but they represent absolute, independent time. The difference between these two meanings is in that answering the question "how long" provides an answer concerning the amount of time needed for something, whereas the answer to "in what amount of time" names the amount needed for something not as a whole, but as a stretch on the time line. Thus "how long" offers a time slot that is needed for something that does not necessarily fill the whole slot.[8] "In what amount of time", in its turn, gives the amount needed but does not understand the amount as a temporal background for something, but as a unit of time to be used. These two cases of duration can be further divided into more detailed categories on the basis of how the speaker assumes the duration to be (i.e. neutral, long or short).

It should also be noted that FS does not have a separate way of expressing duration. Duration represents relative time if the beginning point or end point of something and its duration are given, and it can thereby be placed on the time line. On the other hand, if this is not done, the duration as an absolute notion has to be understood quantitatively, i.e. regarding the notion of "how long" or "in what amount of time" as being a quantity to be described. The quantity involved can be described in terms of the specifier Quantity. Whether the length of the time period is interpreted as being neutral, long or short can be seen as Authorization. It is also worth noting that the categories provided by Functional

8 Such a differentiation can be found, for example, in [Всеволодова 1975].

Syntax do not seem to be able to describe the difference between HOW LONG and IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME.

4.3.1.1. DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL

The general meaning DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL can be expressed by mentioning a fixed amount of time. These constructions indicate the way a whole time period is fulfilled with time – i.e. the duration of something happening takes up the entire time, and this amount of time does not require any kind of evaluative remarks.

To express that meaning, Russian uses the accusative case without a preposition, and Finnish uses the genitive case:

[803] *год*→
year→-sg.acc.
(for a) year→

[1061]*vuoden*→
year→-sg.gen.
(for a) year→

The noun can also be specified when it occurs with an adjective that emphasizes that we are really talking about duration during the whole period in question:

[800] *целую* *неделю*→
whole-sg.acc. **week**→-sg.acc.
(for) a whole week→

[801] *весь* *год*→
whole-sg.acc. **year**→-sg.acc.
(for) a whole year→

[933] *kokonaisen* *viikon*→
whole-sg.gen.**week**→-sg.gen.
(for) a whole week→

The duration can also be expressed either as longer or as shorter than the fixed amount of time in question.

[872] *yli viikon*→
over week→-sg.gen.
over a week→, longer than a week→

[873] *lähes kuukauden*→
close month→-sg.gen.
almost a month→

[874] *melkein kuukauden*→
almost month→-sg.gen.
almost a month→

[16] *больше недели*→
more-adv.comp. **week**→-sg.gen.
more than a week→

[18] *больше чем неделю*→
more-adv.comp. **than week**→-sg.acc.
more than a week→

[1058] *почти неделю*→
almost week→-sg.acc.
almost (for) a week→

[849] *чуть не 10*→ *лет*
barely-adv. **neg. 10**→ **year**-pl.gen.
"barely not ten→ years" = almost ten→ years

Duration can also be given inaccurately. Russian expresses neutral duration without including any precise amount of time:

[482] *некоторое время*
some-indef.pron **time**-sg.acc.
(for) some time

Finnish communicates this meaning by the following idiomatic expressions:

[66] *aikansa*
time-sg.gen.+ poss.suff.sg.3.p.
its time = (for) some time

[294] *jonkin* *aikaa*
something-sg.gen. **time-**sg.partit.
“something of time” = (for) some time

When inaccurate duration is expressed, the reason for the speaker to use this type of construction can be either that the speaker does not know exactly how long something lasts, or what is more likely, that s/he does not for some reason want to specify the exact duration (i.e. finds it irrelevant or for some other reason does not wish to state it).

The expressions of neutral duration can also be made more precise by adding numerals that express the number of days, weeks, months, etc., that something continues. In this case, including a verb (either *kestää* ‘last’ or j*atkua* ‘continue’ and their Russian equivalents) can be obligatory. All this goes beyond the things that idiomatic constructions can express without context. For example: *Sade jatkui kymmenen päivää. Дождь продолжался десять дней.* ‘The rain continued for ten days’. Adding numerals can, anyhow, also present idiomatic limitations. For instance, the following formulation is not the best in Finnish: ?*kolme päivää yli kuukauden* ‘for three days over a month’. However, *kolme päivää vaille kuukauden* ‘for three days less than a month’ sounds possible, although both are cases in which a deviation from a set duration of time is expressed by providing an amount of time that is given in exact numerals.

To sum up, when expressing the general meaning DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL, the speaker wishes to say that s/he estimates the duration of something (the time slot available for something) to be neutral in quantity. The exact quantity can also be expressed.

4.3.1.2. DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG

The meaning conveys duration as determining that something endures for a long time. In other words, something is actual during a whole period of time and this period is long. This kind of meaning can be expressed, firstly, with simple adverbs such as:

[797] *долго*
long-adv.
long, for a long time

[622] *kauan*
long-adv.
long, for a long time

[643] *pitkään*
long-adv.
long, for a long time

Time nouns meaning a long period of time can also indicate this type of long duration. This usage is especially typical in Russian and the case used is the accusative [799]. In Finnish, the nouns denoting a long period of time can also naturally be used to express duration, but this is then not a case of the speaker offering an evaluation of a long time, but rather as having the sense of simply stating duration without any evaluative tones. The only example that has a similar evaluation of a long duration is when the notion of eternity is used to express duration [1169]:

[799] *век (e.g. мы знакомы)*
century-sg.acc. (e.g. we have known each other)
for a century

[1169]*ikuisuuden*
eternity-sg.gen.
for eternity = for a period of time that seemed endlessly long

Naturally a combination of an adjective meaning ‘long’ and a time noun creates the meaning of a long duration:

[798] *долгое время*
long-sg.acc. **time**-sg.acc.
(for a) long time

[820] *долгие три→ недели→*
long-pl.acc. **three→ week→**-sg.gen.
“long three→ weeks→” = for a period of three weeks that is considered long

[431] *pitkän aikaa*
long-sg.gen. **time**-sg.partit.
(for a) long time

Duration can also be understood in Finnish as “many times”:

[387] *monta* *aikaa*[9]
many-sg.partit. **time-**sg.partit.
“many times” = (for a) long time

Certain Russian time nouns (having a meaning long enough for this purpose) use the plural instrumental case to express long duration:

[481] *неделями*→
week→-pl.instr.
“with weeks” = weeks and weeks

In Finnish, using some kind of tool to measure time is strong here. For example:

[356] *kuukausi-* *kaupalla*
[442] *päivä-* *kaupalla*
[876] *vuorokausi-* *kaupalla*
month/day/day and night-sg.nom. **measure**-sg.adess.
“by month/day/day and night measure” = for months and months/days and days/days and nights

[357] *kuukausi-* *määrin*
month-sg.nom **amount**-pl.instr.
“by amounts of month” = for months and months

The part *-kaupalla* accepts several different time nouns (five in my material), but *-määrin* does not seem to allow any other time nouns than *kuukausi* ‘month’. The idea is that a month, etc., is a tool to be used to measure out (as if to shovel, for example) time – the duration is expressed with the implication of there being several (many) “monthfuls”, etc.

Another interesting Finnish construction to convey this meaning is formed with the word *-kausia*. This can be used with years, weeks and days, but not with other time nouns:

[9] This expression has raised criticism among my listeners (native speakers of Finnish) on different occasions. In fact, several people reported that they did not recognize this expression. Since it sounds quite normal to me and I have also found hundreds of occurrences on the Internet, I have included it in my analysis and used it as evidence of seeing duration as ‘many times’ in Finnish. I have to admit, though, that *monta aikaa* it is not common in modern standard Finnish, and may be used in only certain parts of the country.

[867] *vuosikausia*
year period-pl.part.
“of year periods” = for years

The meaning of long duration is included in the following Russian sayings:

[3] *Аредовы* *веки* *жить*
Ared (proper name)-poss.adj.pl.acc. **epoch/century**-pl.acc. **live**-imp.asp.act. inf.
“live the epochs of Ared” = live very long

[641] *Сколько лет, сколько зим!*
how many summer-pl.gen. **how many winter**-pl.gen.
“How many summers, how many winters!” = long time no see (our separation has lasted for a long time)

For the temporal expressions [3] and [641], the temporality is combined with other meanings, but the notion of time – the duration – is so strong that understanding them as expressions of time, in my opinion, is well founded.

In all, the general meaning DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG corresponds to the speaker’s wish to express that s/he estimates the time slot available for something to be long.

4.3.1.3. DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT

For this type of expression, we wish to say that something lasts for a short period of time and is true throughout this short time period. This kind of meaning can easily include a negative judgement by the speaker – lasting for a short while is bad enough, any longer would already be unbearable. The most interesting way in Russian to express this general meaning is [4].

[4] *без году неделя*
without year-sg.gen. **week**-sg.nom.
“a week without a year” = for a short period of time where the exact length is undefined

Besides that, Finnish seems to be much richer than Russian in expressing such a meaning. For example:

[229] *hetken* *aikaa*
moment-sg.gen. **time**-sg.partit.
“some time of moment” = for a short time

[233] *hetken* *verran*
moment-sg.gen. **amount**-sg.gen.
“an amount of moment” = for a short time

[332] *kestää* *vain punaisen* *minuutin*
endure-act.I inf. **only red**-sg.gen. **minute**-sg.gen.
“endures only one red minute” = last for a short time

[1095] *laskea* *tunneissa*$^{\rightarrow}$ *eikä päivissä*$^{\rightarrow}$
count-act.I inf. **hour**-pl.iness. **neg day**-pl.iness.
“count in hours$^{\rightarrow}$ not in days$^{\rightarrow}$” = for a short time

[945] *ei aika* *eikä mikään*
neg. time-sg.nom. **neg. anything**
“not time or anything” = for a short time

Shortness or small amount of time can also be communicated by using an expression that includes a word describing this:

[371] *lyhyen* *aikaa*
short-sg.gen. **time**-sg.partit.
“of short time” = for a short time

[563] *vähän aikaa*
little **time**-sg.partit.
”little amount of time” = for a short time

For both languages, this kind of short duration can be expressed by referring to seconds, minutes and moments:

[243] *hetki!*
moment-sg.nom.
“One moment!” = this will take only a short time

[244] *hetkinen!*
moment+diminutive suff.-sg.nom.
“One small moment!” = this will take only a short time

[398] *Минуточку!*
minute+diminutive suff.-sg.acc.
“a small minute” = this will take only a short time

[634] *Секундочку!*
second+diminutive suff.-sg.acc.
“a small second” = this will take only a short time

To put it briefly, the general meaning DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT corresponds to the speaker’s wish to express that s/he estimates the duration of something (the time slot available for something) to be short in quantity.

4.3.1.4. DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = NEUTRAL

When duration answers the question “in what amount of time”, it does not assume that the event mentioned would take the whole amount of time expressed, rather that it can happen at any time during that given period. The given period is thus seen as a whole entity that includes the event or the state in question. In my opinion, a difference between the duration that describes “in what amount of time” and the one telling “how long” (dealt with in the previous chapter) has to be assumed. This same difference has been described in terms of “punctual duration” and “durative duration” by Auli Hakulinen and Fred Karlsson (1979: 210) and is differentiated by the case usage in ISK (2004: 1443-1444). It can also be understood as the difference of a time unit that is fully occupied by an event and a time unit that is not, filling or not filling a period of time with an event. This kind of differentiation in meanings has been used by M.V.Vsevolodova (Всеволодова 1975) to describe similar differences in meaning.

When the duration is neutral, this means that the expression does not include the speaker’s estimation of whether the amount of time mentioned is too long or too short, or even appropriate. The neutral duration means that the expression does not include any kind of meaning of a long or short duration.

The most basic construction used for this kind of neutral duration in Russian is the preposition *за* + the accusative case.

[305] *за* *сутки*→
adp. **day (and night)**→-pl.tantum.acc.
during a period of day (and night)→

Russian also has a number of other constructions (complex prepositions) for this:

[819] *в* *продолжение* + gen.
into continuing-adp.sg.acc.
"into continuing of" = during

[818] *в* *течение* + gen.
into streaming-adp.sg.acc.
"into streaming of" = during

[817] *на протяжении* + gen.
on reach-adp.sg..
"on reach of" = during

Finnish expresses the same notion with the word *aikana* 'during' (etymologically it is the essive case of the noun *aika* 'time'), or *kuluessa* 'during' (this etymologically hints at the way that time expends, "deteriorates").

[871] *tunnin*→ *aikana*
hour→-sg.gen.**time**-sg.ess.
"as the time of hour→" = during an hour→

[1043] *viikon*→ *kuluessa*
week→-sg.gen.**deteriorate**- act.II inf.iness.
"in the deterioration of a week→" = during a week→

or just with the inessive[10] case[11]

[870] *viikossa*→
week→-sg.iness.
"in a week→" = during a week

[10] Some other nouns have different, idiomatized meanings for the inessive, cf. *tammikuussa, helmikuussa* etc. In these cases, the meaning of the inessive involves giving the period of time when something happens. See 7.1.1.1. for an account of the use of the different cases in Finnish.
[11] In ISK (2004: 1444), the adverbials of duration are described on the basis of their case, so that an adverbial that describes this kind of duration is simply called "adverbial in inessive" and this kind of adverbial has its meaning, which is classified as the "duration of a telic event".

Some special idiomatic expressions also convey neutral duration.

[450] *päiväsiltään*
day+suff.-abl.+ poss.suff.sg.3.p.
"of its day" = during a day, not staying the night (for example, concerning a visit)

Exceeding or not reaching the limit can also be expressed. To communicate this Russian uses the comparative *больше* 'more than', *меньше* 'less than', whereas Finnish uses the adverbs *yli* and *alle*, added to the construction with *aikana*.

[17] *больше чем за неделю*→
more **than** adp. **week**→-sg.acc.
in more than a week→

[1125] *alle viikon*→ *aikana*
less week→-sg.gen.**time**-sg.ess.
during less than a week→

Talking about contextual issues again, both languages also require the right verb to assure the appropriate interpretation of duration. Furthermore, the meaning of neutral duration is easiest to convey if there is a numeral to show how long the neutral duration exactly is.

To put it briefly, the general meaning DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = NEUTRAL corresponds to the speaker's wish to express that the amount of time for something to take place is neutral in quantity, i.e. can be specified to have a certain length, but does not lead the speaker to make a judgement of any kind.

4.3.1.5. DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = LONG

If someone wishes to convey in Finnish that the amount of time in which something takes place (without using the entire time period) is long, s/he can use idioms of the following kind:

[878] *pitkällä aikavälillä*
long-sg.adess. **time span**-sg.adess.
“on long time span” = in the long run, during a long period of time

[879] *pitkän ajan kuluessa*
long-sg.gen. **time**-sg.gen. **deteriorate**- act.II inf.iness.
“in deterioration of a long time” = during a long period of time

[100] *ajan kanssa*
time-sg.gen. **with**
with time = during a long period of time (and because of that carefully, with thought)

In Russian, the same idea would once again be expressed with the preposition *за* + a phrase meaning a long time [805], [806], or even an adverb [807].

[805] *за длительный период*
adp. long-sg.acc. **period**-sg.acc.
during a long period of time

[806] *за долгое время*
adp. long-sg.acc. **time**-sg.acc.
during a long period of time

[807] *долгосрочно*
long time limit-adv.
with long time limit = during a long period of time

Expressing this kind of meaning is not very common. The reason for this is clear: even expressing IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME in general is most appropriate, concrete enough, if we use concrete quantifiers. We cannot even say **pitkässä ajassa* although the opposite *lyhyessä ajassa* ‘in short time’ is normal.

In short, the general meaning DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = LONG corresponds to the speaker’s wish to state his/her judgement that the amount of time for something to take place is long in quantity.

4.3.1.6. DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT

When duration of this kind is short, this means that something happens at any moment during a short period of time. The shortness is not necessarily a well-established fact, as it can also be the speaker's opinion.

This kind of meaning in Russian can be expressed by combining the preposition *в* and a noun denoting a short period of time (in the accusative case):

[53] *в момент*
into moment-sg.acc.
"into moment" = during a short period of time

[51] *в минуту 1*[12]
into minute-sg.acc.
"into minute" = during a short period of time

[857] *в сжатый срок*
into compressed-sg.acc. **time limit**-sg.acc.
"into a compressed time limit" = during a short period of time

The shortness of the duration can also be emphasized by using the word *один* 'one' with the time noun denoting a short period of time:

[61] *в один миг*
into one-sg.acc. **blink**-sg.acc.
"into one blink of the eye" = during a short period of time

[67] *в одну секунду*
into one-sg.acc. **second**-sg.acc.
"into one second" = during a short period of time

Finnish has adverbs that can express this meaning. Examples of these are:

[671] *äkkiä*
[674] *samassa*
[695] *pian 2*
soon-adv.
soon, in a short period of time

12 Such numbers refer to the different meanings of formally identical expressions. See Appendix (the expressions).

This meaning can also be expressed by the concrete collocations:

[1013] *lyhyessä* *ajassa*
short-sg.iness. **time**-sg.iness.
"in a short time" = in a short period of time

[1111] *pienessä* *hetkessä*
small-sg.iness. **moment**-sg.iness.
"in a small moment"= in a short period of time

Likewise Finnish has the numeral *yksi* 'one' to emphasize the shortness of duration, as in [1111]:

[1111] *yhdessä* *hetkessä*
one-sg.iness. **moment**-sg.iness.
"in one moment" = in a short period of time

However, the use of this construction is very limited. For example, *yhdessä minuutissa* 'in one minute' does not convey the meaning of short duration, but has to be understood literally.

Some more exciting ways to express the same meaning are:

[1001] *pikapikaa*
fast-sg.nom **fast**-sg.partit./adv.
"fast fast" = in a short period of time

[136] *alta* *aikayksikön*
from-below-adp.**time unit**-sg.gen.
"from-below the time unit" = in a short period of time

To summarize, the general meaning DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT corresponds to the speaker's wish to state his/her judgement that the amount of time for something to take place is short.

4.3.2. Point in time

The idea of naming a point in time requires thinking in terms of time consisting of points that can be placed on a time line. When the speaker talks about a point in time, the mentioning of the point presupposes that the nature of the point has

importance from the speaker's viewpoint. Expressing a point in time involves various different activities. The simplest ones are the mere naming of a point in time (possibly having the function of giving a name to something) and telling that something takes place at a point in time. Sometimes this activity involves, for example, giving the point in time as the starting point for something or giving several points in time in which something is to take place. Another activity is to provide a point in time as a limit before something is true. Finally, still another activity is to express that something has a relation to a point in time.

For FS, defining a point in time and its role in a temporal sequence involves stating something about something. Talking about a point in time is a clear case of giving time and hence temporality a role that is more significant than the background role that temporality plays in any statement.

4.3.2.1. POINT IN TIME

A point in time is a name of a temporal unit that is punctual in its character, i.e. does not expand to a longer period of time. The meaning of POINT IN TIME expresses a name of such a unit. Since name-giving is quite simple, most often the construction is simply a noun [13], possibly specified by an adjective as in [814].

[13] *aamunkoitto*
dawn-sg.nom.
dawn

[814] *поздний вечер*
late-sg.nom. **night**-sg.nom.
late night

The naming of a point in time can also be more complicated, as in [291].

[291] *еще не вечер*
yet-adv. **neg. night**-sg.nom.
"not yet night" = it's still early

The possibility of this kind of nominalization shows us that naming a point in time is not as simple a phenomenon as one might think. The reason for giving a name – whether direct or not – to a point in time is to give it such an independent

status that it can be talked about and its characteristics can be specified. The naming is the prerequisite for a time unit – in this case a point in time – to be understood as an independent actor. The way that time is understood to be – whether the point in time is mentioned in order to give a name to it, or with other goals (such as telling what it is like) – can be interpreted on the basis of the context in which the naming is used, as well as a more accurate analysis of what the speaker wishes in each case to convey. Naming a point in time gives the possibility to say something about it. Understanding the POINT IN TIME as a separate general meaning (and not just understanding its expressions as possible parts of other meanings) is justified by the way that such expressions can serve as predicative notions telling which point in time is or is not present. In other words, this does not only make explicit what the name of some point of time is, but that this named point in time prevails, prevailed or will prevail.

The naming function that is clearly present in this general meaning is not very well represented in FS. In my opinion, when a speaker names a point in time, s/he wishes to express something about the reality, namely give a statement relating to the time. This kind of naming may not be obligatory, but it most certainly serves a certain function. Using the mere name of a point in time has in all imaginable contexts the function of telling what the punctual notion of time is, what time it is (not referring here to clock time, but to time understood in a similar way, as a continuum of regular units). What the speaker wishes to say when naming such a unit is obvious – s/he has the need to state that the point in time they are living can be named in a certain way.

4.3.2.2. AT A POINT IN TIME

The semantic structure “at a point in time” expresses when something happens, in the cases in which the time of happening is given as punctual. This point can be expressed by different means and it can have different exact meanings. In addition, the repeatability of the points in question can be different. What is important from this viewpoint is giving the point in time when something happens, a kind of temporal framing for an event. The event in itself can be of different types, not only punctual actions (although more typically so), but also stating that something is true at a point in time.

The notion of a point of speech is not necessary here, because the expressions that communicate at which point in time something takes place or is

true do not show the point of speech without context. The point of reference is also, for the same reason, not relevant for such expressions. The point of reference cannot be relevant because these expressions are not bound to tenses or deictic notions. (In a concrete context, these expressions may also be a part of such textual patterns that require for their temporal explanation the use of the notions of ‘point of speech’ and ‘point of reference’.)

There are multiple ways of expressing the general meaning AT A POINT IN TIME. Relative adverbs are one possibility. See [675].

[675] *tällöin*
then-adv.
then, at this time, at that time

Another means to express this meaning is by using a nominal construction. Finnish uses the inessive and the adessive cases without any logical explanation as to which is used when. See [12], [1034], and [555] below:

[12] *aamunkoitteessa*
dawn-sg.iness.
”in dawn” = at dawn

[1034] *pikkutunneilla*
small hours-pl.adess.
”on small hours” = in the small hours

[555] *viimeisellä sekunnilla*$^{\rightarrow}$
last-sg.adess. **second**$^{\rightarrow}$**-**sg.adess.
“on the last second” = at the last possible moment

In addition, the illative can be used; it conveys the notion of more exact time reckoning [1003].

[1003] *määrättyyn aikaan*
certain-sg.illat. **time-**sg.illat.
”into a certain time” = at a certain time

The essive is also possible. The point in time indicated with the essive is necessarily longer, coming closer to a period of time [1024].

[1024] *eräänä kauniina päivänä*
certain-sg.ess. **beautiful**-sg.ess. **day**-sg.ess.
“as a certain beautiful day” = one beautiful day, one day

The main construction in Russian is the use of the preposition *в* with the accusative case. See examples [101], [60], [883], and [256]:

[101] *в ту же секунду*$^{\rightarrow}$
into that same-sg.acc. **second**$^{\rightarrow}$-sg.acc.
“into that same second$^{\rightarrow}$” = exactly at the same time

[60] *в нужный момент*
into needed-sg.acc. **moment**-sg.acc.
“into the needed moment” = (exactly the moment) when necessary

[883] *в один прекрасный день*
into one-sg.acc. **great**-sg.acc. **day**-sg.acc.
“into one great day” = one day (unexpectedly)

[256] *день в день*
day-sg.nom. **into day**-sg.acc.
“day into day” = exactly the day marked or planned

Other constructions can also be used with this kind of meaning, as in examples [518] and [538].

[518] *перед полуднем*$^{\rightarrow}$
in front of midday-sg.instr.
in front of midday = right before midday

[538] *под утро*
under morning-sg.acc.
“to under morning” = right before morning

FS can explain such a meaning by using the notion of the time line. When the speaker wishes to say that something (the event, E) happens at a point in time, or is true at a point of time, this is the same thing as stating the point of event on a time line. In this way the speaker makes the connection between the time counting and the reality.

Although the importance of context for full interpretation comes up again, I do think that looking at these expressions even without context makes sense. Giving a point in time when something takes place (and here the punctuality is also an important notion) demonstrates a clear need for expressing a particular meaning, and the morphological, syntactical and lexical forms that these expressions can take are also of great interest in comparing the different languages and also in observing how a language is constructed.

4.3.2.3. STARTING FROM A POINT IN TIME

This state of affairs describes the meaning that something becomes true at a certain point in time and continues to be so after this point. It is, in this way, a starting point for something.

This kind of meaning is expressed in Finnish and Russian by specifying the beginning point and telling that it is the beginning point. The simplest means for doing this is represented in [1090] and [958]. The expressions represented here refer to the point of speech, but in the same expressions it is also possible to use other words that make the point of reference different from the point of speech.

[1090] *tästä→ lähtien*
this→-sg.gen.**begin**-act.II inf.sg.instr.
beginning from this→ = from now on

[958] *с этого дня→*
from this-sg.gen. **day→**-sg.gen.
from this day→ on

Somewhat less obvious are some idiomatic ways of expressing this meaning:

[900] *nyt ja vasta(kin)*
now and later (also)
now and in the future

Sometimes it is not even necessary to explicate that something is true not only in the future but also at the point of speaking. Either the indication to the moment "now" or to another point of reference is not relevant, or it is context-related.

The general meaning BEGINNING FROM A POINT IN TIME is connected to the speaker's need to say that a point in time is a beginning point for something. The predication involved in such a meaning includes the notion of a change in the predication. For FS, the meaning BEGINNING FROM A POINT IN TIME is also a case of the specifier of temporality, or more precisely "time in itself". The beginning point (point of event) can be marked on the time line, and depending on the expression, this point can also be the point of speech, or the point of reference, or both.

4.3.2.4. AT POINTS IN TIME

The meaning AT POINTS IN TIME occurs when the event described is not assumed to take place or be true during a whole time period, but rather at separate punctual moments of this time period. A common means for expressing this temporal framing is by using a time noun in the plural (this time noun being punctual in character). For the convenience of expression, the time units in question have to be homogeneous or at least comparable. See [7] and [631] below:

[7] *aamuin illoin*
morning-pl.instr.**evening**-pl.instr.
"with mornings evenings" = during both morning and evening, twice a day

[631] *секундами*
second-pl.instr.
"with seconds" = every now and then

The expressions with the names of days of the week placed in this category mean that something happens regularly at some point during those days. This meaning is different from the other expressions containing days of the week that more typically state the day as a period during which something takes place.

[590] *perjantaisin*
Friday-pl.instr.
"with Fridays" = every Friday

[529] *по понедельникам*
adp. **Monday**-pl.dat.
“the Monday route” = every Monday

It is also possible that the expression does not indicate the exact points in time when something takes place, but only tells that such points exist. For instance, [180], [597], and [668] exhibit these characteristics:

[180] *время от времени*
time-sg.nom. **from time**-sg.gen.
“time from time” = from time to time

[597] *ajoittain*
time-adv.
“with times” = from time to time

[668] *välistä*
interval-sg.elat.
“from interval” = from time to time

There are also expressions that not only leave the points of event inexplicit, but can also link these points to different points of reference that the expression as such is not able to express. For example, consider [628]:

[628] *kulloinkin*
whenever-adv. **also**-suff.
whenever, each time, on each occasion

The concept AT POINTS IN TIME is different from the notions of repeatability and frequency in that this concept provides a temporal framing in the form of the moments (points in time) when something is to be true. In other words, it tells when, not how often.

From the viewpoint of FS, this meaning can be described with the help of a time line on which there are several points of events. The point of speech is most likely different from the points of events, and the point of reference does not come up until the context is involved.

4.3.2.5. BEFORE A POINT IN TIME

The meaning BEFORE A POINT IN TIME includes an endpoint, a deadline before which something has to happen. The thing to happen can take place at any moment before the point in time that is defined as the deadline.

The most obvious way of giving such meaning consists of giving the end point with an adposition that makes it the end point. Examples if this are found in [991], [274], and [1112]:

[991] *к* *этому* *времени*
towards this-sg.instr. **time**-sg.instr.
“towards this time” = before this point in time

[274] *до* *рассвета*
before sunrise-sg.gen.
before sunrise

[1112] *tiistaihin*$^{\rightarrow}$ *mennessä*
Tuesday$^{\rightarrow}$-sg.illat.**going**-adp.
“going to Tuesday$^{\rightarrow}$” = by Tuesday$^{\rightarrow}$

Other kinds of spatial adpositions are also able to convey this meaning:

[1003] *перед* *обедом*$^{\rightarrow}$
in front of-adp. **lunch**$^{\rightarrow}$-sg.instr.
“in front of the lunch$^{\rightarrow}$” = just before lunch$^{\rightarrow}$

[1006] *под* *конец*
to under-adp. **end**-sg.acc.
“to under the end” = right before the end

[1114] *joulun* *alla*
Christmas-sg.gen. **under**
“under Christmas” = before Christmas

Such conceptualization as in [1003] and [1006], namely the spatiality of closeness of some kind (in this case subordination, being or going to under something) corresponds to the physical closeness of the deadline. While in [991], the preposition *к* ‘towards, until’ gave only the deadline and the direction towards it (without indicating at which point(s) on the time line the event or state

has taken place), in [1006], the closeness makes possible the only interpretation, that the event takes place or has taken place only very close to the deadline, the point in time given. Finnish [1114] has the same way to indicate closeness as Russian [1003] and [1006], but the closeness in Finnish is not as demanding as in Russian, i.e. being "under" an event in Finnish requires a lesser degree of closeness to the point of reference than in Russian.

Nouns that mean the eve or preceding day can also be helpful in creating such message [1011], [1018]:

[1011] *juhlan→* *aattona*
party→-sg.gen.**eve**-sg.ess.
"as the party→'s eve" = the day before the party→

[1018] *накануне* *праздника→*
on the previous day-adp. **party→**-sg.gen.
the day before the party, time preceding the party→

There are also idiomatic expressions that produce this kind of message. In Finnish, having plenty of time is the same as being "in good times" [254], and this has the meaning of arriving before the point of time that is deemed to be absolutely necessary, that is, the deadline for something.

[254] *hyvissä* *ajoissa*
good-pl.iness. **time**-pl.iness.
"in good times" = even earlier than necessary

Sometimes the time noun refers to a period of time, but when expressing that something occurs before a time period, we refer to the beginning of a period of time, and this notion is clearly no less punctual. It has the same basic meaning BEFORE A POINT IN TIME and is therefore not considered to be a separate case here. For example:

[606] *ennestään*
before+poss.suff.sg.3.p.
"from his/her before" = from before

[1040] *entisaikaan*
old time-sg.illat.
“to old time” = in the old times

[992] *к* *осени*→
towards autumn→-sg.dat.
“towards autumn” = until autumn→, before autumn→ comes

[994] *к* *сорока*→ *годам*
towards forty→-sg.dat.**year**-pl.dat.
“towards forty→ years” = before his/her forties→

[338] *kevään* *korvalla*
spring-sg.gen. **ear**-sg.adess.
“on the ear of the spring” = right before spring

It may sometimes seem that the relationship between being true before a point in time, at the present moment, and even in the future, is stronger than in the cases mentioned earlier. It may seem that what has been true before a point in time in these cases not only can be, but most likely continues to be true even today. An example of this is [606]. This is not, however, that simple. These expressions do not show how the temporal relation is built between the time preceding the point in time in question and the time after it. The temporal relations can be built in various ways in many of the expressions having this general meaning, and because of this, any intuitive interpretations of this can well be proven wrong with the use of real-life language material in different contexts.

As is easy to assume logically, the meaning of “before a point in time” can, from the viewpoint of FS, as the previous cases, be defined with the help of a time line. The speaker gives the end point of something, and hence this end point is the point of event, before (on the left side of) which some kind of state, event or a series of events are located. In this way, the event (E) precedes the point of reference (R). FS would describe this as (Temp = E R).

4.3.2.6. RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME

The meaning introduced here consists of saying something about a point in time, other than using the point in time as a temporal framing for some kind of event or state. With the expressions representing this kind of semantic structure, the

speaker wishes to say that something is related to a point in time. The point in time can, even in this meaning, be understood as possessing some active actant characteristics. In this way, by naming this general meaning RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME, I do not intend to claim that the speaker wishes to convey with the expressions involved that something has a relation to any point in time, but that something has to do with a particular point in time, expressing the point in time and the relation to it.

The relation to a point in time can, first of all, be expressed by using adjectives formed from the time nouns. Both Finnish and Russian show robust tendencies to do this, since adjectives can be formed from various punctual time units, including the days of the week and the different moments in time. See, for example, [376], [290], and [758]:

[376] *maanantainen*
Monday-adj.sg.nom.
having to do with Monday

[290] *ежесекундный*
every second-adj.sg.nom.
having to do with each second, repeated every second (all the time)

[758] *käsilläoleva*
hand-pl.adess. **be**-act.I.partic.sg.nom.
“on hands being” = current, something at hand

The different associations that a certain point in time can have are often expressed by fixed expressions. See [468], [240], [314], [308], and [480]:

[468] *se on sen ajan murhe*
it-sg.nom. **be**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p. **it**-sg.gen. **time**-sg.gen. **grief**-sg.nom.
“it is that time’s grief” = one should worry only about the present moment, one should not worry beforehand

[240] *hetki lyö*
moment-sg.nom. **hit**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p
“moment hits” = time for something has come

[314] *злоба дня*
spite-sg.nom. **day**-sg.gen.
“day’s spite” = the hot topic of the day

[308] *задним числом*
back-adj.sg.instr. **date**-sg.instr.
“with back date” = something has been back-dated

[480] *Неделя крепка середой.*
week-sg.nom. **strong**-sg.nom. **middle**-sg.instr.
“week is strong with its middle” = Wednesday is the main working day of the week.

In all, the meaning RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME is a broad one, including very different kinds of notions. The semantic content that the speaker wishes to convey when expressing this meaning is that the thing that the speaker is telling about has a connection to a particular point in time. From the viewpoint of FS, this kind of meaning is therefore a case of stating a relation. Showing the relation between the punctual time unit and the thing seen as related to it can be explained with the help of characterization, which is considered to be one of the core semantic structures in FS. In characterization time is in the actant role of Neutral, something to be talked about.

4.3.3. Period of time

A period of time differs from a point in time in that it names not a punctual unit, but a longer time unit. Giving the exact difference between a point and period in such expressions as the ones in my material is not self-evident, since aspectual notions, shown in the verb used, can change the line between points and periods. The difference between a point in time and a period of time is not only in the length of the time unit, but mainly in the action to take place, its aspectual characteristics. This does not yet emerge in the mere naming of the points of time or the periods of time when it is more or less self-evident which of the notions are punctual and which are not. It is also clear that the most punctual of time units cannot be filled with events that by their nature take a longer period of time. Even so, they can be used as statements that tell that something is true (also or exactly) at a point in time. In other words, the mere difference between the meanings of words is not the only thing that is decisive in this respect. Such

punctual notions as a moment can in some contexts be used as notions referring to periods of time and, on the other hand, even when the time noun used refers rather to a period of time, it can have a meaning of punctuality in certain contexts, with certain verbs that aspectually refer to such a meaning. I have not been able to take into consideration many of these special cases (that often arise only in context). Because of this, the difference between points in time and periods of time has been made (when there is no clear reason to define as the most typical or only meaning of the expression something that is in contradiction with this) in such a way that time units shorter than a day have been understood punctually, and longer than it as periods. Including a day (plus other related notions such as days of a week) as a point in time is justified because language usually deals with the day not as a period of time with a length, but rather as a limited time unit that can be characterized.

As in the case of a point in time, the notion of a period of time relies closely on the time line. A period of time on a time line, as distinct from a point in time, stretches on a longer surface than a punctual notion. A period of time can be indicated on a time line with a beginning, an end, or both. A period of time consists of points in time which are in some aspect similar, but can also have differentiating characteristics that can be explained separately. The notion of a period of time is crucial in explaining the nature of states, and also for such events that have duration long enough to be exposed to temporal relations that are more complicated than just preceding, simultaneity, and succeeding. A period of time can, besides the inner homogeneity just mentioned, be defined on the basis of length, as is the case when the period of time is one of the established time units found in the calendar.

Again the meaning of a period of time includes several more closely defined cases. Besides the mere naming of a time period, we may wish to express the beginning of a period of time, that something takes place during a period of time or during a period of time and after it, or during periods of time. Yet further possibilities are expressing an end of a period of time, that something is true for a period or a short period of time, and saying that something is related to a period of time.

The viewpoint of FS on these meanings will be looked at in the following for each meaning separately.

4.3.3.1. PERIOD OF TIME

Naming a period of time gives a name to a stretched notion on the time line. Such names include [218], [731], and [746].

[218] *epookki*
epoch-sg.nom
an epoch

[731] *эпоха*
epoch-sg.nom
an epoch

[746] *будущее*
be-act.part.pres.sg.nom.
the future

Besides these simple nouns (although one with an etymology of a participle), the naming of a time period can also be made with the help of naming the beginning and end point of the period in question. The constructions used in this are very productive. For example, [1137] and [599]:

[1137] *tammikuusta*$^{\rightarrow}$ *toukokuun*$^{\rightarrow}$ *loppuun*$^{\rightarrow}$
January$^{\rightarrow}$-sg.elat. **May**$^{\rightarrow}$-sg.gen. **end**$^{\rightarrow}$-sg.illat.
from January$^{\rightarrow}$ to the end$^{\rightarrow}$ of May$^{\rightarrow}$

[599] *с апреля*$^{\rightarrow}$ *до середины*$^{\rightarrow}$ *июля*$^{\rightarrow}$
from April$^{\rightarrow}$-sg.gen.**until middle**$^{\rightarrow}$-sg.gen. **July**$^{\rightarrow}$-sg.gen.
from April$^{\rightarrow}$ until the middle$^{\rightarrow}$ of July$^{\rightarrow}$

As was the case concerning naming a point in time, naming a period of time makes it possible to talk about it as a separate notion.

Naming a period of time is no less complicated for FS to comment on than is naming a point in time (discussed in 4.3.2.1.). The function of giving something a name is the same regardless of whether the thing to be named is a point in time or a period of time. Furthermore, the reason for a speaker to name a period of time is to identify it so that it can be talked about or understood independently. Alternatively, the naming of a period of time can serve as a function of predication. The reason for naming a period of time is to assist the speaker in referring to it. This can again be done with different goals in mind, but

a more precise analysis of these goals remains beyond the scope of the present analysis.

4.3.3.2. BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME

The general meaning BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME means that the speaker wishes to state that a certain period of time has begun or is beginning or began. This meaning can be expressed, primarily, with a time noun and an appropriate verb. See [460], [916], [156], and [593].

[460] *saapuu* *aika* *(jolloin)*
arrive-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p. **time**-sg.nom. (when)
arrives time when

[916] *kevään→* *tullen*
spring→-sg.gen.**come**-act.II inf.
"of spring→ coming" = when spring→ comes

[156] *время* *грядёт*
time-sg.nom. **approach**-imp.asp.act.pres.sg.3p
time approaches

[593] *рассвет* *брезжит*
daylight-sg.nom.**loom**-imp.asp.act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
"the daylight breaks"

Some of these combinations are simply occurrences of the simple concrete verbs such as "come" and "arrive", whereas others use more poetic verbs that tell about the cycles of nature [156], [593]. Some interesting idiomatic expressions are also used, as for example [1045]:

[1045] *kevät→* *on* *kynnyksellä*
spring-sg.nom **be**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.**threshold**-sg.adess.
"spring→ is on the threshold" = spring→ will begin very soon

Constructions that express beginning by referring to the notion of a beginning point in nature, typically morning or sunrise, are common in both languages. For example, [1] and [701]:

[1] *elämän→ aamu*
life→-sg.gen.**morning**-sg.nom
”life’s→ morning” = the beginning of a life(time)→

[701] *утро жизни→*
morning-sg.nom. **life→**-sg.gen.
“morning of life→” = beginning of life→

When it comes to categories provided by FS, the reason why a speaker can have a need to express the beginning of a period of time is that a period with certain characteristics is in some way significant from his/her viewpoint. The beginning is known, the focus is on what begins, and this is what the speaker wishes to convey. A beginning phase is thus involved. The notion of beginning includes introducing something new. This can be explained as a form of conveying information, which is a type of intellectual activity. The beginning point can have different interpretations depending on the aspectual character of the action involved.

Russian and Finnish are once again very similar in this respect. The languages differ hardly at all in expressing the beginning of a period of time.

4.3.3.3. DURING A PERIOD OF TIME

DURING A PERIOD OF TIME refers to a meaning that tells what takes place or is true during a named period of time. This meaning answers the question of when something happens, or more precisely during which time period something happens.

Finnish and Russian have many morphological means to express this meaning. The possible constructions in Finnish are (somewhat simplified) the use of the adessive case [335], the inessive case [224], the essive case [382, 330], the illative case [685], an adposition with a partitive case [906], or an adverb [604]:

[335] *kesällä*
summer-sg.adess.
”on summer” = in summer, in summertime

[224] *helmikuussa*
February-sg.iness.
in February

[382] *minun aikanani*
my-sg.gen. **time**-sg.ess.+ poss.suff.sg.3.p.
“as my time” = in my time

[330] *keskiviikkona*
Wednesday-sg.ess.
”as Wednesday” = on Wednesday

[685] *ennen vanhaan*
before old-sg.illat.
”before into old” = in olden times

[906] *pitkin päivää*
along day-sg.partit.
“along some of day” = during the day

[604] *ennen 1*
before-adv.
before

The central means for expressing this kind of meaning in Russian are: the preposition *в* + prepositional case [107], the preposition *в* + accusative case [925], the preposition *на* + prepositional case [889], the instrumental case [678], the prepositions *с* and *до* with genitive case, the preposition *о(б)* + accusative case [488], the preposition *за* + accusative case [303], the preposition *между* and nouns in the instrumental case [1034], and adverbs [916].

[107] *в январе*
in January-sg.adp.
in January

[925] *в прошлую ночь*
into last-sg.acc. **night**-sg.acc.
“into last night” = (during) last night

[889] *на последней пятиминутке*
on last-sg.prep. **five-minute period**-sg.prep.
“on the last five-minute period” = during the last five minutes

[678] *тем временѐм*
that-sg.instr. **time**-sg.instr.
“with that time” = during that time

[620] *с утра до вечера*
from morning-sg.gen**. until night**-sg.gen,
from morning till night

[488] *об э̀ту пору*
of this-sg.acc. **time**-sg.acc.
“of this time” = at this time

[303] *за послѐднее вре́мя*
for last-sg.acc. **time**-sg.acc
“for the last time” = during the latest or prevailing period of time

[1034] *между 1222→ и 1999→ года́ми*
between 1222→ and 1999→ year-pl.instr.
between the years 1222→ and 1999→

[916] *наутро*
onto morning- adv.
“onto morning” = the next morning

DURING A PERIOD OF TIME is sometimes difficult to distinguish from DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = NEUTRAL (see chapter 4.3.1.4.). In the first category, the period during which something happens has to be named, while in the latter category, the amount of time (although neutral) plays an important role. DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = NEUTRAL names, in other words, the period of time only with reference to its length, not in comparison with the other periods of time.

Expressing the meaning DURING A PERIOD OF TIME is done in order to state when something takes place. This is one of the most basic things there is when it comes to time. DURING A PERIOD OF TIME is a typical case of a meaning that is explainable by showing the period in question on the time line. This period can then be compared to other periods and points in time.

4.3.3.4. DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT

DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT refers to a general meaning in which something is true during a period of time and continues to be true after it. This meaning specifies the period that is marked by the beginning of a state that becomes permanent.

The difference between this and the related meaning STARTING FROM A POINT IN TIME (looked at in 4.3.2.3.) is in that the meaning DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT does not stipulate an exact starting point for the thing or state to take place or to be true, it merely mentions the period at some point of which this can happen. Again we talk only about the most basic meanings that the expressions have as separate entities. No doubt many of the expressions can also be used in contexts where making this difference would be difficult if not impossible.

The meaning DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT can be expressed, predominantly, by naming the period that marks the beginning in question. Examples, [394], [602] and [626] demonstrate this:

[394] *niistä* *päivin*
they-pl.elat. **day**-pl.instr.
"of those with days" = since those days

[602] *с* *давних* *пор*
from ancient-pl.gen. **time**-pl.gen.
"from ancient times" = since a long time ago

[626] *с* *этой* *поры*
from this-sg.gen. **time period**-sg.gen.
from this time period (on)

The same meaning can also be expressed with certain adverbs:

[705] *toistaiseksi 2*
adv.
for the time being

[1078] *пока что*
adv.
for now

The FS position on this is that telling that something takes place DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT can be illustrated by mentioning the beginning point of the period mentioned, and by implying that it will also continue to take place after the end of this period. In this way, the end point is left open. Telling all this is not enough to describe the temporal relations involved. To illustrate them, a time line needs to be drawn where the period of event is marked on the time line and the temporal notion talked about stretches beyond that period of time. The point of speech becomes clear only from the context. The period of event is the same as the period of reference. See Figure 1.

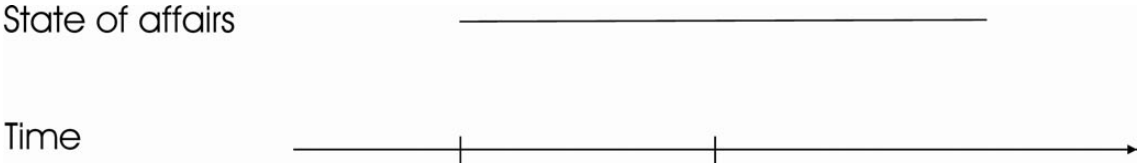


Figure 1. DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT

4.3.3.5. DURING PERIODS OF TIME

The meaning DURING PERIODS OF TIME presents the period of time during which something takes place as plural, i.e. something happens during separate periods of time.[13] Other than the plural form, the morphological ways of expressing this are very similar to the meaning DURING A PERIOD OF TIME.

[561] *vuosina*
year-pl.ess.
"as the years" = in the years

[437] *päivin*
day-pl.instr.
"with days" = during the daytime

[13] It is important to note that the cases in which the plurality does not have a real plural meaning are not included here, but are interpreted to represent the meaning "during a period of time". For these the plural form can be just fully lexicalized, without leading to the existence of several periods of time.

[976] *в промежутках*
in gap-adp.
in the gaps (between different events or periods of time)

[911] *по весне*
along spring-sg.dat.
“along spring” = in the springtime

When the plural form has the meaning of there being a gap between the periods of time mentioned, i.e. that these periods are really separate periods, this naturally indicates how the meaning has to be understood from the viewpoint of FS. Accordingly, we get examples like [561] or its English equivalent. We find this expression in two kinds of contexts: “in the years 1999-2005” or “in the years 1983, 1988, and 2000”. In the first case the period mentioned is unified, and therefore has no gaps; the plurality occurs because it consists of independently defined periods, each having its own status for duration and the exact placing on the time line. This is also true for the second context, but there is a gap between each of the periods. Other expressions such as [437] express that something is true during periods of time where our common sense dictates that there must be a gap between them. The existence or lack of a gap does not change the basic meaning that the speaker wishes to convey, which is that of several periods of time during which something paid attention to is true. Naming the periods and seeing them as similar, and therefore unifying the aspect that is true during these periods, is a setting, a temporal background for something.

One can use a picture to illustrate the periods of time during which something is true by marking the periods of event on a time line so that the periods of reference coincide. The point of speech can again be clarified only from the context. The possible gap between the periods (or its non-existence) and the relative lengths of the periods are not relevant from the point of illustration. See Figure 2.

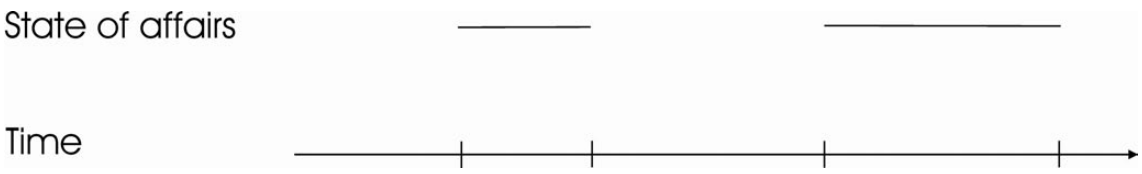


Figure 2. DURING PERIODS OF TIME

4.3.3.6. END OF A PERIOD OF TIME

The END OF A PERIOD OF TIME is related to the speaker's need to tell that a certain period of time is in the process of ending or has just ended. This meaning can be conveyed first of all by specifically stating that the time is ending by using a time noun and verb that carries this meaning, for example [837], [806], [788], and [772].

[837] *aika* *täyttyy*
time-sg.nom **become full**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
"time becomes full" = the time allowed for something is about to run out

[806] *aika* *vierähti*
time-sg.nom. **roll**-act.ind.imperf.sg.3.p.
"time rolled" = time went by fast, there is little time left

[788] *время* *поджимает*
time-sg.nom. **press**-imp.asp.act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
"time presses" = we have to act fast

[772] *время* *истекло*
time-sg.nom. **leak out**-perf.asp.act.pret.sg.3p
"time (has) leaked out"= time has run out, time for something ends right now

The end of a period of time can also be expressed by indicating the characteristics that a period of time is seen to have after its end. For example, [1054]:

[1054] *aika* *on* *ummessa*
time-sg.nom. **be**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p. **blocked**-sg.iness.
"time is blocked up" = a time period for something is ending or has just ended

Expressing the end of a period of time has to do with giving information about the way that time acts – since the end of a time period can have different consequences for the speaker. On the time line, this means stipulating the end point. That a period of time ends can also mean for the speaker that the amount

of time for something ends. This is, however, only the consequence of a period of time ending, and as such can not be the meaning itself. Accordingly, the content that the speaker wishes to convey is that a period of time ends. Here the general meaning can be understood as a whole state of affairs with its predication. The predication involved is Existence and time is in the actant role of Neutral (something to be talked about). The period of time is ending, and this can be illustrated by the modifier of Temporal Phase.

Comparing Russian and Finnish from the viewpoint of stating the end of a period of time makes it obvious that, for both languages, the way of expressing this kind of meaning is intepreting time as doing something active that makes it end. The concrete verbs used in this meaning are not, however, the same ones. This may say something about different ways of conceptualizing time, or perhaps only about different collocations used in these languages.

4.3.3.7. FOR A PERIOD OF TIME

The meaning of FOR A PERIOD OF TIME includes the idea that there is a given, reserved time for something, for an event to take place or a state to prevail. For example:

[289] *joksikin* *aikaa*
some-sg.transl. **time**-sg.partit.
"(change) into some of time" = for some time

[358] *kuuksi* *päiväksi*
moon-sg.transl. **day**-sg.transl.
"(change) into moon/day" = forever, for all times

[480] *siksi* *aikaa*
that-sg.transl. **time**-sg.partit.
(change) into that time = for that time

As can be seen from these examples, Finnish uses the translative case for this meaning. In Russian, the corresponding (in meaning) structure is the preposition *на* + accusative case, such as the following:

[419] *на год*→
onto year→-sg.acc.
"onto year→" = for a year→

[416] *на время*
onto time-sg.acc.
"onto time" = for some time

What the speaker wishes to convey when giving this kind of meaning is that a planned action has an amount of time designated for its use. This is a kind of utilitarian understanding of time.

FS categorizes a general meaning like this as one further case of Temporality as a specifier, more precisely of stipulating the temporal reference points. The period of time specified on the time line is filled with the action or state in question and therefore seen from the speaker's viewpoint as a whole, not as something that is formed from different points that could have some kind of independent meaning. FOR A PERIOD OF TIME is a relative time notion, in which the point of reference is the same as the beginning point of the period of event. Point of speech depends on the context. In schematic terms, this temporal relation can be described as: (Temp = E=R). See Figure 3.

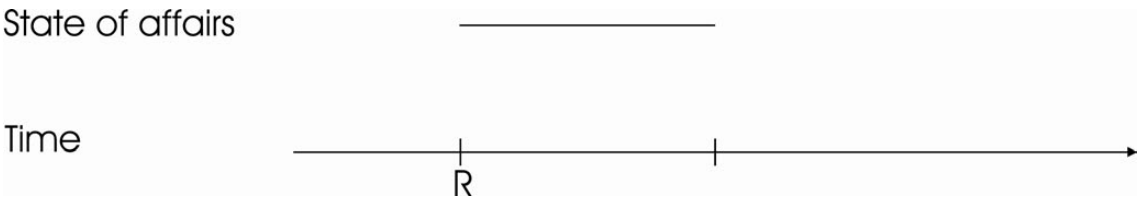


Figure 3. FOR A PERIOD OF TIME

4.3.3.8. RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME

With the meaning described here as RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME, the speaker wishes to say something about a period of time, other than that the period of time in question has begun or ended or that something is taking place during the period of time. Here the period of time can even be seen as having some kind of actant-like characteristics and this general meaning also concerns expressing an opinion on a period of time. The various things having such meanings can be expressed with many different kinds of constructions.

First of all, that something is related to a period of time can be expressed with an adjective that is formed from the name of that time period, such as [221], [236]:

[221] *heinäkuinen*
July-adj.sg.nom.
happening in July or having another kind of relationship with July

[236] *годичный*
year-adj.sg.nom.
annual, of a year, having to do with a year

Furthermore, the relationship of something with a period time can be expressed with a part (concrete or abstract) of that period of time, for example [718], [285], [168]:

[718] *menneen talven lumia*
go-act II partic.sg.gen. **winter**-sg.gen. **snow**-pl.partit.
"snows of the past winter" = something not current

[285] *дух времени*
spirit-sg.nom. **time**-sg.gen.
"spirit of time"

[168] *ei yksi pääsky kesää tee*
not one-sg.nom. **swallow**-sg.nom. **summer**-sg.partit. **make**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
"one swallow does not make a summer" = seeing only one swallow (a bird arriving in Finland only late in the spring) does not yet mean that summer has come, since one incident of something does not prove anything

A time period can also be seen as the active part of the relationship, as in [216], [866], [178], [407], and [466]:

[216] *Вы какого года?*
you-sg.nom. **which**-sg.gen. **year**-sg.gen.
"You are of which year?" = when were you born?

[866] *aika* *sanelee*
time-sg.nom. **dictate**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
“time dictates” = the characteristics of a time period decide on how the human being must behave

[178] *время* *обошло* *стороной*
time-sg.nom.**go by**-perf.asp.act.pret.sg.3p **side**-sg.instr.
“time went by the side” = time did not leave any marks (did not cause ageing)

[407] *olla* *aikaansa* *edellä*
be-act.inf. **time**-sg.partit.+ poss.suff.sg.3.p. **ahead**
be ahead of one’s time

[466] *не все* *в прошлом*
not all-adj.sg.nom. **in past**-sg.prep.
“not all is in the past” = not all is yet lost, there is still a chance

When it comes to how FS could describe this kind of meaning, the central notion is telling that something has a relation to a period of time. Describing this relation is a case of characterization: something is characterized as having a relation to a period of time. This makes time not only a bystander, but an active agent, since the Neutral is not here referring to time, but to the thing that has a relationship with time. By contrast, the opposite situation is when something is stated as having a relation with time (a time period is said to have certain characteristics); then the time period in question can also be in the actant role of Neutral, something to be talked about. The thing in common for the different meanings under the basic meaning RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME is that something is said that either characterizes the time period in question, or makes a time period a characterization for something else. These characterizations may sound like opposites, but this is not the case, since both involve introducing some kind of relation assumed to exist between a time period and characteristics. These characteristics do not arise out of anything that time inherently could be seen as having “in its nature”, but instead are introduced by the human being as creating such a relation. These expressions include a lot of figurativeness, and as such are interesting in finding out about the way that we think about time, what time is seen to be like, and what it is understood to be able to do. A certain time period is quite a good representative of time in general, since it is a basic unit of time, an amount of time for something.

4.3.4. Frequency

Frequency is not only about telling how often something takes place. More precisely, frequency does not require stating either the event or any gap between the events. All that it takes to include something under frequency as I understand it is an indication of repetition or its possibility. Stating that something is always (or never) true is also a case of stating frequency (or negating frequency). The same applies to stating that something happens with regular or irregular intervals that can be expressed either in absolute terms of the clock or calendar time, or in less obvious ways.

4.3.4.1. ALWAYS

The meaning ALWAYS conveys the speaker's wish to express that something happens or is true at any point in time, has been so in the past and will be so in the future. The languages have many means for expressing this. Besides the most obvious adverbs meaning 'always', this meaning is expressed using different kinds of constructions. The language can, first of all, relate to the fact that something has been true since time immemorial. Such constructions only give the starting point (or actually do not even give it, but refer to some long-past periods of time without any more particular placing of that time period), and since the end point is not given, we are left to assume that it continues to be so, i.e. has been and always will be so. Examples [139] and [644] illustrate this:

[139] *ammoisista* *ajoista*
ancient-pl.elat. **time**-pl.elat.
"from ancient times" = always

[644] *со* *времен* *царя* *Гороха*
from time-pl.gen. **tsar**-sg.gen. **Goroh**-sg.gen.
"from the times of tsar Goroh" = for a very long time, always

Another variant is giving the end point, which is something that is not foreseen to happen. This end point is the end of the world when, according to a common logic, even things that are eternal end. For example, consider [278] and [1141]:

[278] *до скончания дней*
until end-sg.gen. **day**-pl.gen.
“until the end of days” = always

[1141] *aikojen loppuun saakka*
time-pl.gen. **end**-sg.gen. **until**
“until the end of times” = always

One special case of such a meaning is stating that something will be true forever. The relation between the meanings “always” and “forever” lies in the beginning point, which in the case of “forever” can be mentioned. This is sometimes deliberately brought up, as in example [266].

[266] *ikiajoiksi*
eternal time-pl.transl.
“(change) into eternal times” = forever

Another way to express the meaning ALWAYS is by repeating time units between which (and accordingly always) something is true. For instance, [125], [322], and [262] represent these means to express ALWAYS:

[125] *ajasta toiseen*
time-sg.iness. **another**-sg.illat.
“from time to another” = always

[322] *из года в год*
from year-sg.gen. **into year**-sg.acc.
“from year into year” = always

[262] *день→ ото дня→*
day-sg.acc.**from day**-sg.gen.
“day from day” = always

The third possibility is to stipulate time as being general or times as occurring at any time that can follow one another, and in this way make something true of all times. Consider the expressions found in [1060], [288], [283], [971], and [839]:

[1060] *kaikkina vuosina*$^{\rightarrow}$
all-pron.ess. **year**-pl.ess
“as all years” = always

[288] *joka siunaaman hetki*$^{\rightarrow}$
every-sg.nom. **blessed**-sg.gen. **moment**-sg.nom.
“every moment of blessed” = always

[283] *iät päivät*
age-pl.nom. **day**-pl.nom.
“ages days” = always

[971] *с каждым годом*$^{\rightarrow}$
with each-sg.instr. **year**$^{\rightarrow}$-sg.instr.
“with every year$^{\rightarrow}$” = always

[839] *все времена*
all-pl.nom. **time**-pl.nom.
“all times” = always

Of course, there are also other ways of simply stating ALWAYS with the help of adverbs. For example [680] and [864]:

[680] *lakkaamatta*
adv.
“without ceasing” = always, very often

[864] *непрерывно*
adv.
“without stopping” = always

Using the notion of a timeline can also be used in dealing with the different cases of ALWAYS. But this occurs only on the surface level, on the level of linguistic expressions. As is evident, the meaning ALWAYS can be expressed with reference to different notions, both the beginnings and ends on the time line. Nevertheless, what the speaker wishes to express with these different means is not different, namely stating that something is true at any time, at all times.

On the other hand, the notion of frequentativeness in FS can also be used in describing ALWAYS. (Concerning my semantic classification, I find this link

obvious.) ALWAYS can be explained with the notion of the usual states of affairs ($Temp_{Us}$) in FS.

Even so, FS deals also with the speaker's wish to state that something is always true, pointing to the eternal character of the facts in question**.** For this the notion "Atemporal states of affairs" (Temp=Abstr) is used. The understanding of atemporality means that the temporal existence of something is seen as general, as being always true. On the other hand, the expressions that I have just introduced do not work in this way. Although they show the background assumption that is similar to that of general statements, and expressing this assumption may not result in a significant change in what the speaker wishes to say, the difference between them is that stating that something is always true does not take the fact of "always" as a given atemporal background assumption, but on the contrary, deliberately points at this fact. When such a notion is expressed in this way (however indirectly) and not just assumed, it cannot be understood as atemporal. The type of material used in this study does not lend itself to a comparison of the possibilities of expressing the notion of ALWAYS in the cases where it is concretely expressed and in the cases where it is understood from context.

4.3.4.2. NEVER

The meaning NEVER is the opposite of ALWAYS. When the speaker uses the expressions representing this meaning, the speaker wishes to state that something is not true at any point in any period of time. The ways to express this meaning are not very varied; they mainly consist of negating any possibilities of occurrence. For example:

[920] *ei* *ikinä*
not-verb.act.ind.pres.sg.3.p. **ever**-adv.
never

[158] *ei* *kuuna* *päivänä*
neg. **moon**-sg.ess. **day**-sg.ess.
"not as moon or as day" = never

[479] *не увидеть как своих ушей*
neg. see- perf.asp.act.inf. **like one's**-pl.gen. **ear**-pl.gen.
"not see like one's own ears" = never

Expressing NEVER usually includes negating something even on the surface level. This is not, however, a necessary condition if the impossibility of something taking place or being true is expressed by equating its likelihood with that of something that is manifestly impossible. See, for example, [357]:

[357] *когда рак на горе свистнет*
when crab on mountain-sg.prep. **whistle**- perf.asp.act.pres.sg.3p
"when a crab will whistle on a mountain" = never

For the speaker to talk about something never happening has to do with the need to express some kind of attitude towards the thing that does not take place. This can be regret or happiness, but rarely does anyone talk about things that are not in any way actual for them. They either wish that something would or would not happen, or they know that something should take place or has taken place with other people. All this makes expressing the meaning NEVER interesting among the expressions of frequency, or even time more generally. As far as FS is concerned, expressing the meaning NEVER could be represented as a case of negating frequency.

4.3.4.3. FREQUENCY: HOW OFTEN

The meaning of FREQUENCY: HOW OFTEN involves stating how often something happens. These expressions can either answer the question of how many times (in all) something happens, or of what the interval is between the cases. In my opinion, a distinction between these need not be made. For both of them, what the speaker wishes to express is the repetition of something, that something happens more than once. Examples of stating how many times something happens include [343] and [250]:

[343] *kolmesti*
three-adv.
three times

[250] *дважды*
two-adv.
twice

Examples of stating the interval between occurrences are [757], [1067], and [852]:

[757] *vähän* *päästä*
little-sg.gen. **after**
”after of little” = with short intervals, ever so often

[1067] *каждые* *две*→ *минуты*→
every-pl.acc. **two**→-pl.acc. **minute**→-pl.acc.
every two→ minutes→

[852] *раз* *в году*
time-sg.nom. **in year**-sg.prep.
one time in a year = once a year

Stating the interval can also be combined with a judgement concerning the length of the interval. For example, [386], and [77]:

[386] *monista* *ajoista*
many-pl.elat. **time**-pl.elat.
“from many times” = after a long pause

[77] *aikoja* *myöhemmin*
time-pl.partit. **later**
“times later” = much later

Examples of simply stating that something has not happened for the first time: [669], [659], [1065], and [1064].

[669] *yhtenään*
one-sg.ess./adv.
“as one” = all the time, very often

[659] *uudestaan*
new-sg.elat.+ poss.suff.sg.3.p./adv.
“of its new” = again

[1065] *опять*
adv.
again

[1064] *снова*
new-adv.
a new time, once again

From the viewpoint of FS, stating the frequency is naturally an occurrence of Frequency (or frequentativeness) ($Temp_{Fr}$). The notion of frequentativeness shows that something happens not for the first time. This does not require that the repetition should be regular or follow particular rules. Furthermore, another kind of Frequency that FS notices is Usuality ($Temp_{Us}$), referring to repetition that follows regular patterns. The speaker's judgement can be added to this description. This judgement can be of the type that claims that the frequency is too high or low. In addition, the number of times that something occurs can be specified by adding the number in the notation. In this way, the description for [343] could be ($Temp_{Fr} = 3$).

4.3.5. Sequence

Stating the sequence of events or prevailing states is one of the basic needs a speaker has for talking about time. Sequence puts events on a time line, especially such events that humans plan. Even things that cannot be planned are, from the human viewpoint, put into order by stating a sequence. It is important to note that many of the notions discussed above as cases concerning points in time and periods of time also have to do with sequence.

From the viewpoint of FS, stating the sequence is a case of giving temporal reference points, representing the specifier Temporality.

4.3.5.1. TEMPORAL ORDER

The meaning TEMPORAL ORDER is connected to the speaker's wish to convey such meanings as what (which event) comes first and what after it and what last. Such notions as "previous" and "next" also come in useful here.

First of all, temporal order can merely involve stating the order by using simple adverbs. Such adverbs are used for stating what the order is: what comes first, what next and what last. For example, [607] and [141]:

[607] *ensiksi*
first-sg.transl.
”into first” = first, first of all

[141] *впредь*
ahead/in front-adv.
ahead, in the future

Temporal order also includes expressions that are more complicated than the previous adverbs. It is possible to state the temporal order from a more specified perspective. In these cases the expression determines the point of view from which (or the parameter according to which) the order is interpreted. For example, in [726], [1048], and [869], the notions of order – coming, following and passing – are used for stating the order between time units of the same kind – in this case weekends, Saturdays, or days.

[726] *tulevana* *viikonloppuna*
come-act I partic.sg.ess. **weekend**-sg.ess.
“as coming weekend” = next weekend, following weekend

[1048] *в* *минувшую* *субботу*$^{\rightarrow}$
into pass-imp.asp.act.part.pret.sg.acc. **Saturday**$^{\rightarrow}$-sg.acc.
“into passing Saturday$^{\rightarrow}$” = last Saturday$^{\rightarrow}$

[869] *следующим* *днем*
follow-imp.asp.act.partic.pres.sg.instr **day**-sg.instr.
“with the following day” = the following day

Some notions of absolute sequence also occur in expressions with this meaning. See [891] and [825].

[891] *viimeisenä iltana*$^{\rightarrow}$
last-sg.ess. **evening**-sg.ess.
“as last evening” = on the final evening

[825] *какую* *неделю*→
which-sg.acc. **week**→-sg.acc.
"to which week→" = how many weeks successively; already for a long time

When giving the temporal order, the speaker gives the temporal reference for something, i.e. the framework to compare the temporal notions of that thing with others. When giving the temporal order, we can use the point of speech, point of reference and point of event to illustrate the temporal order on the time line. The general meaning of temporal order differs from the cases to be introduced below in that it states the order from a general viewpoint. This means that what the speaker wishes to comment upon is simply the order of two points of reference, i.e. which of them comes first on the time line and which later. One of the points of reference is the same as either the point of speech or the point of event, and the other point of reference is defined in the relation to the first point.

It is clear that, in some cases, making the difference between the meanings TEMPORAL ORDER and DURING A PERIOD OF TIME can be difficult. This has especially to do with expressing phases that also in a sense have the same kind of temporal order in their meaning, but because they refer to a definable period of time, they are understood here as representing the meaning DURING A PERIOD OF TIME. Such cases include, for example, the Finnish [1048] *vuoden*→ *ensimmäisellä puoliskolla* 'during the first half of the year→', which has the general meaning of DURING A PERIOD OF TIME, although it also involves temporal sequencing.

When it comes to FS, the notion of temporal order is easily described as giving the sequence of events or states on a time line. Depending on the nature of each of the units put into order, the way they are described on a time line can be different. The symbols used for punctual and longer time units help to illustrate the way that the temporal order is realized.

4.3.5.2. AN AMOUNT OF TIME AHEAD

AN AMOUNT OF TIME AHEAD states how much time there is left until something in the future will take place. This kind of meaning defines the gap that the points of reference have in a sequence. The difference in time is expressed in Finnish with the help of the genitive case and a postposition (several possibilities,

see, for example [559], [295]), and in Russian with the help of a split preposition, (see [717], no other prepositions for this purpose).

[559] *vuoden→ päästä*
year→-sg.gen. **head**-sg.elat.
“from the head of the year→” = after a year→

[295] *jonkin ajan jälkeen*
certain-sg.gen. **time**-sg.gen. **after**
“after a certain time”

[717] *через два→ года→ после*
via-adp. **two→**-sg.nom.**year→**-sg.gen.**after**-adp.
“via two→ years→ after” = two→ years→ after something

It is worth noting that the Finnish expressions having this meaning can also be used in another meaning, that is, in stating not the interval between events, but when something will take place. This could be interpreted as giving the point of event as in AT A POINT IN TIME. The Russian expression given [717] cannot be used to convey such a meaning without dropping the second part of the split preposition.

From the viewpoint of the notation technique of FS, the general meaning AN AMOUNT OF TIME AHEAD could be described as combining the notions of giving the reference point for something, and the notion of Quantity (Quant). With the mention of the quantity of a known time unit, the time line can be split into exact parts that can be measured.

4.3.5.3. AN AMOUNT OF TIME BACK

AN AMOUNT OF TIME BACK specifies the amount of time that has gone by since something took place. The functioning and forming of such a meaning necessarily involves the previous notion, only the direction is opposite: this time it is going back, i.e. towards the past. Again Finnish uses more adpositions than Russian for expressing this, as Russian has only one possibility. See [558] and [400].

[558] *vuoden→ päivät sitten*
year→-sg.gen. **day**-pl.nom. **ago**-adp.
days of a year→ ago = about a year→ ago

[400] *минуту→ назад*
minute→-sg.acc.**ago**-adp.
a minute→ ago

The way FS can help describe this is the same as in the previous meaning. The reference goes, naturally, in the opposite direction.

4.3.5.4. IMMEDIATELY

The meaning IMMEDIATELY refers to expressing that something happens right after the point of speech (or, in some cases, the point of reference). This kind of notion can be communicated by using some simple adverbs, such as [764] and [406].

[764] *välittömästi*
immediate-adv.
immediately

[406] *моментально*
instant-adv.
instantly

The meaning IMMEDIATELY can also be expressed by using more complicated constructions; for example [528] and [684].

[528] *tuossa tuokiossa*
that-sg.iness. **moment**-sg.iness.
“in that moment” = right away

[684] *мом же час*
that-sg.acc. **same hour**-sg.acc.
“that same hour” = immediately

What the speaker wishes to convey with a meaning like this is the sequencing of certain points on the time line as being right next to one another. FS could explain this meaning as being points on a time line that are close to one another.

The differences in whether the immediateness concerns a point of reference that is the same as the point of speech or a point of reference located elsewhere causes variation in the description and interpretation of the expression in different contexts. See Figure 4**.**



Figure 4. IMMEDIATELY

4.3.5.5. NOW

The meaning NOW makes the speaker express that something takes place or is true at this very moment. This means that all the points – the point of speech, the point of reference and the point of event – are the same. Besides just saying NOW, this meaning can be conveyed by pointing at the moment using different short time units and defining it as (exactly) this one. See examples [997], [32], [637].

[997] *juuri* *tällä* *hetkellä*
exactly-adv. **this**-sg.adess. **moment**-sg.adess.
“exactly on this moment” = exactly at this moment, right now

[32] *в* *данный* *момент*
into given-sg.acc. **moment**-sg.acc.
“into given moment” = now

[637] *сию* *секунду*
this-sg-acc. **second**-sg.acc.
“this second” = right now

One speciality of Finnish is the possibility to describe this meaning with the notion of “best time”, for example [424].

[424] *parastaikaa*
best time-sg.partit.
”of the best time” = right now

FS could explain the meaning NOW with the same point on a time line in which the points of reference, speech and event all coincide. This is a punctual notion, and the speaker can state something only in relation to the point in question. This kind of temporal relation could be described as (Temp = R=S=E). See Figure 5.

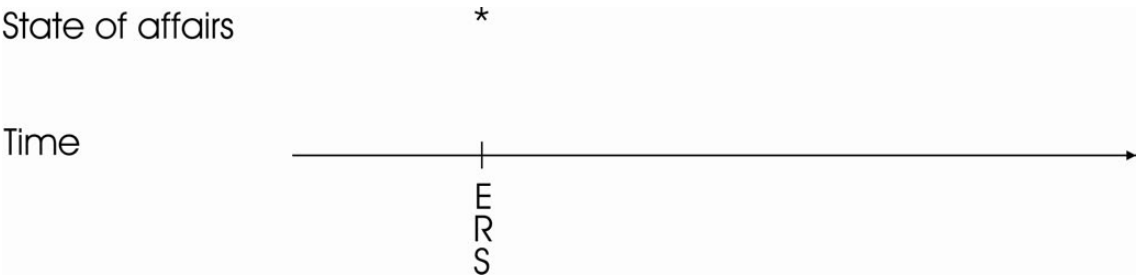


Figure 5. NOW

4.3.5.6. NOWADAYS

The meaning NOWADAYS gives as the reference point the period of time where the point of speech is situated. The ways to express this semantic content are quite simple, as they just combine the notions of now and the period of time. For example:

[395] *nykyaikana*
modern time-sg.ess.
“as modern time” = nowadays

[639] *nyttemmin*
now-comp.
“more now” = nowadays

[54] *в настоящее время*
into standing-sg.acc. **time**-sg.acc.
“into the standing time” = nowadays

[55] *в наше время*
into our-sg.acc. **time**-sg.acc.
“into our time” = in our time, nowadays

The difference between the meanings NOW and NOWADAYS is in that NOWADAYS rather has a period than a point of reference, speech and event. The speaker uses this notion of currently existing time period as one form of stating that something takes place or is true in a certain period of time. Only the notion of NOWADAYS is able to move, and as such it has to do with sequence, since the nowadays of today is the past of tomorrow, and the sequential notions are central in describing such phenomena. However, the scope of the period considered to be the one prevailing can be of very different length. In one context, the meaning of NOWADAYS can be a period of some weeks; in another one, a whole historical period. This makes NOWADAYS – despite the clear reference to a whole period of time – also a punctual notion; what is really stated is that the moment of speech (and also reference) is part of a longer period that is in some respect similar to it. Schematically, this can be illustrated as (Temp = R=S=E). Using the notion of a time line can differentiate this general meaning from the general meaning NOW. For NOW, the point of reference, the point of speech and the point of event are all the same point. However, for NOWADAYS, there is a period of reference and either a period of event that is the same as the period of reference, or a point of event somewhere on that period of reference. The point of speech is also located somewhere in the period of reference. See Figures 5 and 6.

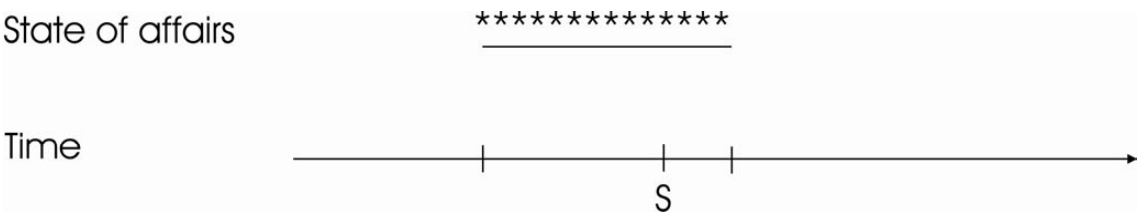


Figure 6. NOWADAYS

4.3.5.7. ANY TIME

The meaning ANY TIME expresses the notion that something can happen at any time, i.e. that it either is not important when exactly (any moment or period is as

good as any other), or that the time of happening is so close that it can be any of the closest ones. See examples [413], [770], [560], and [587].

[413] *omia* *aikojaan*
own-pl.partit. **time**-pl.partit.+poss.suff.sg.3.p.
“some of its own times” = any time

[770] *milloin* *vaan*
when-adv. **ever**-adv.
whenever

[560] *после дождика* *в четверг*
after small rain-sg.gen. **to Thursday**-sg.acc.
“after a small rain on Thursday” = not known when

[587] *рано или поздно*
early or late
“early or late” = some time, any time

From the speaker’s point of view, this kind of sequence relates to the need to express that the point of event is not defined. The speaker may not wish to make such a statement, and this can be the reason for choosing such a vague notion when it comes to the time line. Thus, the notion of a time line as an exact illustrator cannot be used here. ANY TIME is a point in time or a period of time, but where exactly (or even approximately) it is placed is not clear. Because of all this, FS could best reach the semantic content of ANY TIME with the help of the speaker’s wish to be vague and general. For this meaning, time is not actually the subject of the statement. Rather, it is the case that the vagueness of the time notion means that the real semantic content of such expressions is that of existence, happening. What the speaker wishes to convey is that something *will* take place; but that something is either not known, or is deliberately left open, as to when it will happen. Because of all this, one can leave time outside the central semantic components of these expressions. What the speaker wishes to convey with the expressions is a combination of telling that something will surely take place and that the temporal placing of it is uncertain.

4.3.5.8. SOON

The meaning SOON corresponds to the speaker's wish to communicate that something takes place at a point in time that is close to the point of speech. This can be expressed, first of all, by using some adverbs, for example [641], [1081].

[641] *piakkoin*
soon-adv.
soon

[1081] *скоро*
soon-adv.
soon

Nominal constructions are also used to express this meaning. See [57] and [921].

[57] *в непродолжительном времени*
in non-continuous-sg.prep. **time**-sg.prep.
"in non-continuous time" = soon

[921] *ensi tilassa*
first-adj.indecl. **state**-sg.iness.
"in the first state" = soon

In [57], the temporal closeness makes time not continuous, while [921] the next state is the one in which something happens, and the beginning of that next state is assumed to be close. These constructions do not have lexical correspondences in the other language I examine here.

Taking it one step further we find the expressions that convey the meaning with such a form of idiomaticity that they can only be understood correctly by knowing the expression. See [150] and [437].

[150] *ei aikaakaan kun*
neg. time-sg.partit. even-suff. **when**
"not even time when" = very soon

[437] *на носу что у кого*
on nose-sg.prep. **what at who**-sg.gen.
"what is on the nose at someone" = what comes soon, what is temporally close

When it comes to FS, the meaning SOON could be seen as stating the temporal order on the time line. When a speaker uses an expression with the meaning SOON, s/he wishes to state that the gap is not long between the point of reference and the thing to happen (point of event). Whether the point of speech is identical to or different from the point of reference depends on the context.

4.3.5.9. NOT A LONG TIME AGO

The meaning NOT A LONG TIME AGO expresses the speaker's wish to say that something was in sequence a short amount of time ago. This kind of need may correspond to the need to say that something was true not a long time ago, which has positive consequences for the credibility of its still being true. The short amount of time passed can also have practical consequences, since something that happened a while ago can sometimes still be reached, for example, a person that just left can still be found.

This meaning can be communicated by giving the short period of time that has passed since something [241], or with help of an adverb [1069]. These means are common for both languages.

[241] *hetki* *sitten*
moment-sg.nom. **ago**
a moment ago

[1069] *недавно*
not a long ago-adv.
not a long time ago

From the viewpoint of functional syntax, the meaning NOT A LONG TIME AGO is not easy to define, at least if one would like to define it with the help of the categories provided by FS. The specifier of Temporality can define the temporal reference with the help of the point of speech, point of reference and point of event, of which the point of event is earlier on the time line than are the point of reference and point of speech. This can be described as (Temp = E R=S). The length of the gap between the event (the point of event) that is in the past and the point of speech (which is also the point of reference) is defined as being short, but this length (specifiable with the notion of Quantity in FS) is not specified more precisely, as it is indefinite.

4.3.5.10. A LONG TIME AGO

One case of temporal order is that in which the speaker wishes to say that something happened a long time ago. This meaning expresses that the interval is long between the point of speech and the time of event. The time of event can be either punctual or more stretched on the time line. This meaning can be put across first of all through the use of some adverbs, as in [137], [1072].

[137] *ammoin*
adv.
long ago

[1072] *давно 1*
adv.
long ago

In Finnish, the long amount of time in the gap can be expressed with the partitive case of the word time combined with the particle with the meaning ‘ago’, for example [57] and [78]. There is no corresponding construction for this in Russian.

[57] *aikaa* *sitten*
time-sg.partit. **ago**
“some time ago” = a long time ago

[78] *aikoja* *sitten*
time-pl.partit. **ago**
“some times ago” = a long time ago

The same meaning can be expressed in Russian with the saying [615].

[615] *с тех пор не мало воды утекло*
from that-pl.gen. **time period**-pl.gen. **neg. little**-adv. **water**-sg.gen. **flow away**-perf.asp.act.pret.sg.3p
“since that time not little water has flown away” = a long time has passed since

From the viewpoint of functional syntax, the meaning A LONG TIME AGO has much in common with the previous meaning NOT A LONG TIME

AGO. The only difference is that the gap is defined as long, i.e. the longness is not negated. This is once again a case of saying when something happens, giving a temporal reference to an event or state. The temporal relation involved is (Temp = E R=S).

4.3.5.11. SIMULTANEOUSLY

The meaning SIMULTANEOUSLY corresponds to the speaker's need to state that something happens at the same time as something else. In both languages this can be expressed with the help of defining two times as representing one time. See [569], [566] and [1082].

[569] *yksin* *ajoin*
one-pl.instr. **time**-pl.instr.
"with one times" = simultaneously

[566] *yhtaikaa*
one time-sg.partit.
"of one time" = simultaneously

[1082] *одновременно*
one time-adv.
"at one time" = simultaneously

The time that becomes "the same" can also in some idiomatic cases be defined as "that", for example [678], [470].

[678] *тем* *временем*
that-sg.instr. **time**-sg.instr.
"with that time" = simultaneously

[470] *sen* *aikaa*
that-sg.gen. **time**-sg.partit.
"its some time" = simultaneously

In FS, if the simultaneity concerns one state of affairs, it is described as giving temporal reference points. Saying that something happens simultaneously is a case of stating that two or more things coincide on the time line. In the case of simultaneity, they most likely coincide completely, both their beginnings and

their ends, or in the cases of punctual notions, the point is exactly the same. For the speaker, the reason for telling about simultaneity is clear – the temporal coincidence can have practical consequences. In FS, if simultaneity concerns two different states of affairs, it is described as a taxis relation AT THE SAME TIME AS.

4.3.5.12. NOT FOR A LONG TIME

The meaning NOT FOR A LONG TIME corresponds to the speaker's need to state that a long pause has occurred since something has taken place or has been true. The notion of non-existence (not only a pause) is crucial here – when the speaker wishes to express this kind of meaning, s/he not only says that something has not happened for a long time, but includes also the possibility that it may never again be true. In this way it is not merely a case of stating the interval between similar events or states. The difference in relation to the meaning A LONG TIME AGO is in that while A LONG TIME AGO presupposes a certain point in the past when something was true or took place, NOT FOR A LONG TIME does not include such a presupposition, but instead concentrates on something not happening.

For Russian, my material includes only two ways of expressing this meaning, quite simply with an adverb [1060], or by negating long time [1076].

[1060] *давно* *не*
long ago-adv. **neg.**
"long ago not" = not for a long time

[1076] *долгое* *время* *не*
long-sg.acc. **time**-sg.acc. **neg.**
"long time not"

Finnish has more variety in the expression of this meaning. The different expressions available all have the negation of time (in singular or plural, variation idiomatic), which is 'some', 'long', 'big', 'many' or 'good'. For example:

[153] *ei hyvään aikaan*
neg. good-sg.iness. **time**-sg.iness.
“not to good time” = not for a long time

[157] *ei isoon aikaan*
neg. big-sg.iness. **time**-sg.iness.
“not to long time” = not for a long time

From the viewpoint of FS, the meaning NOT FOR A LONG TIME could be described with a time line where either there is not a certain kind of event, or that point of event has occurred far in the past. In this way, the point of speech is somewhere after the point of event, as is the point of reference (either at the same point as the point of speech or not). On a time line this is either (Temp = E R=S), (Temp = E R S), or (Temp = E S R). This kind of temporal reference for a state of affairs corresponds to a clear need on the part of the speaker to express that something has not happened for a long time. Besides stating the temporal order with the help of a time line or the order of points of event, speech and reference, it has to be explicated in some way that the gap between the point of event and the point of reference is long in quantity.

4.3.5.13. AFTER A LONG PAUSE

Stating that something takes place after a long pause means that there is a long interval between two events, and the viewpoint from which the speaker looks at the situation is that of the latter one of the events. In this way, while the previous meaning NOT FOR A LONG TIME stated that something has not happened for a long time but did not imply that it would necessarily happen ever again, AFTER A LONG PAUSE includes the implication that the event in question has happened some time in the distant past and happens again (at the point of reference).

When the speaker uses an expression having this meaning, s/he wants to say that the interval between the events was unusually or unnecessarily long. Finnish has several possibilities for expressing such a meaning, based on the notions of ‘long time’, ‘many times’, or ‘big time’. Different cases and both singular and plural are used in these expressions; for example, [433] and [386].

[433] *pitkästä* *aikaa*
long-sg.elat. **time**-sg.partit.
“of long of time” = after a long pause

[386] *monista* *ajoista*
many-pl.elat. **time**-pl.elat.
“from many times” = after a long pause

In addition, simply the notion of time in plural has the meaning of a long time in Finnish, see [85].

[85] *aikojen* *päästä*
time-pl.gen. **after**-adp.
“after times” = after a long pause

Yet Russian does not seem to have ways to express this meaning. Closer analysis reveals that the Russian constructions mentioned under the meaning NOT FOR A LONG TIME can actually be used with this kind of meaning as well. Russian does not, therefore, lexicalize the difference between these two meanings.

For FS, stating that something takes place after a long pause can be described on a time line having two points of event on it. This would not, however, deal with describing the length of the gap between them, or with the viewpoint of the latter of these events.

4.3.6. Passing of time

The meanings concerned with the passing of time have to do with the fact that in the world of our experiences, time is seen as moving, as passing us by. This movement of time can have different consequences. In the following section, I will look at the ways that the languages express such notions as the neutral fact that time passes. Here the understanding is that the passage of time brings about changes in the situation, that time proceeds fast or slowly, or that time does not proceed. From the viewpoint of FS, these meanings are difficult to interpret. This is because notions of the passage of time do not represent Temporality as a background notion, but instead place time in the foreground as an independent entity that functions in such a way as to influence the human being. In other words, these notions of time represent time as an actor, more precisely as a Subject-agent (A), or a Subject-experiencer (E). This kind of actant forms a core

of a meaning with a predicate and because of this one can talk in these cases not only about meanings to be expressed, but also about states of affairs in their own right.

4.3.6.1. PASSING OF TIME

The general meaning PASSING OF TIME represents the fact that time proceeds as a fact of life, and the attitude towards it is neutral. This can be expressed first of all with a time noun and a verb, for example [815], [674].

[815] *aika* *kestää*
time-sg.nom. **endure**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
"time endures" = time lasts (has a certain length)

[674] *текут* *дни*
flow-imp.asp.act.ind.pres.sg.3.p. **day**-pl.nom.
"days flow" = days go by

Notions of this kind lead to nominalizations that refer to the same thing [361], [116].

[361] *колесо* *времени*
wheel-sg.nom. **time**-sg.gen.
"wheel of time" = the fact that time goes on

[116] *ajan* *virta*
time-sg.gen. **stream**-sg.nom.
"stream of time" = the fact that time goes on

Ways of controlling and measuring the passing of time are also part of this meaning. Examples [818] and [202] show the passing of time as a phenomenon that can be measurable.

[818] *mitata* *aikaa*
measure-act.I.inf. **time**-sg.partit.
to measure time

[202] *времяисчисление*
time counting-sg.nom.
time counting, time reckoning

From the viewpoint of FS, pointing at the passing of time relates to the speaker's need to say that time goes on. This kind of meaning (state of affairs) can be defined with time as an actant (A or E) and the going on as the predication related to it. The whole notion of understanding time as something that can proceed can be understood as an authorization by the speaker, who expresses an opinion on this possibility.

On the other hand, this is, from another viewpoint, also a kind of identification. When the speaker says that time proceeds, s/he at the same time acknowledges time as something moving. As such time is seen as an actant capable of human-like actions, and for the speaker, identifying time as this kind of actant is a noteworthy part of this meaning. On the other hand, this identification is not made in the mind of the speaker; it is instead found deeper in our cultural understanding. Because it is a part of our shared knowledge, it should probably be understood as a permanent part of our understanding of time, permanent features that time is seen as having, and not something that the speaker would or could mean separately. What kind of features time is seen as having in each particular case has to be understood as the part of the meaning that the speaker wishes to express. Although the speaker does not deliberately wish to make new assumptions on the features that time has, the features assumed by our culture have to be analysed, in order to be analysed in any way at all, together with the features concretely meant by the speaker. Because of all this, one does not need to analyse this kind of general meaning as an identification in which the speaker would deliberately give time new features, identifying time as something. The speaker understands time as a certain kind of actant that can do certain things, and this assumption is made in accordance with the notions set by his or her culture and surroundings.

4.3.6.2. TIME PROCEEDS → SITUATION CHANGES

The general meaning TIME PROCEEDS → SITUATION CHANGES corresponds to the speaker's need to say that the way time goes on affects the way things are. This gives the time an active actant role, specifically, the attributes of a causator. If our thinking were fully logical and our use of language

followed the same logic, we would say that the passing of time brings about changes, but instead we say that time causes those changes. One could also call this general meaning something like “time changes”, and this would express the way that time is seen as a causator on the level of language, the logics of our language. This would not, however, be in concordance with what the speaker *knows*, namely that it is the passing of time itself that brings about the changes.

This general meaning is usually expressed with the time noun plus a verb. For example:

[784] *aika* *korjaa*
time-sg.nom. **mend**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
“time mends” = anything that is or seems bad now can be better in the future

[961] *aika* *pitää* *huolen*
time-sg.nom. **take**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p. **care**-sg.acc.
“time takes care” = after a certain period of time has passed, the problem of today will most certainly either be gone or no longer seem important

[580] *aika* *hautaa*
time-sg.nom. **bury**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p
“time buries” = time makes us forget

[769] *время* *поправляет*
time-sg.nom. **repair**-imp.asp.act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
“time repairs”

[154] *время* *возьмет* *свое*
time-sg.nom. **take**-perf.asp.act.fut.sg.3.p **pron**.sg.acc.
“time will take its own” = only with the passing of time will all the facts be known

[191] *время* *смывает* *прошлое*
time-sg.nom. **wash away**--imp.asp.act.ind.pres.sg.3.p. **past**-sg.acc.
“time washes away the past”

The changes that time is seen to bring about are of different kinds. The most typical ones are ageing, forgetting and mending.

Furthermore, the meaning TIME PROCEEDS → SITUATION CHANGES is evident in expressions that show the result of the proceeding and the change that results from it.

[915] *vuosien* *myötä*
year-pl.gen. **along-**adp.
“along the years”

[106] *ajan* *patina*
time-sg.gen. **patina**-sg.nom.
”time’s patina” = the changes brought about by time

[700] *утро* *вечера* *мудренее*
morning-sg.nom.**evening**-sg.gen.**wise**-sg.comp.
“the morning is wiser than the evening” = things will be or seem clearer in the morning

As mentioned earlier, the meaning TIME PROCEEDS → SITUATION CHANGES is clearly a case of causation. Time is seen as a causator, and is also expressed as such on the level of language. “If something, then something” is in this case “if time passes, then it has certain consequences”.

FS differentiates between those cases in which it is directly stated that something is caused by something else and the cases in which some kind of states of affairs have a causal relation. On the one hand, if the speaker wishes to express explicitly that something is caused by something else, this would be explained with the help of the modifier Causation (Caus). On the other hand, when the speaker wishes to tell why something is true, this kind of causation is expressed by using the metaconjunction BECAUSE. So which is the case here? The speaker does see the proceeding of time as causing changes. As a result, one could interpret this as a case explainable with the modifier Causation. Nevertheless, I would not exclude the variant of understanding the passing of time and the changes coming along with it as being related in a less obvious way.

4.3.6.3. TIME PROCEEDS FAST

The general meaning TIME PROCEEDS FAST corresponds to the speaker’s need to state that time proceeds (too) quickly, that the pace of time does not seem normal. This is naturally in contradiction with the notion of clock time that

assumes that time always proceeds in the same way and that the onward march of time can be measured with clocks. For example:

[812] *aika* *hujahtaa*
time-sg.nom.**dash**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
"time dashes" = time goes past very fast

[39] *aika* *meni* *hurahtaen*
time-sg.nom.**go-**act.ind.imperf. sg.3.p. **with a swish**-adv.
"time went with a swish" = time went past very fast

[167] *время* *как на крыльях* *летит*
time-sg.nom**. like on wing**-pl.prep.**fly**-imp.asp.act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
"time flies like on wings" = time proceeds very fast

[176] *время* *не ждет*
time-sg.gen.**neg. wait**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
"time does not wait" = we need to hurry

From the viewpoint of FS notation, this general meaning can be explained in the same way as any proceeding of time (4.3.6.1.), the only addition being that the speaker views the moving as proceeding quickly. The reason for the speaker's wish and need to express such a notion is clear: it is a common, everyday experience that time can seem to go faster at some times than at others, mainly depending on the activity one is engaged in and the company one keeps.

4.3.6.4. TIME PROCEEDS SLOWLY

The opposite of the previous general meaning is the general meaning TIME PROCEEDS SLOWLY. This general meaning corresponds to the speaker's wish to say that time seems to go on more slowly than it normally does. This is expressed, first of all, by using a time noun and a verb. The verb can reflect the different kinds of movement [38], [766]. It can also communicate the stretchy character of time [195], [844], [833].

[38] *aika* *matelee*
time-sg.nom. **crawl**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p
"time crawls" = time seems to go on very slowly, as if crawling

[766] *время* *ползет*
time-sg.nom.**crawl**-imp.asp.act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
“time crawls” = time seems to go on very slowly, as if crawling

[195] *время* *тянется*
time-sg.nom. **stretch**-imp.asp.act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
“time stretches” = time seems to go on very slowly

[844] *aika* *antaa* *myöten*
time-sg.nom. **give**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p. **by**-adv.
“time gives way”, “time is stretchy” = time seems to go on very slowly, time allows something

[833] *aika* *tulee* *pitkäksi*
time-sg.nom. **become**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p. **long**-sg.transl.
“time becomes long” = time seems long and one gets bored

This kind of slow proceeding (as likewise the fast proceeding of the previous general meaning) corresponds to the actant character that time has in this meaning, i.e. being able to have control over its actions (in this case, the speed of proceeding).

When it comes to FS, the explanation is very much the same as in the previous case. Here we have the added factor involving the speaker’s opinion that the speed of time is slow, and the interpretation on whether this is seen as being good or bad.

4.3.6.5. TIME DOES NOT PROCEED

The general meaning TIME DOES NOT PROCEED corresponds to the speaker’s wish to say that time seems to stand still and to have ceased to move on. This phenomenon, which is impossible from the viewpoint of physics, is rather frequently experienced and expressed by humans. This notion of time is expressed with the help of the word ‘time’ plus a verb that means standing or stopping [53], [179].

[53] *aika* *seisoo*
time-sg.nom. **stand**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
“time stands”

[179] *время* *остановилось*
time-sg-nom. **stop**-perf.asp.act.ind.pret.sg.3.p.
“time stopped”

What does the speaker wish to convey when using such expressions? Probably describing a situation in which time seems to stand still. Such situations mark certain, very special moments in our lives, both the happiest and the most tragic ones. Time can also seem to have stopped in situations in which it could as well be described as going slowly, namely when a person is very bored. How can this kind of meaning be explained? How could we describe such a general meaning? Is the essential meaning to be found in the notion that time does not proceed, or in the manifestations that such a notion can have – the ones briefly described above? One has to find a way to get around such problems. By calling this meaning TIME DOES NOT PROCEED, what we gain is the unity of the expressions that nurture such an idea. This also points to the illogical shared experience that this idea is based on. Another possibility would be to overlook this common ground by explaining the meanings involved in a different way that might, in turn, be closer to the concrete situations in which the expressions could be used.

When it comes to the notation technique of FS, the general meaning TIME DOES NOT PROCEED can be explained with the help of the independent time actant-agent (A). This, combined with the predicate, once again forms a predication that can be further defined by negating the proceeding (the specifier Negation), as well as with the help of the modifier Authorization, which can be used to explain the speaker’s reaction to the general meaning in a specific context.

4.3.7. Suitable time and right time

This section will introduce two meanings that are close to each other, namely SUITABLE TIME and RIGHT TIME and their negations NOT SUITABLE TIME and NOT RIGHT TIME. Both SUITABLE TIME and RIGHT TIME describe the speaker’s opinion that a certain point or period of time is good for something to be done or to happen. The difference between them is that SUITABLE TIME looks at time from the perspective of the speaker’s needs, while RIGHT TIME is based on the notion of common, objective acceptability.

The notions of suitable time and right time have much to do with the way that different time units are perceived to be different and have different characteristics, and therefore they are interpreted as “different times”.

Yet the difference between suitable and right time is not always clear. Some expressions can be used in both meanings, and only the context determines which of the meanings is involved. It is also possible that the speaker may not always make the difference between a right and a suitable time.

4.3.7.1. SUITABLE TIME

In the case of SUITABLE TIME, the time is suitable from the speaker’s perspective (but may not be so for others, or from the viewpoint of common standards); it is subjectively the suitable time. In most cases the reason for suitability does not come from the expression itself. Instead, the suitability may have to do with its place on the time line, or with other characteristics of the time unit.

The suitability can be pointed to by naming or choosing a suitable point in time/suitable time period [627], [791], [320], or a meaning of something such as “at a suitable point of time/in suitable time period” [491], [977].

[627] *самое* *время*
the very-sg.nom. **time**-sg.nom.
“the very time” = a suitable time for something

[791] *подходящее* *время*
come close-imp.asp.act.partic.pres.sg.3.p. **time**-sg.nom.
“close-coming time” = a suitable time for something

[320] *katsoa* *hetkensä* *tulleen*
see-act.I inf. **moment**-sg.acc.+ poss.suff.sg.3.p. **come**-act II partic.gen.
“see that one’s moment has come” = consider a moment suitable for something

[491] *sopivalla* *ajalla*
suitable-sg.adess. **time**-sg.adess.
“on suitable time” = at a suitable time

[977] *sopivasti*
suitably-adv.
suitably, at a suitable time

From the viewpoint of FS, stating the suitable time follows the same rules as those for giving a time unit or telling when something is to take place in general. The suitability of the time is thus purely a subjective notion and can be added to this meaning by the modifier of Authorization.

4.3.7.2. RIGHT TIME

In the case of the general meaning RIGHT TIME, the appropriateness of a certain time unit for something is not decided on from the viewpoint of the speaker only. It is also defined as being morally or politically right and suitable, as objectively the right time for something. Again this notion includes both giving the time that is seen as right [309], [796], [213] and telling that something happens at the right time [132], [469].

[309] *kaikella on aikansa*
everything-sg.adess. **have**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p. **time**-sg.acc.+ poss.suff.sg.3.p.
"everything has its time" = there is an objectively right time for doing each thing

[796] *aika on kypsä*
time-sg.nom. **be**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p **ripe**-sg.nom.
"time is ripe"

[213] *всякому овощу свое время*
each-sg.dat. **vegetable**-sg.dat. **it's own**-pron.sg.nom. **time**-sg.nom.
"for each vegetable is its own time" = there is time for everything

[132] *вовремя*
at the right time-adv.
"at the right time"

[469] *sekunnilleen*
second-sg.allat.+ poss.suff.sg.3.p.
"to its second" = exactly when wanted or needed

For FS, explaining this meaning or general meaning is again a case of giving a name of a time unit or telling when something takes place, and adding the modifier of Authorization. Here the authorization is not in the hands of the speaker, but it is assumed to come from a larger community or even to be of sacred origin, since the time is "objectively" right.

As can be noticed, the difference between the authorization given by the speaker (SUITABLE TIME) and the one commonly assumed (RIGHT TIME) can be described by either providing or not providing the author of the opinion.

4.3.7.3. NOT SUITABLE TIME

The general meaning NOT SUITABLE TIME expresses a time unit as not being suitable for the speaker's purposes, i.e. subjectively unsuitable time. In expressing this semantic structure, the speaker wishes to state that a time unit is not suitable for him/her or that something happens at a bad time [979], [1049].

[979] *huonolla* *hetkellä*
bad-sg.adess. **moment**-sg.adess.
"on the bad moment" = at a bad moment, not at the right time

[1049] *в* *неудобное* *время*
into inconvenient-sg-acc. **time**-sg.acc.
"into inconvenient time" = at a bad moment, not at the right time

For FS, this meaning is naturally similar to the meaning SUITABLE TIME, only Negation is added, or the opposite notion of BAD is used.

4.3.7.4. NOT RIGHT TIME

The general meaning NOT RIGHT TIME expresses that a certain time unit is objectively not right or not objectively right for something. Choosing this wrong time for something is unacceptable not only in the opinion of the speaker, but also in the eyes of a wider community. The objectivity of this moral judgement is again emphasized. See [465], [460], and [971]:

[465] *не время*
neg. time-sg.nom.
“not time” = not the right time

[460] *не в пору гость хуже татарина*
neg into time period-sg.acc. **guest**-sg.nom. **worse Tatar**-sg.gen.
“not into time guest is worse of Tatar” = if the timing is wrong, a guest is worse than a Tatar; if a guest comes at the wrong moment, s/he is not welcome

[971] *väärällä hetkellä*
wrong-sg.adess. **moment**-sg.adess.
“on the wrong moment” = at the wrong moment

The Finnish notion of unsuitable time as “timeless” time is interesting [132]. A notion somewhat similar to this can be found in Russian [5], [9]. Obviously something bad enough can be understood as not being representative of the category at all.

[132] *ajattomaan aikaan*
timeless-sg.illat. **time**-sg.illat.
“into timeless time” = not the right time

[5] *без поры без времени*
without time-sg.gen. **without time**-sg.gen.
“without time without time” = prematurely

[9] *безвременно*
without time-adv.
“without time” = prematurely

For FS notation, this meaning is a case of negating the RIGHT TIME, or evaluating timing as BAD.

4.3.8. Life as time

The concepts of life and time are often mixed in language. One could also naturally interpret the semantic field of understanding time as life in the way that it is merely a question of one meaning of the word ‘time’. On the other hand, this simplifying interpretation would ignore the fact that the meanings “time” and

“lifetime” are also interrelated in a way that makes it sometimes impossible to say which we are talking about.

Lifetime is a central temporal notion. If we assume a meaning “life as time” or “lifetime is time” or “time is lifetime”, what we assume that the speaker wants to convey is something along the lines that time is, from the subjective viewpoint of a person, the same thing as a lifetime. Moreover, time outside one’s lifetime is far less important than one’s lifetime. For the human being, a lifetime is to a large extent the same thing as the only time period that has any real relevance. This therefore makes it a central notion when discussing time.

4.3.8.1. LIFE AS TIME

In everyday usage, time words are often used for denoting a person’s lifetime. The human lifetime is obviously so central as a time unit that a lifetime can be understood as someone’s time. For example:

[411] *omana* *aikanaan*
own-sg.ess. **time**-sg.ess.+ poss.suff.sg.3.p.
“as his/her own time” = during his/her lifetime

[240] *Годы* *мои* *вышли*
year-pl.nom. **my**-pl.nom. **go away**-perf.asp.act.pret.pl.3p
“my years went away” = I am too old for something

Dying is commonly seen as leaving time (that the living exist in) and moving into another form of existence. Furthermore, religious notions have left their mark on the way that language deals with such notions.

[477] *siirtyä* *ajasta* *iankaikkisuuteen*
move-act.I inf. **time**-sg.elat. **eternity**-sg.illat.
“move from time to eternity” = to die

[27] *aika* *jättää* *[jostakusta]*
time-sg.nom. **leave**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p. [**someone**-sg.elat.]
“time leaves [someone]” = someone dies

[363] *кончить* *век*
end-perf.asp.act.inf. **age**-sg.acc.
“to end an age” = to die

[509] *отправиться* *к* *праотцам*
depart-perf.asp.act.ind. **towards forefather**-pl.dat.
“depart towards forefathers” = to die

For FS to explain this is as simple as providing a meaning. Talking about time while actually referring exactly to a lifetime is no different for FS than simply using time terms to refer to a lifetime. FS could explain this simply as Identification.

4.3.8.2. STAGE OF LIFE

Another meaning that communicates the notion of a lifetime is the need to refer to someone’s life as having stages. This is also related to the standards by which most of us lead our lives. The most obvious stages of life are naturally related to age, such as childhood, youth, middle age and old age. Others are related to certain activities that occur most typically during the different stages of life. Opinions on what is appropriate for a certain age can also be expressed by using meanings of this kind.

Talking about a stage of life involves both naming the different stages of life as in [179] and [242], telling at which stage of life someone is, as in [992], [1000], [946], and talking about notions that are seen to relate to a certain stage of life, as in [472].

[179] *elämän* *ilta*
life-sg.gen. **night**-sg.nom.
“life’s night” = the last years of life

[242] *годы* *преклонные*
year-pl.nom. **admirable**-pl.nom.
“admirable years” = old age

[992] *keski-iässä*
middle age-sg.iness.
”in the middle age” = at middle age

[1000] *kypsällä* *iällä*
mature-sg.adess. **age**-sg.adess.
“on mature age” = at a mature age

[946] *в* *молодые* *годы*
into young-pl.acc. **year**-pl.acc.
“into young years”

[472] *Не* *по* *годам* *одет*→
neg according year-pl.dat. **dress**→-perf.asp.pass.partic.pret.
“not according to years dressed→” = not dressed→ the way that a person at a certain age should

For FS, talking about stages of life can be explained in the same way as naming a time unit, giving the temporal reference of something, or expressing opinion on something in relation to a stage of life.

4.3.9. Limitedness of time

What is common to the meanings categorized here under the heading LIMITEDNESS OF TIME is that time is seen as a resource, which is limited. Besides the more neutral understanding of limitedness, there is also a variant of this meaning, according to which time is not only limited, but so valuable that each moment has to be fully exploited. The limitedness as a central feature of time includes at least the following characteristics. First, time is something limited and measurable in the sense that either there can be enough or not enough time for something. Furthermore, that time is limited in amount influences what can be done with it. This is why the speaker can have the wish to express the limitedness of time. This limitedness is strongly related to the idea that time can be exploited, taken, and given.

The meanings coming up in the following section express various notions: that there is little time, much time, enough time, that time can be manipulated or used, and that time has to be made good use of. In the first three, the speaker gives an amount of time as a relative time notion, as compared to the amount required (i.e. not in absolute terms as a measurable quantity). Giving such a quantity requires an understanding of time as being limited, since giving relative assessments of the quantity would not make sense if the amount were not limited. In the notions of using time and the evaluative judgement that time has to be used

well, time becomes an object for using, and this using can either be evaluated or not.

4.3.9.1. LITTLE TIME

To state that there is little time is one way of expressing the limited nature of time. By expressing this meaning, the speaker wishes to convey a small amount of time (from the viewpoint of some practical use).

[799] *aika* *käy* *vähiin*
time-sg.nom. **become**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p. **scarce**-sg.illat.
"time becomes scarce" = there is little time left (for something)

[848] *aika* *on* *tiukassa*
time-sg.nom **be**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p. **tight**-sg.iness.
"time is in tight" = there is little time left (for something)

[146] *времени* *в* *обрез*
time-sg.gen. **into edge**-sg.acc.
"of time into the edge" = there is little time left (for something)

[165] *время* *исчерпано*
time-sg.nom. **pour out/exhaust-** perf.asp.pass.partic.perf.sg.3p
"time has been exhausted" = there is no time left (for something)

For FS, the speaker's wish to say that there is little time corresponds to an opinion on the quantity of time. Time is, in this way, the thing to be talked about, a Neutral, and the quantity of it is described as being small.

4.3.9.2. MUCH TIME

With the meaning MUCH TIME, the speaker wishes to convey that the quantity of time is plentiful for his/her purposes. This kind of meaning is expressed with different existential constructions. See, for example [410], [497]. Time is "good" in Finnish if there is much of it, and in the Russian example, the amplitude of time is compared to the immense size of an ocean.

[410] *olla* *hyvää* *aikaa*
be-act.I inf. **good**-sg.partit. **time**-sg.partit.
“be of good time”, “there is good time” = there is much time

[497] *океан* *времени*
ocean-sg.nom. **time**-sg.gen.
“ocean of time” = there is much time

FS interprets the meaning of MUCH TIME as being similar to the previous meaning; only in this case, the quantity is seen as being large.

4.3.9.3. ENOUGH TIME

When expressing that there is enough time, the speaker wishes to state that there is enough time for a certain purpose. In such expressions, time can either be seen as an actant that is sufficient, as in [825], or as a substance that there is enough of or that can be found, as in [744], [174].

[825] *aika* *riittää*
time-sg.nom. **be enough**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
“time is enough”

[744] *kylliksi* *aikaa*
enough time-sg.partit.
“enough time”

[174] *время* *найдется*
time-sg.nom. **be found-**perf.asp.act.pres.sg.3p
“time is to be found” = there is enough time

For FS, this is also a case of Quantity, defined for time as being the thing to be talked about. The notion of “enough” can be explained as a subjective judgement, an Authorization of an evaluative kind (expressed with the metalexeme ENOUGH).

4.3.9.4. USE TIME

Time as a utility to be used makes sense only if time is seen as being limited. The way that time is used includes making plans and deciding on its use, as in [986], [284]. Furthermore, some possibilities occur for manipulating time such as

winning [219] or losing, saving [728] and wasting [352] time. More exotic ways of manipulating time can also be found [511]. When it comes to the concrete structures involved, they are very simple, having time as an object for some kind of manipulation.

[986] *määrätä* *ajastaan*
command-act.I inf. **time**-sg.elat.+poss.suff.sg.3-p
"to command one's time" = to be able to decide what to do with one's time

[284] *дорожить* *временем*
value-imp.asp.act.inf. **time**-sg.instr.
"value with time" = make important as assessed by the time given to it

[352] *kuluttaa* *aikaa*
spend-act.I inf. **time**-sg.partit.
to spend time

[219] *выиграть* *время*
win-perf.asp.act.inf. **time**-sg.acc.
"win time"

[728] *экономить* *время*
economize-imp.asp.act.inf. **time**-sg.acc.
"economize time" = use as little time as possible

[511] *оттянуть* *время*
draw off-perf.asp.act.inf. **time**-sg.acc.
"to draw off time" = try to make time longer, long enough for something

When it comes to FS notation, using time has to be seen as an independent state of affairs. The choice of the speaker to use time for something or in some particular way has to be deliberate. It is not a question of temporality as a background notion for other actions, but using time is the action itself. In this kind of predication, the human being does something to an object that is time.

4.3.9.5. SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF

One curse of Western civilization is its extreme concentration on making the most of each minute. This utilitarianism shows naturally in the ways that the

speaker expresses the idea that time should not be wasted, that every moment should be made use of. This suggests that behaviour that does not follow this principle, that neglects taking good care of each moment, can be considered as being bad or aberrant behaviour. Consider, for example, the following:

[519] *tuhlata* *aikaa*
waste-act.I inf. **time**-sg.partit.
to waste time

[236] *hetkeäkään* *hukkaamatta*
moment-sg.partit.+ **not even**-suff. **lose**-act. III inf. abess.
"not even a moment losing" = without losing a moment

[418] *ottaa* *takaisin* *menetetty* *aika*
take-act.I inf. **back**-adv. **lost**-sg.nom. **time**-sg.nom.
"take back the lost time" = compensate for the lost time

[451] *наверстать* *упущенное* *время*
make up for-imp.asp.act.inf. **let go**-perf.asp.pass.partic.pret.sg.acc **time**-sg.acc.
"make up for the time let go" = make up for lost time

Structurally the expressions representing this meaning can, besides considering time as being a commodity to be used, interpret it as a more independent actant that has its own ways, which makes utilizing or manipulating it more difficult. This kind of independence on the surface level occurs in Finnish.

According to this meaning time is seen as something that HAS to be made use of. This makes it a crime to spend it for purposes that are less valuable. This is not only a case of an opinion, but also involves cultural and social heritage and values. The way that time is supposed to be used is so deeply rooted in modern society that any deviations from it are seen as doubtful. Although this thinking is naturally reflected in language, it strongly influences the way things are perceived, independent of whether this kind of value judgement is expressed or not. In the expressions with the meaning USE TIME in my material, no such evaluative judgement seems to exist, and the ways of using and manipulating time seem to be fully neutral; they merely seem to tell the ways in which time is manipulated without judgemental elements. Even in such cases, the cultural notions involved may well influence the way that those expressions are used. For example, "killing time" is usually considered as being something negative or at

least not valued. This use of time can be seen as a clearly positive judgement only by someone who wishes to act completely against the commonly set rules – and as such, being proud of killing time is similarly a product of the values attached to it that make the counteraction remarkable and noticeable.

The difference between this and the previous state of affairs is exactly in how they react to using time. In the previous case, time was seen as being limited and used as a neutral commodity; in this one, the reaction to wasting time in any manner is very negative. Because of this – the attitude people take towards not making the most of time – FS describes this meaning as different from the previous one. The difference comes in the adding of the speaker's opinion. The modal phase NECESSARY includes this kind of authorization.

4.3.10. Other notions having to do with time

There are also other notions having to do with time. The first of them, namely approximate time, gives the time unit as being approximate. This not only adds the approximate status to the time notion, but can also create new environments in which time is talked about, places where more accurate notions would not be used. Talking about clock time, in its turn, is a notion that has much in common with other ways of defining a concrete point in time, but in its systematicity it is also unique among them.

The material used in this study also includes two other meanings in which time words are used in expressions. These meanings are difficult to relate to those analysed previously. They could also be understood as being so different from talking about time itself that the use of time words in such meanings could be seen as coincidental or marginal to the concept of time.

4.3.10.1. APPROXIMATE TIME

The meaning APPROXIMATE TIME corresponds to the speaker's need to make a time expression approximate. What is approximate can either be the point in time when something happens or the duration of something.

Finnish time expressions convey approximateness with the help of some spatial concepts that concern the surface to which the time is attached. Examples of giving approximate time reference for something with the help of such a notion are [391], [2], and [753].

[391] *niihin* *aikoihin*
they-pl.illat. **time**-pl.illat.
“to those times” = approximately at a named point in time

[2] *kolmen*→ *pintaan*
three→-gen.**surface**-ill.
“into the surface of three→” = shortly after three→ o’clock

[753] *paikkeilla*
in the whereabouts/adv.
“in the whereabouts of” = around (some time unit)

In Russian the approximateness of a time reference can be expressed with the preposition *около* ‘around’ that is also spatial in nature (or also has a spatial meaning). This preposition can be used both in expressing approximate time reference or approximate duration. For example [1009]:

[1009] *около* *трех*→ *часов*
around-adp. **three**-gen.**hour**-pl.gen.
“around three hours” = almost three hours, about three hours

Both Russian and Finnish also have interesting lexico-syntactic ways of expressing approximateness in duration. In Finnish, this kind of meaning can be added to a numeral with an affix [1143], and in Russian, the approximateness is added with the help of an inverted word order – instead of the neutral word order in which the numeral comes before the noun, the noun is put before the numeral [1090].

[1143] *kolmisen*→ *tuntia*→
three→**+affix**-sg.nom.**hour**→**-**sg.partit.
about three→ hours→

[1090] *часов*→ *пять*→
hour→-pl.gen.**five**→-sg.nom.
“hours five” = about five hours

In addition, an idiomatic combination of a time unit with the word *другой* ‘another’ gives the meaning of approximateness in duration [847].

[847] *минутку-другую*
minute-another-sg.acc.
“to minute-another” = (lasts) for some time

A speaker may choose to not use an exact time expression either because nothing more exact is known, or because it is considered preferable, for one reason or another, not to be more precise. When giving the time frame for something, the most obvious reason for using approximate time notions is the unwillingness to be bound to tight schedules.

As FS interprets this meaning, it is a case explainable by the specificator of inexact Quantity, which is added to other notions having to do with time, such as the specifier of Temporality. This is accomplished either by giving the reference points of something happening, or giving the duration of something.

4.3.10.2. CLOCK TIME

The general meaning of CLOCK TIME includes having the measuring device of a clock practically understood as a synonym for the notion of time, i.e. when the speaker speaks of time from this viewpoint, the time s/he is talking about is clock time, and any deviation from the concrete clock time is made according to the rules with which clock time works. Taking clock time as a separate meaning category is easy to justify by the simple rules that it follows. Indeed, treating time as clock time is probably the simplest way of understanding it, since this understanding makes time a simple measurable unit, and nothing else. On the other hand, this meaning category is clumsy in the way that it combines very different functions in language use on the basis that they refer to clocks.

Clock time has to do with, firstly, the ways of telling what time it is, and, secondly, with stating when something takes place as defined by the clock. These two notions are easily mixed, and in both of the languages under study in some cases the same expression is used for both meanings, while in other cases there are separate expressions for the two. Let us first consider the constructions that simply tell us what time it is. The question used to ask someone to tell the clock time is in Russian either [366] or [640]. In Finnish, the possibilities are not very different, only the interrogative can be changed [1158], [1159].

[366] *Который (сейчас) час?*
which-sg.nom. (now) **hour**-sg.nom.
“which hour is it (now)? = What’s the time?

[640] *Сколько (сейчас) времени?*
how much-adv. (now) **time**-sg.gen.
”how much time is there (now)? = What’s the time?

[1158] *Paljonko kello on?*
how much clock-sg.nom **be**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
“how much is the clock?” = What’s the time?

[1159] *Mitä kello on?*
what-sg.partit. **clock**-sg.nom **be**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
“what is the clock?” = what’s the time?

Answers to these questions have the following possible constructions:

[1099] *три→ часа*
three→-sg-nom.**hour**-sg.gen.
“three→ hours” = it’s three o’clock

[1098] *половина третьего→*
half-sg.nom. **third**→-sg.gen.
“a half of the third→” = it’s half past two→

[1095] *пять→ минут третьего→*
five→-sg.nom.**minute**-pl.gen. **third**→-sg.gen.
“five→ minutes of the third” = it’s five→ past three→

[1154] *(kello on) kolme→*
(**clock**-sg.nom **be**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.) **three**→-sg.nom.
“(the clock is) three→” = it’s three→ o’clock

[1155] *(kello on) puoli kolme→*
(**clock**-sg.nom **be**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.) **half**-sg.nom. **three**→-sg.nom.
“(the clock is) half three→” = it’s half past two→

The main constructions that tell only when something takes place are the following:

[1091] *(ровно) в три→ (часа)*
(**exactly) into three→**-sg.nom. (**hour**-sg.gen.)
“into three→ hours” = at three→ o’clock

[1094] *в половине третьего→*
in half-sg.prep. **third→**-sg.gen.
“in half of third→” = half past two→

[307] (*tasan) kahdeltatoista→*
(exactly) twelve→-sg.abl.
”from on twelve→” = at twelve→

[1144] *puoli kolmelta→*
half-sg.nom.**three→**-sg.abl.
“from on half three→” = at half past two→

The most important constructions that can be used in both meanings are:

[1145] *viisi→ yli kolme→*
five→-sg.nom.**over three→**-sg.nom.
“five→ over three→” = it’s five→ past three→; at five→ past three→

[1146] *viittä→ vaille/vailla kolme→*
five→-sg.partit.**without three→**-sg.nom.
”without five→ three→” = it’s five→ to three→; at five→ to three→

[1147] *viittä→ yli kolme→*
five→-sg.partit.**over three→**-sg.nom.
“of five→ over three→” = it’s five→ past three→; at five→ past three→

[1149] *viittä→ vaille/vailla puoli kolme→*
five→-sg-partit. **without half**-sg.nom.**three→**-sg.nom.
“of five without half three→” = it’s twenty-five past two→; at 2:25→

[1148] *viisi→ yli puoli kolme→*
five→-sg.nom.**over half**-sg.nom.**three→**-sg.nom.
“five→ over half three” = it’s twenty-five to three; at 2:35→

[1163] *viittä→ yli puoli kolme→*
five→-sg.partit. **over half**-sg.nom.**three→**-sg.nom.
“of five over half three→” = it’s twenty-five to three→; at 2:35→

[1092] *без пяти→ три→*
without five→-sg.gen.**three→**-sg.nom.
“without five three→” = it’s five to three→; at 2:55→

[1093] *полтретьего→*
half three→-ord.num.sg.gen.
“of half three→” = it’s half past two→; at 2:30→

Besides all these notions of telling the clock time, equating time to a clock has other functions as well. One of them is the expressions that tell about the clock itself (most likely a particular clock).

[323] *kello on ajassa*
clock-sg.nom **be**-act.ind.pres. sg.3.p. **time**-sg.iness.
“clock is in time” = the clock runs accurately

[1152] *kello on myöhässä*
clock-sg.nom. **be**-act.ind.pres. sg.3.p. **late**
“clock is late” = the clock is running slow

[1153] *kello edistää*
clock-sg.nom. **advance**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
“clock advances” = the clock runs fast

[197] *время уходит*
time-sg.nom. **go away**- imp.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.
“time goes away” = the time period is over (or the clock is fast)

[1096] *часы отстают*
clock (lit.’hours’)-pl.nom. **lag behind**-imp.asp.act.ind.pres.pl.3.p.
“hours lag behind” = the clock runs slow

[1097] *часы спешат*
clock (lit.’hours’)-pl.nom. **hurry**-imp.asp.act.ind.pres.pl.3.p.
”hours hurry” = the clock runs fast

The imitation of the way that clocks work can also be used in other fields of knowledge.

[6] *без пяти минут инженер*$^{\rightarrow}$
without five-sg.gen. **minute**-pl.gen. **engineer**$^{\rightarrow}$
“without five minutes engineer$^{\rightarrow}$” = has almost graduated

[1165] *viittä vaille valmista*
five-sg.partit. **without ready**-sg.partit.
“without five ready” = almost ready

For these expressions the notion of five minutes on the dial as indicating that the full hour will soon come has lent its imagery to other notions as well.

From the viewpoint of FS, telling the clock time – when something happens – is a case of giving temporal reference points. Telling what time it is can, for its part, be described as characterizing a moment of time.

When we are talking about the clock as a machine, we must remember the consequences that any malfunctioning can have on our lives. Because of this, it is understandable that the speaker needs ways to express things such as the clock running fast. This is not a discussion about time, but about the clock – no matter how easily the two are intertwined in our lives. According to FS, borrowing what we know about clocks for something else is a case of idiomaticity that cannot be explained as any kind of general use. It is rather an idiomatic way to say that something is almost ready, and the figure involved is beyond the scope of the FS notation technique.

4.3.10.3. REALIZATION

Finnish also uses time concepts with the meaning of being. The meaning of time is compared to existence in Finnish. For example:

[459] *saada aikaan*
get-act.I inf. **time**-sg.illat.
“get into time” = accomplish, realize something

[521] *tulla aikaan*
come-act.I inf. **time**-sg.illat.
“come into time” = be realized, fulfilled; get along

For FS, the meaning of realization can be explained by seeing time as some type of state that can be realized, so as to start its existence (→Ex).

4.3.10.4. INTERJECTION

Time words are also used in interjections, as evident in the following examples:

[257] *hyvänen* *aika!*
good+dim.suff.-sg.nom. **time**-sg.nom.
"good time" = oh, dear!

[37] *в* *добрый* *час!*
into good-sg.acc. **hour**-sg.acc.
"into good hour" = Good luck!

These time words used in interjections refer to the way that time is a universal notion that can attain anything. Such interjections have functions in language, in this case [257] is used for wondering or complaining, and [37] for wishing good luck. While we could find an explanation for these kinds of functions involving the speaker's intentions and social norms related to certain situations, all this really has very little to do with the notion of time. FS would explain them as some kind of forms of speech etiquette, categorized as the modifier Speech function (Func), more specifically the speech function of social contact described by the metaverb EMPATHIZE, and this social contact has two agents as actants.

4.4. Conclusions to Chapter 4

I have introduced the theory of Functional Syntax and applied it to my material in this chapter. The basic idea of FS is to describe the syntactic patterns of a language or languages using their semantic content as the basis for the categorization and description. The semantic content is described by using a number of parameters that have their symbols. To make those symbols easier to remember, they use the natural language in which the description is written as their basis. Abbreviations are also used for all the central concepts of the theory, making the description systematic.

This analysis has adopted the basic idea of FS; namely, I have followed the method used in FS to describe the expressions in my material. For this reason, I first defined, with the help of a thorough analysis of the whole material, the basic meanings that the speaker wishes to convey when talking about time. I have detected 56 such meanings. These meanings are not based on any previous

studies, but the fact that they include many similar notions to the ones described earlier support the results of the earlier semantic categorizations of time. After defining the general meanings by going through the material, I have returned to each of the meanings and tried to be as meticulous as possible in defining their semantic content. Furthermore, I have introduced the way each particular meaning is expressed in the languages of my study. This description is an application of FS, and the meanings used as basic units arise from the analysis of my material. Nevertheless, although I have used the general meanings as a means of categorization and a unit of differentiation, I have also provided a description for each of the meanings as to how the notation system of FS could describe such a meaning. Functional Syntax has therefore served in this study both as the source for basic presuppositions of looking at language from meaning to form, and has given the working method and the description method that has helped to point out the differences between the different general meanings. The general meanings themselves and the order in which they have been introduced in this work (in itself not without an aspect of randomness, but having to do with some semantic regularities) are not directly supported by FS, although they also do not contradict it.

The comparative part of Chapter 4 also needs some explanation. When analysing the material, I have noticed that the things that we wish to say about time are indeed the same ones both in Russian and Finnish. This has not come as a surprise, and it has supported and made possible the comparison on the basis of what we want to say about time, starting from the meaning. The comparativeness therefore concerns the surface level, the lexical and semantic means that the languages have for describing such meanings. I have tried to provide as much information as possible on the examples that I have chosen. In all the cases they are only examples; other possibilities for expressing the same general meaning found in my material can be found in the Appendix where all the data are presented. When giving an example of a construction or idiomatic saying used in one of the languages, I have not meant that similar constructions could not be found in the other language as well. On the contrary, I considered adopting some sort of symbol for those examples that follow similar patterns in the other language. However, contrasting structurally different languages made this too complicated, especially since any speculation on correspondences (probably based on wider use of the constructions in each of the languages) is always incomplete. For this reason, I have done the opposite: shown when a construction

used in one of the languages is so different that nothing similar can be found in the other one.

The analysis showed that meanings concerning time and what the speaker wishes to convey can be defined in line with the notions of a point in time, a period of time (and how these two behave on the time line), as well as expressing the speaker's different kinds of intentions and wishes. For FS, a crucial difference is made between time (temporality) as a background notion and time as something to be specifically talked about. In the cases which explain time as giving temporal reference for some other predications, time is a specifier. There are also meanings in which the specifier of temporality is not enough to describe the role of time in language. For these cases, time is the very thing talked about, and as such, forms its own predication. Time can, in those examples, have different actant roles, and the way language sees time to act is much wider than in the case of explaining time in language as simply a matter of tenses and temporal relations.

5. METAPHOR THEORIES

Metaphor is one of the favourite terms of our time. Besides linguistics, it is used at least in literary studies, semiotics, social sciences, and psychology. This does not mean, however, that these disciplines would agree on what a metaphor is – even within each of these fields flourishes a vast variety of understandings of this term.

Probably the most common definition of metaphor is "seeing something as something else". Metaphor is often traditionally also described as something unreal, and therefore something that is not true or that makes sense only seemingly is easily called "only a metaphor".

On the other hand, the great popularity of the term metaphor and cognitive metaphor theories has led to a situation when just about anything is studied in terms of metaphor theories and "everything" is seen as a metaphor (or metonymy, depending on the research interests of the particular scholar in question).

This section on metaphors begins with a rather extensive survey on the history and the current state of the development of the metaphor theories.[14] This is justified in the following parts of the chapter where the different aspects of the concept of metaphor are combined in the analysis of language material.

The different understandings of metaphor consequently define metaphor differently. The way that metaphor as a term is understood affects to a significant degree the way that a metaphor theory is constructed. Different theories also use different kinds of material in their observations, i.e. the object of metaphor study can be different. Thirdly, the methodology used can also be different. Fourthly, the importance put on metaphor can be seen differently, i.e. the way that metaphor works, how important this is seen to be in the world on a more general level, and how much prominence is given to metaphor research. In the following chapters I will look at these topics, aiming to be as systematic as possible.

[14] The most comprehensive accounts on the history of the term metaphor include [Elovaara 1992] and [Cameron&Low 1999]. See also [Мягкова 2000].

5.1. Defining metaphor in different metaphor theories

What does the term *metaphor* mean? This term has different meanings even within each discipline. The term itself has undergone a process of change from a notion of language only into a notion having to do primarily with things other than language, namely psychology and the processes of the brain. To make the picture even more complicated, all the stages of this development have continued their existence. In other words, rather than evolving and replacing the old notions, they have been cumulative and more complex, being adopted by the researchers of a certain group as the "true meaning" of the term metaphor. The various different understandings of the term have consequently survived and still exist today.

Etymologically, the term "metaphor" comes from the Greek word *metapherein*, meaning 'to transfer'. This term was originally used in poetics, and has only later gained ground in other fields of research as well. This is why some researchers have even questioned the usage of this term and proposed their own variants (see, e.g., Sklarevskaja 1993: 12). The other terms proposed have not, however, gained popularity, and this has led to the current confusion in the definition of the term, or at least to the wide variation in its different meanings.

Especially European (mainly British) research on metaphor places great emphasis on identifying metaphors, i.e. on pondering whether an expression is metaphor(ical) or not, whether it is used metaphorically or literally. This approach is perfectly in line with the traditional understanding of metaphor, and the result is a highly developed variety of mechanisms for metaphor identification (see Cameron&Low 1999: 80-81).

The American metaphor research, by contrast, stresses the cognitive aspects of metaphor research. Yet another tradition, the contemporary Russian and other East-European metaphor research, follows mostly two main trends – the traditional metaphor theories that concentrate on the metaphors of fiction and the cognitive approaches using the American traditions while also building on an applied linguistics tradition of their own. These approaches can be rather inaccurate in defining metaphor, not even attempting to reach an airtight definition, and sometimes keeping to the traditional definition.

In order to describe how the notion of metaphor has developed (processes that still continue simultaneously), I now introduce the main trends in using the

term. They are substitution, comparison, interaction, and cognitive metaphor theories.

5.1.1. Substitution

The oldest understandings of metaphor view metaphor as a phenomenon having to do purely with language, and even more specifically with the creative side of language.

The metaphor theories that interpret metaphor as substitution, a decorative element, were popular in the 19th century study of fiction. Substitution theories see metaphor as a rephraseable unit of language, in which something that could have been as well expressed literally is expressed with the help of metaphor that serves a decorative or illustrative function. Metaphor is in this way the renaming of something that could be said without it. Metaphor is also sometimes mentioned to serve in filling the gaps in the vocabulary. Yet this position is hardly coherent with the claim that everything expressed by metaphor can be paraphrased, i.e. expressed literally. (Elovaara 1992.)

The understanding of metaphor as decoration is very much alive even today. This kind of understanding presupposes that there is a figure of speech called metaphor, and this figure, which is a matter of words, can be rephrased in such a way that there remains no "metaphoricity" (which in this case means figurativeness). The metaphor is a substitution of the non-metaphor, and is a part of the art of playing with words, creating new worlds of meanings – and being a good author or orator, as already Aristotle suggested. (For more on Aristotle, see 5.1.2.1.)

5.1.2. Comparison

When metaphor was not considered to be a mere decorative element –when metaphor was seen already from a linguistic point of view, as having a function of its own – the notion of metaphor as comparison was born. This was related to the growing notion in which the motivation of the substitution process became more important. The understanding of metaphor as a comparison continued to regard it as a rephraseable unit, but instead put the emphasis on the relationship of the word meanings that were not used and the (metaphorical) word used instead of it. This was an implicit comparison. This means that the motivation for

the metaphor is the likeness (similarity) of the things compared, seeing something AS something else. Furthermore, the use of metaphor is not intended to provide new information. From this perspective, the importance of analogy is emphasized. Here metaphor is different from a simile only in that it does not include the word "like" (for example, Elovaara 1992.)

This, together with understanding metaphor as a substitution, is the way the term *metaphor* is understood in everyday language. These understandings emphasize metaphor as a figure of speech. They assume that meaning is basically literal, and that metaphorical usages deviate from this.

However, some scholars doubt whether it really is possible to make the difference between substitution and comparison theories on metaphor. I also argue that it is not possible to distinguish the two. To support this claim, I take a closer look at the views on metaphor presented by Aristotle and interpreted by others in 5.1.2.1.

5.1.2.1. How Aristotle understood metaphor[15]

Aristotle is considered the classic of early metaphor research, and to this day metaphor research seems to consider it obligatory to start by referring to Aristotle. What Aristotle actually wrote about metaphor has, however, been often misinterpreted and these misunderstandings have been reproduced over and over again without checking what Aristotle really wrote about metaphor and in which context we should understand it (see Mahon 1999.) Aristotle calls all figurative expressions metaphors.

Aristotle deals with metaphor in two of his works – in "Poetics" and "Rhetorics". It has not always been remembered what the context of these works is. "Poetics" has been written on how the writers of tragedy and epic should use language, and this does not refer to language use on a more general level. This work is also a commentary on the ongoing discussion on poetics by the contemporaries of Aristotle. In addition, "Rhetorics" has to be understood in the context of the important role that the art of speaking convincingly had in the Greek society of the time.

[15] The interpretation I give of Aristotle is, besides the close reading of the passages in question (Aristoteles 1982, 1997), based on the information provided in the explanations given in [Aristoteles 1997], and also influenced by Mahon (1999).

Should we see Aristotle as a representative of the substitution view or the comparison view? He has traditionally been mentioned as a representative of the substitution view, but if we correct the misunderstandings of what he really said, is there any such evidence left that would really make us place him into that category? Many supporters of the cognitive metaphor theories have put all these theories together and have called them all comparison theories.

What Aristotle says about metaphor includes what metaphor is, how metaphor evolves (or is actively created), how metaphor is used, and what kind of functions using metaphor can have in different kinds of texts. Aristotle understands metaphor as having four different types, in which transfer can happen either from genus to species, from species to genus, from species to species, or by analogy. Paying attention to this kind of transfer, replacing something with something, makes Aristotle a representative of the substitution view, but similarity or analogy as the basis of the transfer makes him a representative of the comparison view on metaphor. Reading "Rhetorics" gives a basis for understanding Aristotle to be a representative of the comparison view. Aristotle considers comparisons (similes) also as metaphors, only without the explaining words. According to Aristotle, the use of comparisons faces the same kind of constraints as the use of metaphors. The same goes, to some extent, for puzzles, riddles, and proverbs.

When Aristotle speaks (in "Poetics") about using metaphors, about the difference between ordinary and unusual (among them metaphorical) words, he links the usage of unusual words to the requirements of good style. For Aristotle, every word is either current, strange, metaphorical, ornamental, newly-coined, lengthened, contracted or altered. He gives advice that, for instance, using too many infrequent or otherwise strange words is bad style, but nevertheless advocates the use of metaphors. Aristotle sees coining new, well-thought-out metaphors as a skill that poets need and relates this skill to the ability (at best of a genius) to notice resemblances and make use of them in coining new metaphors that are lucid and consequently easy to understand.

Aristotle lists several functions for using metaphor: beauty (decoration), illustration, self-expression, and learning new things. Aristotle deals with the way metaphors should be coined and the kind of comparisons they should be based on. Metaphors are, in the opinion of Aristotle, the prose writers' best resource and they should therefore pay very careful attention to the way in which they coin them. Aristotle thinks that metaphors should be formed, firstly, of notions

that are related, but not in too obvious a way, and, secondly, of words that have beautiful sounds. In “Rhetorics” Aristotle refers to what he has already said about metaphor in “Poetics”, and considers metaphors from the viewpoint of the expressivity of poets, prose writers, and speakers. This already comes closer to the understanding that sees metaphor as a phenomenon of language.

Why metaphors are used is, for Aristotle, a question of appropriate style. In other words, not only do metaphors suit some styles better than others; they are also important features of different styles, and therefore need to be different to suit different forms of language. The appropriateness of certain kinds of metaphors is, in this way, a substantial part of what makes language use good and appropriate. In an often-cited part of “Poetics” Aristotle notes that:

> It is a great matter to observe propriety in these several modes of expression, as also in compound words, strange (or rare) words, and so forth. But the greatest thing by far is to have a command of metaphor. This alone cannot be imparted by another; it is the mark of genius, for to make good metaphors implies an eye for resemblances.

This is also important theoretically, as it makes an explicit connection between the talent of seeing resemblances and making good metaphors. It does not, as is often mistakenly claimed, assume that *only* geniuses are able to use metaphor. Instead, it merely states that the command of metaphor is more important for professional language users. Although Aristotle concentrates on literary issues, he also mentions that everyone uses metaphors in conversation. This indicates that Aristotle did, in fact, understand metaphor as a linguistic phenomenon that extended farther than merely poems or prose. Aristotle also lists other things having to do with the style appropriate for different uses, and makes remarks on how the creators of different text genres are to use metaphor. Metaphors that are badly suited can, in the opinion of Aristotle, cause bad style or less convincing speech.

To sum up, Aristotle saw metaphor as a rhetorical element used by skilful orators for convincing the audience, and as an element of poetics that requires great mastery. This does not mean that Aristotle did not pay attention to the connection between metaphor and thinking, or that he failed to recognize metaphor as a wide phenomenon in language.

From the viewpoint of later metaphor theories, the position Aristotle took on metaphors is outdated, especially since it considers metaphor to be merely a phenomenon of language. On the other hand, since Aristotle clearly understands

the connection between thinking and metaphor, this “handicap” can also be understood as a result of what he was concentrating on in the writings in which metaphor is mentioned. There was no “metaphor theory” at the time, and even bringing up subjects like this was remarkable. Moreover, what is even more remarkable is the way the topics brought up by Aristotle, namely defining metaphor, considering its laws of usage, pondering over the difference between the metaphorical usages of language and other deviations from the “literal meaning”, dealing with the coinage of metaphor and thinking over the power metaphor can have over us, have since survived as central issues of metaphor studies of different kinds. Taking this into consideration, one can only admire Aristotle’s sophistication as a precursor of modern metaphor theory. For this reason, it is no wonder Aristotle has remained the true classic of metaphor research, constantly cited to this day.

5.1.3. Interaction

The next stage in the development of metaphor theory dawned in the 1930s with I.A. Richards, and came into full bloom in the 1960s when what was referred to as the interaction theories of metaphor were developed. The big names of these theories were I.A. Richards and Max Black, and the interaction theories continued to flourish until the end of the 1970s.

The core of the interaction theories was in recognizing the relationship between what is being said (called, depending on the theory in question, *tenor*, *topic*, or *target*) and how it is said (*vehicle* or *source*) in a new way, from the point of view of the functioning of the brain, and as a relationship and not merely a one-way transfer. The thing binding what is being said and how it is said was called (by Richards) the *ground*. The notion of interaction between target and source includes the idea that the understanding of metaphor takes place in the interaction between them, and also in their context. This interaction is supposed to take place not only between people, but also between ideologies, texts, and functions of language. The theories of interaction bind metaphor with thinking, and discover in this way that metaphor is not only a matter of language. Furthermore, metaphor was no longer seen as rephraseable. As early as in 1936, I.A.Richards (1936) wanted to approach metaphor in a more accurate way than was the practice in the traditional metaphor theories. This was done with the help of the terms *tenor* and *vehicle*. Tenor meant the thing to be said, and vehicle was

the (metaphorical) way to say it. Together these two were to form metaphor (what he now called a vehicle had earlier been referred to as *metaphor*, *image*, etc.), and their co-presence results in a meaning. Richards already understood metaphor to be a matter of thought which is metaphorical, or as he puts it, the world is "itself a product of earlier or unwitting metaphor" (ibid: 69). Richards understood metaphor as being a pervasive phenomenon in language ("the omnipresent principle" as he calls it), saying (ibid: 94) "we cannot get through three sentences of ordinary fluid discourse without it". Richards therefore made a distinction between metaphorical usages and non-metaphorical (literal) ones. Richards also questioned the old concept of metaphor as a comparison and asked what a comparison, in fact, was. The viewpoint on metaphors which Richards offers is, however, concentrated on the viewpoint of rhetoric (the skill of using metaphors). Calling it a metaphor *theory* is not fully justified, since although it introduces the concepts of tenor and vehicle in order to reach a more adequate description of metaphor, it does not explain in more detail how one should deal with these terms, although it does discuss the meaning processes involved.

M. Black (1962) introduced the interaction theory, arguing that metaphor is a matter of thought. However, Black sees metaphor clearly as a phenomenon of language only, which is evident from his focus on differentiating metaphors from literal expressions, whether metaphors can be translated into literal expressions, and so on. Moreover, for Black, only the most metaphorical of metaphors are worth mentioning and he does not deal with the less metaphorical cases. What Black calls a metaphor is the metaphorical expression, which has two parts: *focus*, which means the words used metaphorically, and *frame*, the accompanying words that are used literally. What are seen to interact here are the literal and metaphorical meanings, created by the context and made possible by *the system of associated commonplaces*, which includes a shared set of standard beliefs for members of the same speech community. The analysis by Black (1962: 44-45), suggests the following points:

> (1) A metaphorical statement has two distinct subjects – a "principal" subject and a "subsidiary" one. (2) These subjects are often best regarded as "systems of things", rather than "things". (3) The metaphor works by applying to the principal subject a system of associated implications characteristic of the subsidiary subject. (4) These implications usually consist of "commonplaces" about the subsidiary subject, but may, in suitable cases, consist of deviant implications established ad hoc by the writer. (5) The metaphor selects, emphasizes, suppresses, and organizes features of the principal subject by implying statements about it that normally apply to the subsidiary subject. (6)

> This involves shifts in meaning of words belonging to the same family or system as the metaphorical expression. Some of these shifts, though not all, may be metaphorical transfers. (The subordinate metaphors are, however, to be read less "emphatically.") (7) There is, in general, no simple "ground" for the necessary shifts of meaning – no blanket reason why some metaphors work and others fail.

Later (Black 1979) Max Black developed his "interaction theory" further. He added the notions of *emphasis* (for the degree of variability and substitutability) and *resonance* (for the degree of implicative elaboration). He also replaces the notion of *associated commonplaces* with *associated implications* and begins to call the process in question "projection". The interaction noted in the name of the theory suggests that

> …the presence of the primary subject incites the hearer to select some of the secondary subject's properties; and (b) invites him to construct a parallel implication-complex that can fit the primary subject; and (c) reciprocally induces parallel changes in the secondary subject. (Black 1979: 28.)

A further agent in the development of the later stages of interaction theory is John R. Searle. Searle (1979) criticized both the comparison, substitution and interaction views on metaphor. Searle argues that metaphor studies should adopt his theory of truth conditions, because whereas the truth conditions of literal sentences can be easily defined, those of metaphorical sentences cannot. The core issue for Searle is the question of how the speaker is able to express something in words that do not actually have the meaning the speaker gives them, and how the listener is subsequently able to understand this kind of usage. Searle states that this problem concerns not only metaphorical statements, but also ironic utterances and indirect speech acts. What is interesting to Searle is the relationship between the speaker's meaning and the sentence meaning, and it is the speaker's intentions that matter. Searle insists that the way this relationship works must be in some way consistent, and that a theory of metaphors should deal with this systematicity. Searle (Searle 1979) distinguishes between *the speaker's utterance meaning* and *the word/sentence meaning*. The former refers to the meaning the speaker wishes to convey, the latter to the meaning of the word or sentence in itself (literally). In the case of literal utterances, these meanings coincide. However, when utterance meaning and sentence meaning differ, even the same sentence can be used to produce several different messages. This position argues that the paraphrase of a metaphorical utterance should be able to convey the same information as the original (metaphorical) utterance because they must have identical truth conditions. Despite this, something seems

to be missing, as the paraphrase is not able to capture exactly the same message and is therefore inadequate.

In his critique of comparison theories of metaphor, Searle states that

> One might say that the endemic vice of the comparison theories is that they fail to distinguish between the claim that the statement of the comparison is part of the meaning, and hence the truth conditions, of the metaphorical statement, and the claim that the statement of the similarity is the principle of inference, or a step in the process of comprehending, on the basis of which speakers produce and hearers understand metaphor (Searle 1979: 99-100).

Searle likewise criticizes the view that metaphor is related to meaning changes. He remarks that, on the contrary, "it is only because the expressions have not changed their meaning that there is a metaphorical utterance at all" (ibid: 100). Searle gives examples to illustrate his view that metaphor does not require a comparison and that metaphorical assertion is not necessarily an assertion of similarity (critique against the theory of substitution). In brief, Searle proposes that similarity has to do with the production and understanding of metaphor, not with its meaning.

The interaction theory and other closely related theories still consider metaphor to be a matter of language and language only, even though they strongly connect it with processes of thinking. The object of study is to be language, for example metaphor usage in fiction. This means that they place the problem of metaphor in the context of language only and consequently do not try to apply it further than that. The context of language means that metaphorical utterances, or metaphors as they call them, are phenomena at the level of word or sentence, as are the relations between them, and no links of bigger scale are included. When they say that metaphor is a matter of making comparisons or that its interpretation is this or that, what they are dealing with is the level of word combinations.

To sum up the use of new terminology in the interaction theory of metaphor and its successors, what is being talked about is called *topic* or *tenor*, or *target*, and the lexical items being used for them (borrowing from a different domain) are either *vehicles*, or *sources*. Besides this, Richards incorporated the term *ground* for the attributes transferred to *topic*, and these attributes created *tension* between *topic* and *vehicle*. Later on, Fauconnier and Turner have adopted the term *mental space* for referring to *ground*, and added two categories; *generic space* for information that links *topic* and *vehicle*, as well as *output space* for

information concerning the result of the metaphoric transfer. (Cameron & Low 1999: 79-80.)

In the following chapter on conceptual metaphor theory, let us set aside the history of the term metaphor, and concentrate fully on conceptual metaphor theories that envision metaphor as being an elementary part of human conceptualization. Understanding metaphor as a cognitive process is not only one turn in the historical development, it is also the turn that has resulted in the blossoming of metaphor study. From now on, I will not return to any other conceptualizations of metaphor, and will not comment on the more recent stages of development in these positions.[16]

5.1.4. Understanding metaphor as a cognitive process

One further turning point in the history of metaphor theories has been the development of cognitive (conceptual) metaphor theories, which began in the 1980s. The breakthrough in this sense was the book *Metaphors We Live By* by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, which was published in 1980.[17] The revolutionary contribution of this book was the way it took metaphor to another level beyond the level of language, and pointed the way not only to language, but thinking and more generally cognitive processes as being metaphorical in nature. Furthermore, Lakoff & Johnson demonstrated that this mechanism of conceptualization, based on metaphors, works systematically.

In *Metaphors We Live By,* Lakoff & Johnson introduced the idea of conceptual metaphors in the forms of structural, orientational and ontological metaphors, personification, and metonymy. By structural metaphors, they meant cases in which one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another. Orientational metaphors were another category, in which a whole system of concepts was organized with respect to another, and this was typically done through a spatial orientation. By the term ontological metaphor, Lakoff and Johnson referred to understanding our experiences in terms of objects and substances. One case of ontological metaphor was personification, which involved a physical object being seen as a person. The term *metonymy* was

[16] Since the boundaries between different understandings of metaphor are sometimes vague or not stated, particularly when listing the objects of metaphor study, I depart occasionally from this principle.
[17] As is noted by Olaf Jäkel (1999), this revolution would not have been so radical if the general (English-speaking) public had been aware of the scholarship in European (and partly also American) philosophy during the preceding three hundred years.

applied to the use of one entity to refer to another that is related to it. (Lakoff & Johnson 1980.)[18]

The ideas presented by Lakoff & Johnson (1980) have been developed further both by themselves and by other researchers. In *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things* (Lakoff 1987), George Lakoff concentrates on categorization and how it is reflected in language – linguistic categorization is believed to function similarly to other fields of categorization. In short, Lakoff links his understanding of metaphor strongly to categorization.

In 1987, Mark Johnson published *The Body in the Mind. The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason*. Here Johnson deals with the theme of the embodiment of our minds, considering image schemata and metaphorical projections as being types of imaginative structure (since understanding is considered to be embodied and imaginative). Johnson does not question the understanding of metaphor that he and Lakoff introduced in 1980, but tries to combine it with a more general philosophical understanding of embodiment and imagination (understood not in the most obvious everyday sense of the word, but as our general capacity). In this way, Johnson uses these weapons to oppose the long-lived objectivist tradition in philosophy.

George Lakoff and Mark Turner (Lakoff & Turner 1989) showed in *More than cool reason* how the conceptual metaphor theory can be applied to studying poetic metaphors. Their main claim was that poetic metaphors (new metaphorical expressions, created by poets) function the same way as conventionalized linguistic metaphors. Thus the processes of language of all kinds are the same, and the ability to understand the metaphorical expressions of the poets exists because of the shared conceptualization of all the speakers of the language, including the poet and the reader. According to Lakoff and Turner, metaphors have many "statuses", i.e. they differ among many parameters (conceptual vs. linguistic, conventionalization, basicness) and the difference can be a matter of degree (ibid: 55-56).

[18] What Lakoff and Johnson have dealt with as different types of conceptual metaphor (ontological, structural, orientational, personification, metonymy) can hardly be understood as anything else than the different ways in which source and target domains can be related to one another. Later on, Lakoff and Johnson have acknowledged that the division of metaphor into three types was artificial, and that as a matter of fact "all the metaphors are structural (in that they map structures to structures); all are ontological (in that they create domain entities); and many are orientational (in that they map orientational image-schemata)" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 264).

Lakoff (1993) continued to criticize the traditional theories of metaphor in his article in the second edition of *Metaphor and thought*. Lakoff claims that the evidence proving the existence of a system of conventional conceptual metaphors is of five types: polysemy, inference patterns, novel metaphorical language, patterns of semantic change, and psycholinguistic experiments. He provides examples of this kind of evidence and poses the question of how one can prove which are the exact conceptual metaphors, but does not give a real answer to that. Lakoff merely states that these mappings have to be at the superordinate level. Moreover, he emphasizes that the conceptual metaphors, mappings, should be seen as being static, fixed patterns that are available, but not all parts of them are always activated. To this he adds the Invariance Principle (first mentioned in Lakoff & Turner 1989). This principle stipulates that the metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive typology (the image-schema structure) of the source domain, in a way that is consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain. This means also that the target domain structure automatically limits the possibilities of mappings. The most radical claim made by Lakoff in 1993, coming from the Invariance principle, is the following:

> Abstract reasoning is a special case of image-based reasoning. Image-based reasoning is fundamental and abstract reasoning is image-based reasoning under metaphorical projections to abstract domains. (Lakoff 1993:229.)

Furthermore, even one concrete sentence can be a realization of several different conceptual metaphors in its different parts. As an example of this, Lakoff mentions the expression "within the coming weeks". Concerning the question of how conceptual metaphors are related to one another, Lakoff introduces the notion of inheritance hierarchies, meaning that metaphorical mappings are sometimes organized in hierarchical structures, in which "lower" mappings in the hierarchy inherit the structures of the "higher" mappings. This understanding is based on the notion that metaphors do not occur arbitrarily, but are grounded in the universal understanding of how our bodies function, as well as in our everyday experience and knowledge.

In their second co-authored book, Lakoff and Johnson (1999)[19] develop their ideas mainly on the embodiment of the mind and accordingly on metaphor. They introduce "The integrated metaphor theory", which, in addition to their own previous work, also takes into account the research of others. Lakoff and Johnson

[19] Tero Kainlauri (2001) has written an excellent review of this book.

revise what they have earlier written about metaphor; they no longer speak of the invariance hypothesis, and they diminish their emphasis on the notion of image schemata. Instead, Lakoff and Johnson now propose a differentiation between the primary and complex metaphors. The primary ones are the metaphors that are formed unconsciously in our brains as a result of our everyday physical experiences, and the complex metaphors are formed from them. Lakoff and Johnson emphasize the work of the neural systems as the base for the processes of how metaphors work and, accordingly, how we conceptualize them. In 1999, the authors also introduce a new kind of evidence for the existence of conceptual metaphor, briefly introducing work done by various scholars. Nevertheless, the layer of empirical proof for their claims remains quite thin.

The core of cognitive metaphor theories as compared to previous theories is in understanding metaphor as a phenomenon not on the level of language, but on the level of cognitive processes. This can be seen in the use of the term "metaphor" to mean not the concrete linguistic expression (called the linguistic metaphor), but the cognitive link made between the different domains. Linguistic metaphors are produced and interpreted on the basis of conceptual metaphors. Contemporary metaphor theory assumes that metaphor plays a central role in our conceptualization. Metaphor has even been given the role of the basic principle of human cognition, and the most extreme cognitive linguists assume that metaphor is the key to understanding the peculiar depths of human conceptualization. Earlier approaches to metaphor did not assume that metaphor has this kind of role in human conceptualization.

Cognitive metaphor theories have been criticized for interpreting "everything" as being a metaphor. They have also been criticized for lacking grounds for their claims concerning the processing the brain does and for other psychological and cognitive processes that are purported to be behind the various linguistic factors.

Next I will introduce the key terms of conceptual metaphor theory in more detail to the extent that they are useful for and applied in my analysis of time metaphors.

5.1.4.1. Conceptual metaphor vs. linguistic metaphor

The notion of the conceptual metaphor is basic to the Lakoffian understanding of metaphor. At the same time, this notion and the way it is related to the concrete

metaphorical expressions in language, i.e. linguistic metaphors, is also the main weakness of contemporary metaphor theory. This theory uses concrete linguistic expressions that are called linguistic metaphors as illustrative examples when introducing conceptual metaphors. It does not, however, specify how it came up with those conceptual metaphors, and what the relationship is between conceptual and linguistic metaphors. In my opinion (as a linguist), it is best to start from the empirical material, to make language, and more specifically the uses found in everyday language, the starting point. Only then can we start to speculate on what the conceptual metaphors behind them might be. Conceptual metaphor should be seen as an explanation for things we can find in language, not the other way round.

In any case, we need to bear in mind that there is no objective method to define the conceptual metaphors, that this analysis is and stays subjective – another scholar might not agree on your interpretations, and on grounds no worse than yours. This concerns, among other things, the boundaries of the different source domains (what is interpreted as representing one source domain and what constitutes another one) and the hierarchies found inside these source domains. On the most general level, the analysis of conceptual metaphors can, however, reach levels at which some objectivity is attained and where little room is left for debate. In other words, any debate can involve only the smallest details, or is of the kind that would question the way of understanding and theorizing the issue. These can hardly be called questions of interpretation.

5.1.4.2. The source domain and target domain and the relationship between them

By source domain, the cognitive metaphor theory means the domain from which concepts are borrowed to talk about the things in the target domain. When, for example, time is talked about as a resource (in terms of resources) the conceptual metaphor in this case is TIME IS A RESOURCE. For this metaphor, time is the target domain and resource is the source domain. Conceptual metaphors are most often discussed first in terms of their source domains and then classified on the basis of their target domains. The metalanguage used to describe conceptual metaphors states the source and target domains in a straightforward fashion that is not very precise, and tries not to be proper English, but still follows its grammar.

The main question here is, simply stated: How is it possible to define the source and target domains in a satisfactory manner? How can we prove that a certain linguistic metaphor really is a realization of a certain conceptual metaphor and not of another one that is either more general, more specific, or completely different? What kind of information can we rely on for this? Is intuition the only means we have? If so, whose intuition is this?

5.1.4.3. The relationship between different conceptual metaphors

In defining conceptual metaphors, several scholars seem to have faced the problem that real expressions in language can at the same time represent several of the conceptual metaphors defined by earlier research or even by the scholar in question. This phenomenon was called *duality* by George Lakoff (1993). In that article, Lakoff focuses on what he calls an object-location duality (and is not sure whether this is the only duality that exists). As examples of duality, Lakoff demonstrates how time expressions can combine the notions of time as stationary landscape, time as an object in motion, and also time as the duality found in the event structure system. The event structure system has one system that is based on locations (for example, CHANGE IS MOTION) and another system based on objects (for example, CAUSES ARE FORCES). These pairs form *duals* and the notion of *duality* is used by Lakoff to explain how conceptual metaphors are combined. After publishing this article (ibid.) Lakoff has not used the term *duality*.

The system of metaphors is claimed to be coherently built. It is also claimed to form a logical whole. As a consequence, the different conceptual metaphors are related. This claim, which was first made by Lakoff & Johnson (1980), has not been proven since, but is appealing from the point of view of everyday logic.

Yet another aspect of the relations that conceptual metaphors have to one another is the hierarchy between them. During the first stages of the conceptual metaphor theory, this notion was dealt with simply by stating that some metaphors are submappings of other metaphors. In 1999, with the merge of the conceptual metaphor theory with the neural theory, the concepts of primary and complex metaphors were introduced.

Primary metaphor is a term used by Joseph Grady and Lakoff & Johnson (1999). This term is based on assuming that there are primary conceptual

metaphors that are an essential part of our everyday sensorimotor experience and that these metaphors are formed automatically, based on the embodiment and the characteristics of the world. Primary metaphors are unconscious (although not innate, but learned) and they are not controllable. They are as subtle as the neural connections, the co-activation, that serve as the basis for primary metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson list 24 primary metaphors. This list is not claimed to be complete; Lakoff and Johnson state that there are probably hundreds of primary metaphors.

Primary metaphors are the building blocks ("atoms") for the complex metaphors ("molecules"). The mechanism at work here is conventional conceptual blending. (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 49.)

Complex metaphors are the tool for reasoning. One way to study complex metaphors is to look at metaphorical idioms, which show that mental images are culturally shared (do not differ remarkably from one person to another).These idioms are conventional and the lexical differences between different languages may be explained by the different conventional images behind these expressions. In short, the cultural knowledge we store in our brains has the format of thousands of conventional images. (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 60-73.)

Zoltán Kövecses (2000: 90) also discusses simple and complex metaphors. By simple, he refers to those less abstract submetaphors that characterize an entire range of target concepts on a specific level, such as ABSTRACT STABILITY IS PHYSICAL STRENGTH, and which constitute complex metaphorical mappings such as SOCIETY IS A BUILDING. Kövecses calls the *scope of metaphor* the range of application a certain source domain has. Kövecses (Kövecses 2000) has used the term *central mappings* for those mappings that form the basis for other mappings and that are culturally and experientially central. As an example of such a mapping, Kövecses suggests COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS.

5.1.4.4. Image schemata as a tool for describing metaphors

The use of image schemata to illustrate metaphors and metonymies continues a long tradition of using simplified drawings to illustrate theory. For instance, Mark Johnson (1987) cites image schemata to illustrate "the preconceptual gestalts for force", which are believed to be connected to the different aspects of meaning, reasoning and speech acts. He adopts the notion of force, for example,

in order to explain modal verbs. He defines “gestalt structure” as “an organized, unified whole within our experience and understanding that manifests a repeatable pattern or structure”, and image schemata are his way of describing gestalt structures. For Johnson, image schemata are recurring structures of our perceptual interactions, bodily experiences, and cognitive operations. The form of the picture itself is not, however, important; what matters most is what it represents.

The whole tradition of cognitive grammar (Langacker, etc.) widely uses image schemata. Onikki (1994) explains this kind of schema usage. According to her, schemata have been used in cognitive semantics (and also in several other fields) as a kind of generalization, as equivalents to rules. Schemata thus represent basic concepts with the help of containers and paths, and they have parts and relations between these parts. Onikki remarks that schemata used by different scholars (she compares Langacker, Johnson, Kant, and Piaget) represent different concepts. The different uses of the word *schema* are looked at by Mark Johnson (1987).

In 1987 Lakoff introduced the concept of ICMs, the Idealized Cognitive Models (a term he later abandoned) to describe the way we organize our knowledge. The ICMs were supposed to be complex structured entities, using four kinds of structuring principles: prepositional structure, image-schematic structure, metaphoric mappings, and metonymic mappings (Lakoff 1987: 68).

Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (2004) divides ICMs into four types: propositional, metaphoric, metonymic, and image-schematic.

Image schemata have later been especially favoured by the metonymy scholars to illustrate the difference between metaphor and metonymy, i.e. the way their mappings differ. The blending theory uses its own kind of illustration that offers a fuller account than merely stating source and target domains, and renders the analysis in a more clear and readable way than verbal explanation can do.

5.2. Other points of view related to the conceptual metaphor theory

I will now look at some other points of view related to the conceptual metaphor theory. These are competing, but related theoretical and terminological possibilities that need to be considered when exploring the subject of metaphors.

I will first introduce some Russian contributions which are very close to the standard interpretation of conceptual metaphor theory and then turn to the American scholars, namely the blending theory, structural similarity view, and the metonymy theories. I will also touch upon the role of figurativeness in the study of conceptual metaphors.

5.2.1. The views of Skljarevskaja on linguistic metaphor

As an example of Russian metaphor research, I will now look at how G.N. Skljarevskaja has understood linguistic metaphor. The point of view on linguistic metaphor put forward by Skljarevskaja (Скляревская 1993) explains linguistic metaphor as a case of secondary nomination, as a case of variation in language. Skljarevskaja represents the continuity of understanding metaphor as a substitution, a process in which something that could be said otherwise is for some reason expressed with a metaphorical construction. She also continues the linguistic study of figurativeness in language. Skljarevskaja emphasizes the distinction between linguistic metaphor and poetic metaphor, suggesting that there should be two completely different terms for the two. Moreover, Skljarevskaja keeps any expressions used for individualistic and expressive goals out of her analysis. Besides poetic metaphors, her notion of linguistic metaphor excludes what she calls *genitive metaphors* (expressions of the type *the foot of the table*), because these are cases of primary, and not secondary, nomination, and non-figurative derivative expressions (*безобразное производное значение*), because these do not, in her opinion, have all the same characteristics as linguistic metaphors. Skljarevskaja provides an in-depth analysis to explain the differences involved. Her observations include that linguistic metaphor does not have noticeable strangeness and that its figurativeness is also not noticed by its users. She also observes that, what is more important, linguistic metaphor can be replaced with its semantic equivalent (unlike poetic metaphor). To sum up, Skljarevskaja argues that for something to be called metaphor, it requires figurativeness. She differs in this aspect from the conceptual metaphor theorists who regard as central exactly the cases she excludes (because of their non-figurativeness). This difference emerges because the conceptual metaphor theorists argue that it is the transfers between domains that define metaphoricity, not figurativeness. Yet Skljarevskaja nevertheless has a lot in common with the conceptual metaphor theorists. For example, she acknowledges the ubiquity of

linguistic metaphor and accordingly gives it an important place in language. More precisely, Skljarevskaja recognizes the function of linguistic metaphor in language as having a predicative role. Her study is lexical, and therefore deals with the lexical entities that form semantic fields, and other semantic groups and nests. In other words, Skljarevskaja explores the semantically related lexical entities, and as a case study she deals with the semantic group of water. She calls a *symbol* the semantic component that is the auxiliary part of metaphorization. For Skljarevskaja, linguistic metaphors can be of three semantic kinds: motivated, syncretistic, or associative. By motivated linguistic metaphor, Skljarevskaja means cases in which there is a semantic element that explicitly binds the metaphorical meaning and the original meaning. For instance, *монах* 'a monk' (referring a man that leads an ascetic life), *кремень* 'flintstone' (referring to a person with a hard character). The syncretistic linguistic metaphor is explained by our age-old tendency to interpret phenomena as compared to our sense perceptions. Examples include *сладкая мелодия* 'sweet melody', *громкое имя* 'loud name' (used of a well-known name). The term associative linguistic metaphor is used by Skljarevskaja when the metaphor is based on analogy, for example, *базар* 'bazaar' (of a place with loud noise), *огарок* 'candle-end' (of a weak-willed, pitiful person).

For Skljarevskaja, the logic of metaphor (why it exists) can be studied, and as evidence she points to the studies made on prelogical and mythical thinking. In her opinion, language in itself makes the notions of prelogicality impossible. This is because the words bring about concepts that are always generalizations by nature, and, furthermore, because the words bring about the system of nominalization and classification that require well-established cognitive reasoning. Skljarevskaja also notes that metaphor is based on a different kind of logic, namely imaginative logic (compare, for example, Johnson 1987).

As the result of the analysis by Skljarevskaja (1993), she concludes that linguistic metaphors are formed by the following regular metaphorical transfers: I OBJECT → OBJECT, II OBJECT → HUMAN, III OBJECT → PHYSICAL WORLD, IV OBJECT → PSYCHIC WORLD, V OBJECT → ABSTRACTION, VI ANIMAL → HUMAN, VII HUMAN → HUMAN, VIII PHYSICAL WORLD → PSYCHIC WORLD. Skljarevskaja also argues that any other kinds of transfers are extremely rare. The transfers like these (between domains) are very close to what could also be called conceptual metaphors. Although

Skljarevskaja does not use the term conceptual metaphor, her position has much in common with the adherents of conceptual metaphor theory.

5.2.2. Arutjunova's classification of metaphors

N.D. Arutjunova (Арутюнова 1998: 366) classifies linguistic metaphors (as distinct from poetic metaphors) into nominative metaphors, figurative metaphors, cognitive metaphors, and generative metaphors (the result of the functioning of a cognitive metaphor). These names describe the linguistic functions for which the linguistic metaphors are created. As for the process of metaphorization, Arutjunova understands it as one main source of raw material from which meanings are created, as in the metaphorization concepts (whether they are understood in the linguistic or more abstract levels of thinking) that are sufficiently different to be combined (ibid: 367-370).

5.2.3. The blending theory

The term "blending" represents one of the latest trends in the study of metaphor and metonymy. This term is used to explain the way source and target domains react to one another. The supporters of the blending theory believe that metaphor is formed when some characteristics of the source domain are blended with other characteristics (which are "projected" onto it). Blending, which can also be called *conceptual integration* or *mental binding*, is understood to be a cognitive operation that works not only in metaphors and metonymies, but also in many other areas of thought.

The blending theory is founded on the theory on mental spaces by Gilles Fauconnier (1985). This theory provides a solution to such problematic issues as split coreference, counterfactuals, presuppositions, and other contradictions that language is replete with, by invoking the notion of mental spaces. A mental space is, in this theory, a unit of cognition, a domain that takes part in meaning construction. Accordingly, different mental spaces account for different "realities", different sets of features. The mental spaces involved have correspondences that explain their working together, and these correspondences have different roles. The notion of mental space is quite similar to the later notion of domains in cognitive linguistics (especially metaphor studies). The notion of mental space serves as a powerful tool to deal with the human tendency to talk

about things that do not exist, for example to compare the state of facts to the fully hypothetical state that does not exist in real life. There can even be several such states, like when a mother perceives both her own birth and the birth of her daughter as events that could as well not have taken place, and thereby builds on various hypothetical possibilities that are interdependent. The notion of mental spaces is, furthermore, used in this theory to explain concepts like tenses and modality, which also have different kinds of competing realities. The theory of mental spaces, as I understand it, seeks to build a new kind of logic with the help of mental spaces. In his later book, Fauconnier continues to make his theory more explicit and uses the notion of mental spaces to explain how meanings are constructed (Fauconnier 1997). The name of the book, *Mappings in Thought and Language*, already suggests that the connections that different mental spaces build are a question of both thought and language (and probably exactly in this order). The correspondences between mental spaces, called mappings, play the main role here, and they make up the meaning construction, that is "the high-level, complex mental operations that apply within and across domains when we think, act, or communicate" (Fauconnier 1997: 1).

Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner (1998) use the word *blending* to refer to conceptual integration, which they assume to be one of the basic cognitive operations. In the blending theory, which has several things in common with the conceptual metaphor theory, the notion of conceptual integration is much more specifically and widely accounted for than in the conceptual metaphor theory. Instead, the blending takes place in the networks that involve input spaces (that would in the conceptual metaphor theory be called the source and target domains), generic spaces (that include what the inputs have in common), and blended spaces. These networks can be of different types. The blending consists of operations called *composition* (emergence of new relations), *completion* (recruiting unconscious background knowledge) and *elaboration* (which can go on indefinitely). Blending's form of action, called *projection* (compare the interaction theory on metaphor), can be symmetrical or one-sided. It is selective, as it can include two or more input spaces; and it is all about making connections between domains (or *spaces*, as they are called).

The blending theory is developed further in the book by Fauconnier and Turner published in 2002. From the way the mapping goes, one can differentiate between the different kinds of blending networks. These types are from the simplest to the most complicated: simplex networks, mirror networks, single-

scope networks, and double-scope networks. A simplex network is the kind of integration network in which the whole network is structured along one, unified system. The system has correspondences between all the elements of the different spaces, for example, between the traditional family relations in which each pair of family members is in an easily definable unit of relations both as a unit and to both directions between the members. This can be understood as corresponding to what has been called earlier a frame. By a mirror network, Fauconnier and Turner refer to an integration network in which all spaces share an organizing frame, i.e. a type of a mirroring relationship between the spaces. Two separate events are somehow compared and equated. The single-scope network has two input spaces with different organizing frames, one of which is projected to organize the blend, as is the case in the expression "He digested the book". In a double-scope network, the inputs have different organizing frames and an organizing frame for the blend that includes parts of each of those frames. The organizing frames of the inputs can stand in contradiction to one another. The network also has an emergent structure of its own. An example of such a network is the way a computer interface can be conceptualized as a desktop so that the interface is easy to use, but at the same time the computer interface and an actual desktop differ in many ways. (Fauconnier & Turner 2002: 41-135.) Besides these types, the most complicated of blends have more than two input spaces, and are called *multiple blends*. (As a matter of fact, even in many cases which are explained by means of two input spaces, the input spaces mentioned are actually simplified compressions of several input spaces. This will also hold true for the metaphorical blends that I introduce later in this work.)

Blending is illustrated in terms of a schematic picture, in which the mental spaces are represented by circles, elements by points, and the connections between the elements in different spaces are indicated by lines. The schematic picture makes clear the meeting points of the concepts, the cross-space mappings of the counterpart connections. The blends found can be examples of fusion or separate projections. The process of blending is not simple or mechanical; it can "falsify" the original concepts in many ways and thereby change and extend the categories. The connections can be motivated conceptually and experientially. Blends can be novel or entrenched, and some of them are better than the others.

The way that conceptual blending works in contrast with "formal blending" (blending happening on the level of forms of the words, and linguistic expressions) is investigated in the earlier work by Turner and Fauconnier (1995).

They note that blending on the level of expression does not necessarily require conceptual blending. When we interpret a word combination that we have not previously encountered, we try to determine the conceptual relationships between the words. For instance, single words, two words, and two nouns connected by the word “of” can represent a link between two spaces and their blending into a third, and the named elements can or cannot be counterparts from the blended spaces. Furthermore, formal blending is not necessarily based on conceptual blending. Formal and conceptual blending can even be contradictory to each other. Conceptual blending is also not necessarily expressed by using a formal blending coming from its domains.

Joseph E. Grady, Todd Oakley and Seana Coulson (1999) attempted to determine how the blending theory and conceptual metaphor theory can be connected. In their opinion, these theories are not contradictory, but complementary. They demonstrate how the use of the blending theory can give accurate descriptions of metaphors, especially for single, concrete expressions. Grady et al. point out that the conceptual metaphors listed by Lakoff and Johnson are stable structures which are available for exploitation by the blending process. Thus, they are inputs that feed the blending process by establishing links between elements in distinct domains and spaces, as well as provide the counterpart mappings to launch blends. These conceptual metaphors must have come about earlier than the blends that use them. Grady et al. also consider the question of what makes a blend metaphoric (as far from all blends are metaphorical according to the blending theory). Their position is that metaphorical blends are cases of fusion, in which a single element in the blend corresponds to each of the input spaces, since the point of metaphor is to depict one thing in terms of another. The fusion in metaphorical blends does not, however, allow certain very salient aspects of the input domain structure to enter the blend, and some salient structure in the blended space is prevented from floating back to the inputs. Furthermore, the input spaces of the metaphoric blends do not have equal status as topics, as they are asymmetric and only one of the inputs is topical.

Fauconnier and Turner (2002) argue that the constitutive and governing principles that control the blending are: compression, topology (the hierarchy of features), pattern completion, integration, promoting vital relations, web (not losing any important connections), unpacking, relevance, and recursion. These principles can be competitive. They work differently in different kinds of

networks, since even the nature of a network type defines to a large extent which of the principles have relevance.

Fauconnier and Turner (2002) also introduce metaphorical blends as one type of blending. The type having most to do with metaphor is, according to them, single-scope networks, in which the organizing frame of the blend is an extension of the organizing frame of one of the inputs but not the other (Fauconnier & Turner 2002: 126-127.) Metaphoric networks can also be double-scope; such megablends can use metaphorical integration. In dealing with the composition of metaphoric integrations, they examine such metaphorically comparative constructions as "Fear is the father of violence" (ibid: 154-162). In this way, Fauconnier and Turner (ibid.) interpret metaphor as being one kind of blending network. Or more precisely, metaphoricity comes up regularly both in the blending networks and in their functioning. Yet metaphor is in no way a separate phenomenon, and does not even constitute a class of its own.

According to Fauconnier and Turner (ibid.), what makes human conceptualization different from anything animals are able to do is the capability of compression, which involves blending. The child learns to blend in the course of its cognitive development into a conceptualizing adult. Blending, or conceptual integration, is based on bodily experience. Blending consists of the input spaces, generic spaces, and the blend, and works with certain governing principles. Moreover, the overarching goal is achieving human scale. This principle makes blends not as arbitrary and unpredictable as they might seem. A conceptual integration network consists of its compressions and decompressions. Fauconnier and Turner (ibid.) state that linguistic forms offer ample evidence of how blending works, and a closer examination of the syntax reveals how complicated the way we think can be.

John Barnden and his colleagues (Barnden et al. 2004) have developed a view on source and target domains that shares many features with the blending theory. This view suggests that the different kinds of influence between the source and target domains are not one-sided. Instead, the influence goes not only from the target domain to the source domain, but also the other way round, and is closely related to the reasoning process in general. The influence is not, in their opinion, as simple as is often assumed, i.e. it is not only a question of transferring properties, some of which can be highlighted. Barnden (see, for example, Barnden et al. 2004) refers to a *metaphorical view* which corresponds to what Lakoff and Johnson call *conceptual metaphor*.

While Lakoff and Johnson (1999) claim to take into account the blending theory in their Integrated Metaphor Theory, they do not really apply it. All they really do is to acknowledge its existence.

Francisco José Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (2003, 2004) has proposed an alternative to the blending theory. His alternative, called The Combined Input Hypothesis, differs from the model suggested by Turner and Fauconnier (1995) in using partly different terminology (instead of the blended space it has "projection space", and the input domains are called "combined source input 1" and "combined target input 2"). "Projection spaces" are seen as the result of an ongoing cognitive activity, and they do not contain structure that is inconsistent with the structure projected from the input spaces. In this way, this alternative hypothesis does not assume blending to be based on emergent structures, but on a kind of development of the famous Invariance Hypothesis (Lakoff 1987), called *The Emergent Structure Hypothesis* by Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez. The notion of invariance does not allow blends (or "projection spaces" as they are called here) to have any characteristics that the input spaces have not provided. On the contrary, the projection spaces are not interpreted as dynamic (as the blends are); they are rather an outcome of previous cognitive activity. The Combined Input Hypothesis supposes more cognitive operations than the blending theory, namely *integration, correlation, contrast, domain expansion, domain reduction, strengthening, mitigation, completion, counterfactual conditioning,* and *parametrization* (this hypothesis also assumes that there may be still others).

The notion of blending or conceptual integration requires that we assume certain cognitive operations to exist (lists of these operations are found above). According to Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (2004), these cognitive operations happen on two levels, high and low. Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (ibid.) claims that on the high level The Correlation Principle and the Extended Invariance Principle are at work, and on the low level, The Principle of Conceptual Combination.[20] The low-level cognitive operations work on the level of linguistic expressions in a context. As low-level (or content) cognitive operations, Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (2004) mentions correlation and contrast, expansion and reduction, mitigation,

[20] The Correlation Principle (high level): only the conceptual structure from the (combined) target that has a counterpart in the source is relevant. The Extended Invariance Principle (high level): all contectual effects motivated by a low-level cognitive operation will preserve the generic-level structure of all input spaces involved in the operation in a way consistent with their inherent structure. The Conceptual Combination Principle (low level): the generic structure from one of the schemata involved in a conceptual integration operation will always provide the blueprint for the projection and combination of other schemata. (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez 2004.)

strengthening, saturation/completion, counterfactual operations, and parametrization. As high-level (or formal) cognitive operations, he mentions cueing, abstraction, projection, and integration (by enrichment or combination). Of these, projection and integration are constrained by the Extended Invariance Principle and the Correlation Principle.

The character of the different domains (or mental spaces) and their interaction is the very factor that makes it difficult to apply the blending theory. What kinds of laws govern the functioning of these processes? Is the interaction between the mental spaces random and arbitrary? If it is, how can it be explained? How about the high and low levels – can the processes of conceptual integration be explained in this way?

For an alternative view, interpreting the relationship between source and target domains as being more complicated than merely a one-way transfer, see [Barnden et al. 2004].

5.2.4. Structural similarity view

Gregory L. Murphy (1996) is strongly opposed to the view held by Lakoff and Johnson (and by other conceptual metaphor scholars) that human conceptualization is based on metaphors. Murphy criticizes both what he calls the strong version, which maintains that concepts are not understood by their own representations, but by a reference to a different domain, and the weaker version of Lakoff and Johnson's theory that claims that even the metaphorical expressions have their own representation, although the conceptual metaphor may influence its structure (owing to the influence of our culture). Murphy points out that the conceptual metaphor theory can also not explain why and how some domains are understood through the use of several conceptual metaphors, and why the source domains are not used completely, but only in parts. For instance, if arguments are really conceptualized as wars, why do they not have all the characteristics that wars possess? Murphy likewise criticizes the conceptual metaphor theory for not being able to explain the direction from the source to target domains (namely why this relation should be unidirectional).

Murphy suggests the structural similarity view as an alternative to the conceptual metaphor theory. The structural similarity view explains the metaphor as having to do with how the different domains have pre-existing similarities that explain their comparison in terms of metaphors. Murphy's suggestion helps

resolve the problem of the way metaphors have different domains. According to this theory, the multiple similarities that different domains have are a basis for the theoretical orientation. Murphy also states that the conceptual metaphor theorists have forgotten the simple notion of polysemy that is able to explain many of the things that the conceptual metaphor theorists need the notion of metaphor for. One argument that Murphy puts forth (which I find justifiable) is that we need not understand, for example, other meanings of *reach* as being metaphorical to assume that the verb has only one meaning which is concrete.

Murphy does not believe that our thinking is metaphorical by nature and recognizes that the claim in question has not been cognitively proven. He criticizes the way the conceptual metaphor theory uses mainly linguistic data as evidence. Murphy thinks that the conceptual metaphor theory should be more precise in its account of what exactly is metaphorical representation.

The critique of the conceptual metaphor theory raised by Murphy was answered by Raymond W. Gibbs (1996). In his critique, Gibbs claims that Murphy misunderstood the basis for the conceptual metaphor theory and ignored the role of embodiment in it. Gibbs further criticizes Murphy for assuming that concepts are fixed, static structures. Gibbs also defends the use of linguistic data as evidence for conceptualization and its metaphoricity, and emphasizes that psycholinguistic research demonstrates the existence of conceptual metaphors. Gibbs criticizes the structural similarity view for not being able to account for the unidirectionality of the metaphorical mappings and for giving the wrong kind of place for typicality.

Murphy (1997) responded to Gibbs' critique by stating that while it is true that concepts may not be fixed he is still of the opinion that the embodiment is only a theory, and moreover, the existence of the conceptual metaphor and its role in human conceptualization have not been proved. Murphy also criticizes the poor knowledge that conceptual metaphor theorists have of the multiplicity of the polysemy theories, which leads them to underestimate those theories.

5.2.5. Metaphor as creating meaning

The collection of articles *Метафора в языке и тексте* [Metaphor in language and text] (Метафора 1988) presents the reflections of several well-known Russian metaphor scholars (V.G.Gak, V.N. Telija, and others), who ponder, among other problems, the question of how metaphor creates meaning. The

rhetoricians studying metaphor have already noted the functions of metaphor as creating style, expressing opinions (also hidden), etc., and they are repeated many times in this collection of articles. The idea of conceptual metaphor is also considered to be the underlying principle of metaphorization, and it may even reflect the processes of thinking. But the end results, the metaphors themselves, are seen most importantly as having the same old functions. The articles concentrate heavily on the task of lexical semantics, describing the forms of metaphorization (its lexical realizations) on the different levels of morphology, syntax, and pragmatics (or "functional" level). The ways the different linguistic metaphors arise is regarded by those espousing the morphological point of view as being the primary one. In addition, the universality of metaphor is interpreted from the viewpoint of what differentiates the means that the different languages (especially Russian) have to reveal or make use of this metaphor, metaphors not being something one can volunteer to use or not to use, but being inseparable parts of our language system (and, although this not very clearly expressed in the articles, our conceptualization).

In my opinion the notion of metaphor creating meaning comes as a natural consequence of understanding metaphor as not being replaceable by a literal (or non-metaphorical) expression. For this reason, this notion brings nothing new to the way that conceptual metaphor theory understands how metaphor behaves in language. When the underlying assumption is that metaphor plays an important role in our conceptualization, one does not need to separately assume that metaphor creates meaning. To understand the creation of meaning as a separate function of metaphor comes clearly from the traditional understanding of metaphor in which metaphor plays an important part in nomination. If the conceptual aspect of metaphor is not accepted, the notion of creating meaning may turn out to be useful analytically.

5.2.6. Metaphor and metonymy

One of the most hotly debated theoretical issues in conceptual metaphor studies is how to understand the terminological difference between metaphor and metonymy (traditionally defined as a figure of speech calling things by the names of other things to which they have an associative or a part-whole relationship), and their relationship in the processes of conceptualization.

There are some quite obvious differences between metaphor and metonymy. For instance, their source and target domains are different, and the level of figurativeness, which is a characteristic traditionally associated with metaphor, although not in cognitive theories, is not that much present. This lack or lesser degree of figurativeness is probably the main reason for metonymy to be seen as different from metaphor in the first place. When we forget all about figurativeness, the main point is to look at the details of the referential relation.

Some contend that metonymy is a subgroup of metaphor, as merely one case of seeing something as something else (for example Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Others attach more importance to the distinction between seeing something in terms of something else (metaphor) and seeing something through its parts (metonymy) (for example Turner & Fauconnier 2000). There are still others who claim that metonymy is the basic term, of which metaphor is only one case; or, more precisely, that it is metonymy that makes metaphorical transfers possible (see 5.2.6.2.). According to this position, metonymy is a kind of metaphor in the sense that it also connects two domains, and the differences between them (whether they are seen as important or not, and whether they are so fundamental that they require the use of another term), are a question of pure opinion.

Metonymy is defined as perceiving totality with the help of its part(s), or in some other way in terms of a conceptual transfer in which the source and target domains were already originally related. The understanding of "part" and "whole" is not clear, since many cases in which the associative connection is clear are interpreted as metonymy, but whether these can really be discussed in terms of a part and a whole is not quite that obvious. This is the case in the celebrated example of Lakoff & Johnson (1980) in which a waiter calls a customer "the ham sandwich" when discussing his/her order with another waiter.[21]

The terminological confusion does not end here. One of the terms used to mean the same as metonymy – or something slightly different – is *synecdoche*.

[21] According to E.A. Zemskaja (Земская 1987: 67-70), spoken Russian frequently uses metonymical nominations when talking about people. These nominations refer to the human being according to their clothing and other peculiarities of outward appearance, or profession. For example, *синий халатик* 'blue robe' [about a person wearing such], *красивые глаза* 'beautiful eyes' [about a person with beautiful eyes], *ухо-горло-нос* 'ear-throat-nose' [of a otolaryngologist]. Another kind of metonymical nomination mentioned there is using geographical or ethnographical names for things having a connection to those names, for example *поляки* 'Poles' [of Polish stamps], *японцы* 'the Japanese' [about Japanese art].

Krikmann (Krikmann 1992) has also mentioned *anti-synecdoche*, for example "institution for the person responsible".

The field of metonymy is very wide; the danger of seeing it "everywhere" is even greater than it is in the case of metaphors. This is justified by the notion of metonymy as the most basic kind of human conceptualization. Antonio Barcelona (Barcelona 2000, 2004) has gone so far as to categorize as metonymies phenomena such as the reduction of *gasoline* into *gas* (the metonymy SALIENT PART OF FORM FOR WHOLE FORM) or the referential *this book* (because it triggers the wanted meaning).

5.2.6.1. Source and target domains in metonymy

The difference between metaphor and metonymy can be explained by the difference in the relationship between the source and target domains. Antonio Barcelona defines metonymy as follows: "Metonymy is an asymmetrical mapping of a conceptual domain, the source, onto another domain, the target. Source and target are in the same functional domain and are linked by a pragmatic function, so that the target is mentally activated" (Barcelona 2004). On this basis, Barcelona points to metonymy as one of the most important mechanisms that explain human conceptualization. He finds metonymy widely both on the conceptual level of language (for example, in gestures), as well as in the grammar and phonology. In short, Barcelona argues that metonymy is found in all aspects of cognition and language. The source and target domains, in this view, belong in metonymy (unlike in metaphor) to the same experiential basis (which can also be called ICM) and the mapping is acknowledged to be asymmetrical. (Barcelona 2000, 2004.)

Metonymy has lately been explained using the same schemata used by the blending theory. Other aspects are also suitable to be explained with the help of the blending theory (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez 2000, 2004; Turner & Fauconnier 2000, Panther & Thornburg 2003). The schemata show in an illustrative way how the domains in use and their parts function in the metonymical relationship.

5.2.6.2. The metonymical basis of metaphor

Louis Goossens (Goossens 1995) has coined the term *metaphtonymy* to express the intertwined nature of metaphor and metonymy, the ways in which they can

occur together. Under this term he includes metaphor from metonymy, metonymy within metaphor, metaphor within metonymy, and demetonymization in a metaphorical context. By metaphor from metonymy, he means a case in which "the donor domain and the target domain can be joined together naturally in one complex scene". This happens frequently, according to Goossens. In metonymy within metaphor, a metonymy functions within the target domain. Metaphor within metonymy (which is, according to Goossens, extremely rare) is the opposite case. What is also rare is demetonymization in a metaphorical context, in which the overall metaphorical context encourages metaphorical rather than metonymical reading of a part originally metonymical.

According to Antonio Barcelona (2000, 2004) and other like-minded researchers, most metaphors (or all of them) have a metonymical basis. Barcelona justifies this claim by offering various arguments, including the partiality of most metaphors (focusing on one or few aspects of the target that are selected by a metonymic abstraction) and the experiential basis of metaphors, which Barcelona classifies as one instance of metonymical abstraction. The whole issue is to claim that metonymy is, like metaphor, a conceptual mapping. Furthermore, metonymy is a conceptual mapping more basic than metaphor, and conceptually prior to it. The conceptual theory of metonymy (or at least Barcelona) assumes that the role given to the "literal meaning" in metaphor theories is exactly the same and that it can better be explained by the metonymical basis of metaphor.

The metonymical basis of metaphors has also been analysed by, among others, Günter Radden (Radden 2000). Radden states that metonymy and metaphor need to be interpreted as being prototypical categories on each end of a continuum, without any clear boundaries. Radden deals with the metonymical driving forces behind metaphors, which according to him are: (1) a common experiential basis of the two metaphorical domains; (2) the operation of implicature; (3) category structure; (4) cultural models (Radden 2000).

Especially when illustrated with schemata (e.g. Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez 2004), the metonymical basis for metaphor seems to make complete sense and is very useful in explaining the transfers inside the source or the target domain. The use of many-space models such as the blending theory as the basis for this makes it all the more concrete and plausible.

One of the main issues for both metaphor and metonymy is whether they are mechanisms of cognition, i.e. active in themselves, or some kind of

mappings, having to do with the possible correspondences without taking into consideration whether these correspondences are realized or not. In the first case, metaphor/metonymy is a process that in itself explains the conceptualization processes. In the latter case, metonymy/metaphor is a kind of activation pattern that still needs separate working principles to explain it.

5.2.7. Terms related to metaphor

Besides *metonymy*, dealt with above, many other terms are also related to the term *metaphor*. Moreover, the material of this research can be referred to terminologically in different ways.

If metaphor is looked at from the point of view of its figurativeness, as a term of poetics, it has close relationships to several other terms, such as *trope* or *figure of speech*.

When it comes to the concrete object of study, the *expressions* might also be called *collocations*, *idioms, idiomatic expressions*, or even *clichés*.

The term *idiom* is the most difficult to deal with here. The notion of idiomaticity is widely discussed in current linguistics, and there are several possible links to metaphor. If metaphor is assumed to be a phenomenon occurring on the level of language, a deviation from literal language use, then idiom is considered as its neighbouring concept, as another kind of deviation, but a deviation that is more likely to have something to do with stiffened patterns of speech than figurativeness (which this position maintains is a major characteristic of metaphors). If metaphor is presupposed to be a phenomenon on the level of conceptualization, idiom then becomes one of the possible ways of expressing this metaphor – that is, if novel character is not required from the metaphor. Whether one should include idioms and what can be called idioms in metaphor study is still debated. I personally think that idioms (idiomatic expressions) are the most important material, the most important kinds of linguistic metaphors for studying conceptual metaphors.

As an example of the terminological confusion that prevails, I note that T.Z.Čerdanceva (Metafora 1988: 78-92) states that *metaphor* and *symbol* are the things behind idiomatic (phraseological) units. Čerdanceva proposes terminology in which metaphor is figurative and symbol non-figurative. The explanation she offers indicates that what Čerdanceva has in mind is, as a matter of fact, very close to the conceptual metaphors of cognitive linguistics.

The word *personification* is also used, not only for naming one of the means used by metaphor (or any other trope or means of conceptualization), but also as an independent means in language.

Metaphor is traditionally seen as a kind of (implicit) *simile*, only without the word "like". Psycholinguists have, however, demonstrated that similes and metaphors are actually processed differently in our brains (for example Glucksberg et al. 1997). Similes include obvious comparison whereas metaphors do not.

5.2.8. The place of figurativeness in contemporary metaphor theories

As has been noted earlier, since cognitive metaphor theories recognize characteristics other than figurativeness (mainly the source and target domains) as the basis for metaphor, this made the notion of figurativeness less important. It did not, however, end this discussion completely.

The question of figurativeness is still relevant in neurolinguistics and psycholinguistics, which study the way metaphorical and non-metaphorical (in this case figurative and non-figurative) sentences are processed in our brains. The place of figurativeness in this is in determining whether or not it plays a role in the human conceptualization, or, more precisely, whether figurativeness makes the linguistic expressions in question more difficult to process (and understand). In this way, using the notion of figurativeness it not in itself necessary, and is rather based on the tradition than any real characteristics of figurativeness or non-literal usage. In fact, any other characteristic could be assumed to account for the difference between "metaphorical" and "literal" statements. This kind of characteristic could, in my opinion, very well be the idea of borrowing from another domain.

5.3. The sources of material for (conceptual) metaphor studies

When determining what metaphor is from the viewpoint of the different kinds of theories, one has to look at the kind of material a study uses in order to finally decide on its orientation towards metaphor. The conceptual metaphor theory assumes that different kinds of material lead to similar results. In other words, the existence of the conceptual metaphors suggested can and should have evidence

coming from the analysis of different kinds of material. What metaphor studies share in their use of material is that the material is a result of some kind of coding made by humans. This could entail language as such, other forms of behaviour, or a form of art. It should be clear to everyone that we cannot use a microscope to study material used in the analysis of metaphors, although the information provided by neuropsychology is hoped to support the cognitive credibility of the theory. Another important issue is the relevance of methodological questions asked, i.e. the importance of not only what kind of material is used but how it is used and for what purposes. We will come back to this question in Chapter 5.4. Let us first look at the possible sources of metaphor analysis.

5.3.1. Fiction and other forms of art

While the obvious choice for literary studies is to use fiction as the material for metaphor studies, the field is not, however, limited only to fiction. On the one hand, if the starting point of a study includes the presupposition that metaphorical language is figurative, and in this sense different from non-metaphorical, non-figurative language, fiction is therefore the natural source since it is rich in this kind of material. On the other hand, if metaphor is seen as a characteristic of all language rather than separately defined "figurative language", fiction can be used as a generalized form of language that has the same characteristics as language in general. In earlier times, when material reflecting spoken language was not available, fiction was even used as a substitute for it, supposing that fiction and especially dialogues mimic spoken language. In my opinion, this can no longer suffice since currently scholars have access to modern recording technology. This is because literary dialogues, even those that seem to the reader to be authentic, lack many elements of real spoken language. Despite all this, it is fully acceptable to use fiction for the study of novel metaphors and how they make use of the existing systems of conceptual metaphors, as is using it as a model of written language, a form that is easily accessible.

With the growing interest in metaphor and the new understanding of its place in conceptualization, other forms of art such as fine arts (e.g. Hausman 1989[22]) and music (e.g. Spitzer 2003) have also become the focus of metaphor study.

[22] Hausman does not use the conceptual metaphor theory; he believes in a more traditional understanding of metaphor.

5.3.1.1. Dead metaphors

The question of when a metaphor is dead and how it should therefore be interpreted is one of the classic problems of literary metaphor research. The notion of a dead metaphor also rears its head occasionally in linguistic metaphor studies. Some researchers have differentiated between several other stages of dead or "inactive metaphors". Goatly (1997: 31-35) speaks of "lexicalised", "sleeping" and "tired" metaphors. This process (nominalization, grammaticalization) in which live metaphors die has become a focal point for many metaphor studies. Many names refer to this process: they can be called dead, nominative, lexical, or "stiffened".

Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 124) describe metaphors as being dead only when the conceptual mapping that has given rise to a metaphorical expression is no longer active in language. Nevertheless, the number of such cases is very limited. As an example, they mention *pedigree*, which comes from the French *ped de gris* 'a grouse's foot', once indicating the shape similar to a family-tree diagram.

Generally, modern conceptual metaphor research has shown that the difference between what would traditionally have been called "dead" and "live" metaphors is not relevant from the viewpoint of conceptualization. Perhaps this difference is purely stylistic. The degree of conventionality may have once been an interesting feature of the metaphorical expressions, but for those who interpret metaphor as having to do mainly with the conceptual blending of different domains, the concepts of dead or alive are no longer highly relevant. Some representatives of conceptual metaphor theory (see Goatly 1997, for instance) are still to this day keenly interested in dying and sleeping metaphors.

5.3.2. "Everyday language"

I define the object of my study as being something called "everyday language". This means that the material that I use is meant to be the kind of language that people engage in without thinking too much of their usage. For this reason, I do not want to include anything that would be the result of an author's conscious effort to create "new" language, figures of speech that have not been heard of before.

Everyday language could naturally refer to *spoken* language. It can, however, be of the written kind as well. Although writing can be seen as a mere (in most cases rather conservative) reflection of "real language" and its processes of development, it does constitute a partly independent form of language that is no less important. The strict codification of some forms of written language can, of course, make these forms too stable to look at from the viewpoint of variation studies, and their change so slow that the way they reflect human conceptualization may be less reliable than the information provided by some other language forms.

5.3.3. Metaphor in applied linguistics

Several kinds of linguistic behaviour that have been studied in applied linguistics have served as a source of information for metaphor study. This includes, besides natural languages (including sign languages), other forms of communication and signification (conceptualization), such as gestures.

Language teaching and learning has also been made a major field of application for the metaphor theory. Not only how language is acquired, but also how second and foreign languages are learned and taught in the classroom, constitute fields that have to do with the way metaphor works in our perception of language and facilitates or prohibits the learning processes involved (Cameron & Low 1999, Block 1999).

The concrete object of metaphor study is often language. What a study wishes to ascertain can also be other things such as how politics and its rhetoric are constructed, what kind of entities are inflation (personified in language) and government (metonymically constructed), and so on. The study of the press and communication in general from the viewpoint of cognitive metaphor theories has risen rapidly in the last years (e.g. Hellsten 2002.) Similarly, the metaphors of teaching and learning (how teaching and learning are presented metaphorically in theories on these areas) have been of interest (see Cortazzi & Jin 1999).

5.4. Methodology of (conceptual) metaphor studies

5.4.1. Using introspection

The method of using introspection, looking for evidence and counterevidence using linguistic intuition only, is very common in metaphor studies. In fact, most cognitive metaphor studies do not mention the materials or methods of research, which naturally leads to the conclusion that they have been using introspection. This practice uses introspection to figure out the metaphors, and also to choose appropriate examples of them. This means that the metaphor scholar is most likely to believe that classifying the metaphors really is culturally shared so that other scholars would collect their data in the same way. Not only is this experience supposed to be shared, but also the subjective way of one individual or a group of like-minded scholars of putting things into classes is supposed to be objective.

Because of all this, metaphor study has to battle against the tendency to rely completely on the subjective intellectual capability of conscious choices that are supposed to describe unconscious phenomena. This battle leads to valid results only if the empirical approach of metaphor studies is taken seriously. As long as scholars presuppose that conceptual metaphors are something they must somehow prove to exist, but do not need to specify the exact content of these metaphors, then their study remains far too subjective to be considered to be science. The relationship between conceptual and linguistic metaphors also has to be decided on in order to achieve valid results.

I do not mean to imply that introspection should not be used, as it is often the only method available. The linguistic intuition of an individual (especially one that is trained for it) is a representative of a whole body of native speaker knowledge, which can be much more than a description could achieve. In most cases linguistic intuition can reliably determine what can and cannot be said in a language. Another point, which is the reason for my critique on using *only* introspection, is that if we wish to have a broader understanding of something, we cannot rely on introspection only for the simple reason that so many factors (different ways of expressing something) very easily escape our attention. This is why introspection alone is not enough; scholars also need some type of objective material.

5.4.2. Corpus studies

Using computerized corpora for linguistic research is one of the main trends in modern linguistics. This approach has not, however, been extensively used in the study of metaphor. The reasons for this are obvious: metaphors do not have such characteristics that would enable us to find them easily in a corpus, whether it be tagged or not.

Metaphorical expressions can, nonetheless, be studied with the help of corpora. Scholars usually know, or are able to find out in one way or another, what they are looking for (which words or grammatical features to include in the search). A big corpus can give a great amount of context for the usage of almost any expression; all that is needed is the right search string. Besides looking for the context, a corpus can also be used for defining the frequency of an expression, or even better, the relative frequencies of different expressions. The frequency can also be of interest when figuring out whether an expression can be said to be commonly used (to make sure that it is not purely an invention of the twisted mind of the scholar occupied with expressions of the sort for years). Corpora can also be used as a means of collecting examples and providing evidence or counterevidence for the phenomena discovered through intuition.

A conceptual metaphor study that focuses closely on the relations between grammatical forms or metonymy may find uses for corpora, even of the kind requiring grammatical tags. When metaphor and metonymy are seen as phenomena having to do with the level of morphology, the starting point for the whole enterprise is very different. The methodology of corpus studies in identifying metaphorical expressions has been looked at in [Deignan 1999]. This kind of approach considers, for example, different contexts in which the word *shoulder* has been used as a verb, or what kind of metaphorical meaning(s) a certain collocation can have in different contexts.

5.4.3. In search of a truly empirical metaphor study

The main weakness in the study of conceptual metaphors is easily pinpointed to be the lack of empiricism. To overcome this weakness, several scholars have used real-life language data (instead of intuitively coined, conveniently chosen examples) to prove the existence of the assumed conceptual metaphors. Yet when we use such means to gather data, many aspects of conceptualization easily

escape our attention, and the true empirical character of the study remains on a rather superficial level because the expressions still do not reveal how a semantic field in its totality is built metaphorically. The existence of the claimed conceptual metaphors is only one aspect of these metaphors. It is therefore beneficial if one can prove the hypothesis to be true, to prove the existence of the claimed conceptual metaphors. But this is not enough if we want to study the whole field of metaphorical conceptualization. The scholar also needs to take into consideration what else there is in the same field; that is, he or she cannot be satisfied with the proven hypothesis, but must try to make sure that anything else that could also be said has not been overlooked. The major objective, then, is to gain knowledge of all the possible conceptual metaphors on the basis of empirical material, not just to prove the existence of the ones in the hypothesis with conveniently chosen examples. In sum, what is needed is true empiricism. Methodologically, this means starting from empirical language material, and not from a philosophically defined hypothesis.

5.4.4. On quantitative and qualitative metaphor studies

Should linguistic metaphor studies concern what *can* be said in a language or what *is* said and *how often*? This is one of the important questions when judging the credibility and reliability of linguistic metaphor studies. The difference between these two points of view is far more important than it may seem. If linguistic metaphor studies are seen as looking at what can be said in a language, the choice of methodology is, according to common belief, restricted to using introspection. Some corpus studies and other ways of using real language material can also help in finding examples that a scholar would not have been happened to think about by resorting to introspection alone. Furthermore, when using introspection, the limits of acceptability are not always clear: what is possible for one native speaker may not be possible for another. This kind of fuzziness in the boundaries of acceptability makes the linguistic metaphor study of what can be said in a language problematic, at least if a study wishes to include anything other than the most obvious cases (on which there should not be any disagreement).

A study that wishes to answer the question “how often”, i.e. is dealing with frequencies, encounters the same problems as all studies using frequency as a research method. The result of this kind of study is highly dependent on the

material used. Besides that, many expressions are so rare in a language material that their occurrence in the material can be coincidental.

All this leads one to ask whether metaphor study can or should be qualitative or quantitative, and what these variants mean in practice.

How can beautiful graphs on metaphor frequency be drawn and what difference do they make? Quantitative metaphor studies deal with the relative frequencies of different conceptual metaphors – or maybe even their realizations in language, the linguistic metaphors. There are several obvious reasons for doing quantitative metaphor studies, such as mimicking the hard sciences. One very obvious motivation for this kind of study is also that if one wishes to study the kind of thinking that language "reflects", seeing language as being culture-specific, one can notice that the conceptual metaphors offered by theories do seem to make sense (although they can very easily not tell the whole story!). In addition, to differentiate how different languages conceptualize a certain field, linguists resort to quantitative studies in the hope that the relative frequencies might provide a basis for detecting the differences between the languages, or even for one language, to reveal how the different conceptual metaphors are interrelated.

The main problem in quantitative metaphor studies is a very basic one: how to define the unit that will be counted, i.e. what is categorized as being one metaphor. Both possibilities are unreliable – counting the concrete occurrences in language (which may also pose problems in interpretation) and counting the concrete metaphors (simplifying them when representing them in figures may indeed be difficult). For example, difficult questions arise, such as whether an occurrence of a metaphorical expression that is rare in language is of the same value as an occurrence of a frequent expression – and if not, which should be favoured?

Inside a strictly limited material quantitative metaphor study may, however, be highly revealing about the internal relations in metaphorical structuring in that particular material. If the unit of one metaphor (or whichever unit is used) is defined strictly and consistently, there is also no problem with it.

Qualitative studies are what conceptual metaphor studies, for natural reasons, mostly represent. Qualitatively different conceptual metaphors and their realizations, both as evidence and as examples, can be dealt with quite freely. This easily leads to approaches that are neither systematic nor consistent.

5.4.5. Problems in conceptual metaphor study

Conceptual metaphor study has a number of problems that are mostly methodological in character. Firstly, the conceptual metaphors seem to have arrived from nowhere. The same metaphors are repeated in different works, but their origin is in question. They certainly did not arise from an analysis of a substantial number of observations. The whole idea of conceptual metaphors was so interesting and new as an idea that it was taken without criticism or further checks on the exactness of the conceptual metaphors. Secondly, concrete evidence was created only on the basis of the assumed conceptual metaphors, and not vice versa, i.e. few studies have challenged the existence and limits of the conceptual metaphors mentioned earlier, basing their assumptions on the analysis of greater numbers of observations. Thirdly, the naming of conceptual metaphors is also problematic. Assigning a conceptual metaphor a certain name should be carefully considered since before long the metaphor begins its life in literature without the original examples. In this way, the name of the metaphor becomes the whole description of it, and if the naming is based on anything other than the most central features of the conceptual metaphor, it is misleading. Fourthly, even if all conceptual metaphors were named accurately, the relationship between different conceptual metaphors remains problematic. Which conceptual metaphors can be seen as different hierarchical levels of the same metaphor? What are the relationships between the metaphors? And, furthermore, do the metaphors mentioned cover all the occurrences? Would there be other examples to be discovered if the analysis of the concrete material were more extensive and less biased (i.e. less inclined to see only the conceptual metaphors mentioned in earlier literature)?

Criticism and commentaries on conceptual metaphor study can be found, among others, in Nikanne (1992) and Leino (1983b). Urpo Nikanne has especially criticized the conceptual metaphor theory for being naïve in its empiricism as well as in its understanding of embodiment, and in particular for not explicating what the conceptualization process is like. A review of other criticisms can be found in Yu (1998: 33-46).

The next topic I explore involves closely examining one particular problem of conceptual metaphor study, namely the fact that the relationship between conceptual and linguistic metaphors is not defined.

5.4.5.1. What is the relationship between conceptual and linguistic metaphors?

Cognitive metaphor theory assumes that (conceptual) metaphors reflect the conceptualization processes that are metaphorical in nature and are the core of all thought processes. Metaphorical expressions, “linguistic metaphors”, are often given as examples of the realization of these metaphors. It is not, however, specified how one could and should come up with these linguistic metaphors, and what role they play in metaphor research on a more general level.

The theory does not specify the nature of the relationship between conceptual metaphors and the linguistic expressions that are used to exemplify them. So how can we derive metaphorical expressions from conceptual metaphors, or vice versa? Can the study of metaphors be challenging on the level of linguistics and what would this challenge consist of? If the challenge is in defining the conceptual metaphors and dealing with their relationship with one another, their hierarchies, and so on, are the linguistic metaphors only meant to be examples to prove the existence of these conceptual metaphors, or do they have some kind of position of their own?

The traditional interest in word forms, represented by literary theorists, is exactly what cognitive metaphor theory was set out to question and challenge. This theory wanted to demonstrate that metaphor is not a phenomenon of language alone. Because of this, the importance of the concrete metaphorical expressions has been underestimated, although they have been used as examples.

The main problem with the notion of conceptual metaphor is that any claimed conceptual metaphor is only a hypothesis – a more accurate way of describing that same metaphor could easily be found on either a more general or a more specific level, and the line could be drawn between the different conceptual metaphors in a different place, taking different characteristics as difference-making.

The methodological consequences of these problems consist in my need to define all the conceptual metaphors with the utmost care. I also need to illustrate the choices made and the conceptualizations and networks behind these choices with the help of the blending theory and its schemata.

5.5. How metaphor works

When metaphor is understood as a phenomenon involving all the processes of conceptualization, it is of interest to consider how metaphor works, in what kind of processes it can be noticed and how its workings can be studied. In this chapter, I will first look at the relationship between metaphor and embodiment, and will go on to discuss the notion of similarity in metaphor. I will then turn to the different processes that are claimed to exist in the working of metaphors. After discussing these processes, I will cite some examples of the growing fields of research that study the way that metaphor works. Finally, I will discuss the independence of metaphor in the language system, including the questions of why metaphors are used, and whether a literal language use or thinking exists without metaphors. I will also touch upon the topic of the levels of metaphorization.

5.5.1. How are conceptual metaphors born?

The whole idea of conceptual metaphor theory includes the idea that metaphors arise from our shared experience of how our bodies function (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Later on, this notion was called *embodiment* (Lakoff and Johnson 1999). As an opposition to the objectivist tradition in philosophy, they see this kind of embodied philosophy as the new philosophy that is based on the information provided by cognitive science. The idea of embodiment plays an important role also in the newest versions of the Cognitive metaphor theory.

Do the bodies that we have really shape or determine the way we think? It is easy to accept intuitively that our thinking can be influenced by the way we know we function, i.e. our bodies. It is commonly acknowledged that body and mind cannot be fully separated. But how do these notions that are bodily-based come about? Are they learned, and if so, when and how? Is it really the case that each and every one of us first has to experience the bodily functions claimed to be the basis of the metaphorical conceptualization, and only then can we use them in language? Could it not be that either the processes of conceptualization are to some extent innate, or that the child learns this conceptualization (which is certainly bodily motivated) from the language that he or she acquires? Or are conceptual metaphors innate?

It is worth mentioning that a full explanation of how language acquisition takes place in children has not yet been found, and one of the problematic parts in this is how the child is able to learn so much from zero; is there not some kind of shared human capacity of language that would make this process easier? Which was first, or is nowadays primary: the bodily experience or the conceptual metaphor being based on it? Can the bodily experience really motivate the conceptualization so strongly that it is the prerequisite for it? Or does the bodily motivation only motivate the persistence of these forms of conceptualization, and is this motivation learned together with language? In addition, are conceptual metaphors based on our bodily experience or on culturally shared notions? If so, how do we adopt these notions? Do we really have to experience it all ourselves, or is the possible bodily basis of the metaphors the only factor that keeps them alive and makes them intuitively more acceptable?

The critique of conceptual metaphor theory (see Kainlauri 2001, Nikanne 1992) has seen the main problem of the conceptual metaphor theory as the fact that it does not assume innateness for conceptual metaphors, that it bases them fully on embodiment, on learning. What a critic of conceptual metaphor theory would find most interesting would be to get more empirical knowledge on how the whole system of conceptual metaphors (starting from primary metaphors) is developed in children. As is noted by Nikanne (ibid.), the universality of the functioning of our bodies is not a sufficient explanation, since we cannot be sure that the child (assumedly learning the common ways of conceptualizing) automatically understands the connection between the different actions that he or she is supposed to conceptualize similarly. Furthermore, how can a child come up with such a wide range of conventional conceptual metaphors at such an early age? What kind of learning processes does this involve and how can the experience of “everyday life” be so similar even for small babies? Do they learn from things like being fed? According to Kainlauri (2001), Lakoff and Johnson should acknowledge innateness in the learning processes.

No proof exists as to how conceptual metaphors are created. Even the evidence of their existence may not always be clear (especially when it comes to interpreting their limits). I find the idea of accepting some kind of innateness to be appropriate. From my point of view, there is probably no option but to assume the existence of those conceptual metaphors that language material shows to exist, and leave the theorizing (and empirical proof) as to how they arise for others.

5.5.2. Similarity in metaphor

The role of similarity in metaphoricity is one of the key issues of metaphor study. Goatly (1997: 16) defines his understanding of metaphor quoting Tversky[23] as cases where an "unconventional act of reference or colligation is understood on the basis of some similarity, matching or analogy involving the conventional referent or colligates of the unit and the actual unconventional referent or colligates".

Several researchers (e.g. Cacciari et al.1993) have noted the relationship between (visual) similarity and metaphors. According to Sam Glucksberg and Deanna Manfredi (1995), metaphor is like a comparison in that they both search for shared or matching features. The difference between them lies in that metaphorical comparisons are irreversible.

The idea of sharing features, as understood by the term "ground", is common for many metaphor theories. Indeed, for a metaphor to be understandable, it has to have some kind of shared basis, common either to all humans or to the representatives of a certain culture. This is the kind of similarity I am prepared to accept as having to do with metaphor. When it comes to other kinds of similarity, I doubt that this notion can be very central. In my opinion, the conceptual metaphor derives its power not from the similarities but from the opposite, the differences between the source and target domains, and the power of blending that makes these differences disappear and consequently makes the transition smooth.

5.5.3. Understanding and interpreting metaphors

I will now provide glimpses of the research that has been published on the processes related to metaphor. These processes are understanding and interpreting metaphor, which together form the relationship between metaphor and thinking.

Gerald Steen has differentiated metaphor understanding from metaphor analysis as follows:

> Metaphor analysis is a task for the linguist who wishes to describe and explain the structure and function of language. Metaphor understanding is a cognitive

[23] Tversky 1977: Tversky, A. Features of similarity. *Psychological review 84.* p. 327-52

> process which is the object of investigation of psycholinguistics and discourse psychologists who are conducting behavioural research. (Steen 1999: 59.)

The crucial question in studying the understanding of metaphor is in defining what this understanding is. The metaphor research of the seventies assumed metaphor understanding to be a three-stage process, from recognizing the literal meaning through comparing this meaning with the context to the search for non-literal, metaphorical meaning (in the case when there is a contradiction with the literal meaning) (for example, Searle 1979). In the eighties, this three-stage model was put aside, and the scholars began to compare the way that metaphorical and non-metaphorical ("literal") sentences are processed by the brain, arriving at different conclusions on whether these processes are different. The pioneer of claiming that understanding metaphorical sentences was not more difficult (did not require more processing time) than understanding literal sentences was Sam Glucksberg (Метафора 1989: 165-169). As is shown, in order to understand metaphor, we need not resort to the relationship between literal and metaphorical meanings, but can process them directly.

The understanding of metaphors has been studied in psychology by testing reaction times. These tests measure the time the subject uses to process the metaphorical expression. Here the hypothesis is that this time differs from the time needed to process expressions that are not metaphorical. This processing is, however, not necessarily the same thing as understanding, especially if the notion of understanding would require some kind of capability for intellectual reflection, rephraseability, or something of the sort, and not just the ability to let the words go by. This is, of course, a highly valid question when discussing human brain processes, conceptualization, and other related matters.

The understanding of metaphors has also been analysed in various surveys. These surveys ask subjects (orally or by administering different kinds of questionnaires) about their understanding of metaphors (how they understand a certain metaphorical expression). These subjects may be given alternatives from which they choose responses, or they are asked to rephrase the metaphorical expressions (for example, Herkman 1999, Glucksberg & Manfredi 1995.)

Šahnarovič and Jur'eva (Метафора 1989: 108-118) conceive of understanding metaphor as the speaker's capacity to see how the metaphors have been built, to follow the logic of their creation. They have studied the way that preschool children understand linguistic metaphors "of the cognitive type" (term used by Arutjunova) – i.e. such linguistic metaphors that include a transfer of

meaning (Šahnarovič and Jur'eva do not assume this to be true for all linguistic metaphors). They came to the conclusion that how well children understood the metaphors (idiomatic expressions) depends on how much experience the children had gained. If the child was not familiar with the expression, he or she could either notice the things being compared, and could point at the illogicality of the comparison (not being able to see the connection), or could understand it literally. Even so, the child might already comprehend that different objects have different characteristics (and it is these very characteristics that are compared), or be able to recognize the existence of metaphorical transfers, and in this way to be able to accept that objects may have strange characteristics. These variants are, in the opinion of the Šahnarovič and Jur'eva, presentations of the different levels in the development of a child's linguistic ability.

Paivio and Walsh (1993) have dealt with the older (beginning in the 1950s) psychological research on metaphor. Studies published in that period emphasized the imagery used in metaphors as being its perceptual basis.

The difference between understanding and interpreting metaphors is an issue that has provoked extensive debate. The way I see this difference is that understanding involves processing the meaning in a way that makes the recipient think that he or she has read or heard right, i.e. processing it on an unconscious level. For instance, this is exactly what the reaction time tests are able to study. Interpreting, in my opinion, happens on a conscious level, and it has to do with accessing the underlying conceptual metaphors from one's conceptual interpretation capacities which are built on everyday experience (and some of it may also be innate).

If the understanding of metaphors is assumed to be the same as processing them in the brain, the number of psychologists doing this type of research has also risen during the last years. This research concentrates on the processing of metaphors by the brain, where this processing happens in the brain (for example, Rapp 2004), and the different defects possibly affecting this. This kind of research has also been done on idioms (Cacciari et al. 2003), in which case the concrete difference between this and the study of metaphors can be minimal, if indeed there is a difference.

Understanding a metaphor requires, according to Glucksberg and Manfredi (1995: 79), two kinds of knowledge: first, knowing enough about the topic to know which features of it are interesting and meaningful, and second,

knowing enough about the topic in order to know what kind of things it can epitomize.

According to J.R. Searle (Searle 1979:120), the process of interpreting metaphors ("metaphorical predication") requires for it to be successful that the speaker and hearer first have sufficient linguistic and factual knowledge (which is required even for understanding literal utterances), and besides, that the speaker and hearer have: (1) shared strategies for deciding that the utterance is not intended to be understood literally; (2) shared principles that associate the word used metaphorically (which some other theorists would call target or vehicle) with the literal meaning of that word; and (3) shared strategies enabling the speaker and the hearer to restrict the range of possible values of the literal meaning to the actual value present. All this has to do with how Searle understood metaphors in general.

To summarize, if understanding and interpreting metaphors are different processes, interpreting means the capability to understand the referential relations behind the expression (the etymology of the metaphor, so to say), while understanding refers to the ability to understand what the speaker wishes to convey, i.e. having access to the conventional system of meanings in the language.

5.5.4. Language learning, language acquisition and language impairment as evidence for the way that metaphor works

The role of metaphors in language acquisition and second language learning and teaching has also been studied. For a brief account of this, see Cameron & Low (1999: 84-86).

The role of metaphor in other kinds of learning has also been explored. Its significance is understandable, assuming that metaphor plays an important role in all kinds of conceptualization. The use of metaphor in learning is multi-faceted, involving the whole spectrum of how the teacher and the learner conceptualize a certain part of the world. This entails how their knowledge is conveyed, how their knowledge is received, how they use metaphor and what difficulties they encounter because of metaphors, when children learn to use metaphors, as well as how they (and adults) feel about metaphors and perceive them.

Numerous studies have been conducted on whether people with different types of language impairments use metaphors in the same way as "normal"

people. The findings have generally been that different forms of language impairment do affect the way we are able to process (understand, interpret, use) metaphors and idioms (for references see Cameron & Low 1999: 85).

5.5.5. Independency of metaphor in the language system

What are the functions of metaphor in the language system? The answer to this question depends a great deal on the way one understands the term *metaphor*. The traditional understanding of metaphor as a figure of speech of a certain (or general) kind interpret the function of metaphor as decoration. Beginning from Aristotle, the theorists have been ready to give advice on what metaphor should be like in order for it to function as well as possible.

Why is metaphor used? Literal metaphor theories answer this by pointing not only to the decorativeness of metaphors (substitution theories) but also to the way metaphor functions as filling in the gaps in vocabulary (interaction view).

On the basis of the theoretic interpretation, the function of metaphor in language can be decorative or rhetoric, enabling individual categorization, the transition from abstract to concrete, or the conceptualization (nominalization) of new concepts and phenomena.

Nevertheless, the way in which the function of metaphor in language is understood does not yet address the question of whether or not metaphor is functioning independently in a language system, or is related or even subordinated to other processes of the development of meaning, understanding, conceptualization, etc.

5.5.5.1. Why are metaphors used?

The use of linguistic metaphors is traditionally justified stylistically, such as by making the language more expressive, or having to do with the speaker's capability of saying a lot using fewer words. These justifications naturally assume that there would be another way available for stating the same thing. The traditional rhetorical and literal metaphor study argue that metaphor functions in creating meaning and tones, giving expressiveness, emotion, making evaluations, and so on.

The simplest answer to why metaphors are used is included in the basic idea of conceptual metaphor theory – we use metaphors because we cannot do

without them. Metaphor is the basis for all human conceptualization; we see our world through these metaphors and have no choice as to whether or not we use them. Moreover, the metaphorical expressions are used because in many cases there are no alternative ways to express exactly the same thing, and the linguistic metaphor is not conceived as being figurative or strange in any way. Even when there is an alternative way of expressing the same thing, the metaphorical one can be chosen for a number of reasons.

Some scholars have suggested that the reasons for using different metaphors can be accounted for by the different functions of metaphors (see report on this in Cameron & Low 1999: 82; see also Алексеев 2000).

The functions of metaphor in discourse have also been studied. For instance, it has been suggested that using metaphor can function to mask reference to unwanted or embarrassing topics, or it can also have a more managerial role when used in major statements and turning-points of the conversation, such as in summarizing and intensifying the arguments (for references, see Cameron & Low 1999: 86).

The reason for using metaphor can also be emotional. Ana Marjanovic-Shane (1996) has suggested that using metaphorical expressions has the function of creating intimacy between the speakers. Yet the opposite also seems to be true: metaphor usage has sometimes been attributed to establishing distance between speakers. Related to this, the expressive or evaluative function of metaphor is noted by several Russian scholars (see Метафора 1988).

The language of science and science itself was long assumed to have little to do with metaphor. Later it has been revealed that both the language of science and science itself are no less metaphorical than any other fields. Many models and analogies science uses are, as a matter of fact, very metaphorical. Obviously, there is nothing wrong with this: many hypotheses that are later empirically proven have started out as metaphors. In the same way, the language of administration reflects many characteristics of brainwashing (note the metaphor), and what makes it so effective is its clever use of metaphors. As early as in 1962, Collin Murray Turbayne (Turbayne 1970) understood the power of metaphor. In his well known book, Turbayne discusses how we use metaphors and how metaphors use us within scientific discourse. He provides examples of how old metaphors have been replaced by newer metaphors in areas such as optics. Turbayne regards a metaphor as being a phenomenon of language, as presenting something as something else, but at the same time he understands the power that

the use of metaphor has on our thinking and conceptualization. S.S. Gusev (Метафора 1988: 119-133) also explores the language of science and scientific thinking, which deals with the role of metaphor in establishing scientific concepts**.** He notes that the metaphors used in science have made possible many inventions that could not have been discovered without such creative use of language and, accordingly, new connections have been made. Even so, Gusev recognizes how the common metaphors used in science can constrain new ideas.

Another area of study mentioned often is the nominative function of metaphor, its possibility to give names to things that do not have names without metaphorical extensions of the "normal" vocabulary.

I believe that all these reasons for using metaphor are valid. Nevertheless, I do not find it necessary to explain the functions of metaphor, since I believe, as do the cognitive metaphor theorists, that no one can do without metaphors, and that they are the basis of our conceptualization. Consequently, no form of thinking or language can be free of metaphors, and it is only natural that we use them in everyday language, poems, and in all kinds of discourse, including scientific discourse. Besides all this, it is clear that metaphor brings about new meanings and uses of words (helping to keep the lexis limited), gives language expressiveness and scope for emotional evaluations, and introduces new models of thinking (not least needed in science).

5.5.5.2. Is there literal language use? Is there thinking without metaphors?

The very core of several metaphor theories used in literary research consists in defining the difference between literal and metaphorical language use. The problems inherent in the whole notion of literal meaning have been widely discussed. See e.g. Rumelhart (1993).

The kind of metaphor study that uses fiction as material is likely to see the possibility of differentiating between literal and metaphorical language. This differentiation is based on the speaker's wish to use language creatively as opposed to using the language literally, which does not deviate from using the "real words for real things".

As Cameron and Low note (1999: 78), a cognitive paradigm more appropriately contrasts "metaphorical" with "non-metaphorical" than "literal", because the word "literal" has several different meanings, and, furthermore, there

are several fields (among them Cameron and Low mention time) which are conceptualized almost fully in metaphorical terms.

After the critique raised by *Metaphors We Live By* on "everything" being metaphorical, Lakoff and Johnson have repeatedly made it clear that there is language that is not metaphorical, thus language that is literal. As examples of such language, they give examples such as *The balloon went up* and *The cat is on the mat* (Lakoff 1993); *These colors are similar* and *He achieved his purpose* (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 58).

The possibility of literal language leads to the age-old question of the language of thinking. This does not refer in this case to the pondering over the form – linguistic or other – in which our thoughts are in our brains, but rather what is the role of metaphor in the process of conceptualization, and, more widely, thinking. The conceptual metaphor theory considers metaphor to be the building principle of our conceptualization, but it does not presuppose knowledge of what is happening inside the brain, or what concrete form the information is processed or stored in.

Would the possibility of literal language use, in this way, also make us presuppose the existence of thinking without metaphors, i.e. thinking of things "as they are"? I suppose that is indeed the case.

5.5.5.3. Levels of metaphorization

One of the old focuses of debate on metaphor concerns the place of figurativeness in metaphor. People seem to hold rather strong opinions on what is metaphor(ical) and what is not. In addition, strong opinions are also voiced on what is more metaphorical than something else, i.e. what different levels of metaphorization exist. Even the conceptual metaphor theory accepts this idea, although what this theory counts is the differences in conceptual mappings of the different kinds of metaphors or metonymies, not any notions of figurativeness.

Paul Pauwels (Pauwels 1995) claims that the degree of metaphoricity depends on the recoverability of the salient donor situations or donor concepts. By recoverability, he implies the ease with which the speaker is able to come back, that is, link the metaphorical expression to the donor concept. As another dimension that divides metaphors into different types, Pauwels mentions specificity (the specific vs. pervasive metaphors).

5.6. My understanding of metaphor

5.6.1. Defining metaphor

It is perfectly understandable that finding a definition for metaphor, even merely as a term, is very difficult and has therefore become a highly disputed issue.

The way I understand the term metaphor is very much in line with the conceptual metaphor theory. Metaphor is, for me, the way we see something as something else. The relationship of this with conceptualization for me remains on the level of common sense (something that sounds very believable) or a hypothesis I am not able to verify with the means that I have.

When it comes to the material of this research, I see no reason whatsoever to ponder over whether the usages of the expressions I study are in a concrete case metaphorical or not. As such, I do not waste much energy on metaphor recognition (identification). This is because I am not interested in this kind of study since the metaphoricity of the expressions under study, as I see it, is such an essential part of them, and also of language on a more general level, that it cannot be extracted from them. Secondly, I think that studying expressions of time makes this kind of approach impossible. The very abstract nature of time dictates the interpretation in such a way that classifying expressions of time as literal or non-metaphorical is, in my opinion, a highly artificial interpretation. The line drawn here by Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 58) in which “These colours are similar” is seen as a literal statement, but “These colours are close” as a metaphorical one is, in my opinion, not a justified one. Instead, it rather looks as if Lakoff and Johnson were merely forced to come up with a comment on literal statements and the critique on their seeing “everything” as metaphor. I do not, however, state that literal language could not exist, or that there is not much in language that is easily interpreted as literal language use. What I do argue is that metaphoricity is the governing principle behind all language use. If there were no metaphoricity, the number of different words and constructions which one needed in a language would simply be such that the language would be impossible to learn.

Approaching metaphor by differentiating literal and metaphorical language because metaphorical is interpreted as being a deviation from “normal” literal language that states things “as they really are”, is foreign to the way I understand metaphors and their place in language. As I see it, it is the very

"metaphorical metaphors" that say little about anything else but the creativity of a certain author. By contrast, I claim that what should really be studied is the way everyday language uses metaphors, the way its conceptualization is based on these conceptual metaphors.

Having stated my orientation to metaphor study, I must say that the distinction between literal and metaphorical language use remains unclear. Is it always clear when there really is no transition between domains? At least when it comes to expressions of time, the difference between literal and figurative does not seem to play any important role (if one takes into consideration all the levels on which we can find metaphoricity). Is this only because time as a field is so metaphorical and abstract? Or should I interpret some of the expressions as literal, merely to emphasize the processes of metaphor even more closely? This, however, would not be honest since I do not have a single expression in my material that would count as literal. By literal I allude here to the sense that at any level (morphological, syntactical…), no traces of metaphorical processes exist that have been at work when the constructions, word forms, etc. have come to be as they are. The scale of this phenomenon can certainly be different. This, if anything, should in my opinion be called the level of metaphoricity. Some expressions may have metaphoricity as their building principle both on the morphological and syntactical level and further traces of it are evident in the collocational and idiomatic properties involved.

It is fair to ask if the term metaphor should be used at all, given its clear limitations, including the long and diverse history of the term. However, I maintain that this term is as good as any other term for dealing with the linguistic evidence on the workings of the mental apparatus that deals with our conceptualization. For me it is clear that this conceptualization has to be based on some more general tendencies, even laws, and the term metaphor is therefore as good as any other term for describing these tendencies. For me, the main weakness of this term lies in its old connections to figurativeness. It is even doubtful whether the term metaphor should be regarded as having a certain kind of developmental history (as it is interpreted in this work), or to view the "old" and "new" understandings of the term as being completely different entities worthy of completely separate terminology. This is one of the reasons why I think that the blending theory can be used to solve this problem, not only terminologically, but also from the viewpoint of the overall credibility of the research.

5.6.2. The methodology of my metaphor analysis

It is unfortunate that no truly empirical study of metaphors has yet been published. This study attempts to explore some possibilities of such research. Notwithstanding, the problems this attempt poses are obvious. First of all, the problem of context can hardly be solved in a fully satisfactory manner. In most cases, the metaphorical expressions require their context to be understood in a natural way. Looking at them without the context necessarily leads to unsatisfactory results. On the other hand, I cannot look at the metaphorical expressions in all their possible contexts, if I wish to use them in the study of lexical semantics or in the study of any linguistic kinds that involve categorization.

The methodological choices made for this study start from a firm belief in the evidential power of a vast language material. My metaphor analysis aims to offer a solution to the problems of conceptual metaphor analysis as I see them. Towards this end, I have adopted two analytical principles. Firstly, no a priori notions on conceptual metaphors have been used. This means that all the conceptual metaphors to be mentioned are the result of the analysis of the whole material. The classification has therefore had to be made numerous times to explain the whole material using conceptual metaphors. Secondly, the conceptual metaphors found and their possible subordinate conceptual metaphors have been tested by drawing blending schemata on them. This has not only made as transparent as possible the analysis process and the features seen important, but has also made it possible to draw clear lines between the different conceptual metaphors, and to see their connections in a new light. The conceptual metaphors described as blends have almost eliminated the possibility of random analysis, because the analysis is based on notions that are stated as clearly as possible.

5.7. Conclusions to Chapter 5

Chapter 5 contains a preliminary outline of the history of the term metaphor. I have tried to define what has been meant by this term at different times, and thereby introduce the substitution, comparison, interaction, and cognitive views on metaphor. My review concentrates on the conceptual metaphor theory and I contrast other views with it. I also review the relationship between the terms metaphor and metonymy. Next I examine the object of conceptual metaphor

studies, discuss the methodology used in them, and explain the kinds of processes metaphor is seen to participate in. Finally, I present my own insights on how metaphor could and should be studied, and explain the methodology of my own study.

6. THE EXISTING LITERATURE ON METAPHORS OF TIME

Explaining the whole system of idiomatic expressions of time in terms of the cognitive metaphor theories poses quite a challenge. All the previous studies have concentrated on making rather isolated remarks on the basis of examples that seem to illustrate the viewpoint chosen, and ignore the cases that are not consistent with these observations or where the notion of metaphoricity seems to be totally irrelevant.

Time is a domain which is unanimously acknowledged to be very metaphorical in nature. The only viewpoint that denies time being fully metaphorical in nature is embraced by theories that assume time to be an extension of space, and that wish to see this extension theoretically as something other than metaphor.

The contemporary metaphor theory has in all its phases recognized the importance of time. It has also suggested different conceptual metaphors of time and dealt with their realizations in language. Studies have not been conducted, however, that would be empirical in the true sense of the word, i.e. the existing research consists purely of hypothesis, "proved" by conveniently chosen examples.

I will first introduce the current research on time metaphors. This means reviewing the contributions by Lakoff and Johnson (and Mark Turner), Lera Boroditsky, Hoyt Alverson, Ann Veismann, Ning Yu and N.D.Arutjunova.

6.1. Lakoff & Johnson

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) mention time in the metaphorical concepts TIME IS MONEY (p. 7, 8, 9), TIME IS A LIMITED RESOURCE (p.8, 9, 65, 66), TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY (p. 8, 9), TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT (p. 42), TIME IS STATIONARY AND WE MOVE THROUGH IT (p.43), TIME PASSES US (p.44), TIME IS A SUBSTANCE (p. 66). As can be noticed from the scattered page numbers, time is not dealt with separately, but comes up in various places when Lakoff and Johnson discuss the way the system of metaphors is built. How the existence of these metaphors (and not others) is or could be proved is not discussed at all.

Lakoff (1987: 210) analyses the metaphor TIME IS MONEY by alluding to the assumed "time theft" by workers, which is when workers use their working time for personal purposes.

George Lakoff and Mark Turner (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 34-56) deal with how our understanding of time and life are related. The conceptual metaphors discussed there are TIME IS A CHANGER and its special cases TIME IS A THIEF, TIME IS A REAPER, TIME IS A DEVOURER, TIME IS A DESTROYER, TIME IS AN EVALUATOR, and the metaphors TIME MOVES and TIME IS A PURSUER. They state (ibid: 52) that the "very general metaphors" having to do with this are PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS, STATES ARE LOCATIONS, and EVENTS ARE ACTIONS. They also make a list of metaphors for life and death. All the conceptual metaphors introduced by Lakoff and Turner are illustrated with poetic examples, which are, as they point out several times in the book, extensions of the ordinary conventionalized metaphors, but are nevertheless based on the same conceptual metaphors as the linguistic metaphors of everyday language. Again they do not specify how they compiled the list of conceptual metaphors and whether this list is supposed to contain examples or a comprehensive list of all the conceptual metaphors of time (in English).

Lakoff (1993) explores time as it is conceptualized in terms of space, as one of the *duals* (location-object pairs). He introduces the basic time metaphor, which according to Lakoff conceptualizes time in terms of things: TIME PASSING IS MOTION. Its special cases are TIME PASSING IS MOTION OF AN OBJECT and TIME PASSING IS MOTION OVER LANDSCAPE.

Lakoff and Johnson (1999) devote an entire chapter to time. Here the authors examine the different ways in which expressing time can be metaphorical, and also mention the philosophical extensions of the question. Lakoff and Johnson address questions concerning the relationship between events and time, time seen as a substance, spatiality of time, the embodiment of time, duality according to which the metaphors can coexist in the same cases, and the difference between the common-sense and philosophical understandings of time. The metaphors Lakoff and Johnson discuss in this book are The Moving Time Metaphor[24], The Moving Observer Metaphor, Time Orientation Metaphor,

[24] Lakoff & Johnson have changed the notation system for conceptual metaphors in this book as compared to their earlier books. They do not use all-capital letters for these metaphors; only the first letter of each word is capitalized.

Space-Time Metonymy, and Time As a Resource or the Money Metaphor. Lakoff and Johnson argue (ibid: 168-169), in a justifiable way, that the problems and controversies facing the different time philosophies and theories of time have to do with the fact that each of them concentrates only on one side of time. The one side that each of these time theories examines reflects what they believe time *really is*.

6.2. Lera Boroditsky

Lera Boroditsky deals with time metaphors in two articles (Boroditsky 2000, 2001). She asks what psycholinguistic experiments can tell us about the way we conceptualize time, and more precisely, what differences there are between the speakers of different languages (in this concrete case, English and Mandarin). Boroditsky sets out to explain how metaphorical representation is formed. She calls her view the *Metaphorical Structuring View*, and it starts from the prediction that abstract domains are conceptualized with the help of more concrete domains. (This does not conflict with the conceptual metaphor theory.)

Even some older studies on the universals of human language (Clark 1973, Traugott 1978) note that languages have a universal tendency to conceptualize time as one-dimensional, directional. However, Boroditsky regards the possible differences in the direction of this movement as being important. Boroditsky (2000: 4) assumes that not only are certain metaphors used to express abstract concepts, but the reverse is also true: that the metaphors used actually shape the way we conceptualize (in this case) time.

Boroditsky repeats the often-mentioned pair of ego-moving and time-moving metaphors and that this difference in the movement of time leads to the fact that fronts and backs can refer to movement in either direction on the time-line.

The experiments conducted by Lera Boroditsky showed that if the participants were primed with spatial information, they used this information to think about time. Furthermore, in another experiment, when participants were tested for all the possible transfers between the domains of space and time when using the corresponding primes (“space-to-space”, “space-to-time”, “time-to-time”, and “time-to-space”), prime schemata being of both the ego-moving and the object/time-moving types, the participants were influenced by the spatial

primes when thinking about time, but they were not influenced by the temporal primes when thinking about space. In discussing such results, Boroditsky asks whether the abstract domain of time is conceptualized in terms of space or of both domains, or whether both of them use the same generic, domain-independent schemata (*generic schema view*), which would give the illusion that time borrows from space. To test which of the views is correct, Boroditsky completed a third experiment, which showed no difference at all in reaction times when the transfer was from space to time, or from time to time. Boroditsky therefore found that the generic schema view cannot be correct. Boroditsky concluded, on the basis of these three experiments, that we spontaneously use available spatial schemata to think about time, but not the other way round. When the spatial information is not readily available (as it is in experiments when using primes), people use the separate schemata stored in the domain of time. Consequently, how we see time is influenced by the way we talk about it in terms of space, and speakers of different languages have different understandings of time, in accord with and influenced by their language. (Boroditsky 2000.)

In another set of experiments, Boroditsky (2001) tests whether the speakers of English and Mandarin conceptualize time differently. The assumption that the two languages conceive of time differently was made on the basis of English having metaphors of time that are horizontal, while Mandarin has vertical time metaphors. As a result, English speakers were purported to be more readily affected by horizontal primes, and the Mandarin speakers (the ones used were living in the United States and influenced by and even tested in English) by vertical primes. Boroditsky confirmed this difference. In further experiments, Boroditsky interestingly showed that when English speakers were taught to think about time in vertical terms, they began to show the same kind of results in their priming as the Mandarin speakers. Boroditsky uses the notion of *habits of thought* or *habitual thought* to account for how the customary ways of speaking influence the way we think. She does not, however, believe in the linguistic determinism of the Whorfian kind, but does support the idea of the different notions of time among different cultures and the speakers of different languages.

6.3. Hoyt Alverson

Hoyt Alverson (Alverson 1994) has concluded a study on the metaphors of time in English, Mandarin, Hindi and Sesotho. His anthropological work deals with how to explain the similarities in expressing time between languages that are different both structurally and in terms of the culture their speakers represent. This work discusses *time experience* as a universal notion, and typifying non-spatial experiences in terms of spatial ones as another one. On this basis, Alverson assumes that there should also be a level of universality in the expressions of time even in the most different of cultures. To prove this, Alverson has chosen languages and cultures that are very different, and collected a representative amount of data for these four languages. The data consist of idiomatic expressions (collocations, proverbs, sayings – the same kind of material I use in this study), 150 from each of the languages. The analysis of the data shows that time surfaces and is organized in these languages (and therefore presumably universally) through the use of five kinds of metaphors: (1) time is a partible entity; (2) time is its effects; (3) time is a medium in motion; (4) time is a linear or orbital course; (5) time is an ascertained kind or quality. Alverson sees experience as intentional, meaning that experience does not exist "as it is", as determined by its physical facts, but that a point of view always motivates and determines human experience. Even though Alverson does not offer a detailed linguistic analysis of the expressions listed (only simplistic translations into English), his results are interesting. The main result he emphasizes is the remarkable similarity of the time expressions in the four languages. He has also found some differences. Alverson claims that in Mandarin, unlike in English, when time is a medium in motion, the experiencer is always stationary and faces the past and has his/her back to the future. This means that the past is in front of the experiencer and the future is behind him/her. Furthermore, according to Alverson, events do not so much "happen" in time in Mandarin as they are "positioned" or "situated" in time, and Mandarin has a vertical dimension in its space-time deixis expressed collocationally[25]. In contrast to Mandarin, Alverson interprets English as having four possibilities of deictic metaphorical settings in time expressions: either time is a relatively still course in which events move, or it is a medium in motion that takes events along with it. Furthermore, the speaker can either be stationary facing the future, or moving toward the future. Alverson

[25] Cf. Boroditsky (2000, 2001).

attributes this difference to the Chinese thinking that shows profound respect for ancestors, which is in contrast to the Western thinking that is oriented mainly to the future. According to Alverson, Hindi is a language and the Indian culture a culture which are overtly interested in time, especially in its power as a creator (of the creator) and changer (especially destroyer). Alverson claims that Hindi has hardly any collocations that express time as a course, either linear or orbital. Time is not imagined as being long or short, beginning or ending. Furthermore, it is not very often thought of as a resource. All these differences Alverson interprets as differences in frequency, and as such they are able to come about in other languages as well. He claims that despite the rarity of many central notions mentioned earlier, all the same categories of metaphors can be found in Hindi. In short, its overt interest in one aspect of time has only made the other aspects less visible. The same tendency – all the same aspects being there despite their very different distribution – is noticed in the discussion on Sesotho and the Bantu culture. Sesotho and the Bantu culture in general do not recognize time as a separate entity, and age is seen as a distance from ancestors. Nevertheless, the same categories of time metaphors can also be found in Sesotho, although for obvious reasons especially those referring to the measurement of time are scarce, as well as those referring to time as a course. Yet space-time deixis is very similar in Sesotho compared to the other languages in question.

6.4. Ann Veismann

Ann Veismann (2001) has analysed the conceptualization of time in Estonian, using the conceptual metaphor theories and their findings on metaphors of time as the basis for her study. Veismann concludes that, on the basis of language material from dictionaries of Estonian, the conceptualization of time in Estonian follows more or less the same patterns that have been noted concerning other languages (Moving Time and Moving Observer, completed by The Time Orientation and Time Landscape metaphors). She notes how it is often difficult to identify the metaphor underlying a particular linguistic expression, and that in some contexts, one and the same word may be employed by both metaphors. The results by Ann Veismann are very interesting from the point of view of Finnish, a language closely related to Estonian. They seem to show that Finnish and Estonian are in many respects very similar in their expression and

conceptualization of time. This can be attributed both to the similarities in the structure of these languages, and to the common world view they might possess.

6.5. Ning Yu

Ning Yu (Yu 1998) has compared the Chinese and English metaphors of time, particularly the Time as Space Metaphor. His results are based on an analysis of newspaper texts, and more precisely on the analysis of time expressions at the level of the lexicon, which includes the richness of words and word combinations meaning the past, the present and the future and noun phrases formed with them, collocations, and the inference patterns in discourse. Yu criticizes the results of Alverson (1994). Yu states that, contrary to the claims by Alverson, the observer in Chinese (the experiencer) need not be stationary, but can also be in motion, and the observer always faces the future (not the past as Alverson maintained). According to the results of Yu, the metaphorical conceptualization of time as space in Chinese is very similar to that of English. This means that, in both languages, time as space is conceptualized according to two basic metaphors, Time as Stationary Observer and Time as Moving Observer. Besides these, there are two special cases that are also well documented from both languages, namely, The Coming Time Metaphor and the Time as Stationary Landscape Metaphor. The Coming Time Metaphor conceives of time as a moving object (like a moving train) and time seems to be coming towards the Observer. The Time as Stationary Landscape metaphor can even be combined under the notion of duality with time as something following the observer or competing with him in speed. Yu also notes that a feature distinguishing Chinese from English is the importance of the vertical notions of time which have the same functions as the horizontal notions in English. Yu sees, however, that this kind of conceptualization is also not foreign to English (as notified by the examples *It's over, passing down from generation to generation* and *move the meeting up a week*). Yu makes an interesting remark when explaining the difference between Alverson and him in interpreting the time metaphors, namely that in the case of the Coming Time metaphor the notion of the direction of time is influenced by the way that we perceive time as having backs and fronts in the same way that objects (such as a moving train) have them. Therefore these spatial extensions work like the spatial fronts and backs do (Yu 1998: 109-110). In addition, the

direction of the movement of time is not always specified, while the exact form of this movement (e.g. flowing) can be specified.

6.6. N.D. Arutjunova

N.D. Arutjunova (Арутюнова 1997a) believes that understanding time as it is reflected in language (Russian) is built upon the metaphors Traditional Journey of a Human Being[26], Flowing Time, and New Journey of a Human Being. The metaphor Traditional Journey of a Human Being represents an ancient conceptualization, which believes that a person faces the past along with the time that proceeds towards the past (that which is known). The direction the human being faces can be noticed from the use of prepositions and suffixes having the meaning of front or back. The metaphor Flowing Time represents only time as having a direction, and this direction is, in accordance with the Traditional Journey metaphor, from future to past. This metaphor explains such frequent notions in language as "coming time", "passing time" or the uses of different direction-giving suffixes on the Russian verbs of motion that appear when talking about time. The Flowing Time metaphor sees time as moving towards the past. The third metaphor suggested by Arutjunova is the New Journey of a Human Being. This metaphor represents the human being who is facing the future, and time proceeds from the past to the future, which is again detected from the use of the prepositions and prefixes in the language. According to Arutjunova, this kind of metaphor was created when Christianity introduced the new human being. The existence of three metaphors, each different from another, explains why talking about time can take forms that are not necessarily logical when compared with one another.

6.7. Conclusions to Chapter 6

Chapter 6 deals with the existing literature on the metaphors of time. Looking at the examples of the metaphoricity of time expressions provided by various authors, what is most striking is, on the one hand, how similar the expressions are in different languages, and, on the other hand, the incredible difference and

[26] Arutjunova uses capitals only for the first word of the names of the metaphors. Here, for the sake of clarity, I have capitalized all the words in the name.

variability in the way they are interpreted, i.e. what kind of metaphors they are seen to represent. This gives additional grounds for the belief that any interpretations of conceptual metaphors have to be presented together with the material so that readers are better able to judge the objectivity of the analysis.

Few studies have focused on the metaphors of time in either Russian or Finnish. Naturally time is mentioned as a field in several studies, and some parts of the phenomenon have been analysed, but no large-scale study has been conducted specifically on the metaphors of time in these languages.

7. METAPHORS OF TIME IN MY MATERIAL

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, the source domains offered for time by previous research are concentrated thematically around the factors of “time as space”, “time as motion”, and “time as resource”. The more exact naming of these metaphors has varied slightly and also reflects some poetic tendencies. It is obvious that this naming cannot be fully objective, and the exact level of detail needed is also not so easy to define. What can be stated, nonetheless, is that a certain amount of exactness is no doubt needed in order to clarify the key points of these conceptualizations. At the same time, the perfect amount of generalization makes the results comparable with the results from other fields of conceptualization. Furthermore, the naming of conceptual metaphors should follow some kind of commonly set rules, or at least this naming should also be described in ways other than the name itself; the naming should not become the same as the conceptualization behind the metaphor.

What distinguishes the present study from the earlier studies on the metaphors of time is the vast material used here. Because the material was not specially chosen to fit these research purposes, the analysis of the conceptual time metaphors has seemed unnecessary in many cases, or even artificial. Going through the whole material from this viewpoint has, nevertheless, given valuable insights.

As noted in several places in this work, the conceptual metaphors have also been described with the notion of conceptual integration, i.e. blends. This work uses the blending theory to make the analysing process as clear as possible. The conceptual metaphors suggested here have been illustrated with the schemata that, in accordance with the blending theory, give rise to an understanding of how the metaphor in question differs from other metaphors. As a result, analysis of the data – the choices – has been made as easy to detect as possible. The way I use the blending theory does not fully make explicit the differences in processes noted by the theory. Even so, I do support and agree with the differences established by the theory.

One may still ask whether the most desirable goal is to map the conceptualization of time with metaphors which are as general as possible, or instead to delve into the smallest details, revealing the different aspects of the

conceptualization but missing the common features that the different metaphors share. When looking at a material as vast as mine, the generality and the possibility to make generalizations is the primary objective of this endeavour. Moreover, I think that in many examples, any small differences can, as a matter of fact, be differences of meaning rather than conceptualization.

I will now turn to the different source domains and offer examples of the expressions that represent the conceptualization of these conceptual metaphors. I will then introduce the regularities I have found in the combinations containing conceptual metaphors of time, and discuss the combinations that do not occur by offering possible reasons for this. In the end I will draw conclusions on the metaphorical conceptualization of time found in my data, and touch upon the place of time in conceptualization on a more general level.

According to the analysis, both Russian and Finnish conceptualize time using the same conceptual metaphors. So both languages use Time As Space (Time Is Container, Time Has Direction, Time Is Cycle, and Time Line Metaphor), Time Is Resource (and its submapping Time Is Substance), and Time Is Actor. In addition, some characteristics are added to these conceptualizations with the help of the secondary metaphors Time Is Nature and Time Is Life. Seeing time as space means spatializing time, as seeing time through a more primary domain of space. Space is more primary than time because spatial conceptions are perceived by us, but temporal ones are not. The metaphor Time Is Resource regards time as something to be utilized by the human being. The metaphor Time Is Actor presents time as an intentional creature which is able to bring about change and to do this with intentionality. The metaphors Time Is Nature and Time Is Life work as additional domains to be added to conceptualizations.

7.1. The place of source domains

The source domain is the domain from which the target domain (in this case, time) borrows in its process of conceptualization, the domain that the target domain uses to refer to the things in it. The main problem in presenting any source domains, i.e. giving names to conceptual metaphors, is in choosing the right level of generality and abstraction. A review of the way in which the previous research has named conceptual metaphors of time reveals that the

difference between different metaphors they analyse primarily involves giving different names or names from the different levels of abstraction to similar phenomena. This depends on what is perceived as the most important feature of each metaphor, and which are deemed to be important enough to be dealt with separately.

In my opinion, the most important thing of all when dealing with conceptual metaphors is that the researcher should notice the laws that the expressions follow, the regularities they have in their formation. Whether these regularities should be called metaphors or something else is a matter of lesser importance, but these namings also warrant focus since this work has chosen metaphor theory as the orientation to analyse the data.

At this point I will introduce the results of the study in terms of the conceptual metaphors analysed. I will attempt to explain the conceptual metaphors from the perspective of the different levels in which they occur, and by providing examples from my material. The notion of different language levels (morphological, syntactic, and so on) is adopted here because it may help the reader to follow my line of thinking, especially in those instances that would from the viewpoint of more traditional metaphor analysis be interpreted as being literal, and whose metaphoricity may therefore be more difficult to see or even accept. Personally I do not see any difference in a proof based on the different kinds of expressions, and the “levels of language” do not in my opinion have any relevance in studying the conceptualization processes behind the language.

I still want to emphasize that the morphological level in metaphor analysis is at the same time both the most obvious and the most disputable of the ways linguists define conceptual metaphors. The morphological level is the most obvious one because the cases and adpositions used are easier to grasp than the other uses and general meanings. This level is also disputable, because the cases and adpositions used by a language to convey something are arbitrary in that they follow very different logics and often do not have systematicity between them even within one and the same language. A counterargument to this, however, is that the metaphoricity is the only means to explain these uses. Without it, we would be forced to assume these uses to be fully arbitrary.

As will be noticed from the results of this analysis, not only metaphors of time, but also their combinations play a very important role in the conceptualization of time. These combinations explain quite a lot about how the conceptualization of time works. Instead of claiming that there is (or could be) a

number of conceptual metaphors with boundaries, we note that on the basis of real language use these boundaries are not self-evident, and even the same expressions show traces of several kinds of metaphorical conceptualizations, i.e. represent several of the conceptual metaphors mentioned. This does not mean that the metaphors were necessarily badly defined, but can also simply indicate that the conceptualization is so complicated that the best and most reliable way to deal with it is to try to find these combinations and determine the regularities and laws that exist among them.

7.1.1. Source domains on the morphological and syntactical levels

Metaphor analysis is made difficult by the fact that the phenomena having to do with metaphorical conceptualizations are not all at the same level. The most obvious level of metaphoricity is the level of semantics, crossing over all other levels.

Another level on which metaphoricity can be noticed is the syntactic level. This means that it is firmly established as one of the motivations for using certain kinds of prepositions, declensions, and so on. This kind of metaphoricity is often even more difficult than the semantic kind to notice, and the opposition against using the notion of metaphoricity in these cases can be very strong in some scholarly circles.

Besides studying the conceptual metaphors on the level claiming to correspond to the level on which human beings can be semantically aware of these conceptualizations, namely the level of syntax and lexicology, we should also look at the level of morphology. At this level there are conceptualizations that would never even come to mind. The level of syntax – issues such as the use of certain prepositions – is easier to notice, but when it comes to an issue like noun declension, they are easily assumed to be god-given, and the research rarely stops to think about the possible conceptualizations involved.

Zoltán Kövecses (2002: 219-224) has looked at how conceptual metaphor and metonymy work also on the level of grammar. In my opinion, this kind of analysis is as important as the level of bigger units. I find it very probable that the same tendencies toward conceptualization that work on the semantic level also work on the morphological and syntactic levels.

We need to bear in mind that this concrete analysis has to be made on the basis of the conceptual metaphors, not on the meaning or usage of the

expressions. In this analysis attention can and must be paid to some aspects of language such as declensions and grammatical patterns, and only to them. This is because the meaning of the expression is too likely to interfere with the interpretation of the forms if it is not strictly kept out.

Case usage in time expressions is the most obvious morphological notion here for Finnish. For Russian, we need to pay attention, besides case usage, to prepositions used with the different cases. Towards this end, I will give an overview of the constructions used in time expressions. I will analyse both the non-temporal and temporal uses of these constructions. This allows not only the reader who is unfamiliar with these languages, but to an even greater extent the reader who *is* familiar with them, to take a look at the multiplicity of the uses these constructions have. In addition, I will briefly comment on the adpositions used in Finnish.

7.1.1.1. Finnish[27]

In Finnish, time expressions use local cases extensively. The local cases in Finnish are: the inessive, elative, illative, adessive, ablative and allative. The translative and essive are not included among the local cases in the strictest sense, but they can also be called historical or abstract local cases. At this point, I will introduce the central functions of these cases.

The spatial (and possibly primary) meaning of the inessive is "inside something" as, for example, *talossa* 'inside a house'. The inessive also has other meanings related to a spatial sense, spatial relation, or spatial contact to something. Examples of this include *näyttelyssä* 'at the exhibition', *lääkärissä* 'at the doctor's office', *katossa* 'in the ceiling' and states someone can be in: *humalassa* 'drunk', *unessa* 'asleep'. The inessive can also name the unit in which measurement is taken, such as *kiloissa* 'in kilos'. In its temporal sense, the inessive is used for telling when something happens, as in *aamunkoitteessa* 'at dawn' and *elokuussa* 'in August', for providing a time frame for something as in *hetkessä* 'in a moment', *minuutissa* 'in a minute', and *tulevaisuudessa* 'in the future'. The inessive can also name the unit of measuring time as in *tunneissa* 'in hours'. When this is understood metaphorically, the end result is the container

[27] This chapter has been greatly influenced by the information found in ISK (2004), but does not completely follow it. This kind of short description cannot, of course, give all the possible functions these cases have, or even describe the functions that are given in their full extent.

metaphor: time is seen as something with contours and as being able to have something inside itself.

The elative has the spatial function of conveying that something is going out of the container, as in *talosta* ‘out of the house’ and ‘from the house’. Some uses of the elative do not involve a container, as some kind of place or place name is enough. Examples of this are *Suomesta* ‘from Finland’, *saunasta* ‘from the sauna’, and *välistä* ‘through the gap’. The elative also has many uses that are not purely spatial. The elative can indicate the material something is made of, as for example *silkistä* ‘made of silk’. The elative can express the beginning point of a changing state, as for example *kylmästä kuumaan* ‘from cold to hot’. The elative also expresses the topic of discussion, for example *koirasta* ‘about the dog’, and the expresser of an opinion or a point of view as in *hänestä* ‘in his/her opinion’ and *nopea jaloistaan* ‘has quick feet’, literally ‘is quick by his/her feet’. This case can also express the whole when only a part of it is commented on, or something that there is a lack of, as in *monilla lapsista on* ‘many of the children have’ and *maidosta on pulaa* ‘there is a shortage of milk’. The temporal sense of the elative defines the beginning point of a time period, as for example in *aamusta iltaan* ‘from morning till evening’, *tästä lähtien* ‘beginning from now’. The elative reflecting temporal relations is also found in some expressions having the meaning of unspecified time, as in *aamusta* ‘some time in the morning’ and *alkuillasta* ‘in early evening’. The elative also occurs in many temporal idioms, such as *aika ajasta* ‘from time to time’. The metaphorical use of the elative as a temporal meaning includes the container metaphor, going out of the container.

The spatial meaning of the illative conveys going into something. For example, the Finnish *taloon* ‘into the house’ and *huoneeseen* ‘into the room’ reflect this spatial orientation. The illative can also denote the place where something happens, if the place has been changed. An example of this is *unohtaa autoon* ‘forget in (literally to) the car’. The illative expresses the place of touching so that Finnish has the expression *koskettaa olkapäähän* ‘touch on the shoulder’. The temporal use of the illative expresses the end of a time period, as for example *aamusta iltaan* ‘from morning till evening’. The illative can also stipulate the time for something that has been postponed, as in the example *huomiseen* ‘until tomorrow’. In some idiomatic expressions, the illative can also express the time when something is happening, as in *entisvanhaan* ‘in the old times’. The noun ‘time’ in the illative *aikaan* means simply ‘at a certain time’.

This is reflected in the Finnish use of *siihen aikaan* ‘at that time’. As for the illative, the morphological metaphor depicts going into something, even by force.

The adessive has as its spatial meaning “on something” or “on the outer surface or upper side of something”. This occurs in the Finnish *pöydällä* ‘on the table’, *lattialla* ‘on the floor’. The adessive can also express the state of being nearby some kind of place, as for example, *kioskilla* ‘at the kiosk’, or at some kind of an entrepreneur or a practitioner, as found in *kampaajalla* ‘at the hairdresser’s and in *lääkärillä* ‘at the doctor’s’. The adessive also has several uses that are not so clearly spatial. For instance, this case is used to denote the instrument or means with the help of which something is achieved. Examples of this in Finnish are *kirveellä* ‘with an axe’ and *myymällä* ‘by selling’. The adessive also expresses manner and quantity, as for example, *rakkaudella* ‘with love’, *ilolla* ‘with joy’, *junalla* ‘by train’. It can also refer to a state, as found in *olla kallellaan* ‘be aslant’ and *hyvällä tuulella* ‘in a good mood’. The temporal use of the adessive includes stating a period of time when something is to happen, *aamulla* ‘in the morning’, *keväällä* ‘in the spring’, *ensi viikolla* ‘next week’. The adessive expresses the owner of something, as in *äidillä on* ‘mother has’, literally “at mother is”. The metaphorical notion here has to do with being on a container, or on a surface.

If we turn now to the ablative, we see that the most concrete function it has is to express taking something away from a surface. For this reason, Finnish has *pöydältä* ‘from the table’ and *katolta* ‘from the roof’. The ablative has several special usages outside the concrete spatial notions, such as expressing the source of receiving something and hearing a piece of information from. Examples of this usage are *äidiltä* ‘from mother’ and *lääkäriltä* ‘from the doctor’. The ablative can also express the one that loses something, or is prohibited from doing something, as for example, *Äidiltä pääsi itku* ‘mother couldn’t help crying’ and *lapsilta kielletty* ‘forbidden for children’. The ablative expresses the attribute that is given to something or someone, the point of view. For example, consider the expressions *ammatiltaan* ‘by profession’, *sivuilta* ‘at the sides’. This case also names the unit for which a price is given. For instance, Finnish has *kappaleelta* ‘apiece’ and *hengeltä* ‘per person’. The central temporal use of the ablative is giving clock time (exact hours), such as *kolmelta* ‘at three o’clock’. The ablative case is also used in some idioms, like *hetki hetkeltä* ‘from moment to moment’. The metaphor binding the temporal use of the ablative to its other uses is the notion of motion out of a surface.

The most concrete meaning of the allative expresses “onto something”, as in *pöydälle* ‘onto the table’, *aidalle* ‘on the fence’. This case likewise expresses the beneficiary, as in *Lauralle* ‘to Laura’, ‘for Laura’. The temporal meaning of the allative is used for the vaguely defined endpoint of something, such as *toukokuulle* ‘until May’, or for an estimate of the time something is postponed, as in *toukokuulle* ‘to May’. The morphological metaphor connected to the use of the allative is the picture of going onto something (as a period on the time line).

The essive has a purely spatial meaning that specifies a place, as in *kotona* ‘at home’ and *kaukana* ‘far away’. The essive also functions to stipulate which position or state someone is in, as for example *lapsena* ‘as a child’, *raskaana* ‘when pregnant’, *presidenttinä* ‘as president, at the time when he/she was the president’ and *opettajana* ‘as a teacher’. When it comes to purely temporal uses of the essive, it expresses the point at which something happens (weekdays and also other names of time periods if they appear with a definer). An example of this is *maanantaina* ‘on Monday’ and *sinä päivänä* ‘that day’. The metaphor which is achieved by the use of the essive specifies some kind of a state.

The spatial meaning of the translative is the comparative of some expressions that indicate place. For example, Finnish has the expression *lähemmäksi* ‘closer’. The translative case derives its name from expressing transition, some kind of change, as in *tulla hyväksi ihmiseksi* ‘become a good person’ and *tulla sairaaksi* ‘become ill’. As for temporal uses, the translative is used to give a deadline for when something will be done. This is evident in *illaksi* ‘by the evening’. The translative can also designate the time to which something is postponed, such as *huomiseksi* ‘until tomorrow’. For some idiomatic expressions, the translative also pinpoints the period of time when something will prevail, as in *ikuisiksi ajoiksi* ‘for all time’. The metaphor having to do with the translative is the metaphor of causation and change.

As is easy to notice from this material, choosing a local case for expressing temporal notions is in many ways illogical and lexically determined. Many cases are used to express something happening at a certain time period or point on the time line, and which case is used is determined on the basis of the name of the time period in question.

The adpositions found in my Finnish material are: *sitten* ‘ago’, *pitkin* ‘among’, *päästä* ‘after’, *kuluttua* ‘after’, *perästä* ‘after’, *vaille* ‘to’, *paikkeilla* ‘around’, *takana* ‘behind’, *takaa* ‘from the back’, *takaisin* ‘back’, *läpi* ‘through’, *halki* ‘through’, *saakka* ‘until’, *myötä* ‘among’, and *ympäri* ‘around’. Of these the

adpositions *pitkin*, *paikkeilla*, *takana*, *takaa*, *läpi*, *halki*, *saakka* and *ympäri* can also have spatial meaning. Many of the others also have some spatial motivation.

We could, of course, question the need for this interpretation when discussing these forms which are mostly seen as being temporal adverbials. No doubt it could be argued that the temporal sense of the cases mentioned here is only one sense among others, and therefore need not be seen as being motivated metaphorically. I agree only partially with this line of argument. I agree that there is no need to automatically assume that the temporal sense is somehow derived from the spatial sense and would therefore be secondary. Nevertheless, I think that the different functions of a case have to be related in some way, i.e. they cannot be random. This relation can be explained with the help of the notion of conceptual domains, and accordingly, the conceptual metaphor theory.

7.1.1.2. Russian[28]

When it comes to Russian, the morphology and syntax that arise in time expressions are based on the use of some prepositions and cases (with or without a preposition). The possible combinations are the following: the accusative, *на* + accusative, *в* + accusative, *на* + prepositional, *в* + prepositional, the instrumental, *за* + accusative, *под* + accusative, *к* + dative, *перед* + instrumental, *около* + genitive, *с* + instrumental, and the preposition pairs *с* + genitive and *до* + genitive, *с* + genitive and *по* + accusative, *с* + genitive and *на* + accusative. I will now give a simplified account of each of these constructions. Both Russian and Finnish use the cases/prepositions for each noun (with or without definers) in such a way that cannot be logically defined. There are, nonetheless, some regularities that I will present here.

Russian uses the accusative case without a preposition to give the direct object, as in *Я пишу <u>письмо</u>* ‘I write a letter’ and *Он видел <u>Ивана</u>* ‘He saw Ivan’. The function of the spatial meaning is to indicate the distance. An example of this is *<u>тысячу</u> километров* ‘a thousand kilometres’. The accusative can also indicate how much something weighs, as in *Посылка весит <u>один килограмм</u>* ’The parcel weighs one kilogram’. Another function of the Russian accusative is to designate the price of something, for example *Платье стоит <u>сто</u> рублей* ‘The dress costs a hundred roubles’. When the meaning conveyed is temporal,

[28] Many of the examples given here are from Kuusinen 1999. These prepositions and structures are also mentioned by William J. Sullivan (1998).

the accusative occurs without the preposition to indicate how long something lasts. For instance, Russian has *целую неделю* 'the whole week' and *год* 'a year'. Another temporal function it has is telling how often something takes place, as in *каждый день* 'every day' and *каждую субботу* 'every Saturday'. What combines these uses is the metaphor of an object to be manipulated.

The accusative case used after the preposition *в*[29] has a spatial use when its meaning is movement (in)to something, as in *в школу* 'to school' and *в Москву* 'to Moscow'. The object of the movement can be some closed or open space. This can be a container, which something is put into, or a place name, and so on. The accusative case can also name a goal or the object of some action, for example, *ударить в грудь* 'hit in the chest' and *поступать в университет* 'to apply to the university'. This combination also reveals the object through which an action takes place, as, for example, *смотреть в окно* 'look through the window'. In addition, the *в* + accusative can express the change into something, as in *перейти в актеры* 'to become an actor'. The accusative also stipulates measures, as in *мороз в три градуса*, 'three degrees of frost' and *девушка в двадцать лет* 'a twenty-year-old girl'. The *в* + accusative case expresses also relations in quantity, for example, *в два раза длиннее* 'two times longer', *в десять раз больше* 'ten times more'. The *в* + accusative is also used to communicate which game or sport is played: *играть в футбол* 'play football' and *играть в шахматы* 'play chess'. In the temporal sense, this combination arises to notify when something happens, as in *в субботу* 'on Saturday' and *во время* 'during', literally 'to time'. The *в* + accusative also conveys in what time something happens, such as *в момент* 'in a moment, very fast' and *в срок* 'by the deadline'. The underlying metaphor that can be found on the basis of these different functions of this combination is the metaphor of something touching something or going into something. This something could be understood as a container.

The most concrete, spatial use of the accusative case after the preposition *на* is the function of telling onto what some movement is directed, as in *на стол* 'onto the table' and *на крышу* 'onto the roof'. This combination is also used to indicate abstract weight put on someone, as in *на них падает*

[29] Tore Nesset (2004) has analysed the uses of the preposition в with the accusative and prepositional cases in expressions of time from the viewpoint of image schemata. Nesset explains the (sometimes illogical) use of the accusative and prepositional cases with this preposition by adopting the two parameters, "boundedness" and "extendedness", and the image schemata of CONTAINER, POINT and MEDIUM.

ответственность ‘the responsibility lands on their shoulders’. Moreover, the *на* + accusative points to the contacting surface, as for instance, *наскочить на забор* ‘run into a fence’. This combination is also used in the less concrete spatial expressions, such as place names, as in *на Украину* ‘to Ukraine’ and *на Мальту* ‘to Malta’. In addition, the *на* + accusative can signify the direction, as for example *на север* ‘towards north, to north’. The *на* + accusative can indicate the object of some kind of action, since many verbs require this construction to show the object, as in *смотреть на девушку* ‘look at the girl’. The accusative case with the preposition *на* is used also in many expressions of quantity, length, and their change. Examples of this are *эта книга на рубль дороже* ‘this book is one rouble more expensive’ and *разделить на три части* ‘divide into three parts’. It can also tell the reason for something, as in *написать стихи на смерть матери* ‘write poems on the occasion of mother’s death’. In the temporal sense *на* + accusative can, first of all, express the action of setting time, the changes in the set time, and the time when something happens, as for instance, *назначить собрание на пятое число* ‘set the date of the meeting to be the fifth’, *продлить отпуск на неделю* ‘make the holiday a week longer’, and *на первый раз* ‘for the first time’. The morphological metaphor having to do with the combination of the preposition *на* and the accusative case is the metaphor of putting something onto something, understood widely and figuratively as even including such notions as directing, putting on a surface, and contacting and changing the surface.

The combination of the preposition *в* with the prepositional case has many spatial uses, having to do with positioning and placing. First of all, this combination is used to indicate where (inside what) something is, the placement of something, as in *в комнате* ‘in the room’, *во дворе* ‘in the yard’, *в Москве* ‘in Moscow’ and *учиться в университете* ‘study at the university’. This combination also tells the distance from a given point, such as, *в километре от станции* ‘at a distance of one kilometre from the station’. This same construction can be used to name an event, for example *в семинаре профессора И.И.* ‘in the seminar of professor I.I.’ Likewise, the *в* + prepositional can also name the state someone or something is in, as for example *в ужасе* ‘in the state of horror’. In the temporal sense, this combination is in many cases a variant of the combination *в* + accusative (although not all words and word combinations can be used in both constructions, since this is determined so that it often appears to occur completely randomly). For example, Russian has the expressions *в сентябре* ‘in September’, *в этом году* ‘this year’, and *в детстве* ‘in

childhood'. The morphological metaphor combining the uses of this combination includes the notion of placement.

The spatial sense created by the combination of the preposition *на* and the prepositional case makes clear the placement on something, as in *на горе* 'on a hill', *на шкафу* 'on a cupboard' and *на столе* 'on the table'. This also occurs when indicating where something takes place, as in *на Кавказе* 'in the Caucasus' and *на Мальте* 'in Malta'. This combination also expresses an abstract weight on someone's shoulders, a responsibility, such as *весь дом на моих плечах* 'the whole house is on my shoulders' meaning 'I have to take care of the whole house'. This combination also serves to name an event or state which is taking place, as for example *на собрании* 'at the meeting' and *на конференции* 'at the conference'. It can also indicate the state someone is in, like *на хранении* 'in storage'. This combination can also denote the way in which something is done, or which means are used, as in *ходить на цыпочках* 'walk on tiptoe', *ехать на поезде* 'travel by train'. Another function is to name an object that is part of something, such as *дверь на петлях* 'door with hinges'. The temporal sense of the combination *на* + accusative is naming the time when something happens, as in *на будущей неделе* 'in the coming week', and *на закате* 'at sunset'. There the metaphor includes the notion of spatial placement onto something; this spatiality is also transferred to various temporal notions and states.

The instrumental case without a preposition is used primarily for the instrument that is used to accomplish something, such as *топором* 'with an axe' and *карандашом* 'with a pencil'. This case is also found when describing the way something is done, as in *говорить тихим голосом* 'talk quietly'. The instrumental is also adopted to indicate the agent of the passive constructions, as for instance, *дом построен рабочими* 'the house was built by the workers'. Many verbs also require an instrumental without a preposition. The temporal use of the instrumental case without a preposition indicates when something is done. Quite a limited number of nouns and combinations of a noun and a determiner can be used in this way: they refer either to seasons of the year or parts of the day, as in *летом* 'in summer', *летним утром* 'on a summer morning' and *ранней весной* 'in early spring'. The metaphor that different uses of the instrumental case represent is the notion of something to be used as an instrument to achieve something.

The preposition *за* followed by the accusative case is used spatially to denote action stretching out on some kind of borderline, as in *уехать за реку* 'go

to the other side of the river', *спрятаться за угол* 'hide behind the corner' and *сесть за стол* 'sit down at the table'.[30] The borderline can also be abstract, as for example *ему уже за тридцать* 'he is already over thirty'. Spatially *за* + the accusative can also refer to distance, such as *за километр от деревни речка* 'one kilometre from the village there is a river'. In addition, this combination is used to signify emotional support and common opinion. Towards this end, Russian has *я рад за вас* 'I am happy for you', *отвечать за его поступки* 'take responsibility for his actions' and *бороться за мир* 'fight for peace'. This combination is also used to express the reason for something, for example *его не любили за постоянное хвастовство* 'he was not liked because of his never-ending boasting', as well as *наказать за проступок* 'to punish for an offence'. Yet another use of *за* + the accusative is to communicate the price of something, and the thing something is exchanged into, as in *за пять рублей* 'for five roubles', *отдать книгу за тетрадь* 'give a book for a notebook'. It is also used to express the person on whose behalf someone is acting, or the person who is seen as being something, as in *работать за другого* 'work on behalf of someone else', *принять за образец* 'take as a model'. The temporal meaning *за* + the accusative is used primarily for stating the temporal distance between certain events, such as *за минуту до этого* 'a minute before that', *за день до отъезда* 'a day before leaving'. Secondly, it refers to the time needed to accomplish something, such as *сделать за неделю* 'finish in a week'. Thirdly, it is also used to indicate a time frame for something, as in *за последнее время* 'recently'. Fourthly, it is used to express exceeding some kind of temporal limit. For example, Russian has the expression *за полночь* 'after midnight'. The metaphor binding the different uses of *за* + the accusative is the metaphor relating some kind of limit to be crossed.

The preposition *под* followed by the accusative case has the concrete spatial meaning of the direction under something, as in *положить под стекло* 'put under glass' and *провалиться под лед* 'sink under ice'. Moreover, this combination refers to an abstract being under something, like *взять под контроль* 'take under control' and *подпасть под его влияние* 'fall under his influence'. This combination also occurs with instruments, under which there is a possibility to end up, such as *писать под копирку* 'make a carbon copy',

[30] The only meaning that uses the preposition *за* temporally with the instrumental case also involves a question of limit, such as standing behind something. As evidence for this, Russian has the expressions *год за годом* 'year after year' and *день за днем* 'day after day'. This construction always repeats the same time noun and it shows the way that same kind of time units follow one another (on the time line).

остричь волосы под машинку ‘cut the hair with a razor’. The preposition *под* and the accusative case also combine to indicate empty containers for something, as in *бутылка под молоко* ‘a bottle for milk’, *банка под варенье* ‘a jar for jam’. Yet another use for this combination is to refer to musical accompaniment, for example *петь под гитару* ‘sing with guitar’ and *под звуки вальса* ‘to waltz tunes’. Furthermore, this combination can allude to imitating someone or something, as in *стараться петь под Высоцкого* ‘try to sing like Vysotsky’ and *покрасить под цвет глины* ‘paint something the colour of clay’. In the temporal sense *под* + the accusative is used for placing events on a time line and these events are close to some kind of marking event or time period, such as *под Рождество* ‘right before Christmas’, *в ночь под Новый Год* ‘on New Year’s night’, *под вечер* ‘towards evening’ and *под старость* ‘towards old age’. The metaphor for this combination could be placed under some category as understood by the notions of ‘on’ and ‘under’ in the senses of supremacy and submission, as well as by the physical consequences which being under something can cause.

The combination of the preposition *к* and the dative case is used in a spatial sense to indicate direction, going towards something. An example of this is *ехать к лесу* ‘drive towards the forest’. Besides concrete direction, this combination can indicate the end point of the journey, as in *ехать к брату* ‘travel to see one’s brother’. It likewise shows the direction one can turn to both concretely and abstractly, as in *повернуться к двери* ‘turn towards the door’, and *обратиться к гостям* ‘address the guests’. This preposition plus the dative can communicate the closeness that makes touching possible or inevitable, as in *приложить ухо к двери* ‘put one’s ear to the door’. The notion of adding something to a lot can also be expressed this way. For instance, Russian has the expressions *к двум прибавить три* ‘add three to two’ and *присоединиться к товарищам* ‘join one’s friends’. This combination can point to the goal of some kind of action, the preparation for something, as in *готовиться к экзамену* ‘prepare for the exam’, and the end result, i.e. being ready for something, as in *годный к военной службе* ‘fit for military service’. Another function is to indicate the motivation for some kind of action or object, as in *подарок ко дню рождения* ‘a birthday present’, and an object that has a relation to another object, for example *тезисы к докладу* ‘the summary of the presentation’. This combination serves to indicate an attitude towards something, explaining the way this attitude is directed, such as *требовательность к себе* ‘demanding attitude

towards oneself' and *любовь к литературе* 'love for literature'. For the temporal sense, the combination *к* + the dative expresses a deadline or an end point of a period for something, as in *к утру* 'by the morning', *к 5 марта* 'by the fifth of May', *к началу спектакля* 'by the beginning of the play' and *к осени* 'by autumn'. The metaphor involved naturally has to do with the direction, facing one direction and pointing one's attention to it.

The preposition *перед* followed by the instrumental case communicates spatially the meaning of being in front of something, as well as movement directed into this position, as in *перед домом* 'in front of the house' and *передо мной* 'in front of me'. This combination occurs with abstract facing, such as *перед нами поставлена трудная задача* 'we have a difficult task ahead of us'. To convey another temporal sense, this combination indicates the moment right before something else, as in *перед праздником* 'right before the celebration' and *перед отъездом* 'right before leaving'. The metaphor having to do with this is the metaphor of placement right before one's eyes.

The preposition *около* followed by the genitive case results in a message having a spatial sense of the different kinds of closeness, such as *около дома* 'close to the house', *сидеть около больного* 'sit at the patient's bedside' and *мы живем около вокзала* 'we live close to the station'. Another function is to express rough distances and other estimations, such as *около километра* 'about one kilometer', *около ста человек* 'about a hundred people'. The temporal sense of this combination serves to offer approximate timing. This is reflected in Russian as *время около трех часов* 'it's about three o'clock', *около месяца тому назад* 'about a month ago' and *ему около восьмидесяти лет* 'he is about eighty'. The metaphor combining all these meanings is the relation between closeness and approximate judgements.

The preposition *с* followed by the instrumental case has a spatial meaning that conveys the notion of being together with something, coexisting with something, as in *Я иду с тобой* 'I come with you', *Он взял с собой чемодан* 'He took a suitcase with him' and *есть суп с хлебом* 'eat soup with bread'. It is used also when creating and breaking such connections and making comparisons, such as *развестись с мужем* 'divorce from (literally with) one's husband', *соединить с* 'combine with' and *мы с ним одних лет* 'he and I are the same age'. In its temporal sense this combination is used when discussing coexisting events, when something happens at the same time with something else and can therefore be seen as coming with it. Examples of this are *с течением лет* 'with

the years going by', (literally flowing') and *с весной* 'with spring'. The metaphor combining these usages has to do with being together or coexisting.

The spatial use of the preposition pairs *с* + genitive and *до* + genitive, *с* + genitive and *по* + acc., *с* + gen. and *на* + acc. show boundaries for the range of something, such as *с двух до трех* 'between two and three'. Furthermore, their temporal uses delineate the beginning and ending points of something, as in *с января до марта* 'from January to March' and in *с восьми часов до полуночи* 'from eight o'clock until midnight'. They are also used to convey the meaning of "always" with repeating the same unit of time, which is found in examples such as *с месяца до месяца* 'from month to month, always'. Either end of the range can also be used separately to reflect the beginning or end of some time period, as in *до среды* 'by Wednesday' and *с мая* 'beginning from May'. The metaphor that binds together these uses of the construction is the notion of range, or a slice of something (for example, referring to the time line).

Looking at these morphological phenomena and explaining them by applying the metaphor theory easily leads to resistance. Not everyone is prepared to see that such formal features of language as these can have any evidential value where conceptualization processes are concerned. The different levels on which the conceptual metaphors occur do, however, in my opinion, include the morphosyntactic level. This analysis adopts the interpretation of metaphoricity as taking place on the morphosyntactic level.

7.2. Time As Space

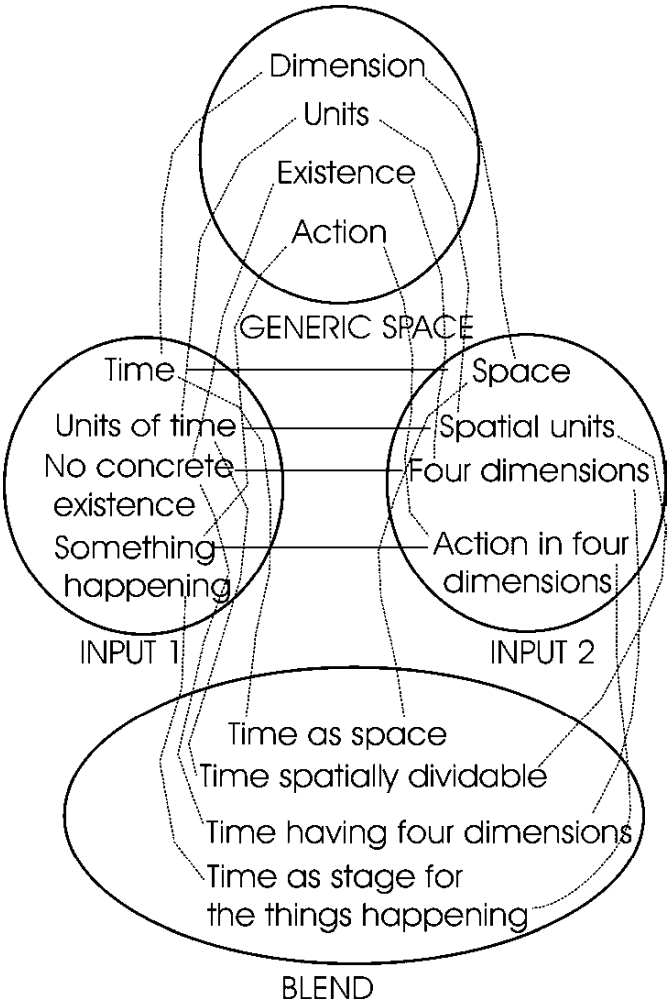
The spatial character of the time metaphors is widely acknowledged. In Finnish and Russian the way time uses spatial notions is on the one hand obvious. Time expressions use the same cases (Finnish) and prepositions and cases (Russian) as do spatial expressions. On the other hand, the exact relationship between spatial and temporal expressions, let alone their conceptual evidential value, is not so well known or easy to determine.

Although space is clearly something that plays an important role in the metaphorical conceptualization of time, I do not agree with the claims that conceive of time as space in language, suggesting that this is all there is to it, i.e. that there are no other important notions that time makes use of besides space.

This kind of thinking, well established in different disciplines and in different parts of the world, is, in my opinion, basically wrong. While I do not deny the importance of spatial notions in the conceptualization of time, I think, firstly, that there are conceptualizations of time that are not spatial, and, secondly, that even some of the notions usually interpreted to be spatial for the convenience of claiming overall spatiality are not, in fact, spatial or need not be interpreted as such. To be precise, the time metaphors that are not, in my opinion, spatial are the following: Time Is Resource, Time is Substance, and Time is Actor (causator). When these metaphors are interpreted as being spatial, this can only be because everything existing can be seen as spatial (since existence is understood to take place in a time and a place, without exceptions). In brief, there are no more precise reasons than that for assuming the overall spatial conceptualization of time.

The spatial conceptualization of time (the metaphor Time As Space) is realized in language in expressions that can have any kind of function. Many of them, for example, think of time as the time line, and deal with the different bits and pieces on this time line. Space has four dimensions, while direction can only be to the past or to the future. The four dimensions of space make it a flexible domain. However, what is most important is how space is understood and conceptualized in the human mind, and what kind of characteristics of this understanding are transferred to conceptualizing time.

The generalized schema of conceptualizing time as space shows correspondences between the dimensions of time and space, units of time and spatial units, and interprets the action as involving something happening that is reflected in the four-dimensional world of space. The generic space includes a dimension, certain units, and some kind of action. In the Input space 1 (time), the dimension in question is time, and this corresponds to space in the Input space 2 (space). Time has units corresponding to spatial units, time has no concrete existence but is understood through the four dimensions that space has. Consequently, when something happens (temporally), this corresponds to the action in the four dimensions. As a result, the blend views time as being spatially dividable, having four dimensions and acting as a stage for the things happening. See Schema 1.



Schema 1. TIME AS SPACE

I will now turn our attention to the conceptual metaphors that are conceptualized along the lines set by Time As Space. They are: Time Is Container, Time is Surface, Time Has Direction, Time is Cycle, and the Time Line Metaphor.

7.2.1. Time Is Container

When time is seen as space, one of its basic forms is envisioning time as a container, something that can be empty or full, and can be filled and emptied with events, states, and so on.

Purely morphologically, Time Is Container occurs when assigning the different time units that can contain the events to be talked about. To illustrate this, I will provide some examples of the morphological means that reflect this kind of conceptualization.

Finnish expresses the containers and the changes in the different ways of being in- and outside of them in reference to time by five different local cases:

the inessive, elative, illative, adessive, and allative (the cases with the adessive and allative could be further interpreted as representing the Time Is Surface metaphor that is reviewed later in this chapter.) Of the local cases, in the strictest sense of the word, only the ablative (with the meaning “from the top of something”) is not used in the container metaphor. Let us look at some examples of the other local cases revealing this metaphor:

[234] *hetkessä*
moment-sg.iness.
“in a moment”

When something is considered to be inside the time unit (the Finnish inessive case) [234], the time unit is given as a container that includes the event that will be mentioned.

[1032] *aamuyöstä*
morning night-sg.elat.
lit. “from morning night” = in the small hours

Example [1032] presents time as a container from which something is to be taken (the Finnish elative case). What is to be taken is a part of time to be placed onto the time line as the point when something takes place. Another possible interpretation of such a meaning is that the whole time unit mentioned has a part that is extracted from the whole time unit and this part is then made into a separate entity.

[677] *entisvanhaan*
bygone old-sg.illat.
lit. “to the bygone old [times]” = in the old times

In [677] the use of the Finnish illative case with the meaning “into something” expresses the time unit as a container, as something to put the events in. From the viewpoint of the meaning these constructions have, there is no difference between the different local cases. The distribution between them in the different lexemes is therefore merely an indication of a different kind of conceptualization process.

[1031] *aamuyöllä*
morning night-sg.adess.
"on morning night" = in the small hours

The use of the Finnish adessive case with a time unit as a container [1031] has the same meaning as the use of the inessive. In other words, the time unit is seen as a container (or a surface) on which the things happening are located. The use of the adessive or the inessive is entirely lexically determined; some time nouns take the adessive for this meaning, while others use the inessive.

[469] *sekunnilleen*
second-noun.sg.allat.+ poss.suff.sg.3.p.
lit. "to its second" = exactly at the time defined, to the second

The Finnish allative case in its (rare) temporal uses requires the use of a possessive suffix. The figure here [469] is that the time unit is defined as if each second were placed separately on top of a container.

The idea of containers in Russian is morphologically such that either something goes into a container [93], or is already inside a container [74].[31]

[93] *в сумерки*
to nightfall-pl.acc.
lit. "to nightfall" = at nightfall

[74] *в поре*
in period-sg.prep.
"in the period"

My survey of the container metaphor will now turn to a close examination of how the container metaphor is built and in what kinds of expressions it is reflected. These expressions reveal the workings of the Time Is Container metaphor on levels other than in morphology.

A container has contours. These contours establish the limits of the container and anything inside the container cannot come out without passing these contours. In other words, for anything to be in the container, it has to be inside the boundaries set by the contours. These contours are arbitrary and imaginary, but are well in line with the more general conceptualization of time.

[31] These two constructions are often both possible in the same meaning.

They limit time the same way that the glass of the bottle limits the placement of the liquid inside the bottle. The contours make time an entity that can have a back and a front, as well as the different kinds of ceilings and surfaces. Time can in this way face something without necessarily being personified. For example, in [834] and [805], time is seen as a container, and when the container is full, this means that there is no longer time for fulfilling a certain function. In brief, the time period has ended that is allowed for something to happen or to be done.[32]

[834] *aika* *tulee* *täyteen*
time-sg.nom. **become**-act.ind.pres.sg.3p **full**-sg.illat.
lit. “time becomes full”, “time comes (in)to full” = time is up

[805] *aika* *umpeutuu*
time-sg.nom **close up**- act.ind.pres.sg.3p
“time closes up” = the deadline is here, time expires

Another kind of container consists of time as giving the framework for something happening. This framework understands time and more precisely time units as constituting different kinds of containers, and the contours of these containers limit the time unit. These time units can include or exclude events and states. This kind of containment arises in the examples given above and is explained from the morphological point of view. Another example of this is the following:

[29] *в* *веках*
in-adp. **century**- pl.prep.
”in centuries”

Example [29] portrays the centuries involved as containers. Another factor altogether is that besides the concrete meaning of something continuing several centuries, this expression can be used with the meaning “for a very long time”. For either of the meanings, a century has been treated as a container that includes certain events.

[32] As will be seen later, Russian conceptualizes this in exactly the opposite way. Whereas Finnish represents time as a container that closes up or becomes full when the deadline is reached, Russian represents time as a kind of substance that runs out of a container when the deadline is approaching. Consequently, when the container is empty, i.e. all time has run out of it, then this means that the possibility of action has passed. Example [772] expresses this: *время истекло*. Both languages can of course also say simply that time ”ends” *aika loppuu*, *время кончается*, but this represents another conceptual metaphor altogether, namely the metaphor of understanding time as an actor.

The Time is Container metaphor has one submapping, namely Time Is Surface. The use of the Finnish local cases gives rise to the connection between them and the possible conceptualization of time as a surface (or path on a surface). This is obviously one version of spatial conceptualization of time, and more precisely interpreting time as being a container. When time is conceptualized as a surface, the spatial notion of a container is combined with the idea of a time line. The surface can have characteristics of its own, as it can be even or uneven, easy or difficult to traverse. The surface is also one edge of the container, and as such it provides a means for the container to limit its contents even in another dimension – the container can contain something on it, without the contours all around the thing to be contained. The Time Is Surface Metaphor is naturally related to the notion of time as a path. For example [103]:

[103] *ajan* *mittaan*
time-sg. gen. **measure**-sg. ill.
“into the measure of time” = with time

This kind of metaphorical expression [103] gives us a picture that has time as a surface on which some kind of progress occurs. In the case of measurement, this achievement may in some way be in even units as a measure allows us to understand. But the main image comes from time having a surface that its user can progress on. The same is illustrated with two other expressions with a similar meaning [107] and [429]:

[107] *ajan* *pitkään*
time-sg.gen. **long**-sg.ill.
“into long of time” = by time, after a certain amount of time has passed something will be clear

[429] *pitkin aikaa*
along time-sg.partit.
”along time” = during the whole period of time in question

There is very little difference between Time Is Container and Time is Surface. As a matter of fact, the difference lies in that when time is seen as a container, it is the inside of the container that is used. When we talk about Time Is Surface, it is the surface that is used. In short, this kind of conceptualization is not interested in what is under the surface, or more precisely under the path on

the surface. Conceptualizing time as a surface makes time units as containers to have things that they include on their surfaces, like:

[550] *viikolla*
week-sg.adess.
"on week" = during the week (Monday-Friday)

[1062] *lounaalla*
lunch-sg.adess.
"on lunch" = at lunch

[462] *samalla aikaa*
same-adess **time**-sg.partit.
"on the same (amount) of time" = at the same time

Moreover, the container interpretation has any notion of clock time with the meaning "exactly the hour stated, o'clock", as in [307]:

[307] *kahdeltatoista*$^{\rightarrow}$ [33]
twelve$^{\rightarrow}$-num.sg.abl.
"from twelve$^{\rightarrow}$" = 12$^{\rightarrow}$ o'clock

Another interesting expression is found in [2], which gives the numeral a surface, onto which any extra time needed can be attached:

[2] *kolmen*$^{\rightarrow}$ *pintaan*
three$^{\rightarrow}$-gen.**surface**-ill.
onto the surface of three$^{\rightarrow}$" = shortly after three$^{\rightarrow}$ o'clock

In Russian, on the morphosyntactic level, the notion of going on a surface and being on a surface is indicated by the preposition *на* and either the prepositional case (on something) or the accusative case (onto something). This kind of understanding of time reflects the same kind of conceptualization that is seen in many Finnish expressions – that the surface of time is a kind of container, onto

[33] It has been suggested to me that this kind of metaphorical construction (that represents what is understood to be an exact naming of clock time as a point on the time line when something is supposed to happen, to be expressed with something meaning "starting from") could reveal something about the way Finns understand time.

which one can add time, and where time is stored for possible use. Adding time to a container is achieved by putting the time on the container, as in [573]:

[573] *прибавить* *время* *на что-н.*
add-perf.asp.act.inf.**time**-sg.acc. **on something**
"add time onto something" = give more time to do something

This is combined with seeing time as a resource (this metaphor is discussed later). When time is seen as a surface or container that contains the time talked about, this time can be added up only if time is understood as a resource. This does make sense. The time that was contained in the first place does not have to be understood as a resource, since it exists because of its own nature, without any effort, and is fully conditioned by the nature of the container in question. When something is added to it, the extra has to be understood as being a resource, and the containment includes the idea that the amount is exactly what can be there while anything extra can not be put into the container, but only added to it.

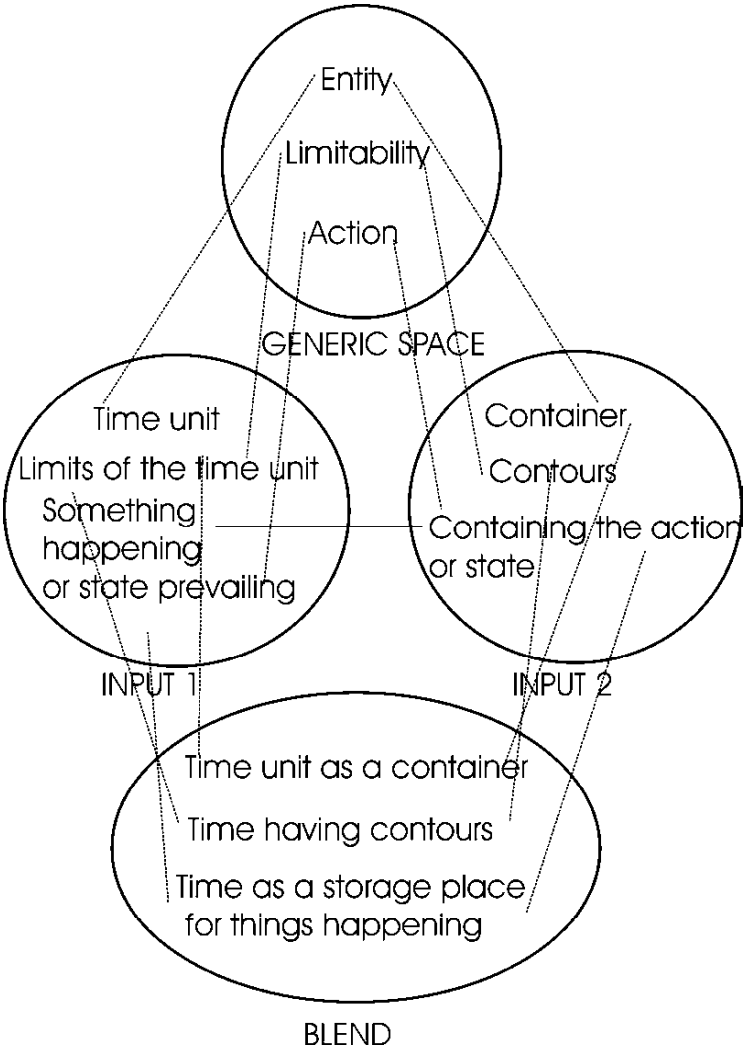
The whole idea of time as a container is that when time is seen in a way that any events and states are to be placed inside (or on the surface of) the time unit given. This makes the different kinds of time units meaningful in a way that understanding them as different lengths on the time line does not. Thus it gives different time units the possibility to have characteristics of their own. So a time unit is seen as a container. The forms used in the expressions are spatial, the same ones that are used in spatial expressions (namely, spatial cases). The container schema they represent makes use of all the different ways of being inside and on the container, going in and out, placing oneself on a container, and so on.

The Time Is Container metaphor also includes the cases that some earlier research has referred to as the Time's Landscape Metaphor. In this metaphorical understanding, the human being can be the actor who perceives the "time's landscape", meaning that the time units and events are conceptualized as landmarks that give human beings, "the moving observer", the possibility to orient themselves in the socio-temporal space. This could also be called Time Is Background (for action).

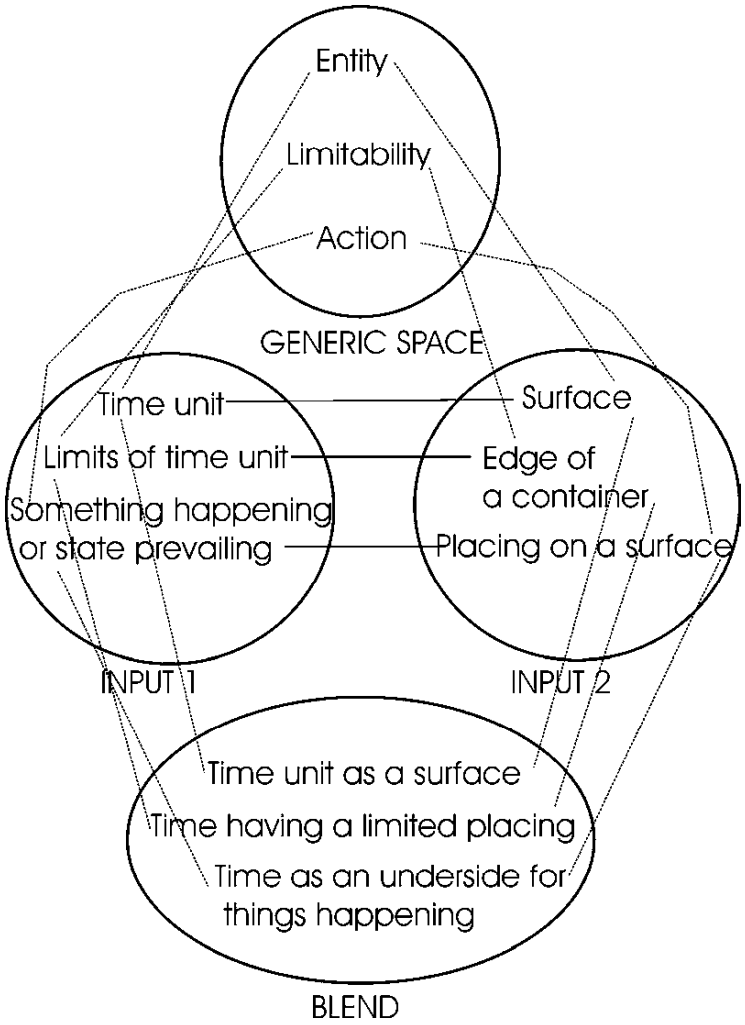
In the blending schema Time Is Container, the time unit is conceptualized as a container and its contours serve as limits of the container. The generic space includes some kind of entity, which is able to be contained or limited, as well as

some kind of action. In the Input space 1 (time), the action involved is something happening or a state that is prevailing, which corresponds to the contents of the container in the Input space 2 (container). In this way, the time unit is the storage place for the things that are happening (the blend).

The blending schema Time Is Surface differs from Time is Container only for those characteristics that make a surface different from a container, i.e. the outside being used instead of the inside. See schemas 2. and 3.



Schema 2. TIME IS CONTAINER



Schema 3. TIME IS SURFACE

7.2.2. Time, space and movement

The following three conceptual metaphors are based on the combination of time, space and movement. In my opinion, earlier metaphor research has interpreted the limits of the different conceptual metaphors quite randomly. The past literature shows that the predominant orientation has been to observe how this combination occurs in the most obvious example while not taking into account how it works in the conceptualization on a more common basis, on the level of the whole language.

The spatiality of time is not only a question of everything happening in time and space. It also has to do with using space to conceptualize time. The way that space and time are related has very much to do with direction, and

directionality, the way that time (and the human being) is understood as being spatially active, as having an orientation and direction. The orientation of humans is easily defined, since humans have fronts and backs that are easy to identify, and the scope of their attention (the limitations of their senses) makes it possible for them, first and foremost, to sense things in front of them. The scope of their senses is much more limited when it comes to perceiving things located to their side(s); and it is almost non-existent when something is located behind them.

When time is conceptualized as having a direction, an orientation, this requires, firstly, that time is seen to have some kind of back-front orientation as well. This requires understanding time as having some human characteristics, or at least characteristics of a living being (or another object with an inherent front and back). When a direction is defined either as going from the past to the future or from the future to the past, this means that the humans observing this direction of time have this direction, and because they have this direction they presuppose that time also moves accordingly. This presupposition is not necessarily true: the fact that the speakers see themselves as facing a direction on a time line, and assume that this direction is accompanied by movement, is enough for them to assume the same things are true for time as well.

The literature on time metaphors (looked at in Chapter 6) gives the difference between Moving Time Metaphor and Moving Ego Metaphor. This is in line with such thinking that pays attention to landmarks and projectors in relation to one another (for example, Langacker 1987, 1991a, 1991b, 1999). The phenomenon of the Moving Time Metaphor and the Moving Observer Metaphor does, undoubtedly, exist. Nevertheless, after the analysis of the material, I have come to the conclusion that differentiating between the moving time and the moving human being (ego) is not necessary. Or, to be more precise, this difference does naturally exist, but it is not sufficient to account for the expressions; they are not separate metaphors of conceptualizations. In most cases the human being and time act in this similarly, and the direction that the human being is facing decides in which direction (to the future or to the past) time is in his or her understanding going.

Another question is whether the fact that a human being (ego) or time moves or does not move has any relevance to this question. Is the orientation the only aspect that matters? If a person moves in time (along a time line), this simply means objectivizing time to such a form in which the person can understand and conceptualize it. This simple form is in our terms referred to as

the Time Is Container Metaphor, or the Time Line Metaphor, or both. In either of these metaphors, it is in no way central whether the human being is moving or not. Consequently, the only important factor is indeed the orientation.

Movement arises only when its opposite – not moving – is another possibility. Movement exists when there is some background that is not moving, and against this background the change that the movement brings about is noticeable. Movement does not exist if the background is moving at the same pace. When we discuss the relationship between time and movement, we can notice that the motion that is attributed to time has very much to do with direction, orientation. Assuming motion is often the same thing as assuming an orientation, and the motion involved can be unspecified, or even assumed only on the basis of that orientation (because an orientation is seen as a prerequisite for movement). Movement without an orientation can either be of the kind in which movement is assumed only on the basis of the well-known cultural assumptions or understandings concerning the direction of time, without any linguistic evidence, or of the kind in which time is seen as an actant that moves in a way that is specified (at least when it comes to its speed that can also be based on an assumption). We can ask whether we should make such an assumption on the direction of time merely on the basis of our other understandings of it, i.e., in analysing what linguistic material has to offer. This assumption would be, in this case, clearly extralinguistic in character. If we wish to analyse in any reliable way what conceptualizations of time language has, we should leave such data – no matter how obvious it seems to the analyser – beyond our attention and concentrate only on how to explain the whole material with the help of the notions we have. For the purposes of this analysis, this involves determining how to provide a satisfactory solution for the way that the notions of space, orientation, and motion contribute to our understanding of time, and how the relationship between these notions should be understood.

Direction can be suggested for time and the speaker separately. In the case of the Time Faces Future metaphor, both time and the speaker have the same direction, namely facing the future. In the case of the Time Faces Past metaphor, the direction can either be such that the speaker is facing the future, but the time is the past, or that both of them are facing the past. I assume the facing to be of major importance, and the movement – whatever is meant by movement – to be less easy to define.

As can be noticed, my emphasis on the direction of time and the human being is very much influenced by N.D. Arutjunova (see Chapter 6.6.).

At this point we can focus on the metaphors having to do with the relationship between time, space and movement, namely the Time Line Metaphor, Time Has Direction Metaphor, Time Moves to Past Metaphor, Time Moves to Future Metaphor, and the Time Is Cycle Metaphor.

7.2.3. Time Line Metaphor

The Time Line Metaphor conceptualizes time as moving along a line that goes from the past to the future[34]. It simplifies time, projects time as only the time line, and nothing else. According to the time line metaphor, each moment in time as well as the different states, durations, events, and so on, can be identified on the time line. Furthermore, each moment, each time unit (each part of the time line) is unique and can be specified in comparison with any other moment in the sequence. The time line has no beginning (or its beginning is the beginning of time, which is a mythical and religious concept), and it has no end.

The concept of time line presupposes that at any given moment we are at a point on the time line that can be specified (the moment of speech). This time line has no beginning or end, since it has always existed and will always exist. Anything to be spoken about can have different points of reference and points of event, all specifiable on the time line. This specifiability does not mean that they could always be given exact limits such as dates. Instead their relationship to one another can be specified at least with the kind of exactness that stipulates which of these comes first on the time line, which is next and so on, and whether there is any free space between the events.

[42] *в каждый момент*
in each-sg.masc.nom. **moment**-sg.nom.
“in each moment” = each moment

[34] It has been suggested to me that the Time Line Metaphor does not need to be assumed to have a direction (I thank Jyrki Kalliokoski for this comment). This understanding of the metaphor would understand it merely as being a case of ordering and sequencing, and whether time is directed from the past to the future would not be relevant, or would even be impossible to define.

[77] *aikoja* *myöhemmin*
time-pl.part **later**
”times later” = much later

Examples [42] and [77] understand moments or times as following one another, and they thereby form a linear continuum of moments/times.

The time line metaphor also gives the possibility to talk about time as having a length, being short or long. For example:

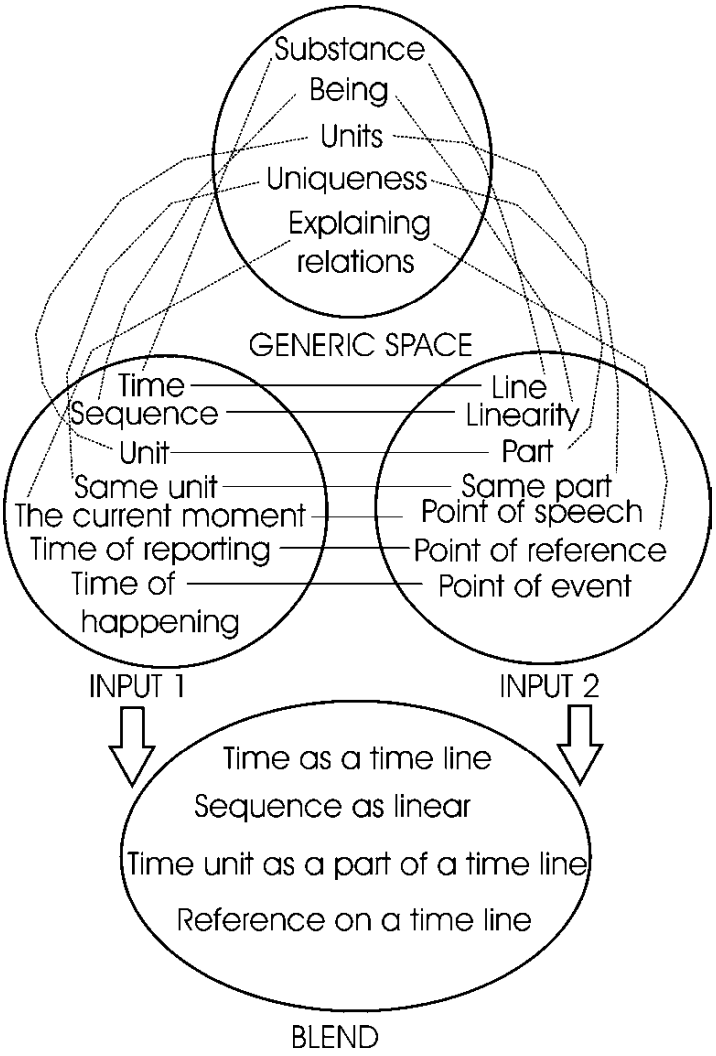
[879] *pitkän* *ajan* *kuluessa*
long-sg.gen **time**-sg.gen. **during** (lit.”being worn”)
“during a long time”

The beginning and end of a time period can also be fully explained only if the Time Line Metaphor is seen to exist behind them. For example:

[299] *aika* *on* *ohi*
time-nom **be**- act.pres.sg.3p **over**
“time is passed, time is over” = time for doing something has already passed

[824] *aika* *päättyy*
time-sg.nom **end**-act.ind.pres.sg.3p
“time ends” = the time slot for doing something is over, a period of time ends

The schema of the TIME LINE METAPHOR shows the correspondences between the Input Space 1 (time) and the Input Space 2 (line). See Schema 4.



Schema 4. TIME LINE METAPHOR

7.2.4. Time Has Direction

Time can be conceptualized as having a direction. This direction can be to the past, or to the future, or not defined when the moment in itself plays the main role. The direction of time is interpreted on the basis of (a hypothetical notion of) the direction the speaker (the observer) is facing in the situation at hand, what he or she considers to be ahead and what behind him or her, what is to go before and after.[35] This kind of conceptualization applies to many expressions that are commonly seen as fully non-metaphorical. Seeing time as having direction and possibly moving accordingly is so deeply rooted in our culture that it is hardly

[35] This is still combined with the notions of coming and going which are inevitably connected to directions, but which also often bring about some kind of intentional action for time. This, in turn, often leads to the expression being conceptualized as the Time is Actor metaphor.

noticed at all. Many of these notions are self-evident before one starts to think about them.

This chapter will introduce my analysis of the Time Has Direction metaphor. I will first analyse it from the viewpoint of the metaphors on the morphological level, and will then look more generally at the characteristics that this metaphorical conceptualization can have (as well as its submappings Time Faces Future and Time Faces Past).

On the morphological level, having a direction is created by the adpositions and adverbs that give the notion of direction. These adpositions and adverbs (*kuluttua* 'after', *perästä* 'after', lit. "from the back", *päästä* 'after', lit. "from the head" , *takana* 'behind', *taka* 'back part', *takaisin* 'back', *saakka* 'until', *до* 'until', *от* 'from', *из* 'from', *через* 'across' and *после* 'after') reflect the temporal order, and this order can be interpreted through the notion of direction. The notion of movement in a given direction can also come from the verb used, which can have a direction included in its meaning (the coming and going verbs are well-known examples of this, and in Russian the many prefixes used also contribute to these meanings). These same means are also true of the metaphors in which the direction of time is defined.

Moving in a direction means having a front and therefore being able to face a direction. The going itself is indicated either by the sequence (of events or states), or by the use of a verb:

[430] *pitkistä* *ajoista*
long-pl.elat. **time**-pl.elat.
"from long times" = after a long break

[988] *под* *осень*$^{\rightarrow}$
below autumn$^{\rightarrow}$-sg.acc.
"below autumn" = just before autumn begins

[430] assumes time to be long, but not defined in terms of a spatial orientation (direction). In [988], the time that is before autumn is conceptualized as being under or below autumn. This is a vertical time orientation, which is not supposed to exist in western thinking (and languages).

The Time Has Direction metaphor is different from Time Is Actor in that although, as in the case of Time Has Direction, there is some kind of action involved, this action is not intentional and does not cause changes to happen. The

action of time in the Time Has Direction metaphor is merely going on, in addition to any other possible elements having to do with moving on a time line, going ahead of something else, and so on. But all this occurs without any intentionality. The main reason for the action, the movement, is to provide background for the events to happen or for the states to prevail – or this is how the humans see it. When Time Has Direction, this direction is where the human being is going. The actants involved are clearly both time, which is some kind of experiencer with little will-power of its own, and the human being, who exists and functions in the frames given by time (and is not able to escape them). The roles played by time and the human being in these expressions are not clear, but both of them take part in the actions involved. A fascinating question arises as to whether time is seen as being a natural creator of a time slot for something, or whether it is understood as more deliberately giving these slots to us. This is a phenomenon of such variety and many sides that it should be understood as a continuum of capacities for action. At one end of this continuum are the purest cases of the Time Has Direction Metaphor, and at the other end the purest cases of the Time Is Actor Metaphor.

The indefiniteness of time orientation can also occur, as in the following example [123]:

[123] *ajasta*
time-sg.elat.
lit. “from time” = for a long time

Obviously in [123] the reference points to a time that has been here since long ago, and since then something has been true. The direction of time in it is, nevertheless, quite exotic owing to its lack of definition, and in stipulating a time as a starting point without actually defining this time in any way. This could be illustrated by the example *Se on totta jo ajasta* ‘It has been true already for a long time’, which is literally, ‘It is true already from time’.

The difference between the Time Line metaphor and Time Has Direction metaphor is that the Time Line metaphor organizes events and states into an order, and so if the movement of a human is defined, time is understood as a spatial place in which a human functions. In this way, the central feature of the Time Line metaphor is the movement of a person in time or at least the possibility of such movement. This is provided by the definition of sequence, the

order of events and whether they are simultaneous or not, and which amount of which time periods as well as which events or states are situated between them. The Time Line metaphor does not necessarily presuppose or require movement. If movement is indeed included, it is the movement of a human on the time line, according to the rules of the time line. This is exactly how our everyday thinking interprets the movement of time, since when time "proceeds", what we perceive is that a period of time ends and another one begins, or more generally, that any time units with different characteristics have a certain order. It is, nevertheless, not the same thing as when Time Has Direction, because the Time Line metaphor conceptualizes time as a line of orderings. When Time Has Direction, the notion of a time line is not enough, because the orientation of time (whether defined or not) is spatially significant, and is shown by an orientator (adposition, prefix, adverb, or verb having a meaning of movement in space). This is how the Time Direction metaphor is formed by combining an orientation, a movement, and an orientating landmark. The definition of direction for the Time Faces Future and Time Faces Past includes an orientating landmark.

7.2.4.1. Time Faces Future

The metaphor Time Faces Future clearly expresses the standard understanding of time as facing the future. The orientation to the future may be seen in things that show concrete position in spatial terms. For example:

[901] *edessäoleva* *viikko*$^{\rightarrow}$
in front be- nom.sg.act.Ipartic. **week**$^{\rightarrow}$-sg.nom.
"the front being week$^{\rightarrow}$" = the week$^{\rightarrow}$ ahead

[348] *(какая-л.)* *пора* *пришла*
(**some kind of**) **time**-sg.nom. **arrive**-perf.asp.act.pret.sg.3p
"(some kind of) time arrived" = the time for something has come

[69] *в* *первое* *время*
in first-sg.acc. **time**-sg.acc.
"in first time" = during the beginning phases of a period of time

Examples [901], [348], and [69] clearly contain the metaphor Time Faces Future. Here the week is in front of the speaker, and if a certain kind of time period occurs, it comes from the past like the speaker does, and has a beginning phase

that is in place first. This kind of orientation in Russian occurs frequently with the adverbs *впереди* and *впредь* (and with other words with the same stem, such as the suffix *пред-*), and Finnish uses the prefixes *esi-*, or *etu-* (and with other words with the same stem, such as the adverbs *edessä, eteen* (the expressions here contain *edessä* and *edeltävä*). So anything happening in the future is seen as being in front of the speaker, and anything in the past is behind him or her.

Also, when the speaker has to do something to keep up with time or wishes to surpass it, the direction of time is clearly toward the unknown future that can be full of new achievements and unpredictable events. For example:

[226] *гнаться за временем*
fast-track-imp.asp.act.inf. **for time**-sg.instr.
"fast-track for time" = try to catch time, try to keep up with time

[178] *время обошло стороной*
time-sg.nom.**go by**-perf.asp.act.pret.sg.3p **side**-sg.instr.
"time went by side" = time did not leave any marks (did not cause ageing)

[407] *olla aikaansa edellä*
be-act.I inf. **time**-sg.acc.partit.poss-suff.sg.3p **ahead**
"be ahead of one's time"

Even though a speaker does not see these expressions as being metaphorical, they actually are metaphorical in that they show how our conceptualization is of the human being and time simultaneously proceeding ahead.

An example of the difference in having only an orientation or also moving can be illustrated with the following examples:

[1115] *vuoden→ päässä*
year→-sg.gen.**head**-sg.iness.
"in the head of the year→" = in one year's→ time, one year→ ahead

[559] *vuoden→ päästä*
year→-sg.gen. **head**-sg.elat.
"from the head of the year" = after a year→, in one year's→ time

In [1115], the speaker looks at the thing happening in the future without moving himself/herself, from the perspective of the moment of speech. In [559], it is

assumed that there will be movement towards the future, and the future event is seen from the perspective of the point of event.

7.2.4.2. Time Faces Past

The metaphor Time Faces Past gives a wholly different picture. It conceptualizes time as having an orientation towards the past. This kind of orientation is related to ancient thinking in which we follow our ancestors to a past that is well known to everyone, without any interest in new things that could be happening in the future. The orientation towards the past can again be noticed from the way the expressions reflecting this metaphor use orientation words (adpositions, prefixes, adverbs). For instance, consider the examples found below:

[895] *edeltävällä* *viikolla*
previous-sg.adess. **week**-sg.adess.
"on previous week" = during the previous week

[348] *kulkea* *jonkun* *jalanjälkiä*
walk-act.I inf. **someone**-sg.gen. **footstep**-pl.partit.
"walk along someone's footsteps" = follow someone's footsteps

[1105] *edesmennyt*
go front-act II partic.sg.nom.
"the one that has gone in front" = the deceased

In [895], the week that goes in front is actually the preceding one. Example [348] assumes that by walking behind someone (who is ahead of us) we can follow their destiny, and this destiny takes us to the past, the happenings that are known to us. The same kind of idea is expressed in [1105]. Here a dead person follows the well-known path of life before the others.

[882] *menneenä* *kesänä*$^{\rightarrow}$
go-act II partic.sg.ess. **summer**$^{\rightarrow}$-sg.ess.
"as the gone summer$^{\rightarrow}$" = in the past summer$^{\rightarrow}$

[888] *edellisenä* *kesänä*$^{\rightarrow}$
previous-sg.ess. **summer**$^{\rightarrow}$-sg.ess.
"as previous summer" = in the previous summer$^{\rightarrow}$

These expressions communicate that the summer has gone in the direction of the past [882] and the previous summer [888] is “in front” (the adjective *edellinen* ‘previous’ is related to the words *etu* ‘front side’ and *edessä* ‘in front’).

[303] *за последнее время*
for last-sg.acc. **time**-sg.acc
“for the last time” = during the latest period of time

In [303], the word *последний* “last” is not fully transparent, but does provide some etymological hints for its common roots with words such as *после* “after” and *след* ”mark” and the preposition *по* which has ”after” as one of its meanings. The notion of motion as leaving some kind of a mark is quite widespread, as can be seen from the following examples:

[729] *jälkeenpäin*
mark-sg.illat. **towards**
“towards the mark” = afterwards

[619] *jälkikäteen*
mark-sg.nom. **hand**-sg.illat.
“to the hand with the mark” = afterwards[36]

[738] *jälkeen*
mark-sg.illat.
“to the mark” = after

Expressions like [729], [619] and [738] also refer to some kind of mark that someone or something has left behind. Since time cannot disappear without a trace, the marks that are left behind help us to orientate to it. When facing the past, a person looks at the mark left behind by the happening, and in this way follows the object that left the mark. The mark in itself can be in the future or present or past (depending on the concrete reference involved), but has to have been left by something that has gone in the direction of the past. This is because leaving a track is possible only when that which leaves the track has already passed by, and consequently allows us to follow the mark or the tracks left. This mark or these tracks have to be something that is spatially limited, so that we can turn towards them; it would be difficult to imagine that this might continue ahead

[36] Cf. *beforehand* in English!

of us into the future (although I do admit that this is also a plausible explanation). This feeling could be explained by pointing out that if the mentioned tracks were to be followed, it could be difficult or impossible to determine with full certainty the direction of the thing that left the tracks in any given place and in this way in any single moment in time, and therefore using such fully spatial concepts would seem to be contradictory.

The orientation towards the past can even enable sequential ordering in that direction [689].

[689] *третьего дня*
third-sg.gen. **day**-sg.gen.
"from the third day", "at the third day" = the day before yesterday

In [689], the day before yesterday refers to the third day from the moment of speech when counting towards the future.

The "coming" of time is also one clear indication of time's orientation towards the past. This indicates that we are facing the time that approaches us.

[721] *tulevana tiistaina*$^{\rightarrow}$
coming-sg.ess. **Tuesday**$^{\rightarrow}$-sg.ess.
"the coming Tuesday$^{\rightarrow}$" = next Tuesday$^{\rightarrow}$

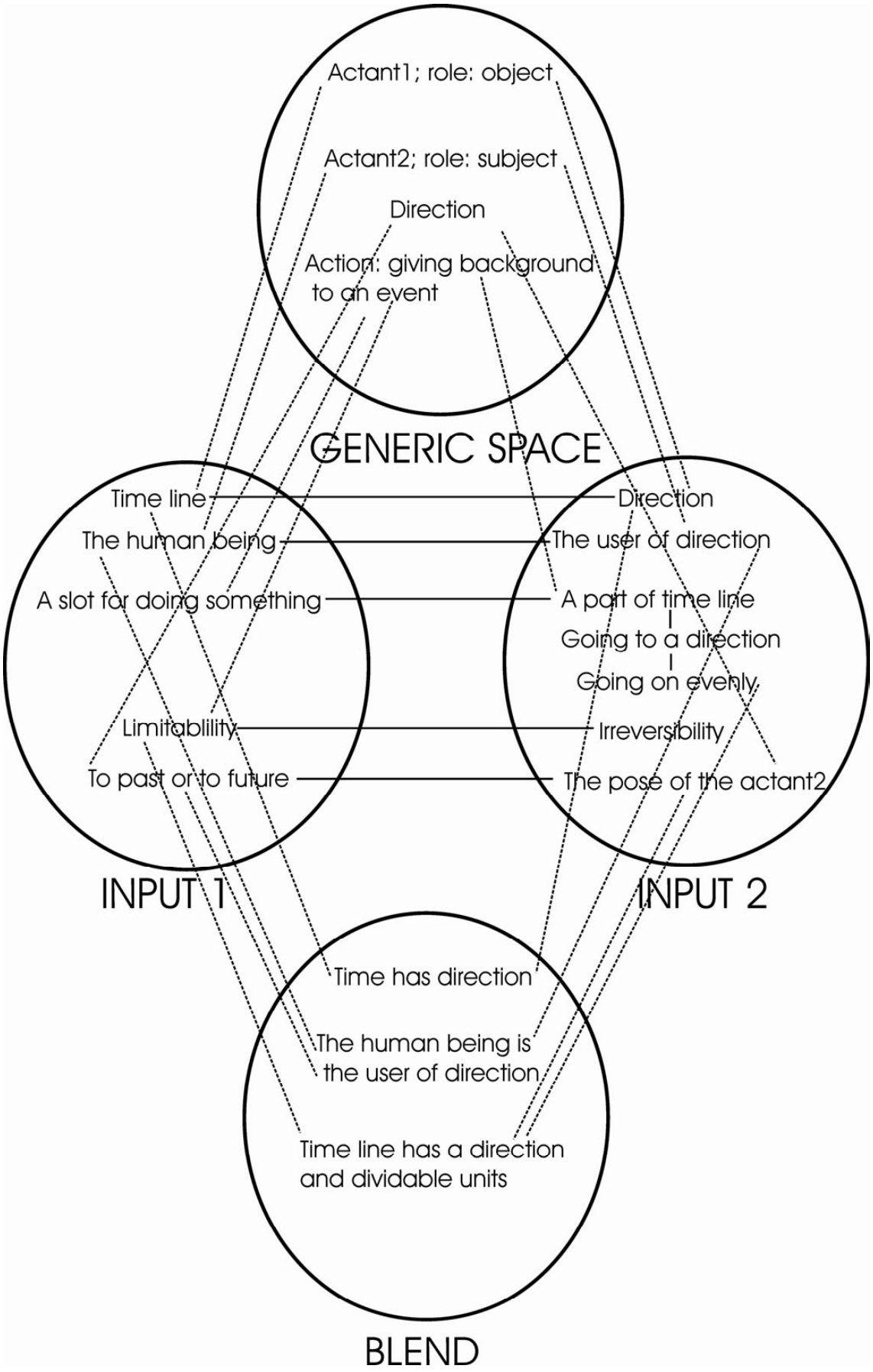
In [721] the Tuesday in question occurs in the future but is conceptualized as coming towards us, and this makes the orientation towards the past.

In all, few expressions reflect the conceptualization of Time Faces Past, but the few instances where it occurs are not merely curiosities. Expressions that clearly (on the basis of the spatial notions they include) convey this orientation, as well as those in which the orientation is not clearly defined but can (if we look at the expressions without wearing the glasses that our modern culture gives us) be interpreted as going towards the past, change the picture on time orientation significantly, making it wider than just the notion of a time line on which events and states are neatly placed.

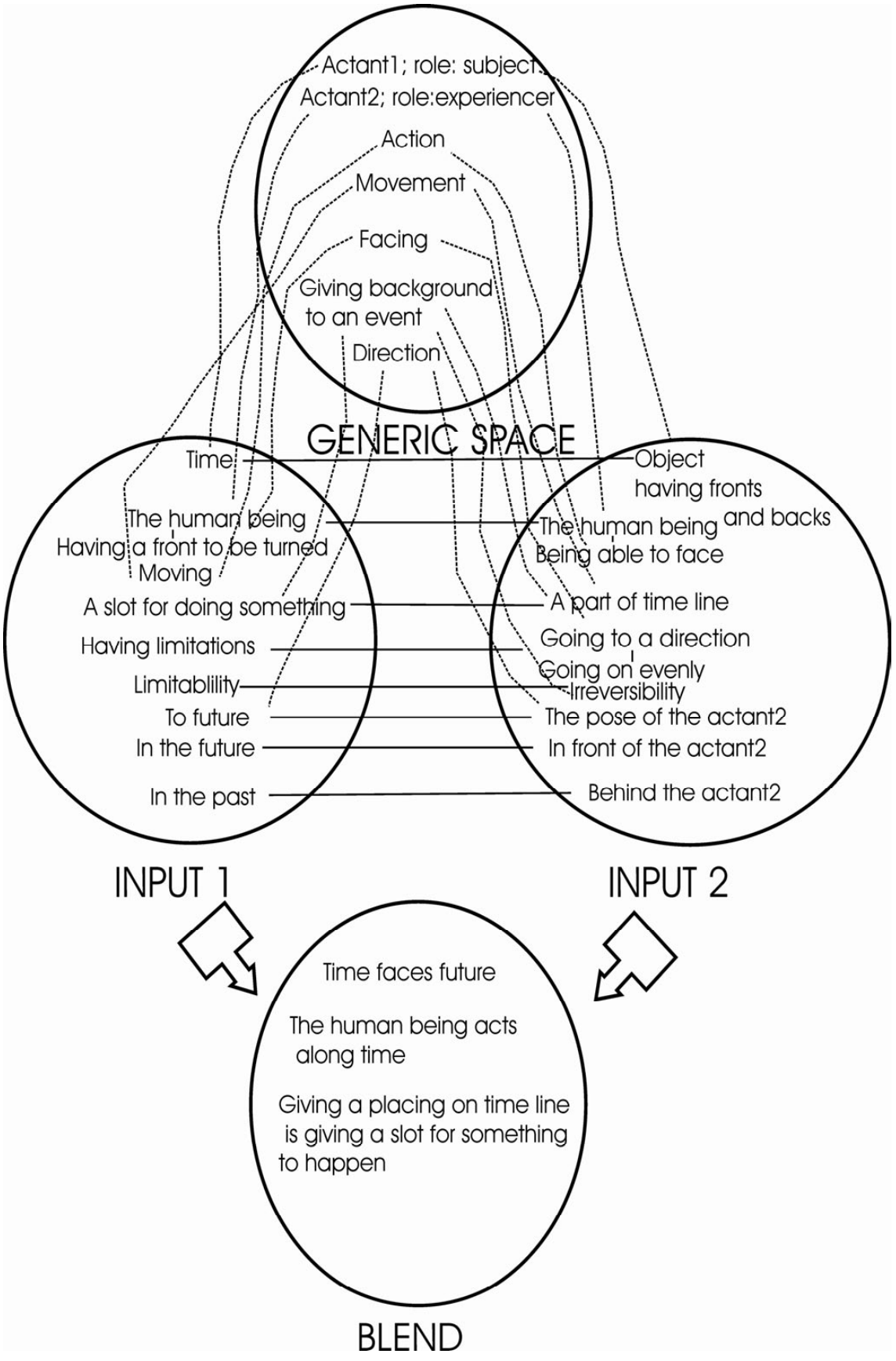
To summarize, the Time Has Direction metaphor has several sub-metaphors. First of all, the Time Faces Future metaphor sees time as moving towards the future, which includes the observer together with time. The Time Faces Past metaphor conceptualizes time as moving to the past, as facing the past. The

movement is not so important here; what matters more is the positioning, i.e. facing a direction. The Time as Time Line offers the observer the opportunity to move along time, giving the possibility to measure the time units exactly.

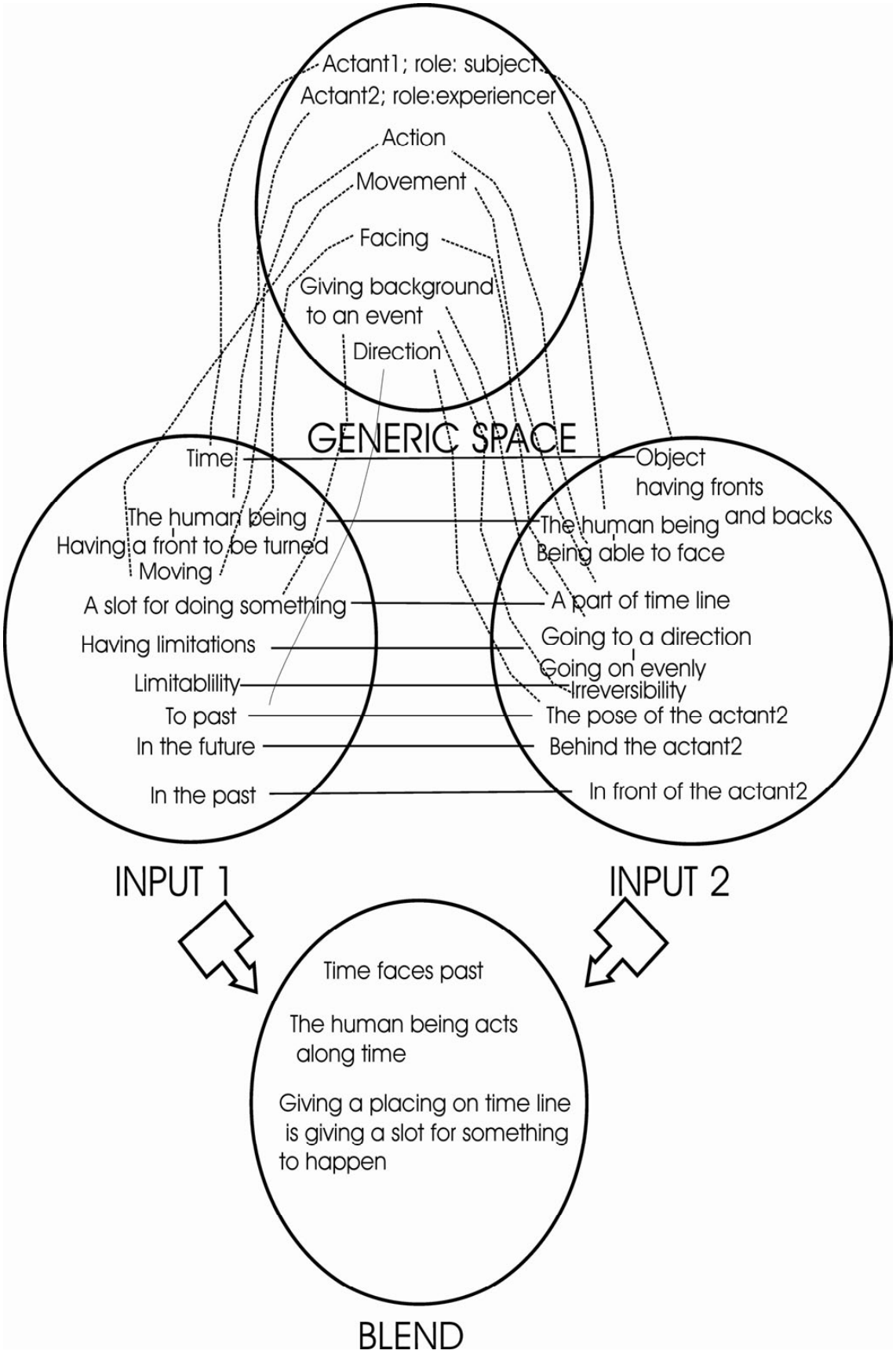
In the blending schema of Time Has Direction, the time line of the Input 1 corresponds to direction in the Input 2. They both fulfil the actant role of an object. The human being of the Input 1 is categorized as being the user of the direction in the Input 2, and acts in the actant role of a subject. Moreover, in the Input 1 time is seen as having a slot for doing something, and as limitable and going either to the past or to the future. These features correspond in the Input Space 2 (going to a direction) a part of a timeline and going on evenly in a direction. What decides the direction of the movement is the pose of the actant 2. For this reason, in the blend Time Has Direction, the human being is the user of the direction, and the time line has a direction and dividable units. See Schemata 5, 6 and 7.



Schema 5. TIME HAS DIRECTION



Schema 6. TIME FACES FUTURE



Schema 7. TIME FACES PAST

7.2.5. Time Is Cycle

The cyclical conceptualization of time is based on the following notions: firstly, time is cyclical, i.e. “the same time” can and will come back, and any given moment is not therefore unique; secondly, any time unit is not defined on a time line in absolute terms (to be defined in comparison with other time units on the basis of factors such as a sequence), but on the basis of similarity, measuring the time in phases that are, at least nominally, similar or even the same. Such cycles can be cycles of nature. These include the times of the day or seasons, the different age periods in a human life or the stages of development of another being. These can also be culturally or calendrically defined, such as the different days of the week having different kinds of recurring activities and characteristics of their own (although according to their physical characteristics, all days are the same). For example:

[9] *aamuisin*
morning-pl.com.
“mornings in sequence” = in the mornings

[334] *kesäkuussa*
June-sg.iness.
in June

[89] *в среду*
in Wednesday-sg.acc.
“into Wednesday” = on Wednesday

[113] *весной*
spring-sg.instr.
“with spring” = in the spring

Conceptualizing time as cycle means understanding time as a bulk of material with different kinds of units that repeat themselves. In this way, Time Is Cycle is the metaphor of repetition. When something is said to happen at certain more or less regularly recurring time slots, these are not thought of as being unique but as the names of repeatable time units that are merely there to define the frequency or recurrence of certain phenomena or events. The time nouns used in the

expressions representing this metaphor denote repeatable temporal notions, names of time that are defined in contrast with one another as entities, names of certain culturally defined cycles, and notions contrasting themselves with these cycles.

The Time is Cycle metaphor provides the time frame for an event in the same way as Time Has Direction. The difference consists in the way the time unit in question is interpreted. The cyclical notion of time can also be such that the cycle of time becomes the time line in the end, i.e. time does go on inevitably and without the possibility of turning back, but it continues in cycles. This is one way to stretch the cycles straight and perceive the events (or the time slots for these events) as regularly occurring points or periods on the time line. For example:

[375] *maanantaina*
Monday-sg.ess.
"as Monday" = on Monday

[1037] *в стapocти*
in oldness-sg.prep.
in the old age

[441] *на рассвете*
on sunrise-sg.prep.
"on sunrise"= at sunrise

The notion of cyclicity is a historical fact, but using cyclicity to describe the nature of time is, while not crucial, justified on the basis of the shared experiences of human beings. The time returning in cycles is often not exactly the same as the previous one having the same name, but they share enough characteristics to be classified generally as being the same. Even potential characteristics are sometimes sufficient, since they do not need to be actually realized in the specific case in question. For example:

[1066] *kesäöinen*
summer-night-adj.sg.nom.
"summer-night-like" = having to do with a summer night

[288] *еженедельный*
each-week-adj.sg. nom
happening each week, having to do with each week

These kinds of adjectives point to the relation of an event or an object to a recurring time unit. In [1066], the time unit is in a way simple since it means "relating to any night in the summertime". The situation itself is not so simple, since the use of the adjective is based on some notion of what summer nights are expected to be like. This does not, however, affect the simple conceptualization the expression has behind it.

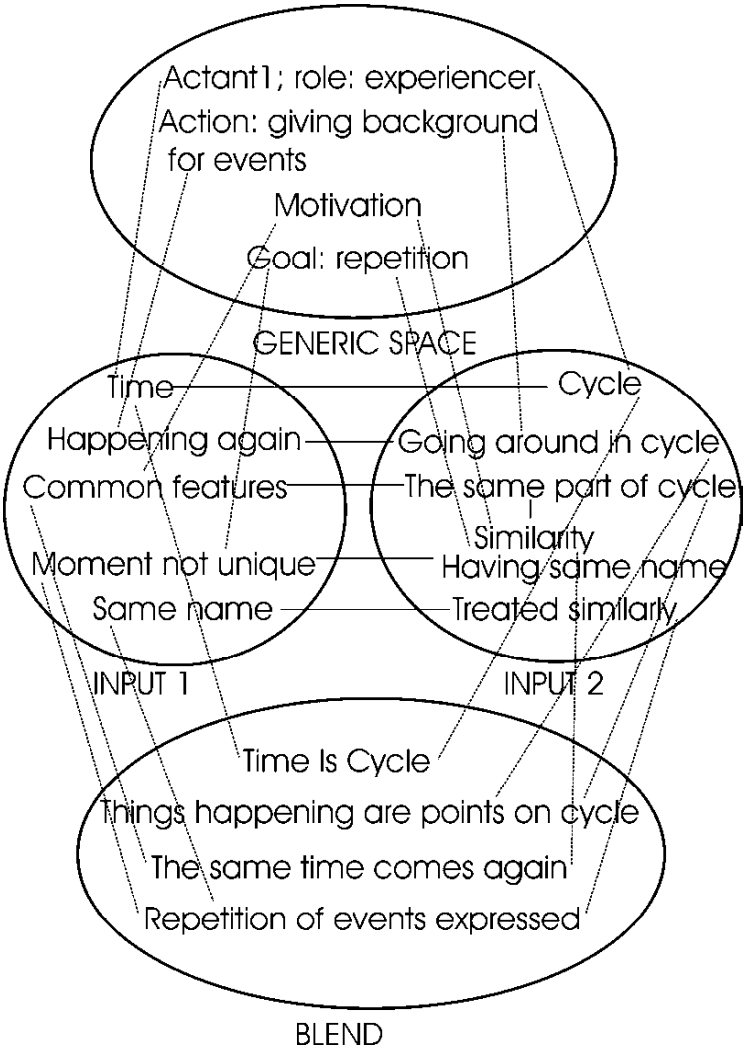
Many of the names of time units presented here as representatives of the Time Is Cycle metaphor are in fact also containers in the sense that they provide the time slot for one event to happen, and thereby serve as a container in which the recurring event will take place. In this way this is a combination of the metaphors Time Is Cycle and Time Is Container. When Time Is Cycle is emphasized, the expressions in question give the name of a time unit in which the repeatability is emphasized. This is because the similarity gives grounds for treating the repeatable time unit as something that returns. In this way, when something happens on Monday, it is the calendrical notion of Monday as one of the days of the seven-day week that matters, i.e. the characteristics that Monday has as one of the days rather than as an individual unit. These characteristics can be related to Mondays in general (as a culturally shared notion), or the things that belong to Mondays in the schedule of an individual person. Even so, the Monday is recognized as a unit that serves the purpose of counting time and defining the sequence of planned events. The following examples are to be interpreted in this way:

[992] *keski-iässä*
middle-age-sg.nom.iness.
"in middle age"

[504] *talvisaikaan*
winter-sg.nom.+additional consonant "**s**"+ **time**-sg.illat.
in the wintertime

[554] *порой*
time-sg.instr.
at times

A concrete usage of the same time expression can often represent the combination of the Time Is Container Metaphor with either the Time Line Metaphor and or the Time Is Cycle Metaphor, depending on the context in which the expression is used. For example, [375] also occurs in a certain kind of context when referring to a particular Monday, namely the next one, and this makes it the representative of the Time Line Metaphor combined with the Time Is Container metaphor (because it is in this context considered to be a container that includes any happenings in question). The same goes for the Time Is Surface metaphor which is combined in a similar fashion with the Time Line or Cycle metaphors.



Schema 8. TIME IS CYCLE

Time is Cycle does not allow for the time to be an actant of active character, i.e. the subject. It has to be, in the case of this metaphor, only a passive member such as an experiencer or object. In the blending schema of Time Is Cycle, we can see that Input Space 1 (time) has time in the actant role of the experiencer; this corresponds to a cycle in the Input Space 2 (cycle). The action involved is specifying background for the events, which in Input 1 means happening again, and in Input 2, going around in a cycle. The common features found in time correspond to the same part of the cycle and similarity. No given moment is considered unique in Input Space 1, and this corresponds to having the same name in Input Space 2. The blend involves conceiving of time as a cycle, seeing things happening as points on a cycle, understanding the same time as re-occurring, and repeating named events. See Schema 8.

7.3. Resource

Time Is Resource is, besides the different ways of seeing time in spatial terms, the best known conceptual time metaphor. Time Is Resource conceives of time as a substance with value and limited amount. It does not see time as spatial (although, naturally, all the substances have to exist in space).

Being a resource means having a material existence of the kind that presupposes that the more there is of time, the better. The value of the resource is in that it can be used for accomplishing something. Some examples of this kind of conceptualization are:

[42] *aika* *on* *kallista*
time-sg.nom **be**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p **expensive**-sg.part.
time is expensive

[1044] *в* *считанные* *дни*
in count-perf.asp.pass.partic.perf.pl.acc **day**-pl.acc.
“in counted days” = in a limited amount of time

When time is seen as expensive [42], its value and resource character are clear. Furthermore, when the limitedness of time is expressed with the help of the notion of counting [1044], this becomes clear.

The amount of time can be explicitly given as a relative amount. This relativeness means that there is either enough time or not enough of time, and

any suggestion on concrete amounts of time (much or little time) actually has the meaning of enough or not enough time.

[859] *aika* *on* *vähissä*
time-sg.nom. **be**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p. **little**-adv./noun pl.iness.
"time is in little" = there is little time

[744] *kylliksi aikaa*
enough time-sg.partit.
enough time

[408] *море* *времени*
sea-sg.nom **time**-sg.gen.
"sea of time" = a lot of time

In [859], there is little, i.e. not enough time, in [744] enough time, and in [408] much, i.e. enough time.

The amount of time for doing something can be added to, or time can be taken away from it. There can be enough time or too little of it. This makes time a pure resource.

[140] *antaa* *aikaa*
give-act. I inf. **time**-sg.partit.
"to give time" = to provide time for doing something or to give more time for thinking

[759] *отнять* *время*
away-take-perf.asp.act.inf. **time**-sg.acc.
"to take away time" = to take time

[449] *наверстать* *время*
compensate-perf.asp.act.inf **time**-sg.acc
"to compensate time" = to make up for the lost time

The resource character of time means that time has different uses, some of which are considered more valuable than the others. When time is seen as a resource, it should be used well, so as to make the most of it. Some good and appropriate ways to use the resource are:

[986] *määrätä* *ajastaan*
command-act.I inf. **time**-sg.elat.+poss.suff.g.3-p
“to command one’s time” = to be able to decide what to do with one’s time

[25] *быть* *хозяином* *своего* *времени*
be-imp.asp.act.inf. **master**-sg.instr. **pron.**-sg.gen **time**-sg.gen.
“to be the master of one’s time”

[557] *voittaa* *aikaa*
win-act.I inf. **time**-sg.partit.
“to win time” = to do something so efficiently as to gain new time by this action

[11] *беречь* *время*
save-imp.asp.act.inf. **time**-sg.acc.
to save time

When people are able to have a command over their time [986], or master it [25], they are able to use this valuable resource properly. Winning time [557] gives a person more time to be used, as does saving it [11].

Some ways to use time as a resource are considered to be inappropriate:

[836] *aika* *tärvääntyy*
time-sg.nom. **get wasted**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p
time gets wasted

[507] *tappaa* *aikaa*
kill-act.I inf. **time**-sg.partit.
to kill time

Acting in a way that enables time to be wasted is usually considered inappropriate [836], and so is the deliberate abuse of time by killing it, exploiting it for nothing [507].

This resource can also be used in a way that is not evaluated. This also includes the presupposition that time is a resource and therefore can be used. For example:

[352] *kuluttaa* *aikaa*
spend-act.I inf. **time**-sg.partit.
to spend time

[331] *использовать* *время*
use-imp.asp.act.inf. **time**-sg.acc.
to use time

The user of time can be either the human being, as in [352] and [331], or the event or the thing to be done that "takes the time". Examples of the latter possibility include:

[417] *ottaa* *aikaa*
take-act.I inf. **time**-sg.partit.
to take time

[1106] *vaatia* *aikaa*
demand-act.I inf. **time**-sg.partit.
"to demand time" = something needs time to be done or accomplished

[1056] *взять* *время*
take-perf.asp.act.inf.**time**-sg.acc.
to take time

For examples [417], [1106], and [1056], the event in question is what needs time to be accomplished, and the human being is to provide the time needed.

Sometimes the value of time is emphasized by expressive verbs. For example:

[538] *uhrata* *aikaa*
sacrifice-act.I inf. **time**-sg.partit.
"to sacrifice time" = to use time for something (with great concern for the value of the time being used)

[284] *дорожить* *временем*
value-imp.asp.act.inf. **time**-sg.instr.
"value time" = make good use of one's time, value one's time

[372] *löytää* *aikaa* *[jollekin, jtkin varten]*
find-act.I inf. **time**-sg.partit.[allat., for something]
find time [for someone, for something]

[848] *aika* *on* *tiukassa*
time-sg.nom. **be**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p. **tight**-sg.iness.
"time is in tight" = it is difficult to find time to do something

Sacrificing time [538] implies that the value of time is great, and using that time for something indicates that what it is being used for is important. The same idea is expressed in [284]. The trouble involved in having enough time to be used, and choosing what that time is to be used for, is expressed using the notions of finding time for something [372] and of time being 'tight', i.e. difficult to get a grip on in order that it might be used [848].

Occasionally, time as a resource is even conceptualized as something that can be manipulated. This orientation treats time as a kind of resource, and the amount of time can be stretched and twisted, made to obey one's will. This kind of manipulation of time is known to have existed among the ancient Slavs.[37] Some examples of the traces of these old habits persist in language [692].

[692] *тянуть* *время*
stretch-imp.asp.act.inf. **time**-sg.acc.
"to stretch time" = to loiter

Some rather illogical expressions contain different time units. These expressions represent Time Is Resource, because they have time units as resources, although the concrete meaning of each of them may be far from logical. For example:

[4] *без* *году* *неделя*
without year-sg.gen. **week**-sg.nom.
"a week without a year" = for a short period of time, the exact length which is not defined

[5] *без* *поры* *без* *времени*
without time-sg.gen. **without time**-sg.gen.
"without time without time" = prematurely

[37] The ancient Slavs had different kinds of rituals to stretch the time in order for the crop to be better. They performed certain magic tricks, made ritual objects and sang songs for this purpose. See [Толстая 1997].

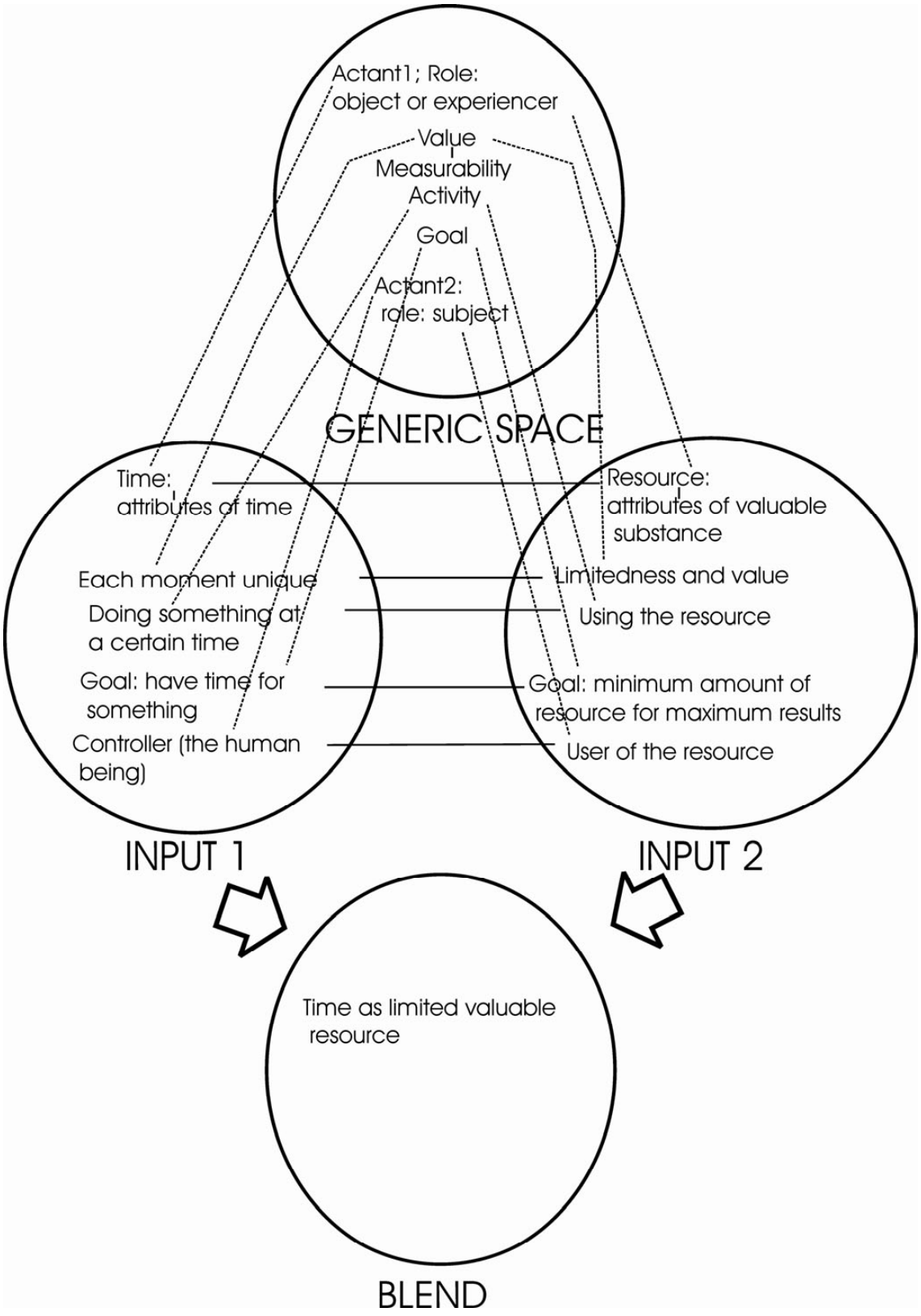
[33] *в два счета*
in two-sg.nom. **count**-sg.gen.
“in two counts” = quickly and without using a lot of energy

[9] *безвременно*
without time-adv.
“without time” = prematurely

[509] *tehdä pyöreitä päiviä*
make-act.I inf. **round**-pl.partit. **day**-pl.partit.
“to make round days” = to do something day and night

In general, the conceptual metaphor Time Is Resource is undoubtedly the clearest of the metaphors. Being a resource has many sides that all derive from the characteristics that resources have. As a consequence, the conceptualization is simple (as long as the notion of resource has been defined well enough). The conceptualization is, as has been seen, based on the semantics of the independent words involved, not extensively on the morphosyntactic level. The metaphor involves seeing characteristics of a resource as being inherent characteristics of time.

The Time Is Resource metaphor has the first actant in the role of object or experiencer. In the input space of time, this actant is time and it has the normal attributes of time, whereas in the other input space, this actant is a resource with the attributes of a valuable substance. Something that connects the input spaces is also a notion of value; for time, this means that each moment is unique, while the input space of resource connects to the value of limitedness, as well as creating some kind of measurability. Furthermore, there is an ongoing activity, which occurs at a certain time for the input space of resource to use the resource. For the input space of time, the goal for action is having time for something, and for the resource the goal is that a minimum amount of resource should be used for maximum results. The second actant in the conceptualization is in the actant role of subject, the controller (for time), or the user of that resource. All this results in a blend of time as a limited resource. See schema 9.



Schema 9. TIME IS RESOURCE

7.3.1. Substance

It is possible to do without differentiating the simplified version of the metaphor Time is Resource, namely, Time is Substance. I see Time is Substance as a subtype of the Time is Resource metaphor. In a small number of cases the difference can be important between a resource which has value and is limited in amount, and the substance which can be valueless or not specified but has the nature of substance. I was once inclined to argue that if time is seen as substance, this automatically leads to considering it to be a resource, but this may have been too hasty a conclusion. As a matter of fact, it seems that anything seen as a resource is inevitably also a substance, but not the other way round. For example:

[385] *monesta* *ajasta*
many-sg.elat. **time**-sg.elat.
"from many a time" = not for a long time, after a long pause

[323] *kello* *on* *ajassa*
clock-sg.nom **be**-act.ind.pres. sg.3.p. **time**-sg.iness.
"clock is in time" = the clock runs accurately

[298] *жить минутой*
live-inf. **minute**-sg.instr.
"live with minute, according to minute" = live one moment at a time, not worrying about what the future might bring

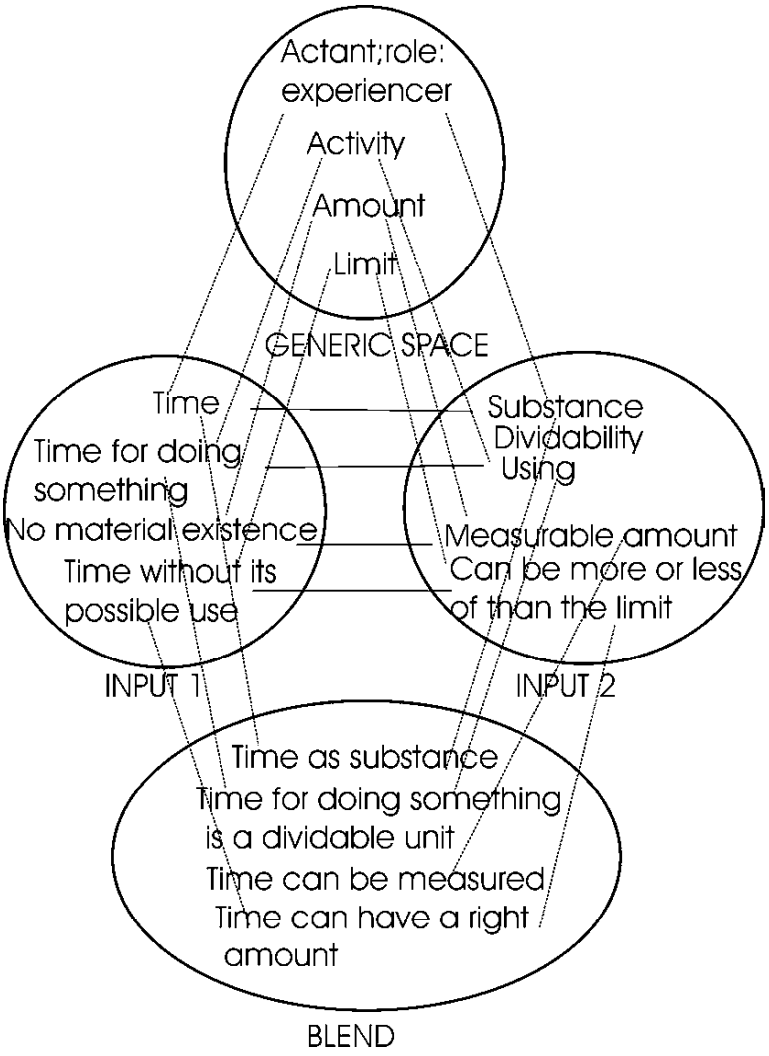
[804] *несколько минут*
some **minute**-pl.gen.
some minutes

The relationship between the expressions above may at first seem vague. Nevertheless, they all conceptualize time as a material substance that can be quantified, or as a unit representing some kind of an amount. Example [385] has a time that is seen as many, in [323] the clock can be in time as if time were a substance to be in (although as a matter of fact, it is the time itself that the clock is used for measuring, and the time is the real time, the right time as opposed to any wrong times it might be set to follow mechanically). Example [298] refers to a minute as an instrument that can be used to live with, and example [804] gives the minute as an amount that is quantified. What is common to all these examples is that the time in them is a substance.

The Time is Substance metaphor conceptualizes time as a substance. The main characteristic of this category is the materiality of time, and more precisely, its measurability and possibility to have a different amount than the limits set for it. In other words, the substance is seen to have a set amount for a certain purpose, and an amount differing from this norm can be compared to the norm. The actant is in the role of experiencer, which means that time and its counterpart in the other input space, namely the substance, are not subject to direct manipulation. The goal of the action involved in the Time Is Substance metaphor is not necessarily in making the most of it, but in having a certain amount of time. So Time Is Substance is categorized here as being a subtype of the Time Is Resource metaphor because the two have so many shared characteristics. In a way, being some kind of substance is a prerequisite for being a resource. On the other hand, not all substances are resources in the sense that their amount should be regarded as being important in any way.

Interpreting time as substance could, from one perspective, also be seen as a case of the spatial understanding of time. The philosophical understanding of time argues that a substance can exist only in time. I do not support this interpretation. Substance is, of course, measured by its fulfilling a certain space (or having a certain weight), but this is not the same kind of spatiality as seen in the conceptualization of Time As Space.

In the blending schema of Time Is Substance, an actant, which in Input Space 1 is time, and in Input Space 2 substance, assumes the role of an experiencer. The activity involved is having time for something, and this time is seen as a dividable substance that can be used. A common orientation for both time and substance is the notion of limit. When time is a substance, it can fall short or exceed the limit. The blend has time regarded as a substance, time for doing something as a dividable unit, time as measurable, and time as able to have the right amount. See Schema 10.



Schema 10. TIME IS SUBSTANCE

7.4. Actor

Time as actor (or causator) as a conceptual metaphor accounts for why people are so concerned about time in modern society. The list of things time is able to do – at least from the viewpoint of language – is frightening. As an actor or causator time is not only able to change things, but it is also conceptualized as having the human-like capacity for intentionality in its actions. This intentionality is the very aspect that differentiates the Time Is Actor metaphor from other metaphors in which time assumes an active actant role.

Time as actor represents the conceptualization in which time has the possibility to rule over and work in cooperation with other actors (such as human beings). For time, this includes having characteristics of its own as a sign of an independent subjectivity and existence.

One type of the expressions which are categorized as representing the Time is Actor metaphor are the names for the moments in time and periods of time. Although such nouns do not include causation, they do carry the potential for some kind of act, for some change. The moment a time period is named or designated, it is given the potential to act or to be filled with action. For example:

[6] *aamuhetki*
morning-moment-sg.nom.
"the moment of morning" = any period of time in the morning

[543] *полночь*
half-night-sg.nom.
"the half-night" = midnight

Examples [6] and [543] identify the name of a moment in time. In real language use, such "expressions" or idiomatic units are not usually used independently, and if they are, the meaning conveyed is that of the predicative "it is evening", etc. This limitation does not prevent these names from having the potential to be independent actors, even as separate entities.

Another subtype of this metaphor arises in those expressions where the present time absorbs some functions or characteristics, i.e. expressions in which the naming has been made on the basis of what the time as actor can create, i.e. the time owns something that makes the time somehow limited. The following exemplify this:

[4] *aamiainen*
morning-adj/noun.sg.nom.
"having to do with morning" = breakfast

[537] *по-вечернему*
prep-evening-like-sg.dat.
in the way that is usual for the evening

As for example [4], the activity having to do with morning, the breakfast, gains an independent existence because the morning is the setting for this regularly recurring event; it also characterizes that part of the day after having slept without nourishment. As a consequence, the formation of this substantivized adjective narrows down the notion of morning and the actor characteristics of it

are thereby enforced. Example [537] conceptualizes the action that evening(s) include as a separate unit and so the expression introduces time (the evening) as an individual actor.

The third type of the conceptual metaphor Time Is Actor explicitly states in its expressions (the time word as a subject) what time is able to do or to cause. What time can do is highly revealing about how we envisage time, and is also telling as to how we experience it. The first group contains the processes that time is seen to cause: ageing, deterioration and rusting. These are all the natural changes that organisms undergo in the course of time. The conceptualization of time as a changer is in some cases a simplification of time going on, but leads to a conceptualization of time as actually being something that is able to have intentions and able to cause changes through exerting its own will.

[952] *aika* *jättää* *jälkensä*
time-sg.nom. **leave**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p **mark**-sg.acc.+ **poss.suff**.3.p
"time leaves its mark"

[154] *время* *возьмет* *свое*
time-sg.nom. **take**-perf.asp.act.fut.sg.3.p **pron**.sg.acc.
"time will take its own" = only with the passing of time will all the facts be known

Example [952] characterizes time as leaving marks, i.e. its going on has consequences. Example [154] presents time as an actor who has the right to take what belongs to it, i.e. proceed in all the time that it needs without taking into consideration what the human being wants.

The way that time goes by can also have positive effects: as time passes we tend to forget previous sufferings, our wounds are healed, and so on.

[786] *aika* *kultaa* *muistot*
time-sg.nom. **gild-**act.ind.pres.sg.3.p **memory**-pl.acc./nom.
"time gilds memories" = time makes old things seem more pleasant than they actually were

[45] *aika* *parantaa* *haavat*
time-sg.nom. **heal-**act.I inf.**wound-**pl.acc./nom.
"time heals wounds"

[155] *время* *врачует* *душу*
time-sg.nom. **heal**-imp.asp.act.press.sg.3.p. **soul**-sg.acc.
“time heals the soul” = time makes us forget the past miseries, heartaches, etc.

[162] *время* *залечивает* *раны*
time-sg.nom. **heal**-imp.as p.act.press.sg.3.p. **wound**-pl.acc.
“time heals wounds” = time heals

[786], [45], [155] and [162] conceptualize time as having the capacity to bring about change for the better.

Yet another type of conceptualizations of Time Is Actor are the cases in which time is seen to go fast or slowly, having its own will in this way, and not proceeding at a pace that a person would wish it to go.

[946] *aika* *hidastuu*
time-sg.nom **slow down**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
“time slows down” = the pace of time seems to be becoming slower

[32] *aika* *kuluu* *kuin* *siivillä*
time-sg.nom. **wear out**-act.I inf. **like**-conj**. wing**-pl.adess.
“time wears out like on wings” = time goes on very fast

[160] *время* *длится*
time-sg.nom. **lengthen**-imp.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p
“time lengthens” = the pace of time seems to be getting slower, and in this way, the length required for something on the time line seems to be getting longer

[166] *время* *как будто* *остановилось*
time-sg.nom. **as if**-conj. **stop**-perf.asp.act.pret.sg.3.p.
“time as if stopped” = time does not seem to go on at all

The deliberate speeds of going on that time can take [946], [32], [160],[166] show how conceptualizing time as an actor gives it the power to manipulate the human being.

One large group of conceptualizations consists of the different ways of movement that time can have. This form of movement specifies how time is seen to move (probably on the time line). The different forms of movement, flying, gliding and so on, give us the attributes of the movement and in this way add to

the conceptualization the things that are special to that kind of movement, especially the speed that represents it.

[38] *aika* *matelee*
time-sg.nom.**crawl**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p
“time crawls” = time seems to go on very slowly, as if crawling

[29] *aika* *kiitää*
time-sg.nom. **dash**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p
“time dashes” = time seems to go on very fast, as if dashing

[169] *время* *летит*
time-sg.nom. **fly**-imp.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.
“time flies” = time seems to go on very fast, as if flying

[153] *время* *бежит*
time-sg.nom. **run**-imp.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.
“time runs” = time seems to go on very fast, as if running

Crawling [38], dashing [29]. flying [169] and running [153] are some of the ways that the movement of time can be described with the help of the forms of moving that other creatures have.

The movement of time is closely tied to the idea that time going on implies progress. So the faster time goes on, and the humans alongside it, the faster the progress. This is the way time also has the kind of movement that humans have if they wish to stay in touch with the surrounding world and its trends.

[318] *идти* *в ногу* *со временем*
walk-imp.asp.inf. **to foot**-sg.acc. **with time**-sg.instr.
“walk foot to foot with time” = walk at the same pace with time

[110] *ajan* *tasalla*
time-sg.gen. **level**-sg.adess.
“on the level of time”

[305] *jäädä* *ajastaan* *jälkeen*
be left-act.ind.I inf. **time**-sg.gen.+**poss.suff**.sg.3.p.**behind-**sg.illat.
“to be left behind one’s time” = to become old-fashioned, outdated

[402] *ohittaa* *aikansa*
pass by-act.ind.I inf. **time**-sg.gen+**poss.suff.**sg.3.p.
“to pass by one’s time” = to know the coming trends better than most people

[490] *обогнать* *свое* *время*
pass by-perf.asp.act.inf **pron.** **time**-sg.acc.
“to pass by one’s time”

If people are able to walk side by side with time [318], [110], this is the ideal. If they are left behind [305], this makes them old-fashioned and leads to various problems. They can even try to overtake their time [402], [490] to overcome such difficulties.

Yet another way that time as an actor influences us are the various actions time is capable of and has the intentional capacity for. These time actions are not purely concerned with the progression of the time line, they include the following:

[782] *aika* *katoaa*
time-sg.nom. **disappear**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p
“time disappears” = time no longer seems to be important, only other things seem to matter

[940] *aika* *armahtaa*
time-sg.nom. **amnesty**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p
“time grants an amnesty” = time is merciful in the way that it makes us forget

[944] *aika* *edellyttää*
time-sg.nom. **require**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p
“time requires” = time (a time period) has certain requirements as to how a human should act

[580] *aika* *hautaa*
time-sg.nom. **bury**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p
“time buries” = time makes us forget

[841] *aika* *keinot* *keksii*
time-sg.nom. **means**-pl.acc./nom. **figure out**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p
“time finds the means” = everything will be clear in the future

[171] *время меняет [кого-л.]*
time-sg.nom. **change**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p [someone]
“time changes someone” = people become different as a result of ageing or by the passing of time

[177] *время не терпит*
time-sg.nom. **neg. tolerate**-imp.asp.act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
“time does not tolerate” = we have to act as soon as possible, time does not wait

[788] *время поджимает*
time-sg.nom. **press**-imp.asp.act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
“time presses” = we have to act fast

[768] *время подгоняет*
time-sg.nom. **urge on**-imp.asp.act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
“time urges on” = time tries to rush us to act

If time can, for example, disappear [782], grant an amnesty [940], require [944], bury [580], find the means [841], change [171], not tolerate [177], press [788], or urge [768], then the power of time to influence the human being by actions other than merely going on is significant.

Language can also comment on time’s attributes, and on the way it behaves. It can therefore be good or bad (for some function), or suitable or unsuitable to have certain qualities. For example:

[796] *aika on kypsä*
time-sg.nom. **be**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p **ripe**-sg.nom.
“time is ripe”

[797] *aika on otollinen*
time-sg.nom. **be**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p **favourable**-sg.nom.
“time is favourable”

[846] *aika on sopiva*
time-sg.nom. **be**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p **suitable**-sg.nom.
“time is suitable”

[182] *время подходит*
time-sg.nom. **near-go**-imp.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.
“time comes close” = time is suitable for something

[796], [797], [846] and [182] all give the moment that is suitable for something. Besides that the moment can also be unsuitable, as in [463] and [979]:

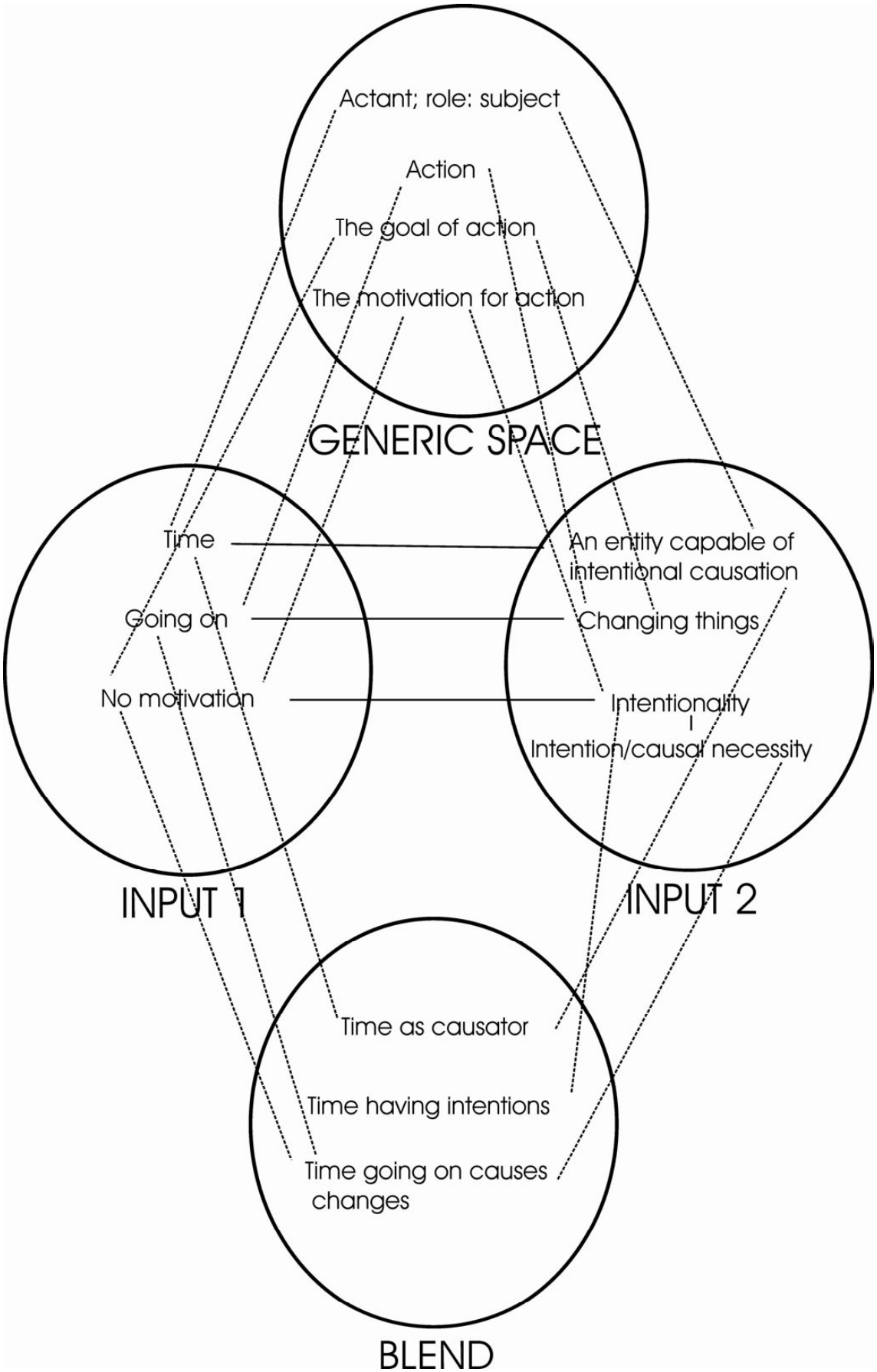
[463] *не вовремя*
neg. to-time-adv.
"not to the time" = at the wrong moment

[979] *huonolla hetkellä*
bad-sg.adess. **moment**-sg.adess.
"at a bad moment"

The Time is Actor metaphor has the notion of an actant in the role of a subject in its generic field. In the input space of time, this subject is time itself; in the other input space, it is an entity capable of intentional causation. Time has the characteristics that make it act independently, with the manner of acting and the intentions for choosing it. The action involved is (for time) going on, and for the other input space changing things. The input space of time does not have motivation for this goal, but in the other input space, the motivation is intentionality in the form of either intention or causal necessity. These are the elements that form the blend of Time Is Actor. See Schema 11.

7.5. Secondary/additional time metaphors

Secondary or additional conceptualizations mean the features that can be added to a mapping significantly changing its nature. They are additional in the sense that they add something to the conceptualization and are secondary in that they are not being equated to other metaphors. The additional time metaphors do have a full construction as metaphors, but when it comes to the way they are able to explain the metaphorical expressions, they are combined with the other metaphors so as to prevent them from explaining the conceptualizations alone, and to allow them together only in combination with the other metaphors. In the case of time metaphors, the additional metaphors deal with interpreting time as something else, as a substance of a different kind. This is precisely where the time occurring in those concrete expressions obtains its attributes. For explaining the expressions involved (for example, dealing with their morphosyntactic characteristics), the other, more basic metaphor is required. Following the



Schema 11. TIME IS ACTOR

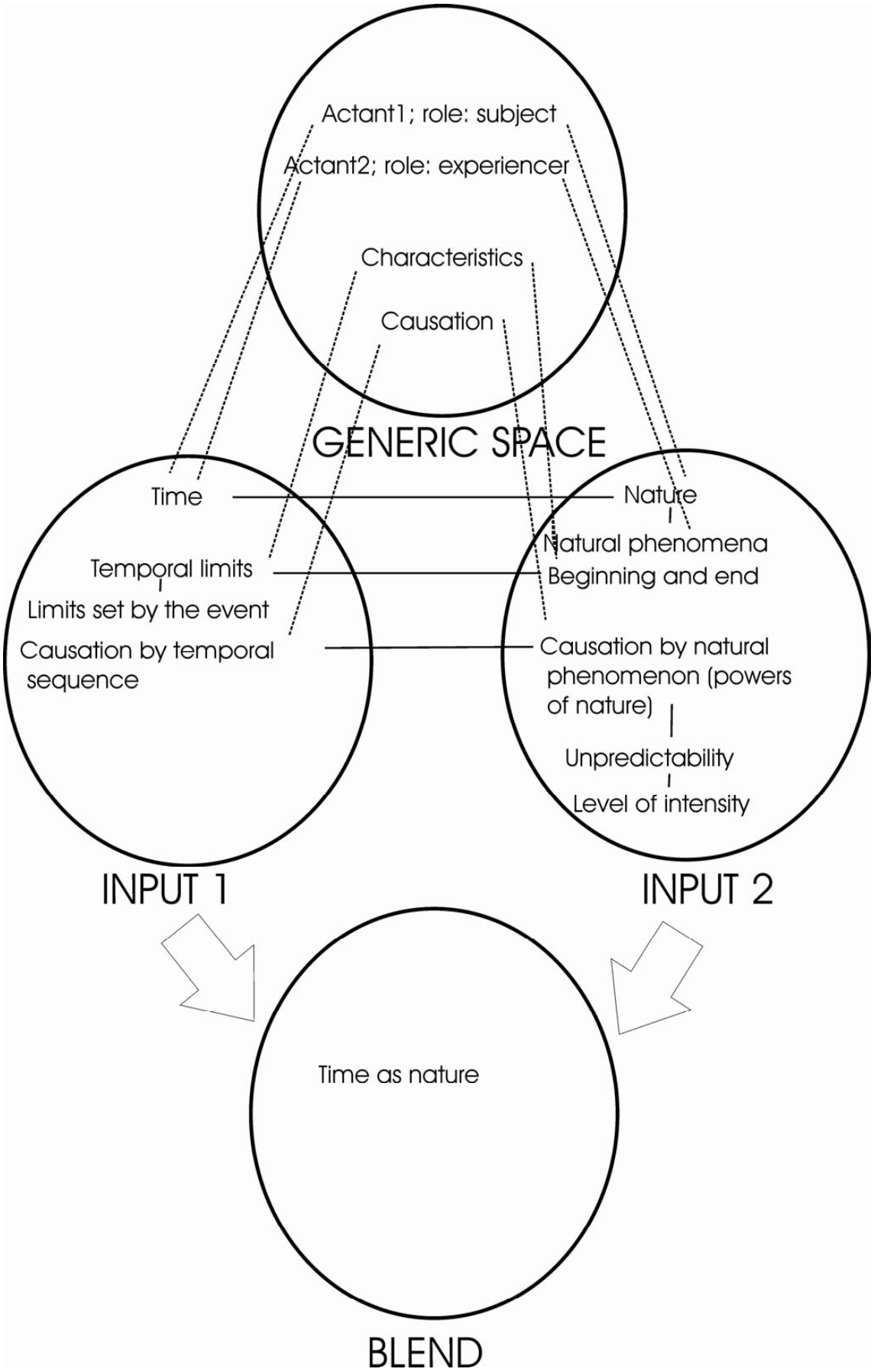
blending theory, the additional metaphors can be understood as additional input spaces.

In the current analysis, I have ended up considering classifying time as nature and time as life as being additional time metaphors. They could also easily be interpreted as phenomena closely related to either the way that a meaning of a word (in this instance, the time word) is formed in general, or can even be seen as a case of homonymy. More exactly, in these examples of additional time metaphors, what we have are additional senses of the time words. Metaphor thus functions in these examples purely on the level of meanings, since it does not have morphosyntactic grounds here. The evidence provided by meanings is in no way less valid, but it is more difficult to interpret.

7.5.1. Nature

When time is conceptualized in terms of nature, the case is simply that of referring to the connection between the events of nature and the time coinciding with them. This is tightly connected to the cyclical understanding of time, since time was traditionally defined with reference to natural phenomena. The position that time is nature is also a case of understanding time notions as being nature-like phenomena. In this sense, temporality is then a notion compared to the powers of nature.

The input space that Time is Nature offers for use includes the notions of the natural phenomenon in question possibly having limits. These can be dependent on the features of the phenomenon itself, the unpredictability of nature, the temporal regularities and irregularities that nature has, and so on, depending exactly on how nature is used in the mappings in question. In short, Time is Nature applies the laws of nature to many other kinds of phenomena. These laws and the powers of nature are known to all of us, and this is why this additional input space becomes so easily involved. How this secondary metaphor is combined to other metaphors is analysed in 7.6.8. This also gives further clarification on this additional metaphor. See Schema 12.



Schema 12. TIME IS NATURE

7.5.2. Lifetime

One of the most important cyclical elements is regarding a human's life(time) as his/her time. While also being individual, it does follow certain patterns that are the same for everyone or at least take their form from biological, social and cultural factors that influence the way a lifetime is lived and perceived.

Time perceived as lifetime is also a type of actor. All the same, it can also be more than any other period of time since it has defined parts, and is a kind of actor having its own will.

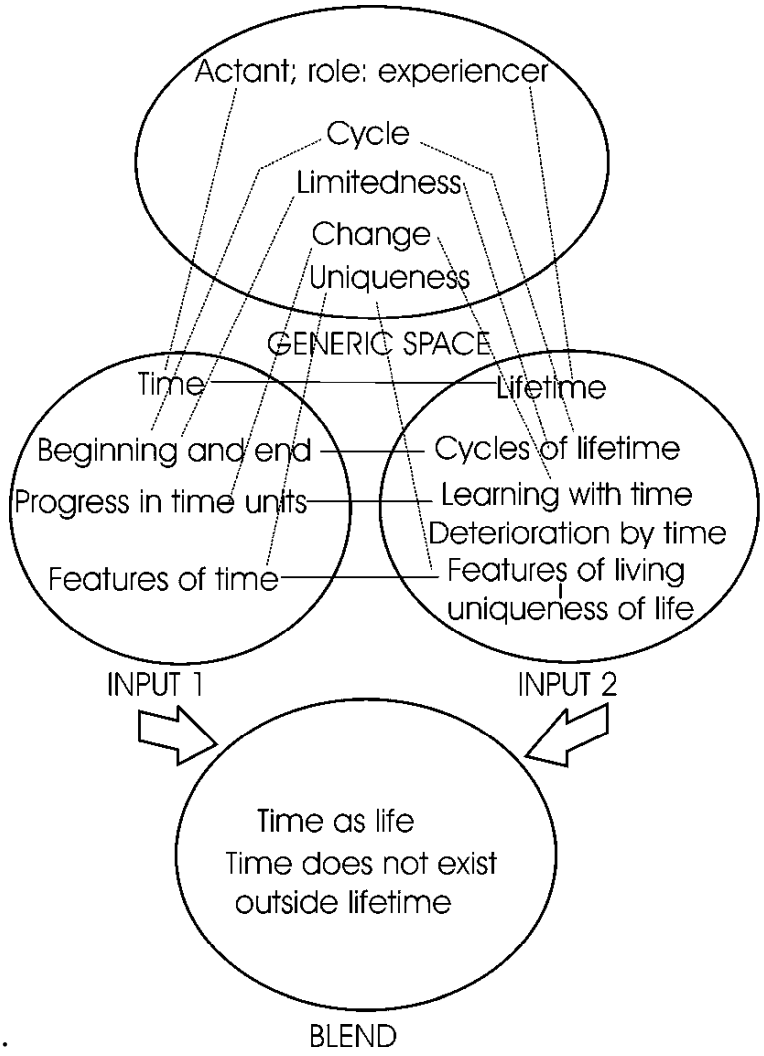
Life is a source domain of only a secondary character. The lifetime is a special kind of cycle, not only because it is culturally defined and takes certain forms, but also because the lifetime is not only a cycle but also a kind of actor and a limited resource. The limitation of the lifetime, and any foreseeable or understandable consequences of this limited character, as well as factors that may make it even more limited, affect the way we live our lives. In this way, the Time Is Life metaphor is a conceptual metaphor that works together with several other metaphors, giving more exactness to their characteristics. As an extra input space of this kind, we can add to the mappings of other metaphors such special features of lifetime as the different cycles every lifetime is supposed to have, the features of living and its uniqueness, and the notion that the only time truly important for each person is his/her lifetime.

The metaphor Time Is Life can also be understood as merely one meaning that time words have. Any time unit, when given to the human being, becomes a part of his/her life, and because of this, even the time words having general meanings as a unit of time can be used to refer to a lifetime.

A lifetime is also a kind of cycle with its repeatable parts. These parts are, nonetheless, repeatable only for different people, not for one person. This makes the cyclicity of a lifetime different. A lifetime is also a resource for the human being, the time available for his or her use. This is different from the resource metaphor in that although the resource character of it is based on limitedness, this limitedness is of a special, unpredictable kind. See Schema 13.

The Time Is Life metaphor can also be understood as a metonymy relationship. This kind of relationship is based on the rather contradictory facts that, first of all, lifetime is a kind of time, and, on the other hand, from the viewpoint of a human being, time cannot exist outside a lifetime – i.e. all times that a human being will ever experience first-hand coexist with his or her

lifetime. This metonymy relationship would interpret life as being a certain kind of time, or even life as the prototypical kind of time.



Schema 13. LIFETIME METAPHOR

7.6. Combinations of the conceptual metaphors of time

One area of my research that could invite criticism concerns the cases where I have given a particular expression as being an example of a specific type of conceptual metaphor. This may be due to the fact that an expression cannot always be seen as representing only one conceptual metaphor. It is rather the case that often different conceptualizations are intertwined and mixed, and because of this, the artificial rule of approving only one for each expression cannot be justified.

So how well do concrete expressions obey the conceptual metaphors defined? Actually, not too well. Although the metaphors presented here have been formed on the basis of the analysis of a vast material of concrete usages, the limits of different metaphors remain flexible. In some cases it is difficult to say whether a concrete expression represents this or that conceptual metaphor. In other cases it is clearly the case that the different metaphors – two or even more – are combined within one concrete expression or construction.

I want to make an explicit distinction between the combinations of the conceptual metaphors and another phenomenon that is easily confused with it. In different contexts even the same expression can represent different conceptualizations. I have tried to take this into consideration by dealing with many such cases as separate expressions, expression 1, 2 and so on. No doubt there still exist cases in which some of the possible contexts have escaped my attention, and for this reason only one kind of conceptualization can be introduced. It is also possible that any lack of accuracy in defining the prototypical meanings that surface in the different categorized cases of context may lead to the analyser not being able to decide on the conceptual metaphors involved in a satisfactory manner. This is not the same thing as the combinations of conceptual metaphors.

I have found it a more fertile solution to allow for combinations of several conceptual metaphors than to define a larger number of more detailed conceptual metaphors in order for them to cover the field, since making the conceptual metaphors too detailed would make it difficult to find evidence for them and to compare them. In fact, this would be against the spirit of the whole exercise. It may well be that time expressions are even exceptional in the multiplicity of conceptual combinations they have. Time as a field is so metaphorically packed and its expressions have so many layers of different conceptualizations that this has to be somehow dealt with rather than forcing conceptualizations into classes that do reveal information about them but ignore other aspects.

In the expressions of time, the phenomenon of combining different conceptual metaphors occurs throughout language. Even such conceptual metaphors that do not seem to have anything in common can be combined in such intertwining ways that it becomes difficult for us to decide which side of the conceptualization to look at, forcing us to take both into consideration. (This is, in a way, having metaphor within a metaphor, or having multiple metaphorical conceptualizations.)

Sometimes defining which of the conceptual metaphors is the most important one for a given expression is not difficult. One of the metaphors is more basic in the sense that the further conceptualization given by the other metaphor is only of secondary importance. When described with the help of blending schemata, the way the conceptualizations of different metaphors work together can be shown in a more illustrative and concrete way. In many cases, nonetheless, the relationship between the conceptual metaphors is more equal, and in these cases the order of their presentation in my material can be arbitrary.

Is there a difference between those secondary metaphors that form a combination of more or less equally powerful conceptual metaphors, and the cases in which the secondary metaphor is really only of a secondary character (nature, life)? I think there is. I think that instead of speaking about duality and combinations of metaphors, we could just stick to the blending theory and see the secondary metaphors I have discovered as additive input spaces in the blends in question. This is the way I try to present any combinations that occur in my material. Furthermore, I have cases in my material in which having two input spaces is not enough, but to do justice to the complicity of the conceptualization, one should use three or even four input spaces. In these cases, I have simplified the matter in the results of this analysis somewhat by assuming only two input spaces, the ones that seem most important.

One can further ask whether the combination of two metaphors can be equal, so that their combination might be represented in any order, with the two metaphors really sharing equal status. The possible hierarchical relations found in expressions influence which input spaces have direct relations to one other, and which may be related only through a third party. In this way, the hierarchy of the input spaces could be illustrated with blending schemata.

7.6.1. The non-existing combinations

Not all conceptual metaphors of time can combine. The reason why some combinations occur and others do not is, in most cases, evident.

The combination of the Time Is Cycle metaphor plus the Time Is Direction metaphor cannot exist, since cycle and direction are opposing variants of the spatial time orientation (or, if such combinations were seen to exist, this would in real life occur because the researcher had been unable to decide which to choose, not because the metaphors could really combine). The combination

Container + Resource is hardly possible, because in order for time to be conceptualized as container, it has to be the time that contains something else, whereas when time is seen as a resource, the time itself is the resource, and is not understood to contain any kind of resource. This makes the container and the resource opposite variants of the conceptualization. The same goes for the combination Container + Substance. The combination Actor + Substance likewise does not occur in my material. This is easy to explain by considering what could possibly be the way that time could at the same time be both an actor with intentions (a human-like actor) and a resource or a substance, which is, by its very nature, material and therefore cannot have intentions (or even any characteristics of life). Such a combination is unthinkable.

Some other lacking combinations are less easy to explain logically. Maybe the fact that they do not exist suggests that the conceptual metaphors are well defined and their limits clear. If we need to define too many cases with such combinations, we should then question whether the metaphors found really have the notions of their names as their core. Further evidence for this assumption can be found when comparing the list of conceptual metaphors of time with the lists introduced by earlier research. The need to discuss the combination of Time Is Landscape and Time Is Object in Motion (or whatever these metaphors are called in each case) is not needed for the purposes of this analysis (although I do recognize the phenomenon in question), because the metaphors on my list have been so clearly defined with the help of conceptual blending schemata. The Direction and Time Line metaphors are combined with neither Resource nor Substance.

The combination Cycle + Actor is not found in my material, nor is Cycle + Resource. This could perhaps be explained with reference to the way that the conceptual metaphor of cycle is constructed, the way that it may already in itself include such elements that are explained by the Time Is Actor Metaphor. As for combining the cycle and resource, the explanation may be that the notion of cyclicity is in contradiction with the understanding of the time as a resource, since the Time Is Cycle metaphor conceptualizes time as repeating units, understood as being similar, and this does not fit very well with Time Is Resource, which sees time as valuable resource, the amount of which is important.

There is no need to understand an additional nature metaphor to be added to the Cycle metaphor, since a cycle of nature is one of the main examples of cycles.

Of the combinations found in my material, I will first introduce those for which there is ample empirical proof, and will then turn to less frequent cases.

7.6.2. Actor + Direction

The combination of the metaphors Time Is Actor and Time Has Direction (including its submappings, Time Faces Future and Time Faces Past) shows the way time makes use of direction – usually moving in a given direction so that it demonstrates intentionality.

One type of expression in the conceptualization of which these metaphors are combined involves time as an actor with its own will moving in a given direction, or at least facing a direction. This is the situation in [788] and [832].

[788] *aika* *menee*
time-sg.nom.**go**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p
“time goes”

[832] *aika* *tulee*
time-sg.nom.**come**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p
“time comes”

Example [788] contains the notion that time goes, i.e. into the future, and [832] expresses that time comes, i.e. from the future. Since this kind of coming and going also requires intentionality of time, it is simultaneously conceptualized as being an actor.

Another possibility is the type in which time has certain characteristics, and the change in these characteristics is exactly what creates the assumption that it has a direction. In Russian, this is found frequently in expressions that represent time as an actor having a direction or movement, which is indicated by the prefix of the verb. A whole cycle of these expressions occurs in the language. When time simply “walks” [163], this means that it goes on. On the other hand, time (in this case, most probably, a certain time period or a point in time), can also come closer, as in [186], [348], and [782].

[163] *время* *идет*
time-sg.nom. **walk**-imp.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.
“time walks” = time goes on

[186] *время* *приходит*
time-sg.nom. **arrive**-imp.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.
“time arrives, time comes close”

[348] *(какая-л.)* *пора* *пришла*
(some kind of) **time**-sg.nom.**arrive**-perf.asp.pret.pres.sg.3.p.
“time arrived” = a time period for something started

[782] *время* *подошло*
time-sg.nom. **come close**-perf.asp.act.pret.sg.3.p.
“time came close” = a certain time period began

The prefix *при*- has the meaning of coming to the very point in question, and the prefix *под*- has the meaning of coming close to the point. Using this same prefix can also give a different kind of meaning, as in [791].

[791] *подходящее* *время*
come close-imp.asp.act.partic.pres.sg.3.p. **time**-sg.nom.
“close-coming time” = a suitable time for something

Time can also go by [189], which is indicated by the prefix *про*-.

[189] *время* *проходит*
time-sg.nom. **go by**- imp.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.
“time goes by” = time passes by

Time can also “go away”.

[196]-[197] *время* *уходит*
time-sg.nom. **go away**- imp.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.
“time goes away” = the time period is over (or the clock is fast)

In [196]-[197], the prefix *у*- gives the meaning of going (far) away, moving away from being inside or attached to something. For time, this means a conscious choice to go away.

The way the verb *идти/ходить* ‘to go’ is combined here with many different prefixes is in no way exceptional in Russian. This kind of precision in describing of any kind of movement is inescapable (the same situation arises in the Slavonic languages in general). What makes this special is the multitude of prefixes used with the word “time”. Time as an abstraction cannot walk in any way, and even less in a manner that can be so closely defined. As a consequence, the movement of time is in itself evidence of the metaphorical conceptualization of time.

The notion of time as a causator, together with its ability to move, offers some very interesting meanings for the verbs of motion.

[178] *время обошло стороной*
time-sg.nom. **bypass-** perf.asp.act.pret.sg.3.p.**side**-sg.instr.
“time bypassed on the side” = time did not leave any marks = the person seems not to have aged

If time went past someone without touching him or her [178], this makes the person untouched by what time can cause, ageing. This requires that time chooses to do so, to move past the human being in question.

The notion of time and the human being as competing creatures, wishing to surpass one another in an effort to master time, is the wish to be the most modern of all as well as the fear of being left behind in the developing changes. For the expressions reflecting this kind of conceptualization, time goes clearly from the past to the future, as does the time that has the intentional wish to beat the human being in this race. For example, consider the following:

[471] *seurata aikaansa*
follow-act.I inf **time**-sg.part.+ **poss.suff.**sg.3.p
“to follow one’s time”

[727] *шагать в ногу со временем*
step-act.inf. **adp. foot**-sg.acc. **with. time**-sg.instr.
“to step foot to foot with time” = to go at the same pace as time, to follow one’s time

[470] *не отставать от времени*
neg. lag behind-imp.asp.inf. **from time**-sg.gen.
“not to lag behind from time” = to follow one’s time

[471] applies when the person is merely aware of time as a passing creature and wants to follow it, but does not feel the pressure to go ahead of the time and also does not feel that time wishes to pass him or her. This is even more obvious in [727] and [470]. Here time and the human being walk together and peacefully towards the future.

Besides this, one possible scenario is that the time manages to go faster and surpass the human being. Such expressions are [41] and [775]. Example [176] has a slightly different meaning: time hurries on and does not wait so as to pose a threat of missing an opportunity.

[41] *aika* *ohittaa*
time-sg.nom. **pass by**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
"time passes by"

[775] *aika* *ajaa* *ohi*
time-sg.nom. **drive**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p. **past**-adv.
"time drives past"

[176] *время* *не* *ждет*
time-sg.gen. **neg. wait**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
"time does not wait" = we need to hurry

Another possible scenario is that the human wins and surpasses time:

[407] *olla* *aikaansa* *edellä*
be-act..I inf. **time**-sg.part.+**poss.suff**.sg.3.p. **ahead**
"to be ahead of one's time"

[402] *ohittaa* *aikansa*
pass by-act.I inf. **time**-acc./gen.+**poss.suff**.sg.3.p.
"to pass by one's time" = to be ahead of one's time

[500] *опередить* *свое* *время*
pass by-act.inf. **rel.pron time**-sg.acc.
"to pass by one's time" = to be ahead of one's time

The combination of actor + direction could actually be seen as a logical extension of the Time Has Direction Metaphor. That metaphor represents time in a more active role, having the ability to face a direction.

7.6.3. Direction + container

The combination of the metaphors Time Has Direction and Time Is Container is very similar to the Time Line Metaphor. A container having certain events as well as having a certain direction is basically the same as a time line, if the direction is to the future. For example, [921] and [937]:

[921] *ensi* *tilassa*
first-adj.indecl. **state**-sg.iness.
"in the first state" = as soon as possible

[937] *в первой половине дня*
in first-sg.prep. **half**-sg.prep. **day**-sg.gen.
"in the first half of the day" = before noon

The cases containing the indifferent direction, or the direction to the past, involve a conceptualization that is somewhat more complicated. A direction that is not to the future is, from the viewpoint of our understanding of the Time Line Metaphor, contradictory. Yet sometimes this occurs in language. The direction going to the past can be combined with the container metaphor. For example:

[896] *edeltävässä* *kuussa*
preceding-sg.iness. **month**-sg.iness.
"in the front-coming month, in the preceding month"

[76] *в последнее время*
in after track-adj.sg.acc. **time**-sg.acc..
"in time after tracks" = in recent times

In [896], the preceding month has the direction to the past – because it has gone before the month after it. In [76], the tracks left by time go to the past. Both these cases illustrate that the container metaphor arises out of specifying the time unit as a container for some events.

The combination of Time Has Direction and Time Is Container is not commented on more extensively here, because, as was noted, the Time Line Metaphor is basically the same as this combination. This combination is used to describe some cases because it offers the possibility to specify the exact direction of time.

7.6.4. Cycle + container

The combination of the metaphors Time Is Cycle and Time Is Container provides a repeatable time unit that can include states or events. This combination has been reviewed when the Time Is Cycle metaphor was initially discussed. This combination shares many features with the Time Line metaphor, but the difference is in how a cyclical time unit can contain events. The Time Line metaphor includes events that can be defined on the time line. This, however, is unnecessary. The cyclicity of the expressions can also come up with the kind of indefiniteness that makes defining them on a time line impossible, but does not prevent them from acting as containers that can include events.

[635] *myöhään1*
late-adv.
late

[504] *talvisaikaan*
winter-sg.nom.+additional consonant "**s**"+ **time**-sg.illat.
in the wintertime

[1036] *в субботу-воскресенье*
in Saturday-Sunday-sg.acc.
"in Saturday-Sunday" = on Saturday and Sunday, at the weekend

[47] *в мае*
in May-sg.prep.
in May

All these examples contain a recurring time unit, which is conceptualized as containing some kind of events.

As was already noted in the discussion of the Time Is Cycle metaphor in 7.2.5., combining the cycle metaphor with the container metaphor is actually one of the main ways in which seeing time as cycle works.

7.6.5. Actor + container

The combination of actor and container occurs infrequently and is rather marginal. When the metaphors Time Is Actor and Time Is Container are combined, the result is an action that influences the attributes of time as a

container. The most obvious example of this is found in some Finnish expressions, which convey that the time for something is coming to an end or has ended, and a verb expresses that ending and shows deliberate action.

[805] *aika* *umpeutuu*
time-sg.nom.**close up**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
"time closes up"

The conceptualization found in [805] expresses a limited time period for doing something and it is perceived as a container. When the time has passed, the container is sealed up, and thereafter no admission to that container is allowed.

On a more general level, the combination of actor and container may occur when time (a time unit) is an actor and, concurrently, the container metaphor is realized in the sense that the action involved has to do with the containing. For example:

[969] *väärään* *aikaan*
wrong-sg.illat. **time**-sg.illat.
"to wrong time" = at the wrong time

Example [969] shows that time is an actor since it has the ability to be wrong, and the containment comes up in the choice of the case.

The Russian material examined here has no cases of this metaphor combination. These are also rare in Finnish, and mostly explained by the Finnish tendency to see the end of the time allotted for something as an active process of being closed up by time.

7.6.6. Cycle + substance

The combination of the metaphors Time Is Cycle and Time Is Substance occurs in those adjectives that give a cyclical time period as well as providing this time period with the meaning of a substance. Both Russian and Finnish have productive suffixes to form such adjectives. These adjectives are formed from the names of the months [245], [1], days of the week [427], [661], and parts of the day [8], [663]:

[245] *huhtikuinen*
April+suff.-sg.nom.
“having to do with April, happening in April”

[1] *августовский*
August+suff.-sg.nom.
“having to do with August, happening in August”

[427] *perjantainen*
Friday+suff.-sg.nom.
“having to do with Friday, happening on Friday”

[661] *субботний*
Saturday+suff.-sg.nom.
“having to do with Saturday, happening on Saturday”

[8] *aamuinen*
morning+suff.-sg.nom.
“having to do with morning, happening in the morning”

[663] *сумеречный*
twilight+suff.-sg.nom.
“having to do with twilight, happening at twilight”

The justification for interpreting these adjectives as representing the combination of the Time is Substance and Time Is Cycle metaphors stems from how these adjectives that are formed from the different recurring time units infuse substance in the time unit in question so that they are seen characterizing something else.

7.6.7. Actor + resource

The combination of the metaphors Time Is Actor and Time Is Resource arises when the time as actor also has the attributes of resource, i.e. it is seen as something valuable and countable. For example:

[32] *aika* *kuluu* *kuin siivillä*
time-sg.nom. **deteriorate**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p. **like wing**-pl.adess.
“time deteriorates like on wings” = time goes by very quickly

[145] *armonaika*
mercy-sg.gen. **time**-sg.nom.
"time of mercy" = reprieve, possibility to still do what is required although the deadline has already passed

[377] *личное* *время*
personal-sg.nom **time**-sg.nom.
"personal time" = time without the obligations having to do with (for example, military) service

In example [32], time is represented as an actor that is able to control the way that time passes or deteriorates. The resource character of time surfaces simultaneously in this notion of deterioration, since by deterioration less of the valuable time resource will be left. In [145], the extra time allotted to achieve something is both an actor, the giver of mercy, and a resource that can be given to someone to show mercy. In [377] the personal time at one's disposal is a resource, but it is likewise an actor so that it can define the person's actions.

When there is little time, time becomes a negotiator that works with the human being. This is shown in [939] that combines the Time Is Resource and Time is Actor metaphors:

[939] *aika* *alkaa* *käydä* *vähiin*
time-sg.nom **begin**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p **go**-act I inf. **small amount**-sg.illat.
"time begins to go into small amount" = time is becoming scarce

Example [939] represents time as actively deciding to become scarce, while concurrently the very resource of time is diminishing and becoming scarce.

7.6.8. The combinations with the additional Nature metaphor

7.6.8.1. Actor + Nature

The combination of the metaphors Time Is Actor and Time Is Nature shows how central nature is to our understanding of time. There are many examples of this in the data. This combination takes place when the role of the natural phenomenon is not to frame the action, but to be the actor itself (a natural force that influences other things as well). This means describing time as the kind of actor that does the same things that nature does, has the same kind of powers as nature. As a

result, Time Is Nature is subordinated to being an actor. The actor in question acts in a typical manner for a natural phenomenon. The notion of intentionality for these expressions is less strong than in the other ways in which time can be regarded as an actor.[38] Some typical cases of this combination of actor + nature are:

[779] *aika* *haalistaa* *muistot*
time-sg.nom. **bleach**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p. **memory**-pl.acc./nom.
"time bleaches memories" = time makes memories fade, makes them seem less important

Bleaching or fading [779] is a thing that the sun can cause, as well as some chemicals. According to this conceptualization, time has this ability as well as the intention to cause the bleaching or fading.

Time is also likened to natural phenomena, such as the sun. Consider, for example:

[817] *aika* *koittaa*
time-sg.nom. **dawn**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
"time dawns"= a certain kind of time comes

[79] *aikojen* *aamu*
time-pl.gen. **morning**-sg.nom.
"the morning of times" = the beginning of times

[584] *пульс* *времени*
pulse-sg.nom. **time**-sg.gen.
"the pulse of time"

[700] *утро* *вечера* *мудренее*
morning-sg.nom. **evening**-sg.gen. **wise**-sg.comp.
"the morning is wiser than the evening" = things will become or seem clearer in the morning

When time dawns [817], it is once again conceptualized as the sun or sunlight. This also occurs for morning as the ultimate beginning of times [79]. Time can

[38] This impression may also arise because we are not used to thinking that nature might have intentions, although languages often do describe natural phenomena such as the wind or a storm as intentional, doing harm to humans and being the malevolent opponent that people fight against.

also have a pulse [584], and different naturally occurring periods of time can have characteristics which can be compared one to another [700].

Another point worth mentioning is that any potential actor (a period of time) that is borrowed from nature belongs to this kind of categorization. For example:

[6] *aamuhetki*
morning moment-sg.nom.
"the morning moment" (able to have its own characteristics as compared to a moment in time that does not occur in the morning)

[664] *сумерки*
twilight-pl.nom.
"the twilight"

Examples [6] and [664] contain an actor that has the potential for action in a repeatable period of time, a natural cycle. The interpretation of this as an actor is based on the potentially predicative role that it is interpreted as having (as in 7.4.).

Furthermore, sometimes nature is characterized as attributing the physical characteristics of an object to time. This adds to the picture the notion of Time As Substance**.** Such a case is [792], in which time can be visible in the same way as any physical object is (but does not actively make itself visible as an actor would).

[792] *aika* *näkyy*
time-sg.nom. **show**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
"time shows", "time is visible"

[815] *aika* *kestää*
time-sg.nom. **endure**-act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
"time endures" = time lasts (has a certain length)

[593] *рассвет* *брезжит*
daylight-sg.nom.**loom**-imp.asp.act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
"the daylight breaks"

[571] *yön* *selkään*
time-sg.gen. **back**-sg.illat.
"to the back of the night" = (to leave) so late in the evening that one has no chance of reaching the destination before night

The same quality of endurance as found in [815] can naturally have several interpretations. Enduring can be intentional, or has to do with the purely material characteristics of time (which also contributes to the picture of the notion of Time As Substance). In [593], the daylight acts as if it had an intention. If the night has a back [571] onto which a human being can go, this means that the characteristics of a back (of a human being or maybe a horse) are reflected in the night. A back is an object that has to do with nature because many living objects can be conceptualized as having something similar to a back.

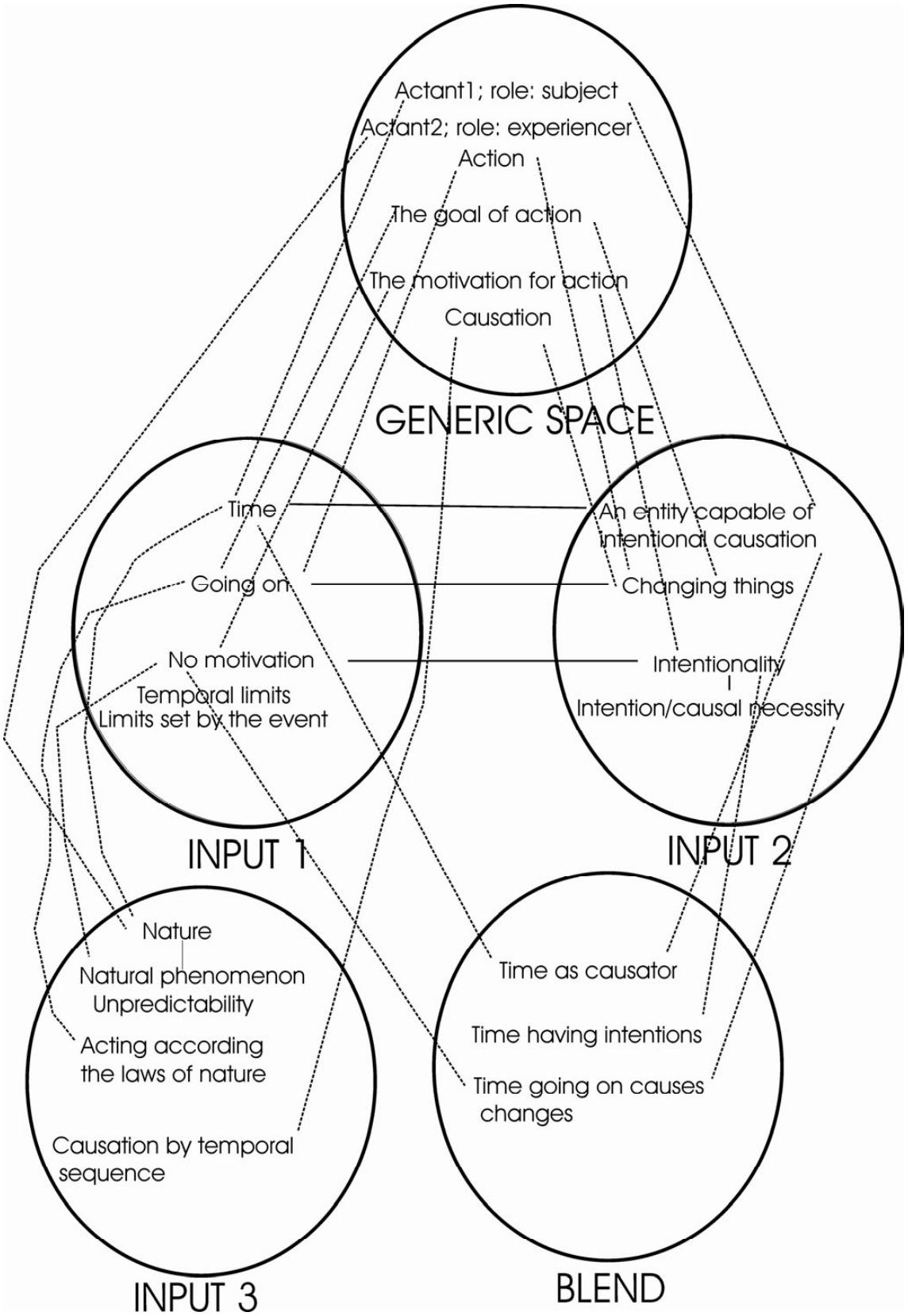
Actor and nature are also often combined to form another conceptual metaphor of secondary character, namely the metaphor Time Is Life. Seeing time as a combination of an actor, nature, and life all at the same time is possible when time is the same as a lifetime, and is regarded as having the characteristics of a natural phenomenon. For instance:

[176] *elämän* *ehtoopuoli*
life-sg.gen. **evening part**-sg.nom.
"the evening part of life" = the last years of life

[203] *elämän* *virta*
life-sg.gen. **stream**-sg.nom.
"the stream of life" = the way that life goes on

[296] *жизнь* *течет*
life-sg.nom. **flow**-imp.asp.act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.
"life flows" = life goes on

As has been shown here, the combination of the metaphors Time is Actor and Time is Nature produces interesting results. Since as a metaphor, Time is Nature is merely an additional feature, this combination is easy to see as adding a further input domain to the conceptualization. See Schema 14.



Schema 14. TIME IS ACTOR + NATURE

7.6.8.2. Container/surface + nature

Adding the notion of seeing time as nature to the container (or surface) metaphor highlights the aspect that the container in question has natural characteristics. For example, [941], [1041]:

[941] *в зрелости*
in ripeness-sg.prep.
”in ripeness” = in old age

[1041] *iltahämärissä*
evening gloom-sg.iness.
”in evening gloom” = at nightfall

7.6.8.3. Resource/substance + nature

Adding a nature metaphor to the view of time as a resource or substance results in comparing the resource character of time to some type of natural phenomenon, for example the ocean as in [497] or the hands as in [758].

[497] *океан* *времени*
ocean-sg.nom. **time**-sg.gen.
“ocean of time” = there is plenty of time

[758] *käsilläoleva*
hand-pl.adess. **be**-act.I.partic.sg.nom.
“on hands being” = current, something at hand

Besides these occurrences, in 7.6.8.1. I reviewed some examples in which a substance quality is added as a third input space to the combination of Actor and Nature.

7.6.8.4. Time line /direction + nature

The most common case of adding the character of nature into the time line metaphor is the way that Russian makes figurative use of the notion of flowing in its different prepositions meaning “during”. For example [818]:

[818] *в* *течение* + gen.
into flow-adp.sg.acc.
"into flow of" = during

This same is also true for adding the nature metaphor to the different ways of representing time as having a direction (future, past or neutral), the difference being in the explication of the direction. Moreover, some local prepositions add such a component of nature, as in [518]:

[518] *перед* *полуднем*$^{\rightarrow}$
in front of midday$^{\rightarrow}$-sg.instr.
in front of midday$^{\rightarrow}$ = right before midday$^{\rightarrow}$

It is important to note that these meanings are conceptualized in Finnish as, for example, the combination of resource + substance as [81], or the time line + nature [210].

7.6.9. The combinations with the additional Lifetime metaphor

Although the lifetime metaphor is classified here as an additional metaphor and it is assumed that it combines with other metaphors, and since the relationship is quite easy to understand, I see no reason for dealing with what this metaphor adds to the conceptualizations of various other metaphors. This has been adequately explained in Chapter 7.5.2.

7.6.10. Conclusions on the way that time metaphors combine

The way that the metaphors are seen (or have to be seen) as combined necessarily involves setting the boundaries between the different metaphors and their functioning in conceptualization. If the lines between different metaphors are defined with sufficient exactitude, their combinations also make sense. The challenge in describing the metaphorical composition of such a field as time comes with the way that the different metaphors are intertwined, and despite their seemingly different elements they are difficult to distinguish from one another. The proposal put forward in this work, using also the schemata of conceptual blending, aims at being methodologically new, but will probably be challenged by other, more precise and more exactly defined understandings of the

metaphorical construction of time. How these combinations of metaphors are described (for example, the exactness of the schemata) will hopefully become clearer with further research. This study hopes to lay the foundations for more exact studies on the boundaries of the different metaphors (time metaphors among others) and the laws of their combinations.

7.7. Hierarchical and other relations between the metaphors of time

I still want to make more explicit the way that I see the relationship between the different conceptual metaphors introduced above. The relations between metaphors can be of different kinds. First of all, there is coherence, which merely suggests that the different conceptual metaphors form a coherent whole. Claiming that the metaphors form a coherent whole does not presuppose anything as to how this coherence is constructed.

Besides coherence there are the different kinds of hierarchical relations. Submappings occur when an expression contains only one metaphor which has several submappings that are all perfectly in line with the mapping of the main metaphor. But the submappings may differ from one another in terms of certain details. My material has examples with different submappings of the metaphor Time Is Space, as well as the metaphor Time Is Substance as a submapping of Time Is Resource.

Furthermore, secondary or additional mappings add some type of element to the metaphor. In my material, such secondary metaphors were Time Is Life and Time Is Nature. While these two metaphors were not alone able to explain entire conceptualizations, they were able to add some elements (which can be described, for example, as additional input spaces) to the existing conceptualizations.

One further hierarchy is the relationship between the primary and complex metaphors. As was mentioned earlier, the primary metaphors are, according to Lakoff and Johnson, such metaphors that are based on our common, primary knowledge about how our bodies function. When it comes to time, which of its metaphors are primary? What kind of first-hand physical experience can we have of time? Surely we are aware of growing up (in childhood and adolescence) and ageing (in adulthood), and these phenomena are often attributed to time (seen as consequences of time going further, or even time working as an actor that can

cause such stages of life). But do these phenomena need to be attributed to time? What if they are independent, happening as everything else in temporal frames? Can they, in such a case, really be the primary metaphors of time? Another example of a case in which time might be in some way primarily perceptible is the way events follow one another or coincide. This kind of temporal continuity, which in western philosophy is often described by means of a time line (and a variant of it, the time cycle) is perceivable in the way that it gives events and states a temporal frame. But is this anything more, as a matter of fact, than letting time exist and binding to it in an artificial fashion only one of many matters that in fact have temporal framing?

Complex metaphors of time can possibly be more culturally related. They reflect the conventions of thinking and are stored in our minds in the form of schemata (Lakoff & Johnson 1999). This is how one could describe many of the metaphors represented in my analysis. I have not, however, used the division into primary and complex metaphors. The reason for this is that I cannot prove in any way the existence of any such conceptualizations that could be called primary. Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 52) suggest a primary metaphor of time – Time Is Motion. This seems too vague for me, especially since, according to my analysis, not all conceptualizations of time have to do with this metaphor. I therefore argue that it is sufficient to offer proof of the kind of conceptual metaphors language reflects, and to demonstrate the relationship between these metaphors. To accomplish this, I do not need to assume the existence of primary and complex metaphors.

7.8. Blending

The description offered by the blending theory gives the opportunity to look more closely at the conceptualization used by a single expression. It is commonly assumed that the blending theory can be used only to describe the concrete expressions of a language, i.e. the linguistic metaphors – and not the conceptual metaphors. I have not obeyed this rule, since I have not seen evidence as to what it is based on. It is true that this kind of description is less useful on a scale that is more general than that. Nevertheless, presenting the general metaphors in this form also makes the naming of the metaphor less arbitrary and permits a fuller account on how the conceptualization is interpreted to work. I have included

blending schemes in this study in order to illustrate and make visible the differences between the conceptual metaphors, and to analyse the network of the metaphorization of time. The schemata that are drawn according to this blending theory illustrate well the connections between the different features that the blend is based upon, and also make the choices made by the analyser easier to see.

7.9. The comparative aspect on metaphors of time

When comparing the results of this study with previous research conducted on the conceptual metaphors of time, one cannot but notice many similarities in the results. These similarities would suggest that the conceptualization of time is indeed, at least to a remarkable extent, universal. The same kinds of metaphors that have been suggested in earlier studies are repeated in my work.

What is different in my work is the exact naming of the metaphors. Unlike previous studies, I have not made the naming of the metaphor the only explanation available for its content, but have instead provided the schemata of the blending theory so as to show exactly how the conceptualization works.

Comparing Russian and Finnish, the targets of this study, has not produced surprises. The material analysed here has not supported the notion that Russian and Finnish conceptualize time differently. On the contrary, both languages have the same conceptual metaphors. If the relative importance of certain metaphorizations is different in these languages – and I find this plausible – this is impossible to demonstrate with my material. The conceptualizations a language makes have relevance simply by virtue of existing, having been made, without any significant frequency in real language use. This is because conceptualization works by giving possible formulas to be used. Even those expressions that now seem to be old-fashioned as well as the formulas used in earlier times are all interesting when studying conceptualization. (Although what stays in language and what does not, and what kind of new forms are developed, is also interesting. This type of cognitive historical semantics is the kind of material that Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 85) cite as providing evidence for the study of conceptual metaphors.)

I have looked at the conceptual metaphors in Russian and Finnish side by side. The main purpose of the comparative element has been to show how much these languages have in common in their conceptualizations of time. The

difference on a purely formal level is there, of course, but if we further explore the question of why the expressions are as they are and venture to explain this by applying the conceptual metaphor theory, the conceptualizations found in this vast collection of material have not supported the assumption that the Russians and Finns understand time in significantly different ways.

The closeness or remoteness of the cultures involved is more relative. Russian and Finnish cultures could be seen as being very similar if compared those found on exotic islands far away from the common European heritage. Even so, Finns are used to thinking that the two cultures and mentalities are very different. Is it true, then, that speakers of Russian and Finnish have different understandings of time? This stereotype, common in Finland, can be traced to the punctuality of the Finns as compared to the tendency of the Russians to be late. This is explained by pointing to the differences between the "Eastern" characteristics in the Russian culture and the Protestant work ethic of the Finns (see, for example, Broms 1984). When it comes to the results in my material, this stereotype is false, and the conceptualization of time is, in its general characteristics, to a great extent common for both languages.

7.10. Applying the structural similarity view to my material

The structural similarity view presented by Murphy (1996, 1997) most certainly hits the heart of the problems I have faced in the analysis of the conceptual metaphors. These problems are: (1) the impossibility in many cases of defining one conceptual metaphor that would explain it; (2) the subjectivity of the conceptual metaphors defined; (3) the partiality of any conceptual metaphor.

Explaining time and any other domain as structurally similar does, nevertheless, pose serious problems. How could time really be structurally similar to anything else, e.g. space?

Moreover, the notion of homonymy as explaining many cases which are understood as being metaphorical from the viewpoint of conceptual metaphor theory is problematic when applied to my material. It is certainly possible to classify, for example, many constructions that are common to spatial and temporal notions as being cases of homonymy. The syntax can easily be explained in this way. When it comes to more complicated matters, this way of explaining different meanings becomes less obvious. When the motivation of

many meanings is clearly metaphorical, why should this explanation be forgotten and homonymy accepted as the common principle? Homonymy is, in general terms, able to claim nothing more than that the words can have different meanings. Why these meanings are the way they are is sometimes touched upon, which is called the weak homonymy view (cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980 for additional comments on this).

7.11. Metaphors and metonymies in conceptualizing time

The difference between metaphor and metonymy as different kinds of conceptualization was analysed from the theoretical point of view in 5.2.6. In my analysis I have not, however, given much attention to the difference between metaphors and metonymies. The conceptualizations I have chosen to study in this chapter have been assumed to be metaphors, except for the Time Is Life, which was mentioned as also being an example of metonymy.

It is not only the choice of theory that dictates our assumption that metaphor rather than metonymy is the conceptual process whereby time is organized in our brains. Being aware of the way in which metonymy theorists explain the conceptualization of metonymy, I still consider time conceptualization to be metaphorical, i.e. involve domains (or input spaces) that are not parts of the same functional domain, but are separate from one another. The blending schemata included in this work also provide substantial evidence that this interpretation is correct.

The relationship between the domains of time and space makes possible a very traditional interpretation of the metaphor involved – time and space are similar and because of this, the notions of space are borrowed to describe time so that time is seen as space. This is not a metonymy relationship, or at least to interpret it as such we need to resort to very abstract notions such as seeing them both as metonymies of dimensionality. This kind of interpretation would not be able to explain why the expressions, real language material, are what they are. Time and resource or substance are also clearly different domains, as are time and actor.

It is naturally possible that time is somewhat special in relation to metaphors and metonymies, perhaps because it has an overall abstract nature that forces us to assume characteristics for time on the basis of another domain.

On the other hand, the relationship between time and the different domains that lend time their conceptualizations is at the same time easily interpreted as metonymical since assuming time to be something independently existing (and as such, able to even borrow from or be transferred to other domains) is already in itself a choice. If we chose to assume that time did not exist as a separate, many-sided phenomenon, and if we interpreted the cases seen here as time being merely different temporal notions that are related to several other domains or derive from them, understanding the conceptualization of time as metonymical could be well founded. How this could be done in practice is something I cannot imagine, so deeply rooted is the cultural assumption that time or temporality is a separate phenomenon. That the conceptual processes are seen as reflecting this assumption is in itself a choice. Calling the different sides of time by same names fortifies our assumption that we are talking about the same thing, and also fools our conceptualization. Nevertheless, the limits of the different and same things are not in any way natural or evident, but are exactly something that conceptualization decides on and that language can provide proof for. This also justifies dealing with time as an independent domain, conceptualized with the help of the several other domains that are independent of it.

7.12. The place of time metaphors in the general picture of conceptualization

I have tried to describe the way that time is conceptualized by us humans, and more precisely by the Russians and Finns. The ultimate goal of mapping the conceptualization processes in general would also require describing the place that time has in human conceptualization or language sense. With the methodology used in this work, I could interpret this as providing a description of all the conceptual metaphors that exist. This kind of mapping would involve deciding on the way that time metaphors are related to the more general metaphors and metonymies. This would also entail dealing with notions such as causation. The way that time is mentally connected to the domain of space and the notion of movement was examined earlier in this work (in 7.2.2.).

It has been suggested to me that time could be seen as one of the metonymies of change, alongside space and motion.[39] I find this idea plausible. Time, space and motion indeed all have the common denominator of change. In general, change consists of the features that something in its end state has combined with the features it had in the beginning stage. Taking into account the interrelation between time, space and movement, it is possible to describe movement as a change in time and space. Space is then the placement without movement, and it also exists only as a consequence of change. Time combines space with movement and is once again a part of change. Reviewing this interrelation, I am ready to fully acknowledge the argument that time is a metonymy of change. Notwithstanding, I am not ready to concede that this is *the* metonymy that would explain the place of time among conceptualizations. Indeed there may also be others, and the whole net of conceptualizations related to the various aspects of time can be discovered only through meticulous study.

7.13. Conclusions to Chapter 7

The analysis demonstrated that time is conceptualized in Russian and Finnish according to the metaphors Time Is Space (Time Is Container, Time Has Direction, Time Is Cycle, and Time Line Metaphor), Time Is Resource (and its submapping Time Is Substance), Time Is Actor; some characteristics are added to these conceptualizations with the help of the secondary metaphors, Time Is Nature and Time Is Life.

From the viewpoint of conceptual metaphor theory, the study has been an experiment to explain the richness of idiomaticity and collocation in one field of knowledge (time) purely through the notion of metaphor. While the analysis encountered problems, it was nonetheless possible. The conceptual metaphor analysis has adequately explained why the expressions of time are as they are.

This study contributes to metaphor studies by offering a new orientation to data. An attempt has been made to explain the extensive amount of material with the help of the conceptual metaphor theory. This theory has not been exact enough in all respects. Using the theory means assuming that the expressions of time are all metaphorically conceptualized. Without this assumption, the conceptual metaphor theory would have fallen into pieces when trying to apply it

[39] I thank Haldur Õim for this comment.

to real language material that has been collected without choosing the most metaphorical examples.

The analysis has also faced a number of problems. The limits between the different metaphors have been difficult to define in a satisfactory fashion. However, considering that idea that conceptual metaphors can be combined in various ways has helped in setting the limits. I have studied regularities among the combinations, and have attempted to explain why certain combinations occur and others do not.

The conceptual metaphor theory also helps understand why the conceptual metaphors are the way they are. No other theory that I have encountered can offer a logical explanation for the complexity to be found in analysing time. Metaphor theory is able to make sense of it, and to see the correspondences involved.

8. CONCLUSION

The study was embarked upon with the goal of describing the nature of time in language in general, and in Russian and Finnish in particular. This has led to questioning the very basis of what time in language is (apart from tense systems), and asking what we are talking about when talking about time. The essence of time has been looked at with the help of its expressions. Studying such material has forced me not only to take into account, but even to give pride of place to, the richness and plurality to be found in real language, no matter how inconvenient it may sometimes be from the theoretical point of view.

This field of study has been to a large extent previously uncharted territory for analysis, at least with this breadth of coverage, this kind of material and these kinds of methods. The analysis of the different kinds of lexicological and phraseological units (all called *expressions* in this study) has shown that they share enough features to be analysed in accordance with the same principles, and certain regularities can be found in them on different levels. These units display regularities both in the way they are formed, the conceptualizations they reveal, and the things that the speaker wishes to convey when using them.

The material for this study was collected from dictionaries, usage guides, and the Internet. It consists of 1,087 Russian and 1,141 Finnish expressions. The different facets of time have been of equal importance in the material used, and they have also been analysed in a manner that makes their equation possible and thus reveals new aspects of their internal relations. In this way, this material has fortified the belief in the multifaceted nature of time in language. I have chosen to ignore what are traditionally seen as different levels of language, and have attempted to treat all of them in the same way. In trying to define what is and should be included in the concept of time, the language material and phenomena related to it have proven to be useful. They have provided valuable insights into what could be the centre and the periphery of time and temporality.

Using two different theoretical approaches to the material has unlocked its richness, and also yielded two different viewpoints on time. The approach of functional syntax has been to try to define what the speaker wishes to convey when talking about time, and how these general meanings are expressed in Russian and Finnish. The approach of conceptual metaphor theory has, for its

part, made it possible to analyse the way that time expressions are constructed with the help of other conceptual domains. This also provides some kind of explanation as to why the forms of time expressions are as they are. The two approaches, which have little in common at first glance, can be mutually complementary when it comes to the information they give. Additionally, the grammatical glossing of the material provides information on the formal means of expressing time for each of the languages.

This study confronted the great challenge of discovering what it is that we want to say when talking about time. The theory of functional syntax was used to describe this. On the basis of a thorough analysis of the material, 56 general meanings concerning time were found, and they were put in order on the basis of the relations that were established between them. These general meanings turned out to revolve around expressing the following: duration, point in time, period of time, frequency, sequence, passing of time, suitable time and right time, life as time, limitedness of time, and some other notions having less obvious semantic relations to the others. The results of the functional analysis (analysis starting from the meaning) reveal the multiplicity of the things we want to say and actually do say about time. New viewpoints on the study of time, a domain of language study that was previously confined to philosophers, were arrived at by introducing the basic meanings having to do with time on the basis of a vast language material. New linguistic insights into the notion of time are welcome, since until now, the study of time in language has been strictly divided among those who study tense and/or aspect and those who look at the nominalizations of the different temporal relations. The results of this study can be seen as building a bridge between the two, and also as establishing further connections to philosophy. This analysis also brings about the grammatical means that the languages have for expressing the meanings and in this way enables us to both compare the languages and contrast them with other languages.

The results of the conceptual metaphor study offer one possible explanation as to why the expressions are as they are. The goal of using the conceptual metaphor theory was therefore shown to be well founded, and in my opinion is well suited to the purposes of this study. One might even say that this theory forms the core of the whole study. The ideas on what empirical metaphor research should be like are presented in this study. Moreover, I also introduce some theoretical and methodological novelties. One of the main objectives here has been the attempt to clarify the limits between the different conceptual

metaphors with the help of blending schemata, and also to use them as an aid in explaining the hierarchical and other relations between the mappings. This analysis has also achieved more explicability and objectivity by renouncing the ideal that each expression should be defined with the help of only one conceptual metaphor, but this has also made explaining the relations between the different conceptual metaphors and the way they are combined extremely important. When it comes to the methodology, this study introduces both a new type of material and a new way of using it systematically for this kind of study.

The analysis of the material has shown that the nature of the time expressions can indeed be explained by applying the conceptual metaphor theory. Although their forms can to a large extent be explained by citing certain regular and irregular tendencies in language, this kind of explanation is vague in referring only to the irregularity widely distributed throughout languages. With the help of the conceptual metaphor theory, the ways that the expressions are built is systematized, and linked to wider tendencies in conceptualization. The conceptual metaphors behind the expressions of time are, according to this study, Time Is Space (and its submappings Time Is Container, Time Has Direction, Time Is Cycle, and Time Line Metaphor), Time Is Resource (and its submapping Time Is Substance), and Time Is Actor. Some further characteristics are added to these conceptualizations with the help of the secondary metaphors Time Is Nature and Time Is Life.

This type of multiple analysis has seemed to many people a very strange thing to undertake, and enough material for more than one dissertation. In my opinion, the analysis from two completely different viewpoints is both the strength and challenge, and also the possible point of weakness of this study. It is strength and challenge since it opens up the material in a completely new way. Looking at the material on three different levels – the level of forms (morphosyntactic glossing), the level of meaning (functional analysis) and the level of conceptualization (metaphor analysis) – has made it possible to truly distinguish these levels from one another. It has also made it possible to deal with what we want to say when we talk about time, what expressions are used for that, and why the expressions are the way they are. At the same time, keeping these levels separate throughout the analysis has proved to be the most difficult part of this study. It would have been too easy to let the forms influence the meanings, and to let the meanings affect the way that the conceptualizations (metaphors) are understood as working. This has kept the analyser alert and has also led to many

cases in which one has been forced to check the analysis several times over. The dual (or triple) analysis gives much more insight into the material than any individual analysis could, and the possible weak points can be managed by being meticulous in carrying out the analysis.

What can be seen as a negative side of such a dual analysis is that it has possibly led to a degree of superficiality in both analysis and results. A vast collection of material analysed from two orientations that are not interrelated can easily make a work unmanageable. I acknowledge these possible problematic points, but still believe that I have succeeded reasonably well in keeping the analysis accurate and the results reliable. A reader can also judge this because the categorizations discussed in this work can be found for each of the expressions in the Appendix. It is clear that an analysis of such a vast collection of material can only be of an introductory kind, and its details need to be clarified by future research.

One further question is the relation between the theories chosen, and whether the results attained with them can in some way be combined. The functional analysis and metaphor analysis started from very different viewpoints. The analyses have been kept completely separate in this study; if their results had points of convergence, they had nothing to do with the classification techniques. Looking at any one of the general meanings, the expressions classified to represent that meaning always have different classifications as to their conceptualization, i.e. the metaphors involved. The same is also true in reverse: in my results no such metaphor or metaphor combination exists whose realizations in language would correspond to one and the same general meaning. These facts confirm that the levels of meaning and conceptualization are separate, the way that our thought deals with issues can be reflected on the surface level of language, but it does not have a relation to the level of meaning.

Among the most important results of this study are the lists of time expressions in Russian and Finnish. The unique approach adopted in this study has resulted in unique material. There have previously been no such comprehensive lists covering the whole field of expressing time in these languages. Consequently, these lists can be used as a starting point for further studies.

The initial hypothesis was that the speakers of Russian and Finnish talk about time in a very different way. This has proved to be completely wrong: in fact, the results point to an opposite conclusion. Although Russian and Finnish

(being languages of different language groups) are naturally different on the level of forms, they are very similar in what their speakers wish to say about time, and how they conceptualize time. In this way, this study does not confirm the common Finnish belief that the Russians understand time differently (less accurately) than we do. Any culturally bound phenomena found in behaviour are a completely different issue; language does not show them on the level of expressions (however, pragmatics might tell another story).

From the theoretical and methodological point of view, this study has made a contribution to the further development of both Functional Syntax and conceptual metaphor theory. Although this study has not been able to make full use of the models of description offered by Functional Syntax, it has been conducted according to the principles of the theory and offers suggestions on how the different general meanings described should be understood from the viewpoint of FS. I hope that this contributes to the further clarification of the limits and meeting points of the different sides of time and temporality mentioned in the theory. This study seeks also to push the methodological and theoretical understanding of conceptual metaphor theory further by explaining the development of metaphor theory and giving new insights into what empiricalness could mean in conceptual metaphor study and what can be achieved by using material not specifically designed for that purpose.

There is great potential for further study in many of the issues I have merely been able to touch upon. First of all, the material collected has potential for different kinds of use. Parts of it, semantically or otherwise selected, could be used for the closer study of the different features of time expressions. Secondly, the analyses made on the basis of the material could also be tested further. Precise and contextually bound analysis of separate states of affairs (or general meanings) having to do with time would further enrich the picture given by a general study such as this one. Similarly, the metaphor analysis of one metaphor or a hierarchically built group of metaphors could produce results that show interesting details of conceptualization. Thirdly, the description of functional syntax, since it begins from the general meanings, can also aim at more practical applications such as language learning and teaching. Another application is that the kind of information given as a result of an analysis such as my functional analysis could be used in preparing language guides of different kinds, writing functional grammars, and so on**.** Fourthly, applying the methods and ideas I have presented here to other languages could also offer interesting results, including

more insights into the possible universality of time. Naturally, the methodological and theoretical applications suggested here will need still further clarifications. The empirical approach to the conceptual metaphor theory opens new kinds of horizons for this kind of study in the future. Using the blending schemata to describe conceptual metaphors can always be done in a more precise way. This could give additional evidence of the hierarchical and other relationships between different conceptual metaphors and metonymies as well as for the overall picture of human conceptualization.

In all, this study provides a general picture of how we talk about time in Russian and Finnish, and of the essence of the time that we are talking about. It also proposes explanations for the phenomena described. By talking about time, we are organizing and living our lives.

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APPENDIX : The expressions of time analysed

Explanatory remarks on the Appendix

This is a report of an Access file, including the expressions in my material. Each expression is represented on its own line together with the information having to do with it that is given in different columns.

In the first column I give the number of the expression. The number is the key that keeps the entries separate. The numbers have been automatically created in the order that the expressions have been entered to the database. This is why they do not follow the same order as other fields, and some numbers are missing (due to changes in material along the working process).

The second column gives the expressions in alphabetical order.

The third column marked with an → gives, in the cases when an expression is a representative of a bigger group of expressions, the definition of the group of the words that can replace the →. If the construction has several places with →, the definitions are given in the same order as the gaps in the construction.

The fourth column contains the grammatical glosses. The system used includes the information using the following parameters and their abbreviations:

adj. = adjective
adp. = adposition (preposition or postposition)
adv. = adverb
conj. = conjunction
interj. = interjection
noun
num. = (cardinal) numeral
num.ord. = ordinal numeral
particle
poss-suff. = possessive suffix
pron. = pronoun
proper = proper noun
suff. = suffix
verb

1.p. = first person
2.p. = second person
3.p. = third person
pl. = plural
sg. = singular

act. = active
comp. = comparative
indecl. = indeclinable
neg. = negation
neg. particle = negation particle
neg. verb = negation verb
pass. = passive
poss-suff. = possessive suffix
pres. = present tense

Russian verbs:

inf. = infinitive
imp.asp. = imperfective aspect
perf.asp. = perfective aspect
pret. = preterite
fut. = future
partic. = participle

Finnish verbs:

I inf. = I infinitive
II inf. = II infinitive
III inf. = III infinitive
imperf. = imperfect
I partic. = I participle
II partic. = II participle
perf. = perfect

cases:

abess. = abessive
abl. = ablative
acc. = accusative
adess. = adessive
all. = allative
com. = comitative
dat. = dative
elat. = elative
ess. = essive
gen. = genitive
ill. = illative
iness. = inessive
instr. = instrumental
instruct. = instructive
nom. = nominative
partit. = partitive
prep. = prepositional
transl. = translative

The fifth column gives the functional glossing of the expression, according to the general meanings looked at in Chapter 4.

The sixth column shows the source domain of the conceptual metaphor involved in each of the expressions. The naming of the source domains corresponds to the names given in Chapter 7.

The seventh column gives the additional or secondary source domain, when applicable.

	EXPRESSION	→	GRAMMATICAL GLOSSING	FUNCTIONAL GLOSSING	SOURCE DOMAIN	SECOND-ARY SOURCE DOMAIN
1	августовский		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
2	апрельский		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
3	Аредовы веки жить		[adj.pl.nom.][noun pl.nom.][verb imp. asp.act.inf.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	resource	
1057	бабье лето		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
4	без году неделя		[adp.][noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT	resource	
5	без поры без времени		[adp.][noun sg.gen.][adp.][noun sg.gen.]	NOT RIGHT TIME	resource	
6	без пяти минут инженер→	professions, degrees	[adp.][num.sg.gen.][noun pl.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	CLOCK TIME	resource	
1092	без пяти→ три→	whole numbers between 1 and 59 + whole numbers between 1 and 24	[pron.][num.sg.gen.][num.sg.nom.]	CLOCK TIME	time line	
7	без срока		[adp.][noun sg.gen.]	ALWAYS	actor	
8	без сроку		[adp.][noun sg.gen.]	ALWAYS	actor	
9	безвременно		[adv.]	NOT RIGHT TIME	resource	actor
10	безвременье		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	resource	actor
11	беречь время		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
12	Битая посуда два века живет.		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.][num. sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.][verb imp.asp. act.pres.sg.3.p.]	LIFE AS TIME	resource	
13	битый час		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	resource	actor

14	благоприятный момент		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	RIGHT TIME	actor	
15	Бог даст день, даст и пищу.		[proper sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act. pres.sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
16	больше недели→	all measurable time units	[adv.comp.][noun sg.gen.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL	resource	
17	больше чем за неделю→	all measurable time units	[adv.comp.][conj.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = NEUTRAL	time line	
18	больше чем неделю→	all measurable time units	[adv.comp.][conj.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL	container	
19	больше, чем на неделю→	all measurable time units	[adv.comp.][conj.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	time line	
20	Будет день - будет пища.		[verb act.fut.sg.3.p.][noun sg.nom.][verb act.fut.sg.][noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
21	будто снег на голову		[conj.][noun sg.nom.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	NOT SUITABLE TIME	actor	nature
746	будущее		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	direction
1105	быстро		[adv.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	resource	
22	быть первым		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][adj.sg.instr.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	
23	быть последним		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][adj.sg.instr.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	
24	быть следующим		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][adj.sg.instr.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	
25	быть хозяином своего времени		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.instr.][pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	USE TIME	resource	actor
26	в августе		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
27	в апреле		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
876	в будущем году		[adp.][verb act.partic.pres.sg. prep.][noun sg. prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	container

28	в веках		[adp.][noun pl.prep.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = LONG	container	
29	в вечер		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
1041	в взрослом возрасте		[adp.][adj.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	
949	в возрасте 20→ лет	whole numbers	[adp.][noun sg.prep.][num.][noun pl.gen.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	
30	в воскресенье		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
977	в воскресенья→	days of the week	[adp.][noun pl.acc.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	container	cycle
743	в глубокой древности		[adp.][adj.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
939	в глубокой старости		[adp.][adj.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	
31	в годах		[adp.][noun pl.prep.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	life
944	в годы своей старости		[adp.][noun pl.acc.][pron. sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	life
908	в давние времена		[adp.][adj.pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
938	в далекой молодости		[adp.][adj.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	STAGE OF LIFE	direction	life
32	в данный момент		[adp.][adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	NOW	time line	container
33	в два счета		[adp.][num.sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	resource	
34	в декабре		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
945	в детские и отроческие годы		[adp.][adj.pl.acc.][conj.][adj. pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	life
943	в детстве		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	life
906	в дневное→ время	descriptive adjectives	[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	nature

35	в доброе старое время		[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
36	в добрую минуту		[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	SUITABLE TIME	container	
37	в добрый час!		[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	INTERJECTION	container	
38	в должное время		[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
870	в другой день→	all measurable time units	[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
931	в запоздалую→ весну→	descriptive adjectives + seasons	[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
893	в зимнюю→ пору	descriptive adjectives	[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
39	в золу, да в пору		[adp.][noun sg.acc.][conj.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	RIGHT TIME	time line	nature
941	в зрелости		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	nature
966	в иные годы		[adp.][adj.pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	NOT RIGHT TIME	time line	
965	в иные дни		[adp.][adj.pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
947	в их-то годы		[adp.][pron.pl.gen.][noun pl.acc.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	life
40	в июле		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
41	в июне		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
42	в каждый момент→	all measurable time units	[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	ALWAYS	time line	container
1020	в канун 1971→ года	years	[adp.][noun sg.acc.][num.ord.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction	
1019	в канун 1-го→ сентября→	days + months	[adp.][noun sg.acc.][num.ord. sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction	
1021	в канун июня→	months	[adp.][noun sg.acc.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction	
1022	в канун праздника→	events	[adp.][noun sg.acc.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction	
43	в кой веки		[adp.][pron.sg.nom.][noun pl.acc.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	container	life
44	в кой-то веки		[adp.][pron.sg.nom.][noun pl.acc.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	container	life

45	в который раз за		[adp.][pron. sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.][adp.]	FREQUENCY	time line	
859	в кратчайший срок		[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	actor
46	в любой момент→	all measurable time units	[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	ALWAYS	time line	container
47	в мае		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
48	в марте		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
934	в марте→ месяце	months	[adp.][noun sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
49	в мгновение		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	container	nature
50	в мгновение ока		[adp.][noun sg.acc.][noun sg.gen.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	container	nature
802	в миг		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	container	nature
886	в минувшем пятилетии→	periods of time	[adp.][verb perf.asp. Pass.partic.pret. sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	
1048	в минувшую субботу→	all measurable time units	[adp.][verb imp.asp.act.partic.pret. sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ future	actor
51	в минуту 1		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	container	
52	в минуту 2		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	RIGHT TIME	resource	
946	в молодые годы		[adp.][adj.pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	cycle
53	в момент		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	container	
902	в моменты просветления→	events	[adp.][noun pl.acc.][noun sg.gen.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	container	cycle
860	в наикратчайшие сроки		[adp.][adj.pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	container	

903	в напряженные периоды времени		[adp.][adj.pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING PERIODS OF TIME	container	cycle
54	в настоящее время		[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	NOWADAYS	time line	
881	в наш век		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	container
55	в наше время		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	NOWADAYS	time line	
880	в нашем веке		[adp.][noun sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
56	в наши дни		[adp.][pron.pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	NOWADAYS	time line	container
899	в недельный срок		[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = NEUTRAL	time line	
57	в непродолжительном времени		[adp.][adj.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	SOON	actor	direction
1049	в неудобное время		[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	NOT SUITABLE TIME	container	
58	в ночь до…		[adp.][noun sg.acc.][adp.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
59	в ноябре		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
60	в нужный момент		[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
875	в нынешнем году		[adp.][adj.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
884	в один день		[adp.][num.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
61	в один миг		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	container	
62	в один момент		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	container	
883	в один прекрасный день		[adp.][num.sg.acc.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
63	в одно мгновение		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	container	

64	в одно прекрасное время		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
65	в одно прекрасное утро		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
66	в одну минуту		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	container	
67	в одну секунду		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	container	
68	в октябре		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
1040	в отрочестве		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	cycle
69	в первое время		[adp.][num.ord.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	
70	в первое мгновение		[adp.][num.ord.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
71	в первой декаде		[adp.][num.ord.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	container
937	в первой половине дня		[adp.][num.ord.sg.instr.][nouns sg.instr.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	container
874	в первом квартале		[adp.][adj.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	container
72	в первую минуту→	all measurable time units	[adp.][num.ord.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	container
936	в первую половину дня		[adp.][num.ord.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
1050	в плохое время	descriptive adjectives	[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	NOT SUITABLE TIME	container	
1094	в половине третьего→	ordinal numbers	[pron.][noun sg.prep.][num.ord. sg.gen.]	CLOCK TIME	time line	
73	в понедельник		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle

74	в поре		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
75	в пору		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
898	в пору расцвета		[adp.][noun sg.prep.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
76	в последнее время		[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ past	container
890	в последней пятиминутке→	periods of time	[adp.][adj.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ past	
885	в последнем десятилетии→	periods of time	[adp.][adj.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ past	
77	в последнюю минуту		[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	direction_ past	container
1023	в преддверии съезда→	events	[adp.][noun sg.prep.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ past	
892	в предшествующем периоде		[adp.][adj.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	container	
78	в прежнее время		[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ past	container
79	в прежние времена		[adp.][adj.pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ past	container
819	в продолжение		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = NEUTRAL	time line	
909	в продолжение лета→	periods of time	[adp.][noun sg.acc.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
976	в промежутках		[adp.][noun pl.prep.]	DURING PERIODS OF TIME	time line	container
80	в прошлом году		[adp.][adj.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ past	container
925	в прошлую ночь		[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ past	

81	в пятницу		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
904	в революционные→ эпохи	descriptive adjectives	[adp.][adj.pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
900	в редкие свободные минуты		[adp.][adj.pl.acc.][adj.pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	container	
82	в самой поре		[adp.][pron.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	
83	в самую пору		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	RIGHT TIME	container	
84	в свободное время		[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
85	в свое время		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	life
86	в секунду		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	SOON	container	
951	в семилетнем→ возрасте	amount of years	[adp.][adj.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	cycle
87	в сентябре		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
858	в сжатые сроки		[adp.][noun pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	resource	actor
857	в сжатый срок		[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	resource	actor
88	в скором времени		[adp.][adj.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	SOON	container	
872	в следующей неделе→	all measurable time units	[adp.][adj.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	
867	в следующую минуту→	all measurable time units	[adp.][verb imp.asp.act.partic.pres. sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	
89	в среду		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
90	в срок		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	RIGHT TIME	container	
935	в старину		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	life

1037	в старости		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
91	в субботу		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
1036	в субботу-воскресенье		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	container	cycle
92	в сумерках		[adp.][noun pl.prep.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	container	nature
93	в сумерки		[adp.][noun pl.acc.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	container	nature
1044	в считанные дни		[adp.][[verb perf.asp.pass.partic.perf. pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	
1042	в считанные минуты		[adp.][[verb perf.asp.pass.partic.perf. pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	
854	в считанные секунды		[adp.][[verb perf.asp.pass.partic.perf. pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	resource	
1043	в считанные часы		[adp.][[verb perf.asp.pass.partic.perf. pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	
94	в такой короткий срок		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	container	
894	в такую позднюю пору		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	container	
1045	в те времена		[adp.][pron.pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
95	в те дни		[adp.][pron.pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	container
865	в те минуты		[adp.][pron.pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	time line	
96	в те поры		[adp.][pron.pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
888	в текущем столетии→	all measurable time units, especially long periods of time	[adp.][verb imp.asp.act.partic.pres. sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	nature

818	в течение		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = NEUTRAL	time line	nature
97	в течение более чем …		[adp.][noun sg.acc.][adj.comp.][conj.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	nature
822	в течение определенного периода		[adp.][noun sg.acc.][noun sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = NEUTRAL	time line	nature
887	в течение текущего десятилетия→	all measurable time units	[adp.][noun sg.acc.][verb imp.asp.act. partic.pres.sg.gen.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	nature
98	в то время как		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.][conj.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
1083	в то же время		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][particle][noun sg.acc.]	SIMULTANEUSLY	time line	
99	в то же мгновение→	points in time	[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][particle][noun sg.acc.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
100	в тот же час→	all measurable time units	[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][particle][noun sg.acc.]	SIMULTANEUSLY	time line	
1091	в три→ (часа)	whole numbers between 1 and 24	[pron.][num.sg.acc.]([noun sg.gen.])	CLOCK TIME	time line	
102	в ту пору		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	container	
103	в феврале		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
882	в ходе		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
104	в четверг		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	container	cycle
950	в шестнадцать→ лет	points in time	[adp.][num.sg.acc.][noun pl.gen.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	life
905	в эпохи катастроф→	events	[adp.][noun pl.acc.][noun pl.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
896	в эпоху Киргегора→	descriptive nouns, persons	[adp.][noun sg.prep.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
901	в эти мгновения		[adp.][pron.pl.nom.][noun pl.acc.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	time line	actor

907	в это самое время		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	actor
105	в эту пору1		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	actor
106	в эту пору2		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][particle][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	actor
897	в эту эпоху		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
940	в юном возрасте		[adp.][adj.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	life
1039	в юности		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	life
955	в юношеском* возрасте		[adp.][adj.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	life
1038	в юношестве		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	life
107	в январе		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
108	во время оно		[adp.][noun sg.acc.][?]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	direction
109	век		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
799	век		[noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	time line	
110	Век живи, век учись (а дураком помрешь).		[noun sg.acc.][verb.imp. asp.act.imperat.sg.2p][noun sg.acc.][verb imp.asp.act.imperat. sg.2p]([conj.][noun sg.instr.][verb perf.asp.act.pres.sg.2p]	LIFE AS TIME	resource	nature
832	века и века		[noun pl.acc.][conj.][noun pl.acc.]	ALWAYS	time line	
837	веками		[noun pl.instr.]	ALWAYS	time line	
111	веки вечные		[noun pl.nom.][adj.pl.nom.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	actor	
741	-вековье		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	substance	
112	веление времени		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	

1025	весна→ на пороге	seasons, years	[noun sg.nom.][adp.][noun sg.prep.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
113	весной		[adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	
114	Весной дни долгие, да нитка коротка.		[noun sg.instr.][noun pl.nom.][adj. pl.nom.][conj.][noun sg.nom.][adj. sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	
801	весь год→	all measurable time units	[adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL	container	
115	вечер жизни		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	STAGE OF LIFE	actor	nature
116	вечёрка		[noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	actor	
117	вечерком		[adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	
118	вечерник, -ица		[noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	actor	
119	вечером		[adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	
120	вечор		[noun sg.nom.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	
1056	взять время		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	USE TIME	resource	
121	взять на время		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
122	високосный год		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
123	вмертвый час		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	
124	вмиг		[adv.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
125	вне времени и пространства		[adp.][noun sg.gen.][conj.][noun sg.gen.]	LIFE AS TIME	container	
126	во веки веков		[adp.][noun pl.acc.][noun pl.gen.]	ALWAYS	container	
127	во времена [кого-л.]		[adp.][noun pl.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	time line
128	во времена оны		[adp.][noun pl.acc.][?]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	

129	во время чего-л.		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
130	во все времена		[adp.][pron.pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
841	во все дни→ процесса→	all measurable time units + events	[adp.][pron.pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.][noun sg.gen.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	container	
975	во все периоды→	all measurable time units, especially long periods of time	[adp.][pron.pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	ALWAYS	container	
131	во вторник		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
891	во втором полугодии		[adp.][adj.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
132	вовремя		[adv.]	RIGHT TIME	container	
133	водоворот дней		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
134	водоворот жизни		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
135	воскресник		[noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	resource	actor
136	воскресный		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	substance	cycle
137	Вот тебе, бабушка, и Юрьев день.		[particle][pron.sg.dat.][noun sg.nom.][conj.][adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
138	впервые за		[adv.][adp.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	cycle
139	впереди		[adv.][pron.sg.acc.][verb imp.asp. act.pres.pl.3.p.][adj.pl.nom.][noun pl.nom.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ future	
792	впереди		[adv.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ future	

981	вплоть до середины→ декабря→	stages + limited periods of time	[adv.][adp.][noun sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	time line	
140	впору		[adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
141	впредь		[adv.][pron.sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act. fut.sg.3.p.][refl.pron.][adv.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ future	
142	времена года		[noun pl.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
143	времена меняются (и мы с ними)		[noun pl.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. pl.3.p.]([conj.][pron.][adp.][pron.])	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
144	времена переменились		[noun pl.nom.][verb perf.asp.act. pret. pl.3.p.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	
777	времена стали (какими-л.)		[noun pl.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pret. pl.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
145	временами 1		[noun pl.instr.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
1066	временами 2		[noun pl.instr.]	FREQUENCY	cycle	
146	времени в обрез		[noun sg.gen.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	
1102	времени достаточно		[noun sg.gen.][adv.]	ENOUGH TIME	resource	
147	временник		[noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	actor
148	временной		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
149	временный		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	actor
150	временщик		[noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
151	времечко		[noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
152	время - деньги		[noun sg.nom.][noun pl.nom.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
153	время бежит		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	direction

350	время близится		[pron.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	actor
776	время вернется		[noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	direction
154	время возьмет свое		[noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.][pron.sg.acc.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
155	время врачует душу		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.][noun sg.acc.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
787	время вышло		[noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pret. sg.3.p.]	END OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	direction
156	время грядёт		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
763	время движется		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	PASSING OF TIME	actor	
157	время делает свое дело		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.][pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
158	время детское		[noun sg.nom.][adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
159	время диктует [что-л.]		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
160	время длится		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS SLOWLY	actor	direction
765	время есть что-л.		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
161	время ждет		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS SLOWLY	actor	direction
162	время залечивает раны		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.][noun pl.acc.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
163	время идет		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	PASSING OF TIME	actor	direction
164	время истекает		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	substance

772	время истекло		[noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pret. sg.3.p.]	END OF A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	substance
165	время исчерпано		[noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.pass. partic.perf.sg.3.p.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	substance
166	время как будто остановилось		[noun sg.nom.][conj.][conj.][verb perf.asp.act.pret.sg.3.p.]	TIME DOES NOT PROCEED	actor	direction
167	время как на крыльях летит		[noun sg.nom.][conj.][adp.][noun pl.prep.][verb perf.asp.sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	direction
773	время кончается		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	END OF A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
168	время кончилось		[noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pret. sg.3.p.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	
169	время летит		[noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	direction
170	время летит как на крыльях		[noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.][conj.][adp.][noun pl.prep.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	direction
171	время меняет [кого-л.]		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
172	время минует		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	direction_ future	actor
173	время мчится		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	direction
174	время наидется		[noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	ENOUGH TIME	resource	
771	время накладывает отпечаток		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.][noun sg.acc.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
775	время настает		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
351	время настало		[pron.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pret.sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
175	время наступает		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	actor

176	время не ждет		[noun sg.nom.][neg.particle][verb imp.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	direction
778	время не подходит кому-л.		[noun sg.nom.][neg.][verb imp.asp. act.pres.sg.3.p.]	NOT SUITABLE TIME	actor	
177	время не терпит		[noun sg.nom.][neg.particle][verb imp.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	direction
781	время не устраивает кого-л.		[noun sg.nom.][neg.][verb imp.asp. act.pres.sg.3.p.][acc.]	SUITABLE TIME	actor	
178	время обошло стороной		[noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pret. sg.3.p.][noun sg.instr.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	actor
179	время остановилось		[noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pret. sg.3.p.]	TIME DOES NOT PROCEED	actor	direction
180	время от времени		[noun sg.nom.][adp.][noun sg.gen.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
181	время отдаляется		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	direction_ past	actor
768	время подгоняет		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	direction
788	время поджимает		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	END OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
782	время подошло		[noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pret. sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	direction
182	время подходит		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	actor
779	время подходит кому-л.		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	SUITABLE TIME	actor	
183	время покажет		[noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp..act.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
184	время покажет свое		[noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.][pron.sg.acc.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
766	время ползет		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS SLOWLY	actor	direction
769	время поправляет		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	

785	время потрачено попусту		[noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.pass. partic.perf.sg.3.p.][adv.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
185	время приближается		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	actor
186	время приходит		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	actor
187	время пришло		[noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pret. sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	actor
188	время пролетело как одна минута		[noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pret. sg.3.p.][conj.][num.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	direction
793	время промчалось		[noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pret. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	
189	время проходит		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	END OF A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	actor
190	время работает [на кого-л.]		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
191	время смывает прошлое		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.][noun sg.acc.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	nature
192	время стоит на месте		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.][adp.][noun sg.prep.]	TIME DOES NOT PROCEED	actor	surface
770	время судит		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
193	время терпит		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS SLOWLY	actor	
194	время течет		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	PASSING OF TIME	actor	nature
786	время течет сквозь пальцы		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.][adp.][noun pl.acc.]	PASSING OF TIME	actor	nature
767	время торопит		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	direction

774	время требует чего-л.		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
195	время тянется		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS SLOWLY	actor	
794	время уйдет на что-л.		[noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	surface
780	время устраивает кого-л.		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.][acc.]	SUITABLE TIME	actor	
197	время уходит 2		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	CLOCK TIME	direction_ future	actor
196	время уходит1		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	PASSING OF TIME	direction_ past	actor
198	время что-л. делать		[noun sg.nom.][pron.sg.acc.][verb imp.asp.act.inf.]	POINT IN TIME	direction	
199	время шло		[noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pret. sg.3.p.]	PASSING OF TIME	direction	actor
764	время является чем-л.		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
200	времяисчисление		[noun sg.nom.]	PASSING OF TIME	resource	
201	времянка		[noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
202	времяпрепровождение		[noun sg.nom.]	PASSING OF TIME	resource	
203	времяпровождение		[noun sg.nom.]	PASSING OF TIME	resource	
204	все в свое время		[pron.sg.nom.][adp.][pron. sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	RIGHT TIME	actor	resource
839	все времена		[pron.pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	ALWAYS	time line	
205	все время 1		[pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	ALWAYS	resource	
1063	все время 2		[adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	FREQUENCY	cycle	
842	все годы		[pron pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
206	всегда		[adv.]	ALWAYS	time line	

848	всего пять→ лет→	numerals + all measurable time units	[pron.sg.gen.][num.][noun pl.gen.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL	resource	
207	всему свое время		[pron.sg.dat.][pron.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	RIGHT TIME	resource	
208	всему свой час		[pron.sg.dat.][pron.sg.nom.[noun sg.nom.]	RIGHT TIME	resource	
209	встречать рассвет		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
210	всю зиму		[pron sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
211	всю ночь		[pron sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
212	всякое семя знает свое время		[pron.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.][pron. sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	RIGHT TIME	resource	nature
213	всякому овощу свое время		[pron.sg.dat.][noun sg.dat.][pron. sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	RIGHT TIME	resource	nature
214	вторничный		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	substance	cycle
215	вчерашний день		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	actor	
216	Вы какого года?		[pron pl.nom.][pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	life
217	выбрать время		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	SUITABLE TIME	resource	actor
218	выделить время		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
219	выиграть время		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	USE TIME	resource	
220	выигришь во времени		[noun sg.nom.][adp.][noun sg.prep.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
221	выкраивать-выкроить время		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][verb perf.asp. act.inf][noun sg.	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	

222	высвободить время		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
223	герой нашего времени		[noun sg.nom.][pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
813	глубокая осень→	seasons	[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
815	глухая ночь		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
224	глухая пора		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
225	глухое время		[adj.sg.nom][noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
226	гнаться за временем		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][adp.][noun sg.instr.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	
227	год		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	resource
229	Год на год не приходится.		[noun sg.nom.][adp.][neg. particle][verb imp.asp.pres.sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	actor	
230	год от года		[noun sg.nom./acc.][adp.][noun sg.gen.]	ALWAYS	time line	container
231	год от году		[noun sg.nom./acc.][adp.][noun sg.gen.]	ALWAYS	time line	container
232	Год прожил, так и рог нажил, другой проживу - и второй наживу.		[noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act. pret.sg.3.p.][conj.][conj.][noun sg.nom][verb perf.asp.act.pret. sg.3.p.],[pron.sg.nom.][verb perf. asp.pres.sg.1.p.] - [conj.][num.ord. sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pres. sg.1.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
816	год с лишним		[noun sg.nom.][adp.][adj.sg.instr.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL	resource	
803	год→	all measurable time units	[noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL	time line	
228	год→ за годом→	all measurable time units	[noun sg.nom.][adp.][noun sg.instr.]	ALWAYS	direction_ future	

233	годами		[noun pl.instr.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = LONG	resource	
234	годик		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
235	година		[noun sg.nom.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	
236	годичный		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
237	годовой		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
238	годок		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
239	годочек		[noun sg.nom.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	
240	Годы мои вышли		[noun pl.nom.][pron.pl.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pret.pl.3.p.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	life
241	годы молодые		[noun pl.nom.][adj.pl.nom.]	STAFE OF LIFE	actor	life
242	годы преклонные		[noun pl.nom.][adj.pl.nom.]	STAGE OF LIFE	actor	life
243	горячее время		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
244	григорианский год		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
747	грядущее		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
1072	давно 1		[adv.]	LONG TIME AGO	time line	
1073	давно 2		[adv.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = LONG	time line	
1070	давно не		[adv.]	NOT FOR A LONG TIME	time line	
245	давно пора		[adv.][noun sg.nom.]	RIGHT TIME	time line	
246	Далеко кулику до Петрова дня.		[adv.][noun sg.dat.][adp.][adj. sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	NOT RIGHT TIME	direction	
247	дать [кому-л.] время		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][pron. sg.dat.][noun sg.acc.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
248	дать срок		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	USE TIME	resource	

249	два лета по зиме, одно само по себе		[num.sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.][adp.][noun sg.dat.].[num. sg.nom.][pron.sg.nom.][adp.][pron. sg.dat.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
250	дважды		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	cycle	
251	декабрьский		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
252	декада		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
253	декадный		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	
254	декретное время		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
255	делу время, (а) потехе час		[noun sg.dat.][noun sg.nom.],([conj.])[noun sg.dat.][noun sg.nom.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
256	день в день		[noun sg.nom.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	container	
257	День год кормит.		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.acc.][verb imp.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
258	День да ночь - (и) сутки прочь.		[noun sg.nom.][conj.][noun sg.nom.] - [conj.][noun pl.nom.][adv.]	ALWAYS	resource	
260	день и ночь		[noun sg.nom.][conj.][noun sg.nom.]	ALWAYS	time line	nature
261	день на день не приходится		[noun sg.nom.][adp.][noun sg.nom.][neg.particle][verb imp.asp. pres.sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	time line	
262	день→ ото дня→	all measurable time units	[noun sg.nom.][adp.][noun sg.gen.]	ALWAYS	time line	
263	день-денской		[noun sg.nom.]	AT POINT IN TIME	actor	
835	десятилетия		[noun pl.acc.]	ALWAYS	time line	
836	десятилетиями		[noun pl.instr.]	ALWAYS	time line	
264	длинная песня		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
738	-дневка		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	

265	днем		[noun sg.instr.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	
266	Дни летят.		[noun pl.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pres. pl.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	
267	до - года		[adp.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
268	до войны→	periods of time	[adp.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
269	до времени		[adp.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
810	до завтра!		[adp.][adv.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
270	до каких пор		[adp.][pron.pl.gen.][noun pl.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
271	до полудня		[adp.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
272	до поры до времени		[adp.][noun sg.gen.][adp.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
273	до последнего времени		[adp.][adj.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ past	
274	до рассвета		[adp.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
275	до сего времени		[adp.][pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
276	до сих пор		[adp.][pron.sg.gen.][noun pl.gen.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	
277	до скончания века		[adp.][noun sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	ALWAYS	time line	
278	до скончания дней		[adp.][noun sg.gen.][noun pl.gen.]	ALWAYS	time line	
279	до среды		[adp.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	
280	до тех пор		[adp.][pron.pl.gen.][noun pl.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	
281	Добрый день!		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	

812	добрых пять→ часов→	numerals + all measurable time units	[adj.pl.gen.][num.][noun pl.gen.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL	container	
282	долгая песня		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = LONG	actor	
820	долгие три→ недели→	numerals + all measurable time units	[adj.pl.acc.][num.][noun sg.gen.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	time line	actor
797	долго		[adv.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	time line	
798	долгое время		[adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	time line	
1076	долгое время не		[adj.sg.acc.][neg.]	NOT FOR A LONG TIME	time line	
807	долгосрочно		[adv.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = LONG	time line	
750	доныне		[adv]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction	
283	Дорого яичко к великому (к светлому, к Христову) дню (празднику).		[adj.sg.nom][noun sg.nom.][adp.][adj. sg.dat.]([adp.][adj.sg.dat.].[adp.][adj. sg.dat.])[noun sg.dat.]([noun sg.dat.])	PERIOD OF TIME	direction	
284	дорожить временем		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.instr.]	USE TIME	resource	
742	древность		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
285	дух времени		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
286	едешь на день, хлеба бери на неделю		[verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.2p][adp.][noun sg.acc.].[noun sg.gen.][verb imp.asp.act.imperat. sg.2p][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
287	еженедельник		[noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
288	еженедельный		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle

289	ежесекундно		[adv.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	substance	cycle
290	ежесекундный		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	substance	cycle
291	еще не вечер		[adv.][neg.particle][noun sg.nom.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	
1100	еще не три→ часа	whole numbers between 1 and 24	[adv.][neg.][num.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	CLOCK TIME	time line	
292	жизнь близится к закату		[noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.][adp.][noun sg.dat.]	STAGE OF LIFE	actor	nature
293	жизнь испарилась		[noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pret. sg.3.p.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature
294	жизнь клонится к закату		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.][adp.][noun sg.dat.]	STAGE OF LIFE	actor	nature
295	жизнь протекает		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature
296	жизнь течет		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature
297	жить вчерашним днем		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][adj. sg.instr.][noun sg.instr.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	
298	жить минутой		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.instr.]	LIFE AS TIME	substance	
299	за -- лет		[adp.]--[noun sg.gen.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	
862	за время конгресса→	events	[adp.][noun sg.acc.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
830	за все время полета→	events	[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	container
300	за год		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = NEUTRAL	time line	
805	за длительный период		[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = LONG	time line	actor

806	за долгое время		[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = LONG	time line	actor
1030	за истечением		[adp.][noun sg.instr.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	nature
826	за минувшее десятилетие→	all measurable time units	[adp.][verb perf.asp. pass.partic.pret. sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	
301	за неделю		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = NEUTRAL	time line	
861	за одну жизнь		[adp.][num.sg.acc.][noun sg.nom.]	LIFE AS TIME	time line	life
856	за отчетный период		[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
302	за полдень		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	
303	за последнее время		[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ past	
304	за последнее десятилетие		[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ past	
795	за столом→	places having to do with events limited in time	[adp.][noun sg.instr.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
305	за сутки→	all measurable time units	[adp.][noun pl.acc.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = NEUTRAL	time line	
855	за считанные дни→	seconds, minutes, hours, days, weeks, months	[adp.][[verb perf.asp.pass.partic.perf. pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	resource	actor
1059	за три→ дня→ после	whole numbers + all measurable time units	[adp.][num.sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.][adp.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
796	за ужином→	events limited in time	[adp.][noun sg.instr.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
306	за это время		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = NEUTRAL	time line	

808	завтра		[adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
307	задним числом		[adj.sg.instr.][noun sg.instr.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	actor	
308	задним числом		[adj.sg.instr.][noun sg.instr.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	actor	
309	заесть век (чей)		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	LIFE AS TIME	resource	
878	запрошлый		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	direction	
1106	заранее		[adv.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	time line	
310	засечь время		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	USE TIME	resource	
311	затрата времени		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
312	заход солнца		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
313	зимой		[adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	
314	злоба дня		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	actor	
315	знамение времени		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
316	золотая пора		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
317	золотое время		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
318	идти в ногу со временем		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][adp.][noun sg.acc.][adp.][noun sg.instr.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	direction_ future
319	идти впереди кого-н.		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][adp.][pron. sg.gen.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	
320	идти за кем-н.		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][adp.][pron. sg.instr.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	
321	идти сзади кого-н.		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][adp.][pron. sg.gen.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	

322	из года в год		[adp.][noun sg.gen.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	ALWAYS	time line	
323	изо дня в день		[adp.][noun sg.gen.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	ALWAYS	time line	
324	иметь время		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	USE TIME	resource	
325	иногда		[adv.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
969	иной раз		[adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	NOT RIGHT TIME	time line	
326	искать вчерашнего дня		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][adj. sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	
327	испокон веков		[adj.sg.nom.][noun pl.gen.]	ALWAYS	actor	
328	испокон веку		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	ALWAYS	actor	
329	испокон веку веков		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.][noun pl.gen.]	ALWAYS	actor	
330	использование времени		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	USE TIME	resource	
331	использовать время		[verb imp./perf.asp.][noun sg.gen.]	USE TIME	resource	
332	исторический момент		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	
333	июльский		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
334	июньский		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
335	к + определенному дню		[adp.][adj.sg.dat.][noun sg.dat.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	container
990	к 1999→ году	years	[adp.][num.ord.sg.dat.][noun sg.dat.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
1026	к моменту		[adp.][noun sg.dat.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
996	к обеду		[adp.][noun sg.dat.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
992	к осени→	seasons	[adp.][noun sg.dat.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
336	к полудню		[adp.][noun sg.dat.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	container

995	к празднику→	events	[adp.][noun sg.dat.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
993	к пятнице→	points in time	[adp.][noun sg.dat.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
994	к сорока→ годам	points in time	[adp.][num.sg.gen.][noun pl.dat.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
989	к трем→ часам	points in time	[adp.][num.sg.dat.][noun pl.dat.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
337	к утру→	periods of time	[adp.][noun sg.dat.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	container
338	к шапочному разбору		[adp.][adj.sg.dat.][noun sg.dat.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	time line	container
991	к этому времени		[adp.][pron.sg.dat.][noun sg.dat.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
339	каждую зиму→	all measurable time units	[pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	FREQUENCY	container	cycle
1067	каждые две→ минуты→	whole numbers + all measurable time units	[adj.pl.acc.][num.sg.acc.][noun sg.gen.]	FREQUENCY	time line	
341	каждый Божий день		[pron.sg.acc.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	ALWAYS	actor	
343	как снег на голову		[conj.][noun sg.nom.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	NOT SUITABLE TIME	actor	nature
825	какую неделю→	all measurable time units	[pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	
352	Калиф на час		[proper.sg.nom.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
353	квартал		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
354	ко времени		[adp.][noun sg.dat.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
355	ко времени чего-л		[adp.][noun sg.dat.][pron.sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
356	когда бы еще		[adv.][particle][adv.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
357	когда рак на горе свистнет		[adv.][noun sg.nom.][adp.][noun sg.acc.][verb perf.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.]	NEVER	time line	nature

358	когда рак свистнет		[adv.][noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp. act.pres.sg.3.p.]	NEVER	time line	nature
359	когда-когда		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	cycle	
360	когда-никогда		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	cycle	
361	колесо времени		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	PASSING OF TIME	cycle	
362	кому-л. … год/года/лет	points in time	[pron.sg.dat.][noun sg.nom.]/[noun sg.gen.]/[noun pl.gen.]	LIFE AS TIME	resource	
784	кому-л. не хватило времени		[neg.][verb perf.asp.act.pret. sg.3.p.][noun sg.gen.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	
783	кому-л. хватило времени		[verb perf.asp.act.pret.sg.3.p.][noun sg.gen.]	ENOUGH TIME	resource	
363	кончить век		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	LIFE AS TIME	resource	
364	коротать время		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	USE TIME	resource	
365	коротать жизнь		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	LIFE AS TIME	resource	
1075	коротко		[adv.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	time line	
824	которую неделю→	all measurable time units	[pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	
366	Который (сейчас) час?		[pron sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	CLOCK TIME	time line	
367	круглые сутки		[adj.pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	PERIOD OF TIME	substance	
368	круглый год		[adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	PERIOD OF TIME	substance	
369	Кто думает три дни, тот выберет злыдни.		[pron.sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act. pres.sg.3.p.][num.sg.nom.][noun pl.nom.].[pron.sg.nom.][verb perf.asp. act.pres.sg.3.p.][noun sg.acc.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	time line	
737	-летие		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	substance	
927	летней→ ночью	descriptive adjectives	[adj.sg.instr.][noun sg.instr.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
370	Летный день год кормит.		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.][noun sg.acc.][verb imp.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature

371	лето - припасиха, зима - приберихa (подбериха)		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.][noun sg. nom.][noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
372	Лето не без грозы, проводы не без слезы.		[noun sg.nom.][neg. particle][adp.][noun sg.gen.][noun pl.nom.][neg.particle][adp.][noun sg.gen.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
373	лето работает на зиму, а зима на лето		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp. act.pres.sg.3.p.][adp.][noun sg.acc.].[conj.][noun sg.nom.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
374	летом		[adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	
375	Летом два дня льет - час сохнет, осенью - час льет, две недели сохнет.		[adv.][num.sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.][noun sg.nom.][verb perf. asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.],[adv.][noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.],[num.sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.][verb perf.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
376	летосчисление		[noun sg.nom.]	USE TIME	resource	
377	личное время		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	USE TIME	resource	actor
378	Лови Петра с утра, а ободняет, так провоняет.		[verb imp.asp.act.imperat. sg.2p][proper sg.acc.][adp.][noun sg.gen.].[conj.][verb perf.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
379	май		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
380	майский		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
954	мальчиком→	phases of life	[noun sg.instr.]	STAGE OF LIFE	actor	life
382	мартовский		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
383	Мафусаилов век жить		[adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.][verb imp. asp.act.inf.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	resource	

384	Мафусаилов веки жить		[adj.sg.acc.][noun pl.acc.][verb imp. asp.act.inf.]	PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
385	мгновенно		[adv.]	IMMEDIATELY	time line	
386	мгновенный		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	resource	
387	мгновенный		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	resource	
388	медовый месяц		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
1034	между 1222→ и 1999→ годами	years + years	[adp.][num.sg.instr.][conj.][num. sg.instr.][noun pl.instr.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	container
389	между двумя→ и тремя→ часами	whole numbers between 1 and 24 + whole numbers between 1 and 24	[adp.][num.sg.instr.][conj.][num. sg.instr.][noun pl.instr.]	PERIOD OF TIME	time line	container
844	меньше трех→ месяцев→	numerals + all measurable time units	[adj.comp.][num.][noun pl.gen.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL	resource	substance
740	-месячник		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
390	месячный		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
391	Мешай дело с бездельем, проживешь век с весельем.		[verb imp.asp.act.imperat.sg.2p][noun sg.acc.][adp.][noun sg.instr.].[verb perf.asp.pres.sg.2p][noun sg.acc.][adp.][noun sg.instr.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
392	миг чего-л.		[noun sg.nom.][pron.sg.gen.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
393	мигом		[noun sg.instr.]	IMMEDIATELY	substance	
394	миновала полночь		[verb imp./perf.asp act.pret. sg.3.p.][noun sg.acc.]	CLOCK TIME	direction	
933	минувшей субботой→	days of the week	[verb imp.asp.act.partic.pret. sg.instr.][noun sg.instr.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction	
395	минувшие дни		[adj.pl.nom.][noun pl.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	direction	
396	минутами		[noun pl.instr.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	time line	
739	-минутка		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	

397	Минутку!		[noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT	resource	resource
847	минутку-другую		[noun sg.acc.][adj.sg.acc.]	APPROXIMATE TIME	time line	
398	Минуточку!		[noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT	resource	
399	Минуту внимания!		[noun sg.acc.][noun sg.gen.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT	resource	
401	Минуту!		[noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT	resource	
400	минуту→ назад	all measurable time units	[noun sg.acc.][adv.]	AN AMOUNT OF TIME BACK	resource	
402	минуты радости		[noun pl.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
403	мне пора		[pron.sg.dat.][noun sg.nom.]	RIGHT TIME	time line	actor
404	много лет		[adv.][noun pl.gen.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	resource	substance
405	моменталист		[noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	resource	
406	моментально		[adv.]	IMMEDIATELY	time line	
979	моментами		[instr.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
407	моментом		[noun sg.instr.]	IMMEDIATELY	time line	actor
408	море времени		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	MUCH TIME	resource	nature
409	Мужик год не пьет, а два не пьет, а как черт прорвет, так и все пропьет.		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.acc.][neg. particle][verb imp.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.] ,[conj.][num.][neg.particle][verb imp. asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.],[conj.][conj.][no un sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pres.sg. 3.p.],[conj.][conj.][pron.sg.acc.][verb perf.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
410	мыкать век		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	life
411	на века		[adp.][noun pl.acc.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	direction
412	на веки веков		[adp.][noun pl.acc.][noun pl.gen.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	direction

413	на веки вечные		[adp.][noun pl.acc.][adj.pl.acc.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	direction
414	На веку, как на долгом волоку (разное пережить придется).		[adp.][noun sg.gen.][conj.][adp.][adj.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]([adj. sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.inf.][verb perf.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.])	LIFE AS TIME	surface	life
415	на восходе (солнца)		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]([noun sg.gen.])	AT A POINT IN TIME	cycle	
416	на время		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
417	на время		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	PASSING OF TIME	resource	
418	на все времена		[adp.][pron.pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	actor
957	на всех стадиях развития→	events	[adp.][pron.pl.prep.][noun pl.prep.][noun sg.gen.]	ALWAYS	time line	
419	на год→	all measurable time units	[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
420	на данный момент		[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	NOW	time line	surface
422	на дню		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	
423	на днях		[adp.][noun pl.prep.]	NOT A LONG TIME AGO	surface	
424	на днях		[adp.][noun pl.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	
809	на завтра		[adp.][adv.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
425	на закате		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	cycle	
426	на закате дней		[adp.][noun sg.prep.][noun pl.gen.]	STAGE OF LIFE	cycle	
427	на заре		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	cycle	
428	на заре жизни		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	surface	nature
429	на заре новой жизни		[adp.][noun sg.prep.][adj. sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	surface	nature
430	на каждом шагу		[adp.][adj.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	direction	nature
431	на мгновение		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
432	на миг		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	nature
433	на минутку		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
434	на минуту		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	

435	На наш век дураков хватит.		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.][noun pl.gen.][verb perf.asp. act.pres.sg.3.p.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
436	на неделе		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	surface	
437	на носу что у кого		[adp.][noun sg.gen.][pron. sg.acc.][adp.][pron.sg.gen.]	SOON	direction	nature
438	на ночь глядя		[adp.][noun sg.acc.][verb imp.asp. ger.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	direction	nature
439	на первое время		[adp.][num.ord.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	
952	на первом году жизни		[adp.][num.ord.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	
440	на первых порах		[adp.][num.ord.pl.prep.][noun pl.prep.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
1024	на пороге 1999→ года	years, periods of time	[adp.][noun sg.prep.][num.ord. sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	surface	
889	на последней пятиминутке		[adp.][adj.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	
868	на предпоследней минуте→	all measurable time units	[adp.][adj.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	surface	
817	на протяжении		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = NEUTRAL	container	
441	на рассвете		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	cycle	surface
442	на рассвете своих дней		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	STAGE OF LIFE	cycle	life
948	на своем веку		[adp.][pron.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	life
871	на седьмом→ месяце	points in time	[adp.][adj.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	surface
1054	на сей раз		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	
873	на следующей→ неделе→	stages + limited periods of time	[adp.][adj.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	container

866	на следующий→ год→	descriptive adjectives (participlesi) + all measurable time units	[adp.][verb imp.asp.act.partic.pres. sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	actor
443	на среду→	periods of time	[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
444	на срок		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	
942	на старости лет		[adp.][noun sg.prep.][noun pl.gen.]	STAGE OF LIFE	surface	life
445	на ту пору		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	surface
447	на час ума не стало, навек/довеку дураком прослыл/прослывешь		[adp.][noun sg.acc.][noun sg.gen.]	STAGE OF LIFE	resource	
446	на час→	all measurable time units	[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
448	на черный день		[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
953	на шестом десятке		[adp.][num.ord.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.]	STAGE OF LIFE	direction_ future	life
956	на этом этапе полета→	events	[adp.][pron.sg.prep.][noun sg.prep.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
449	наверстать время		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
450	наверстать потерянное время		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][verb perf.asp. pass.partic.pret.sg.acc.]][noun sg.acc.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
451	наверстать упущенное время		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][verb perf.asp. pass.partic.pret.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
452	найти время		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	USE TIME	resource	
1015	накануне 1999→ года	years	[adp.][num.ord.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
1014	накануне 1-го→ сентября→	days + months	[adp.][num.ord.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	

1017	накануне июня→	months	[adp.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
1018	накануне праздника→	events	[adp.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
1016	накануне этого дня		[adp.][pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
453	Наперед не надо ничего загадывать.		[adv.][neg.particle][?][pron. sg.gen.][verb imp.asp.act.inf.]	PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
838	напролёт		[adv.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction	
454	настал его последний/смертный час		[verb perf.asp.act.pret.sg.3.p.][pron. sg.gen.][adj.sg.nom.]/[adj. sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
455	настали последние времена		[verb perf.asp.act.pret.pl.3.p.][adj. pl.nom.][noun pl.nom.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
458	наступили последние времена		[verb perf.asp.act.pret.pl.3.p.][adj. pl.nom.][noun pl.nom.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
916	наутро		[adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	nature
459	не более чем за неделю→ до сбора→	numerals + events	[neg.particle][adj.comp.][conj.][adp.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	substance	
460	не в пору гость хуже татарина		[neg.particle][adp.][noun sg.acc.][noun sg.nom.][adj. comp.][noun sg.gen.]	NOT RIGHT TIME	actor	
461	не видать как своих ушей		[neg.particle][verb imp.asp.act. inf.][conj.][pron.pl.gen.][noun pl.gen.]	NEVER	actor	nature
462	не видеть как своих ушей		[neg.particle][verb imp.asp.act. inf.][conj.][pron.pl.gen.][noun pl.gen.]	NEVER	actor	nature
463	не вовремя		[neg.particle][adv.]	NOT RIGHT TIME	time line	actor
464	не вовремя гость хуже татарина		[neg.particle][adv.][noun sg.nom.][adv.comp.][noun sg.gen.]	NOT RIGHT TIME	time line	actor
465	не время		[neg.particle][noun sg.nom.]	NOT RIGHT TIME	time line	actor
466	не все в прошлом		[neg.particle][pron. sg.nom.][adp.][noun sg.prep.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	

467	не гребень чешет голову, а время		[neg.particle][noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.][noun sg.acc.],[conj.][noun sg.nom.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
468	не дорог час временем, а дорог улучкой		[neg.particle][adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.][noun sg.instr.].[conj.][adj. sg.nom.][noun sg.instr.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
469	не знать веку		[neg.particle][verb imp.asp.act. inf.][noun sg.gen.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	
973	не каждый день→	all measurable time units	[neg.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	FREQUENCY	time line	
845	не меньше, чем три→ месяца→	numerals + all measurable time units	[neg.][adj.comp.][conj.][num.][noun sg.gen.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL	substance	
470	не отставать от времени		[neg.particle][verb imp.asp.act. inf.][adp.][noun sg.gen.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	actor
471	Не первая зима волку зимовать		[neg.particle][adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.][noun sg.dat.][verb imp.asp. act.inf.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
472	Не по годам одет→	actions	[neg.particle][adp.][noun sg.dat.][verb perf.asp.pass.partic.pret.]	STAGE OF LIFE	actor	life
473	Не по дням, а по часам.		[neg.particle][adp.][noun pl.dat.],[conj .][adp.][noun pl.dat.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT	resource	
474	не позже, чем через…		[neg.particle][adv.comp.][conj.][adp.]	AN AMOUNT OF TIME AHEAD	time line	
475	Не ровен час.		[neg.particle][adv.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
476	не теряя времени		[neg.particle][verb imp.asp.ger. pres.][noun sg.gen.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
477	Не тот живет дольше, чей век больше.		[neg.particle][pron.sg.nom.][verb imp. asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.][adv.comp.][pron. sg.dat.][noun pl.gen.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
478	не увидать как своих ушей		[neg.particle][verb perf.asp.act. inf.][conj.][pron.pl.gen.][noun pl.gen.]	NEVER	actor	nature

479	не увидеть как своих ушей		[neg.particle][verb perf.asp.act. inf.][conj.][pron.pl.gen.][noun pl.gen.]	NEVER	actor	nature
1069	недавно		[adv.]	NOT A LONG TIME AGO	time line	
480	Неделя крепка середой.		[noun sg.nom.][adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.instr.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	actor	
481	неделями→	all measurable time units	[noun pl.instr.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	substance	
984	незадолго до		[adv.][adp.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction	
985	незадолго перед		[adv.][adp.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
482	некоторое время		[pron.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL	actor	
864	непрерывно		[adv.]	ALWAYS	time line	
1052	неравно время		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	ANY TIME	actor	
483	Неровён час		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	
804	несколько минут		[num.][noun pl.gen.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL	substance	
1060	никогда		[adv.]	NEVER	actor	
484	ночью		[noun sg.instr.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	cycle	
485	ноябрьский		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
753	ныне 1		[adv]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
754	ныне 2		[adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
752	нынешний 1		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
757	нынешний 2		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
758	нынешний 3		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle

755	нынче 1		[adv]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	direction
756	нынче 2		[adv]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	direction
486	О времена, о нравы!		[interj.][noun pl.nom.][interj.][noun pl.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
487	о ту пору		[adp.][pron. sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
488	об эту пору		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
489	Обещанного три года ждут.		[verb perf.asp.pass.partic.perf. sg.gen.][num.][noun sg.gen.][verb imp.asp.act.pres.pl.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
490	обогнать свое время		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][pron. sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	actor
491	один миг		[num.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	POINT IN TIME	time line	
492	одно время		[num.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
1082	одновременно		[adv.]	SIMULTANEUSLY	time line	
493	Одну минутку!		[num.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT	resource	
494	Одну минуточку!		[num.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT	resource	
495	Одну минуту!		[num.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT	resource	
496	ожидать своего времени		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][pron. sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	SUITABLE TIME	actor	
497	океан времени		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	MUCH TIME	resource	nature
1010	около 1→ сентября→	days + months	[adp.][num.ord.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction	
1011	около 1999→ года	years	[adp.][num.ord.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction	
1013	около середины июня→	months	[adp.][noun sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	time line	cycle
1009	около трех→ часов	points in time	[adp.][num.pl.gen.][noun pl.gen.]	APPROXIMATE TIME	resource	

1012	около этого времени		[adp.][pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
498	октябрьский		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
499	опередивший свое время		[verb perf.asp.act.partic.perf. sg.nom.][pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	actor
500	опередить свое время		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][pron. sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	actor
1065	опять		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	time line	
501	Осень всключает, да/а как весна захочет		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act. pres.sg.3.p.][conj.][conj.][noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
502	осенью		[noun sg.instr.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	
503	от века		[adp.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	time line	
504	от века веков		[adp.][noun sg.gen.][noun pl.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	time line	
505	от времени до времени		[adp.][noun sg.gen.][adp.][noun sg.gen.]	ALWAYS	time line	
970	от года к году		[adp.][noun sg.gen.][adp.][noun sg.dat.]	ALWAYS	time line	
506	от зари до зари		[adp.][noun sg.gen.][adp.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
507	отдать время [чему-л.]		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.][pron.sg.dat.]	USE TIME	resource	
821	отложить в долгий ящик		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][adp.][adj. sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	direction	
508	отнимать у кого-л. время		[verb imp.asp.act. inf.][adp.][pron.][noun sg.acc.]	USE TIME	resource	
749	отныне		[adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	

759	отнять время		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
972	ото дня→ ко дню→	all measurable time units + all measurable time units	[adp.][noun sg.gen.][adp.][noun sg.dat.]	ALWAYS	time line	
509	отправиться к праотцам		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][adp.][noun pl.dat.]	LIFE AS TIME	direction_ past	
510	отрезок времени		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	PERIOD OF TIME	resource	substance
511	оттянуть время		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	USE TIME	resource	substance
512	первая ласточка		[num.ord.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
513	первое время		[num.ord.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	container
514	Первый снег - не зима, первая зазноба - не невеста.		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.][neg. particle][noun sg.nom.][adj. sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.][neg. particle][noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
983	перед		[adp.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ past	
515	перед (самыми) сумерками		[adp.]([pron.pl.instr.])[noun pl.instr.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	surface	nature
998	перед 1→ сентября	points in time	[adp.][num.ord.sg.instr.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ past	
999	перед 1999→ годом	years	[adp.][num.ord.sg.instr.][noun sg.instr.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ past	
516	перед восходом (солнца)		[adp.][noun sg.instr.]([noun sg.gen.])	AT A POINT IN TIME	surface	nature
517	перед дождем		[adp.][noun sg.instr.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	surface	nature
1001	перед началом работы→	events	[adp.][noun sg.instr.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ past	
1003	перед обедом→	events limited in time	[adp.][noun sg.instr.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ past	
518	перед полуднем→	points in time	[adp.][noun sg.instr.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	direction_ past	nature

1002	перед праздником→	events	[adp.][noun sg.instr.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ past	
519	перед рассветом		[adp.][noun sg.instr.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	direction_ past	nature
997	перед тремя→ часами	points in time	[adp.][num.sg.instr.][noun pl.instr.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ past	
520	Перед человеком открывается будущее.		[adp.][noun sg.instr.][verb imp.asp. act.pres.sg.3.p.][noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	nature
1000	перед этим днем		[adp.][pron.sg.instr.][noun sg.instr.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ past	
521	перенести на		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][adp.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	
980	периодами		[instr.]	DURING PERIODS OF TIME	time line	
522	планирование времени		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	USE TIME	resource	
523	планировать время		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	USE TIME	resource	
911	по весне		[adp.][noun sg.dat.]	DURING PERIODS OF TIME	cycle	
524	по вечерам		[adp.][noun pl.dat.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
525	по воскресеням		[adp.][noun pl.dat.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
526	по временам		[adp.][noun pl.dat.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
527	по вторникам		[adp.][noun pl.dat.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
967	по году→	all measurable time units	[adp.][noun sg.dat.]	USE TIME	actor	
913	по зиме		[adp.][noun sg.dat.]	DURING PERIODS OF TIME	cycle	
1029	по истечении		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	nature
914	по лету		[adp.][noun sg.dat.]	DURING PERIODS OF TIME	cycle	
811	по неделям		[adp.][noun pl.dat.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	
528	по ночам		[adp.][noun pl.dat.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	

912	по осени		[adp.][noun sg.dat.]	DURING PERIODS OF TIME	cycle	
529	по понедельникам		[adp.][noun pl.dat.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
978	по праздникам		[adp.][noun pl.dat.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
1027	по прошествии		[adp.][noun sg.prep.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	nature
530	по сей день		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	time line	
531	по сию пору		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	time line	
532	по средам		[adp.][noun pl.dat.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
533	по субботам		[adp.][noun pl.dat.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
534	по сю пору		[adp.][pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	time line	
535	по тем временам		[adp.][pron pl.dat.][noun pl.dat.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	
536	по часам		[adp.][noun pl.dat.]	CLOCK TIME	resource	
537	по-вечернему		[adv.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
748	повременить с чем-л		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][adp.]	USE TIME	actor	
1004	под 1→ января→	days + months	[adp.][num.ord.sg.acc.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction	
987	под вечер		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction	
1005	под выходной день		[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction	
1006	под конец		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction	
988	под осень→	seasons	[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction	
1007	под праздник→	events	[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction	
986	под седьмое→	points in time	[adp.][num.sg.acc.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction	
1008	под старость		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	STAGE OF LIFE	direction	
538	под утро		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	direction	nature
539	подходит время		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.nom.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	actor
791	подходящее время		[verb imp.asp.act.partic.pres. sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	SUITABLE TIME	direction	actor
877	позапрошлый		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	direction_ past	

930	поздней→ весной→	descriptive adjectives + seasons	[adj.sg.instr.][noun sg.instr.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	
814	поздний вечер		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	
1028	позже		[adv.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	
1077	пока 1		[adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	time line	
1107	пока 2		[conj.]	SIMULTANEUSLY	time line	
1078	пока что		[adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
540	полдень		[noun sg.nom.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	
541	полдневный		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	substance	cycle
542	полночный		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	substance	cycle
543	полночь		[noun sg.nom.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	
1103	полным ходом		[adj sg.instr.][noun sg.instr.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	resource	
1098	половина третьего*		[noun sg.nom.][num.ord.sg.gen.]	CLOCK TIME	time line	
1093	полтретьего→	ordinal numbers	[adv.]	CLOCK TIME	time line	
544	полуночный		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	substance	cycle
545	полярный день		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
546	понедельничный		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	substance	cycle
547	понедельно		[adv.]	DURING POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
548	понедельный		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	substance	cycle
751	поныне		[adv]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	
549	пора за ум взяться		[noun sg.nom.][adp.][noun sg.acc.][verb perf.asp.act.inf.]	RIGHT TIME	time line	

550	пора и совесть знать		[noun sg.nom.][conj.][noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.inf.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	resource	
551	пора и честь знать		[noun sg.nom.][conj.][noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.inf.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	resource	
552	пора костям на место (покой)		[noun sg.nom.][noun pl.dat.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]([noun sg.acc.])	RIGHT TIME	time line	
553	пора надвигается		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	direction	actor
344	пора настала		[pron.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pret.sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
345	пора наступила		[pron.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pret.sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
346	пора начинается		[pron.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	actor
347	пора приближается		[pron.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	actor
348	пора пришла		[pron.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pret.sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	actor
349	пора стоит		[pron.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
554	порой		[noun sg.instr.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
555	порою		[noun sg.instr.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
556	посвятить время чему		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.][pron.sg.dat.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
559	после восхода (солнца)		[adp.][noun sg.gen.]([noun sg.gen.])	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction	nature
560	После дождика в четверг		[adp.][noun sg.gen.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	ANY TIME	time line	nature
557	после одиннадцати→ часов	points in time	[adp.][noun pl.gen.]	CLOCK TIME	time line	
561	после полудня		[adp.][noun sg.gen.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction	
558	после съезда→	events	[adp.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	

562	последние мгновения жизни		[adj.pl.nom.][noun pl.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	STAGE OF LIFE	direction	
863	постоянно		[adv.]	ALWAYS	time line	
563	потеря времени		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
564	потерянное время		[verb perf.asp.pass.partic.perf. sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	actor
565	поток времени		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	PASSING OF TIME	direction	nature
566	поток дней		[noun sg.nom.][noun pl.gen.]	PASSING OF TIME	direction	nature
567	поток жизни		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	PASSING OF TIME	direction	nature
915	поутру		[adv.]	DURING PERIODS OF TIME	cycle	
1058	почти неделю→	all measurable time units	[adv.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL	substance	
761	предварительно		[adv.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ past	
568	предоставить время [кому-л.]		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.][pron.sg.dat.]	USE TIME	resource	
569	предстоящее (?время)		[verb imp.asp.act.partic.pres.sg.nom.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ future	actor
570	предыдущее (?время)		[verb imp.asp.act.partic.pres.sg.nom.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	actor
571	прежде времени		[adp.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ past	
572	преждевременно		[adv.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ past	
573	прибавить время на что-л.		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.][adp.]	USE TIME	resource	surface
574	Приближается два→ часа.	points in time	[verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.][num.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ past	actor

575	Придет осень, за все спросит.		[verb perf.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.][noun sg.nom.][adp.][pron.sg.acc.][verb perf.asp.act.pres.sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
1089	примерно		[adv.]	APPROXIMATE TIME	time line	
1088	примерно в		[adv.][adp.]	APPROXIMATE TIME	time line	
576	приходят последние времена		[verb imp.asp.act.pres.pl.3.p.][adj. pl.nom.][noun pl.nom.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ past	actor
578	Пришла весна→	periods of time	[verb perf.asp.act.pret.sg.3.p.][noun sg.nom.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	direction	actor
579	Пришла минута→ прощания→.	points in time + events	[verb perf.asp.act.pret.sg.3.p.][noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	direction	actor
580	про черный день		[adp.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	actor	
581	проводить время [как-л.]		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.][adv.]	USE TIME	resource	
924	прошлая ночь		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction	
582	прошло два→ часа	points in time	[verb perf.asp.act.pret. sg.3.p.][num.][noun sg.gen.]	PASSING OF TIME	time line	actor
745	прошлое		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
583	прошлой зимой		[adj.sg.instr.][noun sg.instr.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	actor
926	прошлой ночью		[adj.sg.instr.][noun sg.instr.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	actor
932	прошлым→ воскресеньем→	descriptive adjectives (participles) + all measurable time units	[adj.sg.instr.][noun sg.instr.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	direction_ past	actor
584	пульс времени		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
585	пустая трата времени		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	USE TIME	resource	
760	пухлый час		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	

586	пятничный		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	substance	cycle
1095	пять→ минут третьего→	whole numbers between 1 and 59 + whole numbers between 1 and 24	[num sg.acc.][noun pl.gen.][num sg.gen.]	CLOCK TIME	time line	
851	раз в год		[noun sg.acc.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	FREQUENCY	time line	
852	раз в году		[noun sg.acc.][adp.][noun sg.adp.]	FREQUENCY	time line	
1046	разгар весны→	periods of time	[noun sg.nom][noun sg.gen.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
929	раннее→ лето→	stages + periods of time	[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
587	рано или поздно		[adv.][conj.][adv.]	ANY TIME	time line	
917	рано поутру		[adv.][adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	time line
588	раньше времени		[adv.][noun sg.gen.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction	actor
589	располагать (свободным) временем		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.]([adj. sg.instr.])[noun sg.instr.]	USE TIME	resource	
590	распределение времени		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	USE TIME	resource	
591	распределить время		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
592	рассвет		[noun sg.nom.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
593	рассвет брезжит		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
594	рассвет занимается		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
596	рассветный час		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
1062	редко		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	cycle	
597	река времени		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	PASSING OF TIME	direction	nature
598	река жизни		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	PASSING OF TIME	actor	nature
850	ровно		[adv.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	surface	

1074	ровно в пять*	whole numbers between 1 and 24	[adv.][adp.][num.sg.acc.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
963	с 12→ часов	points in time	[adp.][num.sg.gen.][noun pl.gen.]	CLOCK TIME	direction_ future	
962	с 1999→ года	years	[adp.][num.ord.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	time line	
1032	с 1999→ года до 2002→ года	years + years	[adp.][num.ord.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.][adp.][num.ord.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
599	с апреля→ до середины→ июля→	months + phases + months	[adp.][noun sg.gen.][adp.][noun sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
918	с весной→	periods of time	[adp.][noun sg.instr.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
910	с весны→	periods of time	[adp.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	time line	
961	с вечера→	periods of time	[adp.][noun sg.gen.]	STARTING FROM A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
600	с восходом (солнца)		[adp.][noun sg.instr.]([noun sg.gen.])	AT A POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
601	с годами		[adp.][noun pl.instr.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
602	с давних пор		[adp.][adj.pl.gen.][noun pl.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	time line	
603	с давнишних пор		[adp.][adj.pl.gen.][noun pl.gen.]	ALWAYS	time line	
1031	с десяти→ вечера→ до шести→ утра→	numerals + times of day + numerals + times of day	[adp.][num.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.][adp.][num.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	CLOCK TIME	time line	
971	с каждым годом→	periods of time	[adp.][adj.sg.instr.][noun sg.instr.]	ALWAYS	time line	
604	с каких пор		[adp.][pron.pl.gen.][noun pl.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	time line	
607	с минуты на минуту		[adp.][noun sg.gen.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	ALWAYS	time line	surface
608	с назапамятных времен		[adp.][adj.pl.gen.][noun pl.gen.]	ALWAYS	time line	

609	с некоторых пор		[adp.][pron.pl.gen.][noun pl.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	time line	
960	с понедельника→ с утра→	days of the week+ times of day	[adp.][noun sg.gen.][adp.][noun sg.gen.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
831	с развитием→ физики→	stages + subjects	[adp.][noun sg.instr.][noun sg.gen.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
610	с рассветом		[adp.][noun sg.instr.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
611	с секунды на секунду		[adp.][noun sg.gen.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	SOON	time line	surface
964	с середины→ лета→	stages + periods of time	[adp.][noun sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
612	с тех пор		[adp.][pron.pl.gen.][noun pl.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	time line	
613	с тех пор как		[adp.][pron.pl.gen.][noun pl.gen.][conj.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	time line	
614	с тех пор когда		[adp.][pron.pl.gen.][noun pl.gen.][conj.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
615	с тех пор не мало воды утекло		[adp.][pron.pl.gen.][noun pl.gen.][neg. particle][adv.][noun sg.gen.][verb perf.asp.act.pret.sg.3.p.]	LONG TIME AGO	time line	nature
616	с течением времени		[adp.][noun sg.instr.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	time line	nature
853	с течением лет		[adp.][noun sg.instr.][noun pl.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	nature
617	с того момента		[adp.][pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	time line	
1033	с той минуты, когда… до той минуты, когда		[adp.][pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen .][adv.][adp.][pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.][adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
618	с той поры		[adp.][pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	time line	
620	с утра до вечера		[adp.][noun sg.gen.][adp.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	

621	с утра до ночи		[adp.][noun sg.gen.][adp.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
923	с утра пораньше		[adp.][noun sg.gen.][adv.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
619	с утра→	periods of time	[adp.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	time line	
1071	с утречка		[adp.][noun sg.gen.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
624	с часу на час		[adp.][noun sg.gen.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	ANY TIME	time line	surface
623	с часу на час		[adp.][noun sg.gen.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	time line	surface
625	с этих пор		[adp.][pron.pl.gen.][noun pl.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	time line	
958	с этого дня→	all measurable time units	[adp.][pron sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	STARTING FROM A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
626	с этой поры		[adp.][pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	time line	
627	самое время		[pron.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	SUITABLE TIME	time line	actor
843	свыше		[adv.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	container	
744	седая древность		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
823	седьмой→ год	points in time	[adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	
628	сезон		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
629	сей же час		[pron.sg.acc.][particle][noun sg.acc.]	IMMEDIATELY	time line	
1079	сейчас 1		[adv.]	NOW	time line	
1084	сейчас 2		[adv.]	NOT A LONG TIME AGO	time line	
1085	сейчас 3		[adv.]	SOON	time line	
762	секунда в секунду		[noun sg. nom.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction	
630	секунда в секунду 1		[noun sg.nom.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
631	секундами→	points in time	[noun pl.instr.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
632	секундно		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	time line	

633	секундный		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	substance	cycle
634	Секундочку!		[noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT	actor	
635	сентябрский		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
879	сию минуточку		[adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	NOW	time line	
637	сию секунду		[pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	NOW	time line	
636	сию секунду		[pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
638	сиять как молодой месяц		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][conj.][adj. sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
640	сколько (сейчас) времени?		[adv.](adv.)[noun sg.gen.]	CLOCK TIME	resource	
641	Сколько лет, сколько зим.		[adv.][noun pl.gen.][adv.][noun pl.gen.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	resource	nature
1081	скоро		[adv.]	SOON	time line	
642	Скучен день до вечера, коли делать нечего.		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.][adp.][noun sg.gen.],[conj.][verb imp.asp.act. inf.][pron.sg.gen.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
869	следующим днем		[verb imp.asp.act.partic.pres. sg.instr.][noun sg.instr.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	actor
643	словно снег на голову		[conj.][noun sg.nom.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	direction	nature
1064	снова		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	time line	
644	со времен царя Гороха		[adp.][noun pl.gen.][noun sg.gen.][proper sg.gen.]	ALWAYS	time line	
645	со временем		[adp.][noun sg.instr.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = LONG	resource	
647	со дня на день		[adp.][noun sg.gen.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	ALWAYS	direction	surface
646	со дня на день		[adp.][noun sg.gen.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	SOON	time line	surface

648	современник		[noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
649	современный		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
650	сократить время на что-л.		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.][adp.]	USE TIME	resource	
651	спокон веку		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.dat.]	ALWAYS	actor	
652	спокон веку веков		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.dat.][noun pl.gen.]	ALWAYS	actor	
653	спустя		[adp.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction	
654	Спустя лето (да) в лес по малину (не ходят)		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]([particle])[adp.][noun sg.acc.][adp.][noun sg.dat.]([neg.particle][verb imp.asp.act.pres. pl.3.p.])	NOT RIGHT TIME	direction	
1068	сразу		[adv.]	IMMEDIATELY	time line	
922	среди бела дня		[adp.][adj.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	container	nature
921	среди дня		[adp.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	nature
920	среди зимы→	periods of time	[adp.][noun sg.gen.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	container	nature
919	среди ночи		[adp.][noun sg.gen.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	container	nature
655	срочный		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	substance	
656	Старость не радость (не красные дни).		[noun sg.nom.][neg.particle][noun sg.nom.]([neg.particle][adj. pl.nom.][noun pl.nom.])	STAGE OF LIFE	resource	
657	столетиями		[noun pl.instr.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	time line	
658	стоять впереди кого-н.		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][adp.][pron. sg.gen.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	
659	стоять за кем-н.		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][adp.][pron. sg.instr.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	
660	стоять сзади кого-н.		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][adp.][pron. sg.gen.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	

661	субботний		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	substance	cycle
662	субботник		[noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	actor	
663	сумеречный		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	substance	cycle
664	сумерки		[noun pl.nom.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
665	сумерки ложатся		[noun pl.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. pl.3.p.]([adp.][noun sg.acc.])	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
666	Сумерки наступили.		[noun pl.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pret. pl.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
667	сумерки падают		[noun pl.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. pl.3.p.]([adp.][noun sg.acc.])	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
668	сумерки спускаются (на землю)		[noun pl.nom.][verb imp.asp.act.pres. pl.3.p.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
669	сумерничать		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	resource	nature
670	суточный		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
671	счастливая минута		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	
672	считанные дни		[adj.pl.nom.][noun pl.nom.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	
673	текут годы		[verb imp.asp.act.pres.pl.3.p.][noun pl.nom.]	PASSING OF TIME	direction	nature
674	текут дни		[verb imp.asp.act.pres.pl.3.p.][noun pl.nom.]	PASSING OF TIME	direction	nature
675	текут месяцы		[verb imp.asp.act.pres.pl.3.p.][noun pl.nom.]	PASSING OF TIME	direction	nature
676	текут минуты		[verb imp.asp.act.pres.pl.3.p.][noun pl.nom.]	PASSING OF TIME	direction	nature
677	текущий момент		[verb imp.asp.act.partic.pres. sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
678	тем временем		[pron.sg.instr.][noun sg.instr.]	SIMULTANEUSLY	time line	

1080	теперь		[adv.]	NOWADAYS	time line	
679	терять время		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
680	течение жизни		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	PASSING OF TIME	actor	nature
681	тихий час		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
682	той порой		[pron.sg.instr.][noun sg.instr.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	actor
683	той порою		[pron.sg.instr.][noun sg.instr.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	actor
1087	только		[adv.]	NOT A LONG TIME AGO	time line	
1104	только пятки сверкают		[particle][noun pl.nom.][verb pl.imp. asp.act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	resource	
1086	только что		[adv.]	NOT A LONG TIME AGO	time line	
684	тот же час		[pron.sg.acc.][particle][noun sg.acc.]	IMMEDIATELY	time line	
685	точно снег на голову		[adv.][noun sg.nom.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	direction	nature
686	трата времени		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
687	тратить время		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
688	тратить время попусту		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.][adv.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
1055	требовать время		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	USE TIME	resource	
689	третьего дня		[num.ord.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	direction_ past	
1099	три→ часа	whole numbers between 1 and 24	[num sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	CLOCK TIME	substance	
690	трижды		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	cycle	

691	тропический год		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
833	тысячелетия		[noun pl.acc.]	ALWAYS	time line	
834	тысячелетиями		[noun pl.instr.]	ALWAYS	resource	substance
692	тянуть время		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	USE TIME	resource	
693	убавить время		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	USE TIME	resource	
694	убивать-убить время		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.]-[verb perf.asp. act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
695	увеличить время [на что-л.]		[verb perf.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.][adp.]	USE TIME	resource	
696	уделять кому-чему-л. время		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][pron. sg.dat.][noun sg.acc.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
697	удобный момент		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	
1101	уже больше трех→ часов	whole numbers between 1 and 24	[adv.][adv.comp.][num.gen.][noun pl.gen.]	CLOCK TIME	time line	
698	Уже годы не те		[adv.][noun pl.nom.][neg. particle][pron.pl.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
1035	уик-энд		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	resource	substance
699	утречком		[adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	
700	утро вечера мудренее		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.][adj. sg.nom.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	nature
701	утро года→	long periods of time	[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
702	утром		[adv.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	cycle	
703	февральский		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
789	ход времени		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	PASSING OF TIME	actor	nature
704	хорошо провести время		[adv.][verb perf.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	

1053	цейтнот		[noun sg.nom.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	
800	целую неделю→	all measurable time units	[adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL	resource	substance
840	целые десятилетия→	all measurable time units	[adj.pl.acc.][noun pl.acc.]	ALWAYS	resource	substance
705	целыми днями→	all measurable time units	[adj.pl.instr.][noun pl.instr.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	resource	
706	Цыплят по осени считают.		[noun pl.gen.][adp.][noun sg.dat.][verb imp.asp.act.pres.pl.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	
707	час в час		[noun sg.nom.][adp.][noun sg.acc.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	container	
708	час за часом		[noun sg.nom.][adp.][noun sg.instr.]	FREQUENCY	time line	
709	Час минёшь, век живёшь		[noun sg.acc.][verb perf.asp.act.pres. sg.2p][noun sg.acc.][verb imp.asp.act. pres.sg.2p]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
710	час от часу		[noun sg.nom./acc.][adp.][noun sg.gen.]	ALWAYS	time line	
711	час от часу не легче		[noun sg.nom.][adp.][noun sg.gen.][neg.particle][adv.comp.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	time line	
712	час пробил!		[noun sg.nom.][verb perf.asp.act.pret. sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
713	час терпеть, (а) век жить		[noun sg.nom.][verb imp.asp.act. inf.]([conj.])[noun sg.nom.][verb imp. asp.inf.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
714	Час упустишь, годом не наверстаешь.		[noun sg.acc.][verb perf.asp.act. inf.][noun sg.instr.][neg.particle][verb perf.asp.pres.sg.2p][noun sg.instr.][neg.particle][verb perf.asp. act.pres.sg.2p]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
715	часами		[noun pl.instr.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	time line	
1090	часов→ пять→	all measurable time units + whole numbers	[noun pl.gen.][num.sg.nom.]	APPROXIMATE TIME	substance	

982	часок		[noun sg.nom./acc.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	
846	часок-другой		[noun sg.acc.][adj.sg.acc.]	APPROXIMATE TIME	actor	resource
716	часом с квасом, порой с водой		[noun sg.instr.][adp.][noun sg.instr.][noun sg.instr.][adp.][noun sg.instr.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	
1096	часы отстают		[noun pl.nom.][imp.asp.act.ind.pres. pl.3.p.]	CLOCK TIME	substance	
1097	часы спешат		[noun pl.nom.][imp.asp.act.ind.pres. pl.3.p.]	CLOCK TIME	substance	
1061	чаще		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	cycle	
717	через два→ года→ после	numerals + all measurable time units	[adp.][num.sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.][adp.]	AN AMOUNT OF TIME AHEAD	time line	
718	через каждые два→ года→	whole numbers + all measurable time units	[adp.][pron.pl.acc.]	FREQUENCY	time line	
719	через мгновение		[adp.][noun sg.acc.]	AN AMOUNT OF TIME AHEAD	time line	
720	через несколько мгновений		[adp.][adv.][noun pl.gen.]	AN AMOUNT OF TIME AHEAD	time line	
721	Через час по (чайной) ложке.		[adp.][noun sg.acc.][adp.]([adj. sg.dat.])[noun sg.dat.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
722	четверговый		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	substance	cycle
723	что ни день		[pron.][neg.particle][noun sg.nom.]	FREQUENCY	actor	
724	чтобы провести время		[conj.][verb perf.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	PASSING OF TIME	resource	
725	чувство времени		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	USE TIME	resource	substance
849	чуть не 10→ лет	points in time	[adv.][neg.][num.][noun pl.gen.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL	resource	substance
974	чуть не каждый день→	all measurable time units	[conj.][neg.][adj.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	FREQUENCY	resource	substance
726	чьи-л дни сочтены.		[pron.pl.gen.][noun pl.nom.][verb perf.asp.pass.partic.pret.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	

727	шагать в ногу со временем		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][adp.][noun sg.acc.][adp.][noun sg.instr.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	actor
728	экономить время		[verb imp.asp.act.inf.][noun sg.acc.]	USE TIME	resource	
729	экономия времени		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	USE TIME	resource	
730	эпоха 1		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
731	эпоха 2		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
732	эра 1		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
733	эра 2		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
734	эра 3		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
790	этап жизни		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.]	STAGE OF LIFE	actor	
828	этот час		[pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	NOW	time line	actor
829	эту неделю		[pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	actor
827	эту ночь		[pron.sg.acc.][noun sg.acc.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
735	январский		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
736	ясно как Божий день		[adv.][conj.][adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature

	EXPRESSION	→	GRAMMATICAL GLOSSING	FUNCTIONAL GLOSSING	SOURCE DOMAIN	SECOND-ARY SOURCE DOMAIN
625	(ei) kauempaa		[adv.].	DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL	time line	
1154	(kello on) kolme→	whole numbers between 1 and 24	[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][num.sg.nom.]	CLOCK TIME	substance	
1155	(kello on) puoli kolme→	whole numbers between 1 and 24	[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][num.][num.sg.nom.]	CLOCK TIME	time line	
307	(tasan) kahdeltatoista→	whole numbers between 1 and 24	[num.sg.abl]	CLOCK TIME	surface	direction
993	20→ vuoden iässä	whole numbers	[num.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.][noun sg. Iness.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	life
994	20→ vuoden ikäisenä	whole numbers	[num.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.][adj. sg.ess.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	life
4	aamiainen		[noun sg. nom]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
5	aamu on iltaa viisaampi		[noun sg. nom] [verb act pres. sg.1.p..][noun sg. partit.][adj.comp. sg.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	nature
929	aamuhämärissä		[noun pl.iness.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	nature
6	aamuhetki		[noun sg.nom]	POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
7	aamuin illoin		[noun pl.instruct.][noun pl. instr]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
8	aamuinen		[adj. sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	substance	cycle
9	aamuisin		[noun pl.com.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
1157	aamukuudesta→ iltakahdeksaan→	whole numbers between 1 and 24	[num.sg.elat.][num.sg.ill.]	CLOCK TIME	time line	
710	aamulla 1→	times of day	[noun sg.adess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	surface	cycle
711	aamulla 2→	times of day	[noun sg.adess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	surface	cycle
10	aamun sarastaessa		[noun sg.gen.][verb act.II inf.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	container	nature

11	aamunkoite		[noun sg nom.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
12	aamunkoitteessa		[noun sg. iness.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	container	nature
13	aamunkoitto		[noun sg. nom]	POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
14	aamunsarastuksessa		[noun sg. iness.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	container	nature
15	aamunsarastus		[noun sg. nom.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
1025	aamupäivällä		[noun sg. Adess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	nature
16	aamusta iltaan		[noun sg. elat.][noun sg.ill.]	DURING PERIODS OF TIME	time line	cycle
17	aamusta päivin		[noun sg. elat.][noun pl. instr]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	
1031	aamuyöllä		[noun sg.adess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	surface	nature
1032	aamuyöstä		[noun sg.elat.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	container	nature
594	aiemmin		[adv.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	
18	aika aikaansa kutakin		[noun sg. nom][noun sg. ill. 3.p.][pron. sg. partit.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	actor
775	aika ajaa ohi		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adv.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	direction_ future
776	aika ajaa ohitse		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adv.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	direction_ future
19	aika ajalta		[noun sg. nom][noun sg.abl]	ALWAYS	surface	cycle
20	aika ajasta		[noun sg. nom][noun sg. elat.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	container	cycle
21	aika ajoin		[noun sg. nom][noun pl. instruct.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
22	aika ajoittain		[noun sg.nom][adv.pl.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
807	aika alkaa		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	direction_ future
939	aika alkaa käydä vähiin		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][verb I inf.][adj.sg.ill.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	actor
845	aika antaa		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
777	aika antaa anteeksi		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adv.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	

844	aika antaa myöten		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][particle]	TIME PROCEEDS SLOWLY	resource	surface
843	aika antaa periksi		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][particle]	TIME PROCEEDS SLOWLY	resource	surface
940	aika armahtaa		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
944	aika edellyttää		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
778	aika ehtii		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
23	aika ei odota		[noun sg. nom.][verb act.ind.neg.pres. sg.3.p. neg.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	
1052	aika ei palaa		[noun sg. nom.][verb act.ind.neg.pres. sg.3.p. neg.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	actor	direction_ future
810	aika ei riitä		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.neg.pres. sg.3.p.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	actor
826	aika ei riitä		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.neg.pres. sg.3.p.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	actor
779	aika haalistaa muistot		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][noun pl.nom./acc.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	nature
580	aika hautaa		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
949	aika häviää		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	actor	
814	aika häviää		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
946	aika hidastuu		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS SLOWLY	actor	direction_ future
811	aika hoitaa		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	

947	aika houkuttelee		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
812	aika hujahtaa		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	direction
24	aika hurahti		[noun sg. nom][verb act.imperf. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	direction_ future
813	aika hurahti siivillä		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]([nouns pl.adess.])	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	direction_ future
780	aika jää 1		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
951	aika jää 3		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
781	aika jää lyhyeksi		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT	actor	
950	aika jakautuu		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	USE TIME	resource	
948	aika jatkuu		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
27	aika jättää [jostakusta]		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][pron sg.elat.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	
952	aika jättää jälkensä		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][noun sg.acc.poss.suff.sg.3.p]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
25	aika joutuu		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	direction
26	aika juoksee		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	direction
782	aika katoaa		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	actor	
33	aika käy pitkäksi		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adj.sg.ill.]	TIME PROCEEDS SLOWLY	actor	resource
799	aika käy vähiin		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adj.pl.ill.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	

841	aika keinot keksii		[noun sg.nom.][noun pl.acc.][verb act. ind.pres.sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
783	aika kertoo		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
815	aika kestää		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	PASSING OF TIME	actor	nature
28	aika kiiruhtaa (eteenpäin)		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind. pres.3.p.][adv.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	direction
29	aika kiitää		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	direction_ future
817	aika koittaa		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
953	aika koostuu		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	resource
784	aika korjaa		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
785	aika kulkee		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	PASSING OF TIME	actor	
816	aika kulkee eteenpäin		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adv.]	PASSING OF TIME	actor	direction_ future
786	aika kultaa muistot		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][noun pl.nom./acc.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	nature
30	aika kuluu		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	nature
31	aika kuluu hukkaan		[noun sg. nom][verb act. preessg.3.p.][adv.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	nature
32	aika kuluu kuin siivillä		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][conj.][noun pl.adess.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	resource
936	aika lähenee		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ past	actor

36	aika lähestyy		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ past	actor
787	aika liikkuu		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	PASSING OF TIME	actor	
34	aika liukuu eteenpäin		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adv.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	surface
298	aika loppuu		[pron.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	
35	aika loppuu (kesken)		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adv.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	
37	aika mataa		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS SLOWLY	actor	surface
38	aika matelee		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS SLOWLY	actor	surface
788	aika menee		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	PASSING OF TIME	actor	direction
955	aika menettää merkityksensä		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][noun sg.acc.poss.suff.3.p]]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	actor	
39	aika meni hurahtaen		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adv.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	direction_ future
956	aika muokkaa		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
789	aika muuttaa		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
790	aika muuttuu		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
792	aika näkyy		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	nature
40	aika näyttää		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
584	aika näyttää olevan		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][verb act.Ipartic.sg.gen.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	

41	aika ohittaa [jonkun]		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][pron.sg.acc.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	direction_ future
793	aika on ajanut ohi		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.perf. sg.3.p.][adv.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	direction_ future
849	aika on jättänyt jälkensä		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.perf. sg.3.p.][noun pl.partit.poss.suff.sg.3]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	nature
857	aika on jonkun puolella		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.adess.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
42	aika on kallista		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adj.sg.partit.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
860	aika on käymässä vähiin		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][act.III inf.iness.][adj.pl.ill.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	
850	aika on käytetty		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][pass.partic.perf.]	END OF A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
795	aika on kortilla		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][noun sg.adess.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	
796	aika on kypsä		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adj.sg.nom.]	RIGHT TIME	actor	nature
794	aika on muuttanut		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.perf. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
791	aika on muuttunut		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.perf. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
299	aika on ohi		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adv.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	time line	actor
964	aika on ohitse		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adv.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	time line	actor
864	aika on oikea		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adj.sg.nom.]	RIGHT TIME	actor	
797	aika on otollinen		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adj.sg.nom.]	RIGHT TIME	actor	
856	aika on ovella		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][noun sg.adess.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	actor	

855	aika on poissa		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adv.]	USE TIME	actor	
851	aika on pysähtynyt		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.perf. sg.3.p.]	TIME DOES NOT PROCEED	actor	
43	aika on rahaa		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][noun sg. partit.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
846	aika on sopiva		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adj.sg.nom.]	SUITABLE TIME	actor	resource
852	aika on takana		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adv.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ future	
847	aika on tarkoitettu		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][pass.partic.perf.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
44	aika on täytetty		[noun sg. nom][verb pass. perf. sg.3.p.]	END OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	container
854	aika on täyttynyt		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.perf. sg.3.p.]	END OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	container
863	aika on tiukalla		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adj.sg.adess.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	nature
848	aika on tiukassa		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adj.sg.iness.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	actor
862	aika on tiukilla		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adj.pl.adess.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	nature
858	aika on toinen		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
842	aika on tullut		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.perf. sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	direction
1054	aika on ummessa		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][noun sg.iness.]	END OF A PERIOD OF TIME	container	nature
1055	aika on umpeutunut		[noun sg. nom][verb act.perf.sg.3.p.]	END OF A PERIOD OF TIME	container	nature
859	aika on vähissä		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adv.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	

801	aika on vaikuttanut		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.perf. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
823	aika päättyi		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.imperf. sg.3.p.]	END OF A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	actor
824	aika päättyy		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	END OF A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	actor
47	aika päiviä (sitten)		[noun sg. nom][noun pl.partit.][adv.]	LONG TIME AGO	time line	
957	aika pakottaa		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
1053	aika palaa		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	SUITABLE TIME	actor	
958	aika paljastaa		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
959	aika palkitsee vaivat		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][noun pl.acc.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
960	aika panee miettimään→	actions	[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][verb III inf.ill.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
802	aika parantaa		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
45	aika parantaa haavat		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][noun pl.acc.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
821	aika pelaa		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
961	aika pitää huolen		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][noun sg.gen.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
822	aika pitenee		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	resource
46	aika pysähtyi		[noun sg. nom][verb act.imperf. sg.3.p.]	TIME DOES NOT PROCEED	actor	
962	aika pysyy paikallaan		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][noun sg.adess.poss.suff.3.p]	TIME DOES NOT PROCEED	actor	
803	aika ratkaisee		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	

48	aika rientää		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	
804	aika riippuu		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
825	aika riittää		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	ENOUGH TIME	resource	
827	aika saa		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
49	aika saa kuin siivet		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][conj.][noun pl. acc.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	
50	aika saa kuin siivet selkään		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][conj.][noun pl. acc.][noun sg.ill.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	
51	aika saa siivet		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][noun pl. acc.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	
866	aika sanelee		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.perf. sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
52	aika seisahtui		[noun sg. nom][verb act.imperf. sg.3.p.]	TIME DOES NOT PROCEED	actor	
53	aika seisoo		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME DOES NOT PROCEED	actor	
935	aika sopii hänelle→	person	[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][pron.sg.all.]	SUITABLE TIME	actor	
828	aika sujuu		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	PASSING OF TIME	actor	
941	aika suosii		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	SUITABLE TIME	actor	
829	aika syö		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
836	aika tärvääntyy		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	

840	aika tärvääntyy		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
837	aika täyttyy		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	END OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	container
830	aika tekee		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
831	aika tekee tehtävänsä		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][noun sg.gen./acc.poss.suff. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
942	aika tekee tekosensa		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][noun sg.acc.poss.suff.3.p]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
54	Aika tekee työtä puolestamme.		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][noun sg.partit.][adp.pl.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
832	aika tulee		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	direction
833	aika tulee pitkäksi		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adj.sg.transl.]	TIME PROCEEDS SLOWLY	actor	resource
834	aika tulee täyteen		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adj.sg.ill.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	container
835	aika tuntuu		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	PASSING OF TIME	actor	
965	aika tuo		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
1056	aika umpeni		[noun sg. nom][verb act.imperf. sg.3.p.]	END OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	container
805	aika umpeutuu		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	END OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	container
966	aika vaatii		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
800	aika vaikuttaa		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	

943	aika vie		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
838	aika vierähtää		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	
806	aika vierähti		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.imperf. sg.3.p.]	END OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	surface
1123	aika vierii		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	PASSING OF TIME	movement	
967	aika vilahtaa		[noun sg. nom][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS FAST	actor	
55	aikaa		[noun sg. partit.]	LONG TIME AGO	substance	
56	aikaa myöten		[noun sg. partit.][adp.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	surface	direction
747	aikaa piisaa		[noun sg. partit.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	MUCH TIME	resource	
57	aikaa sitten		[noun sg. partit.][adv.]	LONG TIME AGO	time line	
58	aikaa voittaen		[noun sg. partit.][verb act. sg. II inf.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	resource	
59	aikaan		[noun sg. ill.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
60	aikaan		[noun sg. ill.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
61	aikaansaada		[verb act. I inf.]	REALIZATION	container	
62	aikaihminen		[noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
1088	aikailematta		[verb act. III inf. abess.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	resource	
595	aikaisemmin		[adv.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	time line	
596	aikaisin		[noun pl.com..]	AT A POINT IN TIME	cycle	
1104	aikaistaa		[verb act. I inf.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	substance	
1128	aikakausi		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	

63	aikamme legenda		[noun sg. nom. poss-suff 1.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
64	aikanaan 1		[adv.].	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
678	aikanaan 2		[adv.].	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	life
65	aikanaan 3		[adv.]	RIGHT TIME	actor	
66	aikansa		[noun poss-suff. sg.3.p.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL	resource	
67	aikansa elänyt		[noun poss-suff. sg.3.p.] [verb. act. II partic. nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
68	aikansa kuluksi		[noun poss-suff. sg.3.p.][noun sg. transl.]	USE TIME	resource	
69	aikansa lapsi		[noun poss-suff. sg.3.p.][noun sg.nom]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
70	aikapa		[noun sg. nom. vahvistava suff.]	NOT RIGHT TIME	resource	substance
71	aikataulu		[noun sg. nom]	USE TIME	resource	substance
72	aikoihin		[noun pl. ill.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	container	
73	Aikoihin on eletty.		[noun pl. ill.][verb pass. perf]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
75	aikoinaan 1		[adv.].	AT A POINT IN TIME	resource	
679	aikoinaan 2		[adv.].	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	life
74	aikoinaan 3		[adv.].	RIGHT TIME	resource	
76	aikoja		[noun pl. partit.]	LONG TIME AGO	resource	
77	aikoja myöhemmin		[noun pl. partit.] [adv. comp]	AFTER A LONG PAUSE	time line	actor
78	aikoja sitten		[noun pl. partit.][adv.]	LONG TIME AGO	time line	
79	aikojen aamu		[noun pl. partit.][noun sg. nom.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
80	aikojen alku		[noun pl. partit.][noun sg. nom]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	

81	aikojen kuluessa		[noun pl. partit.][verb act.II inf. sg.iness.]	DURING A LONG PERIOD OF TIME	resource	substance
82	aikojen loppu		[noun pl. partit.][noun sg. nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	
1141	aikojen loppuun saakka		[noun pl.gen.][noun sg.ill.][adv.]	ALWAYS	time line	
85	aikojen päästä		[noun pl. partit.][adp.]	AFTER A LONG PAUSE	direction_ future	actor
83	aikojen perästä		[noun pl. partit.][adp.]	AFTER A LONG PAUSE	direction_ past	actor
84	aikojen pyörä		[noun pl. partit.][noun sg. nom]	FREQUENCY	actor	
86	aikojen takaa		[noun pl. partit.][adp.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	container	direction_ future
87	aikojen yö		[noun pl. partit.][noun sg. nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
987	aikuisena→	phases of life	[adj.sg.ess.]	STAGE OF LIFE	surface	life
988	aikuisiällä		[noun sg.adess.]	STAGE OF LIFE	surface	life
88	aina 1		[adv.]	ALWAYS	direction	
681	aina 2		[adv.].	FREQUENCY	cycle	
89	ajaksi		[noun sg.transl.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
91	ajalla		[noun sg. adess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction	surface
92	ajallaan		[noun sg. adess.poss-suff3.p.]	RIGHT TIME	time line	surface
93	Ajallansa aidanpano, hetkellänsä heinänteko.		[noun sg. adess. poss. suff.3.p.][noun sg. nom.][noun sg. adess. poss. suff.3.p.][noun sg. nom.]	RIGHT TIME	actor	
94	ajalleen		[noun sg. all. poss-suff.3.p.]	RIGHT TIME	container	
95	ajallinen		[adj.sg. nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
96	ajan hammas		[noun sg. gen.][noun sg.nom.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	nature
97	ajan henki		[noun sg. gen.][noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature

98	ajan hiekka		[noun sg. gen.][noun sg.nom.]	PASSING OF TIME	actor	nature
99	ajan ja työn hukka		[noun sg. gen.][conj.][noun sg. gen.][noun sg.nom.]	USE TIME	resource	
100	ajan kanssa		[noun sg. gen][adp.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = LONG	resource	
101	ajan kysymys		[noun sg. gen.][noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
102	ajan merkit		[noun sg. gen.][noun pl.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
103	ajan mittaan		[noun sg. gen.][noun sg. ill.]	DURING A LONG PERIOD OF TIME	surface	direction
104	ajan ollen		[noun sg. gen.][verb act II inf.]	DURING A LONG PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
105	ajan oloon		[noun sg. gen.][noun sg.ill.]	DURING A LONG PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
106	ajan patina		[noun sg. gen.][noun sg. nom.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	nature
107	ajan pitkään		[noun sg. gen.][adj. sg.ill.]	DURING A LONG PERIOD OF TIME	surface	direction
108	ajan ratas		[noun sg. gen.][noun sg. nom,]	PASSING OF TIME	actor	nature
109	ajan sävel		[noun sg. gen.][noun sg. nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
110	ajan tasalla		[noun sg. gen.][noun sg. adess.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	surface
111	ajan tavan mukaan		[noun sg. gen.][noun sg. gen.][adp.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
112	ajan tullen		[noun sg. gen.][verb act. II inf.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
113	ajan tunnukset		[noun sg. gen.][noun pl. nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
114	ajan vaatimukset		[noun sg. gen.][noun pl. nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	

115	ajan valtimolla		[noun sg. gen.][noun sg. adess.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	nature
116	ajan virta		[noun sg. gen.][noun sg. nom.]	PASSING OF TIME	actor	
1129	ajanjakso		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
118	ajankäyttö		[noun sg. nom.]	USE TIME	resource	
117	ajankulu		[noun sg. nom.]	USE TIME	resource	
1058	ajankulu		[noun sg.nom]	USE TIME	resource	
119	ajantaju		[noun sg. nom.]	USE TIME	resource	
120	ajanviete		[noun sg. nom.]	USE TIME	resource	
1059	ajanviete		[noun sg. nom.]	USE TIME	resource	
1057	ajanvietto		[noun sg. nom.]	USE TIME	resource	
121	ajassa liikkuu		[noun sg. iness.][verb act. sg. 3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
122	ajassaan		[noun sg. iness. poss-suff 3.p.]	RIGHT TIME	container	
123	ajasta		[noun sg. elat.]	ALWAYS	direction	
124	ajasta aikaan		[noun sg. elat.][noun sg. ill.]	ALWAYS	container	direction
125	ajasta toiseen		[noun sg. elat.][pron.sg.ill.]	ALWAYS	container	
126	ajat muuttuvat		[noun pl.nom.][verb act.pl.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
127	ajat muuttuvat ja me niiden mukana		[noun pl.nom.][verb act. pl.3.p.][conj.][pron.nom.pl.3.p.][pron. gen.pl.3.p.][adp.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
128	ajat paranevat		[noun pl. nom.][verb. act.pl.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
129	ajat sitten		[noun pl. nom.][adv.]	LONG TIME AGO	time line	
130	ajat vaihtuvat		[noun pl. nom.][verb. act.pl.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	direction
131	ajaton		[adj. sg. nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	actor	resource
132	ajattomaan aikaan		[adj. sg. ill.][noun sg. ill.]	NOT RIGHT TIME	substance	
133	ajattomalla ajalla		[adj. sg. adess.][noun sg. adess.]	NOT RIGHT TIME	substance	
134	ajoissa		[adv.]	RIGHT TIME	resource	

597	ajoittain		[adv.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
671	äkkiä		[adv.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	direction	
575	älä viikkoa viivy		[verb act.ind.pres.2.p.sg.2.p.][noun sg.partit.][verb]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	substance
135	alati		[adv.]	ALWAYS	time line	
1094	alku aina hankalaa		[noun sg.nom.][adv.][adj.sg.partit.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	time line	
1107	alkuillasta		[noun sg.elat.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	container	
1087	alle kaksi→ viikkoa→ ennen	whole numbers + all measurable time units	[adv.][num.sg.nom.][noun sg.partit.][adv.]	AN AMOUNT OF TIME BACK	time line	
983	alle viikon→	all measurable time units	[adv.][noun sg.gen.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL	time line	
1125	alle viikon→ aikana	all measurable time units	[adv.][noun sg.gen.][noun sg.ess.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = NEUTRAL	container	
136	alta aikayksikön		[adp.][noun sg. gen.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	container	
1075	alunpitäen		[adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	
137	ammoin		[adv.]	LONG TIME AGO	time line	
995	ammoisina aikoina		[adj.pl.ess.][noun pl.ess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	actor
138	ammoisista ajoin		[adj.pl.elat.][noun pl.instruct.]	ALWAYS	time line	actor
139	ammoisista ajoista		[adj.pl.elat.][noun pl.elat.]	ALWAYS	time line	actor
1012	aniharvoin		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	cycle	
140	antaa aikaa		[verb act.sg.3.p.][noun sg. acc.]	USE TIME	resource	
141	antaa aikaansa		[verb act.sg.3.p.][noun sg. acc.+ poss. suff.sg.3.p.]	USE TIME	resource	

142	antaa ajan luiskahtaa sormiensa välistä		[verb act. sg.3.][noun sg. gen.][verb. act. I inf.][noun pl. gen. poss-suff 3.p.][noun sg. elat.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
143	antaa päivän mennä, toisen tulla		[verb act sg. 3.p.][noun sg. acc.][verb act. I inf.][pron.sg. acc.][verb act. I inf.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
926	arkisin		[noun pl.com..]	DURING PERIODS OF TIME	cycle	
144	armon aika		[noun sg gen.][noun sg. nom.]	USE TIME	actor	resource
145	armonaika		[noun sg. nom.]	USE TIME	actor	resource
146	arvoida aika hetkelleen		[verb act I inf.][noun sg. acc.][noun all. poss. suff. 3.p.]	PASSING OF TIME	actor	resource
672	äsken		[adv.]	NOT A LONG TIME AGO	time line	
702	äskettäin 1		[adv.].	NOT A LONG TIME AGO	time line	
673	äskettäin2		[adv.]	NOT A LONG TIME AGO	time line	
147	astua ajan rajan toiselle puolelle		[verb act. I inf.][noun sg. gen.][noun sg. gen.][pron.sg.all.][noun sg. all.]	LIFE AS TIME	container	
148	astua jonkun jalanjälkiä		[verb act, I inf.][pron. sg. gen.][noun pl. partit.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ past	actor
149	astua jonkun jälkiä		[verb act, I inf.][pron. sg. gen.][noun pl. partit.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ past	actor
742	edellä		[adv.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
598	edelleen 1		[adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	direction_ future	
683	edelleen2		[adv.].	FREQUENCY	direction	
734	edellinen		[adj.sg.nom.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	actor
888	edellisenä kesänä→	seasons, times of day	[adj. sg.ess.][noun sg.ess.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	
897	edellisiltana→	all measurable time units	[noun sg.ess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	direction_ past	

735	edeltävä		[verb act I partic.sg.nom.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	
895	edeltävällä viikolla		[verb act I partic.sg.adess.][noun sg. adess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ past	surface
894	edeltävänä päivänä→	all measurable time units	[verb act I partic.sg.ess.][noun sg.ess.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	surface
896	edeltävässä kuussa		[verb act I partic.sg.iness.][noun sg.iness.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ past	container
1105	edesmennyt		[verb act II partic.sg.nom.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	
750	edessä		[adp.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ future	
762	edessä		[adv.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ future	
901	edessäoleva viikko→	all measurable time units	[verb.nom.sg.act.Ipartic.] [noun. sg.nom.	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ future	container
749	edessäpäin		[adv.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ future	
945	ei aika eikä mikään		[neg.][noun sg.nom.][neg.][pron. sg.nom.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT	resource	substance
150	ei aikaakaan kun		[neg.][noun sg. partit.][particle][conj.]	SOON	substance	
151	ei aikoihin		[neg.][noun pl.ill.]	NOT FOR A LONG TIME	container	
169	ei eilisen teeren poika		[neg.][adj.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	resource	actor
152	ei hetkeäkään		[neg.verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.][noun sg.partit.][partikkeli -kään]	NEVER	substance	
153	ei hyvään aikaan		[neg.][adj.sg.ill.][noun sg. ill.]	NOT FOR A LONG TIME	actor	
154	Ei ihminen tiedä aikaansa, niin kuin eivät kalatka		[neg.][noun sg nom.][verb act.ind. pres. sg.3.p.][noun sg.partit.poss. suff sg.3.p.],[conj.][verb act. pres. pl.3.p.][noun pl.][partikkeli - kaan]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	life
155	ei ikiaikoina		[neg.verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.][noun pl.ess.]	NEVER	actor	direction

920	ei ikinä		[neg.verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.][adv.]	NEVER	direction	
156	ei immoisena ikänä (ei kuuna kullan valkiana)		[neg.verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.][adj. sg.ess.][noun sg.ess.][neg.verb act. ind.pres.sg 3.p.][noun sg. ess.][noun sg. gen][adj.sg.ess.]	NEVER	container	life
157	ei isoon aikaan		[neg.][adj.sg. ill.][noun sg.ill.]	NOT FOR A LONG TIME	actor	direction
158	ei kuuna päivänä		[neg.verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.][noun sg. ess.][noun sg. ess.]	NEVER	actor	direction
159	ei mitään uutta auringon alla		[neg.][pronoun sg.partit.][adj. sg.partit.][noun sg. gen.][adv.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	resource	substance
160	ei moneen aikaan		[neg.] [pron.sg.ill.][noun sg. ill.]	NOT FOR A LONG TIME	resource	substance
161	ei moniin aikoihin		[neg.][pron pl.ill.][noun pl.ill.]	NOT FOR A LONG TIME	resource	substance
162	ei muutamaan aikaan		[neg.][pron.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	NOT FOR A LONG TIME	resource	substance
163	ei ole iällä pilattu		[neg. neg.][noun sg.iness.][verb pass. II partic.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	resource	
165	ei pitkään aikaan		[neg.][adj.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	NOT FOR A LONG TIME	container	surface
164	ei pitkiin aikoihin		[neg.][adj.pl.ill.][noun pl. ill.]	NOT FOR A LONG TIME	container	surface
166	ei tässä olla jäniksen selässä		[neg.][pron.sg.iness.][verb act I inf.][noun sg. gen.][noun sg.iness.]	ENOUGH TIME	resource	
167	ei vähään aikaan		[neg.][adj. sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	NOT FOR A LONG TIME	resource	substance
1161	ei vielä kolmea→	whole numbers between 1 and 24	[neg.][adv.][num.sg.partit.]	CLOCK TIME	substance	
168	ei yksi pääsky kesää tee		[neg.][numeral][noun sg. nom.][noun sg. partit.][verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
599	eilen 1		[adv.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
684	eilen 2		[adv.].	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction	
204	elää hetki kerrallaan		[verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.][noun sg.nom.][noun sg.adess.poss-suff]	LIFE AS TIME	time line	container
205	elää ohi aikansa		[verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.][adv.][noun sg.gen.poss-suff3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	time line	life

206	elää päivä kerrallaan		[verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.][noun sg.nom.][adv.]	LIFE AS TIME	time line	container
207	elää päivästä päivään		[verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.][noun sg.elat.][noun sg.ill.]	LIFE AS TIME	time line	container
208	elää viimeisiä aikojaan		[verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.][adj. pl.partit.][noun pl.partit.poss-suff3.p.]	LIFE AS TIME	resource	
209	elää yli aikansa		[verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.][adv.][noun sg.gen.poss-suff3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	time line	life
172	elämä ei ole ruusuilla tanssimista		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres.neg. sg.3.p.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	life
173	elämä hiuskarvan varassa		[noun sg. nom.][noun sg.gen.][adp.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature
175	elämän arpajaiset		[noun sg.gen.][noun pl.nom.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	life
176	elämän ehtoopuoli		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature
177	elämän huhmar		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature
178	elämän huomen		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	STAGE OF LIFE	actor	nature
179	elämän ilta		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	STAGE OF LIFE	actor	nature
180	elämän juhlat		[noun sg.gen.][noun pl.nom.]	STAGE OF LIFE	actor	nature
181	elämän keskipäivä		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	STAGE OF LIFE	actor	nature
182	elämän kevät		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	STAGE OF LIFE	actor	nature
183	elämän kirja		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature
184	elämän koreus		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature
185	elämän korskeus		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature
186	elämän koulu		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature
187	elämän kruunu		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature
192	elämän lähde		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature
188	elämän laki		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature
189	elämän lanka		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature
190	elämän leipä		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature
191	elämän liekki		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature
193	elämän meri		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature
194	elämän näyttämö		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature

195	elämän polku		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature
196	elämän puu		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature
197	elämän pyörä		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	ALWAYS	actor	nature
198	elämän sana		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature
199	elämän syke		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature
200	elämän syksy		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	STAGE OF LIFE	actor	nature
201	elämän tie		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature
202	elämän vesi		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature
203	elämän virta		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	nature
1	elämän→ aamu	periods of time	[noun sg.gen.][noun sg. nom.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
170	elokuinen		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
171	elokuussa		[noun sg.iness.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
688	enää 2		[adv.].	FREQUENCY	cycle	
609	enää1		[adv.].	NEVER	time line	
602	ennakkoon		[adv.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	container	
601	ennakolta		[adv.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	container	surface
600	ennalta		[adv.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	container	surface
604	ennen 1		[adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
687	ennen 2		[adv.].	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	time line	
210	ennen aamunsarastusta		[adv.][noun sg.partit.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	time line	nature
211	ennen aikaan		[adv.][noun sg.ill.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	actor
212	ennen aikaansa		[adv.][noun sg.ill.poss-suff3.p.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	time line	life
213	ennen aikojaan		[adv.][noun pl.partit. poss-suff3.p.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	time line	life
214	ennen aikojen alkua		[adv.][noun pl.gen.][noun sg.partit.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	time line	
1162	ennen kolmea→	whole numbers between 1 and 24	[adv.][num sg.partit.]	CLOCK TIME	time line	

686	ennen muinoin		[adv.][adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
605	ennen pitkää 1		[adv.]	SOON	time line	
703	ennen pitkää 2		[adv.].	SOON	time line	
685	ennen vanhaan		[adv.][adj.sg.ill.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
982	ennenaikaisesti		[adv.]	NOT RIGHT TIME	direction	
606	ennestään		[adv.].	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	container	
724	ensi kesänä→	seasons	[adj.sg.indecl.][noun sg.ess.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ future	surface
727	ensi maanantaina→	days of week	[adj.sg.indecl.][noun sg.ess.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ future	surface
922	ensi tammikuussa→	months	[adj.sg.indecl.][noun sg.iness.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ future	container
921	ensi tilassa		[verb act. pres. sg 3.p.]	SOON	direction_ future	container
723	ensi viikolla		[adj sg.indecl.][noun sg.adess.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ future	surface
728	ensi viikonloppuna		[adj.sg.indecl.][noun sg.ess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	surface
722	ensi vuonna		[adj sg.indecl..][noun sg.ess.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ future	surface
607	ensiksi		[adv.].	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ future	
1050	ensimmäistä→ kertaa	ordinal numerals	[num.ord.sg.partit.][noun sg.partit.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	cycle	
608	ensin		[adv.].	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ future	
1040	entisaikaan		[noun sg.ill.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	time line	
215	entisaikoina		[noun sg.ess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	actor
216	entiseen aikaan		[adj.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	actor

217	entisinä aikoina		[adj.sg.ess.][noun sg.ess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	actor
677	entisvanhaan		[noun sg.ill.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
218	epookki		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
1024	eräänä kauniina päivänä		[pron.sg.ess.][adj.sg.ess.][noun sg.ess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
1022	eräänä päivänä→	all measurable time units	[pron.sg.ess.][noun sg.ess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
219	erääseen aikaan		[pron.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
751	eteenpäin		[adv.]	AN AMOUNT OF TIME AHEAD	direction_ future	
603	etukäteen		[adv.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	container	nature
583	haaskata aikaa		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.partit.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
908	halki viikkojen*	all measurable time units	[adp.][noun pl.gen.]	DURING A LONG PERIOD OF TIME	container	
1064	hänelle ei riitä aikaa		[pron.sg.all.][neg.verb.act.ind. pres.3.p.][noun sg.partit.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	
1063	hänelle riittää aikaa		[pron.sg.all.][[verb.act.ind. pres.3.p.][noun sg.partit.]	ENOUGH TIME	resource	
259	hänen aikansa oli tullut		[pron.sg.gen.][noun sg. nom][poss-suff1.p.][verb act. pl-perf sg 3.p.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	direction
260	Hänen hetkensä ei ollut vielä.		[pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen][poss-suff. sg.3.p.][adv.]	SUITABLE TIME	actor	direction
610	harvoin		[adv.].	FREQUENCY	cycle	
220	heikkona hetkenä		[adj.sg.ess.][noun sg.ess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	actor	
221	heinäkuinen		[adj.sg.nom]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
222	heinäkuussa		[noun sg.iness.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle

223	helmikuinen		[adj.sg.nom]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
224	helmikuussa		[noun sg.iness.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
225	herranen aika!		[adj.sg. nom.][noun sg.nom.]	INTERJECTION	resource	
611	heti 1		[adv.].	IMMEDIATELY	direction	
689	heti 2		[adv.]	IMMEDIATELY	direction	
690	heti 3		[adv.].	SOON	time line	
226	heti paikalla		[adv.][noun sg.adess.]	IMMEDIATELY	direction	
236	hetkeäkään hukkaamatta		[noun sg.partit.][partikkeli - kään][verb act. III inf. abess.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
227	hetkeksi→	all measurable time units	[noun sg.transl.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	resource	
228	hetkellinen		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	actor	
229	hetken aikaa		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.partit.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT	resource	
230	hetken kuluttua		[noun sg.gen.][verb pass. II partic.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	resource	
231	hetken kysymys		[noun sg. gen.][noun sg. nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	resource	
232	hetken lapsi		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg. nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	actor	
233	hetken verran		[noun sg. gen.][noun sg.gen.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT	resource	
234	hetkessä		[noun sg.iness.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	container	
235	hetket ovat luetut		[noun pl.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. pl.3.p.][verb pass.II partic.pl. nom]	LITTLE TIME	resource	
237	hetki aikaa		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.partit.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	
238	hetki aikaa		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.partit.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	

239	hetki hetkeltä		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.abl.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	direction	
938	hetki lähenee		[noun sg. nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	actor
937	hetki lähestyy		[noun sg. nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	actor
240	hetki lyö		[noun sg. nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	actor	
1071	hetki pieni		[noun sg. nom.][adj.sg.nom.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT	actor	resource
241	hetki sitten		[noun sg.nom.][adv.]	NOT A LONG TIME AGO	time line	
242	hetki tulee		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	SUITABLE TIME	direction	
243	hetki!		[interj.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT	substance	
244	hetkinen!		[interj.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT	resource	
1073	hetkittäin		[noun pl.com..]	FREQUENCY	cycle	
612	hiljattain		[adv.].	NOT A LONG TIME AGO	time line	
1168	hippulat vinkuen		[noun pl.nom.][verb II inf.instruct.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	resource	
245	huhtikuinen		[adj.sg. nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
246	huhtikuussa		[noun sg.iness.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
247	hukata aikaa		[verb act. I inf.][noun sg. partit.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
248	huomenna 1		[adv.].	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
691	huomenna 2		[adv.].	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
249	huominen huolet hoitaa		[noun sg.nom.][noun pl. nom][verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	

250	huominen on iltaa viisaampi		[noun sg. nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][noun sg.partit.][adj.sg.comp. nom.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
251	huominen sotkut selvittää		[noun sg. nom.][noun pl. acc.][verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
1086	huomiseksi		[noun sg.transl.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	resource	
252	huomispäivänä		[noun sg.ess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
978	huonolla hetkellä		[adj.sg.adess.][noun sg.adess.]	NOT SUITABLE TIME	surface	actor
979	huonolla hetkellä		[adj.sg.adess.][noun sg.adess.]	NOT SUITABLE TIME	actor	surface
972	huonoon aikaan		[adj.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	NOT SUITABLE TIME	actor	container
974	hyvään saumaan		[adj.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	SUITABLE TIME	time line	
255	hyvällä aikaa		[adj.sg.adess][noun sg.partit.]	RIGHT TIME	actor	surface
973	hyvällä hetkellä		[adj.sg.adess.][noun sg.adess]	RIGHT TIME	actor	surface
919	hyvän aikaa		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.partit.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	resource	
256	hyvän sään aikana		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.][noun sg.ess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	nature
257	hyvänen aika!		[interj.]	INTERJECTION	substance	
253	hyvissä ajoin		[adj.pl.iness.][noun pl.instruct.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	resource	
254	hyvissä ajoissa		[ajd.pl.iness.][noun pl.iness.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	resource	
280	iäksi		[noun sg.transl.]	ALWAYS	time line	
282	iäksi päiväksi		[noun sg.transl.][noun sg.transl.]	ALWAYS	time line	
281	iäksi päiviksi		[noun sg.transl.][noun pl.transl.]	ALWAYS	time line	
261	iankaiken		[adv.]	ALWAYS	cycle	
262	iankaikkinen		[adj.sg.nom.]	ALWAYS	substance	
263	iankaikkisesti		[adv.]	ALWAYS	cycle	
264	iankaikkisuus		[noun sg. nom.]	ALWAYS	actor	
283	iät päivät		[noun pl.nom.][noun pl.nom.]	ALWAYS	time line	
265	ihmisten aikaan		[noun pl.gen.][noun sg.ill.]	RIGHT TIME	container	cycle
614	ikään		[adv.].	NEVER	container	
980	ikävään aikaan		[adj.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	NOT RIGHT TIME	actor	container

968	ikiajat		[noun pl.nom.]	ALWAYS	actor	direction
266	ikiajoiksi		[noun pl.transl.]	ALWAYS	time line	
267	ikimuistoisista ajoista asti		[adj. pl.elat.][noun pl.elat.][adv.]	ALWAYS	time line	actor
613	ikinä 1		[adv.].	NEVER	direction	
709	ikinä 2		[adv.].	FREQUENCY	time line	
268	ikuisiksi ajoiksi		[adj.pl.transl.][noun pl.transl.]	ALWAYS	actor	
1169	ikuisuuden		[noun sg.gen.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	substance	
269	illallinen		[noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	substance	cycle
270	illan suussa		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.iness.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	container	nature
1037	illan viimeisinä tunteina		[noun sg.gen.][noun pl.ess.][noun pl.ess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	surface
271	Illan virkku, aamun torkku, se tapa talon hävittää		[noun sg.gen][noun sg.nom.].[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.].[pron. sg.nom][noun sg.nom.][noun. sg.acc.][verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	nature
272	illanistujaiset		[noun sg.nom.]	USE TIME	resource	
273	illanvietto		[noun sg.nom.]	USE TIME	resource	
274	ilman aikojaan		[adp.][noun pl.partit.][poss-suff. sg.3.p.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	resource	
1108	iltaan→	parts of day, week days, months, years	[noun sg.ill.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	container	
1041	iltahämärissä		[noun pl.iness.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	nature
275	iltajuna		[noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
276	iltanen		[noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	actor	
1036	iltayöstä		[noun sg.elat.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	container	nature
1130	intiaanikesä		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	

277	irrottaa aikaa (jollekin/jtkin varten)		[verb act. I inf.][noun sg.partit.]([adp. sg.all.]/[adp.sg.particle.][adp.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
1044	isomummin→ aikaan	person	[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.ill.]	LIFE AS TIME	container	
278	ison aikaa		[adj.sg.gen.][noun sg.partit.]	MUCH TIME	resource	substance
279	isosta aikaa		[adj.sg.gen.][noun sg.partit.]	AFTER A LONG PAUSE	substance	
305	jäädä ajastaan jälkeen		[verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.][noun sg.ill.][poss-suff.sg 3.p.][adv.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	actor
284	jakaa aikansa		[verb act. I inf.][noun sg.]	USE TIME	resource	
738	jälkeen		[adv.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	
729	jälkeenpäin		[adv.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	
620	jälkeenpäin		[adv.].	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	
619	jälkikäteen		[adv.].	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	
621	jälleen		[adv.].	FREQUENCY	cycle	
741	jär(j)estään		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	container	
911	jättää taakseen		[verb act.I inf.][adv.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ future	
912	jättää taaksensa		[verb act.I inf.][adv.poss-suff.sg.3.p.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ future	
615	jo		[adv.].	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	time line	
285	jo oli aikakin		[adv.][verb act.imperf.sg.3.p.][noun sg.nom.][partikkeli -kin]	END OF A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
1007	joinakin vuosina→	all measurable time units	[pron.pl.ess.+ suff.][noun pl.ess.]	DURING PERIODS OF TIME	time line	surface
286	joka aika		[pron.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	ALWAYS	cycle	
1010	joka hetki→	all measurable time units	[pron.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	ALWAYS	time line	
287	joka jumalan päivä		[pron.][noun sg. gen.][noun sg. nom.]	ALWAYS	cycle	

288	joka siunaaman hetki→	points in time	[pron.][noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	ALWAYS	cycle	
1113	joka toinen→ tunti	ordinal numerals	[pron.indecl.][num.ord.][noun sg.nom.]	FREQUENCY	time line	
289	joksikin aikaa		[pron.sg.transl.][noun sg.partit.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
290	joksikin aikaa		[pron.sg.transl.][noun sg.partit.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
291	joksikin ajaksi		[pron.sg.transl.][noun sg.transl.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
617	jolloinkin		[adv.].	FREQUENCY	cycle	
293	jonkin aika		[pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	resource	
294	jonkin aikaa		[pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.partit.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL	substance	
295	jonkin ajan jälkeen		[pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.][adv.]	AN AMOUNT OF TIME AHEAD	direction_ past	
296	jonkin ajan kuluttua		[pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.][adv.]	AN AMOUNT OF TIME AHEAD	direction_ future	
297	jonkin ajan päästä		[pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.][adv.]	AN AMOUNT OF TIME AHEAD	direction_ future	
300	jonkun aikaan		[pron.sg.nom.][noun sg.ill.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	life
301	jonkun aikana		[pron.sg.nom.][noun sg.ess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	actor
302	jonkun aikana		[pron.sg.nom.][noun sg.ess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	actor
616	joskus 1		[adv.].	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
706	joskus 2		[adv.].	FREQUENCY	cycle	
303	joulukuinen		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
1166	joulukuulle	months	[noun sg.all.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	
304	joulukuussa		[noun sg.iness.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle

1114	joulun alla		[noun sg.gen.][adv.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction	
1011	juhlan→ aattona	events	[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.ess.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	time line	
618	juuri 1		[adv.].	NOT A LONG TIME AGO	time line	
692	juuri 2		[adv.]	NOW	time line	
1091	juuri ennen päivänlaskua→	events	[adv.][adv.][noun sg.partit.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	cycle	
996	juuri nyt		[adv.][adv.]	NOW	time line	
997	juuri tällä hetkellä		[adv.][pron sg.adess.][noun sg.adess.]	NOW	time line	
306	kadota aikojen hämärään		[verb act. I inf.][noun pl.gen.][noun sg.ill.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	nature
746	kadottaa aikaa		[verb act I inf.][noun sg.partit.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
308	kahdesti		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	cycle	
309	kaikella on aikansa		[pron.sg.adess.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][noun sg.nom.][poss-suff. sg.3.p.]	RIGHT TIME	time line	actor
310	Kaikella on määräaika ja aikansa on joka asialla t		[pron.sg.adess.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][noun sg.nom.][poss-suff. sg.3.p.][conj.][noun sg.nom.][poss-suff.sg.3.p.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][pron.sg.nom][noun sg.adess.][	RIGHT TIME	resource	nature
311	kaikelle on aikansa		[pron.sg.all.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][noun sg. nom.][poss-suff. sg.3.p.]	RIGHT TIME	resource	
312	kaiken aikaa		[pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.partit.]	ALWAYS	cycle	
313	kaikin ajoin		[pron.sg.gen.][noun pl.instruct.]	ALWAYS	cycle	
1074	kaikissa vaiheissa		[noun pl.iness.][noun pl.iness.]	ALWAYS	container	cycle
314	kaikki aikanaan		[pron.sg.nom.][noun sg.ess.][poss-suff.sg.3.p.]	RIGHT TIME	time line	
315	kaikki ajallaan		[pron.sg.nom.][noun sg.gen.][poss-suff.sg.3]	RIGHT TIME	time line	surface

316	kaikkien aikojen		[pron.pl.gen.][noun pl.gen.]	ALWAYS	substance	cycle
317	kaikkina aikoina		[pron.pl.ess.][noun pl.ess.]	ALWAYS	surface	
1060	kaikkina vuosina→	all measurable time units	[pron.pl.ess.][noun pl.ess.]	ALWAYS	cycle	surface
761	kannoilla		[noun pl.adess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	surface	
318	kantaa päivän kuorma ja helle		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.][conj.][noun.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
319	karkausvuosi		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
759	käsillä		[noun pl.adess.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	resource	nature
758	käsilläoleva		[verb act.I.partic.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	resource	nature
320	katsoa hetkensä tulleen		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.acc.][poss-suff.sg 3.p.][verb act II partic.gen.]	SUITABLE TIME	resource	
321	kauaksi aikaa		[adv.][noun sg.partit.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
622	kauan		[adv.].	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	time line	
623	kauan sitten		[adv.].	LONG TIME AGO	time line	
624	kauemmin		[adv.].	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	time line	
322	kautta aikojen		[adv.][noun pl.gen.]	ALWAYS	container	
364	käydä yöjalassa		[verb act. I inf.][noun sg.iness.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	substance	nature
365	käyttää aikaa		[verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.][noun sg.acc./partit.]	USE TIME	resource	
1153	kello edistää		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	CLOCK TIME	substance	
323	kello on ajassa		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind. pres. sg.3.p.][noun sg.iness.]	CLOCK TIME	substance	
1152	kello on myöhässä		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adv.]	CLOCK TIME	substance	
1151	kellon mukaan		[noun sg.gen.][adv.]	CLOCK TIME	substance	

325	kerran		[adv.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
693	kerran 1		[adv.].	AT A POINT IN TIME	direction	
324	kerran 2		[adv.].	FREQUENCY	time line	
934	kesä→ alkaa	periods of time	[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	direction	
998	kesäaikaan		[noun sg.ill.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
333	kesäkuinen		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
1089	kesäkuun→ keskivälin paikkeilla	all measurable time units	[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.][adv.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	cycle	surface
334	kesäkuussa		[noun sg. iness.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
335	kesällä		[noun sg.adess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	cycle
1066	kesäöinen		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
1099	keskellä päivää		[noun sg.adess.][noun sg.partit.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	surface	cycle
905	keskellä vuotta→	all measurable time units	[noun sg.adess.][noun sg.partit.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	surface	cycle
1100	keskellä yötä		[noun sg.adess.][noun sg.partit.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	surface	cycle
326	kesken aikaansa		[adv.][noun sg.gen.][poss-suff sg.3.p.]	NOT RIGHT TIME	resource	
327	kesken aikojaan		[adv.][noun pl.gen.][poss-suff pl 3.p.]	NOT RIGHT TIME	resource	
992	keski-iässä		[noun sg.iness.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	cycle
991	keski-ikäisenä		[adj.sg.ess.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	life
328	keskikesällä		[noun pl. adess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	surface
329	keskipäivällä		[noun pl.adess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	cycle	
588	keskiviikkoisin		[noun pl.instruct.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
330	keskiviikkona		[noun sg.ess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	surface

331	kestää ajan kulutusta		[verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.][noun sg.gen.][noun sg.partit.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
332	kestää vain punaisen minuutin		[verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.][adv.][adj. sg.gen][noun sg.gen.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT	resource	
337	keväällä		[noun sg.iness.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	surface
338	kevään korvalla		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.adess.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	surface	nature
916	kevään→ tullen	seasons, days of the week, points in time	[noun sg.gen.]][verb act. II inf.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	
336	kevät koitti		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.imperf.sg 3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
1045	kevät→ on kynnyksellä	periods of time	[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][noun sg.adess.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
339	kissan päivät		[noun sg.gen.][noun pl.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	resource	nature
626	kohta		[adv.].	SOON	time line	
340	koittaa aika		[verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.][noun sg.nom.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
341	koko ajan		[adj.indecl.][noun sg.gen.]	ALWAYS	substance	
342	koko elämänsä aika		[adj.indecl.][noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	LIFE AS TIME	resource	
932	koko viikon→	all measurable time units	[adj.indecl.][noun sg.gen.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
933	kokonaisen viikon→	all measurable time units	[adj.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	substance	
1150	kolmen→ jälkeen	whole numbers between 1 and 24	[num.sg.partit.][adv.][num.][num. sg.nom.]	CLOCK TIME	time line	
2	kolmen→ pintaan	whole numbers	[num.sg.gen.][noun sg. ill.]	APPROXIMATE TIME	surface	container
343	kolmesti		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	cycle	
1143	kolmisen→ tuntia→	approximate numerals + all measurable time units	[num.sg.nom.][noun sg.partit.]	APPROXIMATE TIME	resource	
344	korkea aika		[adj.sg.nom][noun sg.nom.]	SUITABLE TIME	actor	

1082	korvata menetetty aika		[verb act. I inf.][verb pass.II partic. sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
707	koskaan 2		[adv.].	FREQUENCY	cycle	
627	koskaan1		[adv.].	NEVER	direction	
345	kotvan aikaa		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg. partit.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT	resource	
346	kreivin aikaan		[noun sg. gen.][noun sg.ill.]	SUITABLE TIME	time line	
347	kriittinen hetki		[adj. sg.nom][noun sg.nom.]	RIGHT TIME	actor	
773	kriittisellä hetkellä		[adj.sg.adess.][noun sg.adess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	surface	cycle
1038	kukoistuskaudella		[noun sg.adess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	cycle
348	kulkea jonkun jalanjälkiä		[verb act. I inf.][pron.sg.gen.][noun pl.partit.]	LIFE AS TIME	direction_ past	
349	kulkea jonkun jälkiä		[verb act. I inf.][pron.sg.gen.][noun pl.partit.]	LIFE AS TIME	direction_ past	
628	kulloinkin		[adv.].	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
350	kulta-aika		[noun sg.nom.]	RIGHT TIME	actor	
351	kultainen aika		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	RIGHT TIME	time line	actor
1039	kultakaudella		[noun sg.adess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	cycle
352	kuluttaa aikaa		[verb act I inf.][noun sg. acc./partit.]	USE TIME	resource	
353	kuudesti		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	cycle	
356	kuukausikaupalla		[noun sg.adess.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	resource	
357	kuukausimäärin		[noun sg.instruct.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	substance	
358	kuuksi päiväksi		[noun sg.transl.][noun sg.transl.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
1027	kuun alussa		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.iness.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
1026	kuun→ alkupuolella	months, years, centuries, millenniums	[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.adess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	cycle

1029	kuun→ loppupäivinä	months, years, centuries, millenniums	[noun sg.gen.][noun pl.ess.]	END OF A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	cycle
1030	kuun→ loppupuolella	months, years, centuries, millenniums	[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.adess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	cycle
1028	kuun→ lopussa	months, years, centuries, millenniums	[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.iness.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	cycle
359	kuvastaa aikaansa		[verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.][noun sg.acc/partit.][poss-suff.sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	
360	kyllä aika keinon keksii		[adv.][noun sg.nom.][noun sg.acc./gen.][verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
361	kyllä aika keinot keksii		[adv.][noun sg.nom.][noun pl.acc/nom.][verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
362	kyllä aika neuvoineen tulee		[adv.][noun sg.nom.][noun pl.instruct.][poss-suff.pl.3.p.][verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	actor	
744	kylliksi aikaa		[adv.][noun sg.partit.]	ENOUGH TIME	resource	
745	kyllin aikaa		[adv.][noun sg.partit.]	ENOUGH TIME	resource	
1000	kypsällä iällä		[adj.sg.adess.][noun sg.adess.]	STAGE OF LIFE	surface	life
363	kysyä aikaa		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.acc./partit.]	CLOCK TIME	substance	
733	lähenevä		[verb act I partic. sg.nom.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_past	actor
873	lähes kuukauden→	all measurable time units	[adv.][noun sg.gen.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL	resource	substance
680	lakkaamatta		[adv.]	ALWAYS	actor	
907	läpi vuosien		[adp.][noun pl.gen.]	ALWAYS	container	
989	lapsuudessa		[noun sg.iness.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	life
1095	laskea tunneissa→ eikä päivissä→	all measurable time units + all measurable time units	[verb act. I inf.][noun pl.iness.][neg.+ suff.][noun pl.iness.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT	resource	substance
366	lauantaina		[noun sg.ess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	cycle

367	lauantainen		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
591	lauantaisin		[noun pl.instruct.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
368	lokakuinen		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
369	lokakuussa		[noun sg.iness.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
629	lopuksi		[adv.].	END OF A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	
630	lopulta		[adv.].	AFTER A LONG PAUSE	time line	
1062	lounaalla→	events limited in time	[noun sg.adess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	cycle
372	löytää aikaa [jollekin, jtkin varten]		[verb sg.acc./partit.]	USE TIME	resource	
370	lyhyeksi aikaa		[adj.sg.transl][noun sg.partit.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	
371	lyhyen aikaa		[adj.sg.gen.][noun sg.partit.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT	substance	
1014	lyhyen→ ajan aikana	descriptive adjectives	[adj.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.][noun sg.ess.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = NEUTRAL	actor	direction
1013	lyhyessä ajassa		[adj.sg.iness.][noun sg.iness.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	container	
1017	lyhyiden→ ajanjaksojen aikana	descriptive adjectives	[adj.pl.gen.][noun pl.gen.][noun sg.ess.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = NEUTRAL	container	
1016	lyhyissä→ ajanjaksoissa	descriptive adjectives	[adj.pl.iness.][noun pl.iness.]	DURING PERIODS OF TIME	container	
373	maaliskuinen		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
374	maaliskuussa		[noun sg.iness.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
375	maanantaina		[noun sg.ess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	

376	maanantainen		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	substance	cycle
586	maanantaisin		[noun pl.instruct.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
1140	maanantaista→ tiistaihin→	periods of time, periods of time	[noun sg.elat.][noun sg.ill.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
986	määrätä ajastaan		[verb act. I inf.][noun sg.elat.+poss. suff.sg.3.p]	USE TIME	resource	
1002	määrättynä ajankohtana		[adj.sg.ess.][noun sg.ess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
1003	määrättyyn aikaan		[adj.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	container
377	marraskuinen		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
378	marraskuussa		[noun sg.iness.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
379	meidän aikanamme		[pron.gen.][noun sg.ess.][poss-suff. pl.1.p.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	life
380	meidän aikoinamme		[pron.gen.][noun pl.ess.][poss-suff. pl.1.p.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	life
1018	meidän päivinämme		[pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.ess.]	NOWADAYS	time line	life
874	melkein kuukauden→	all measurable time units	[adv.][noun sg.gen.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL	container	
718	menneen talven lumia		[verb act II partic.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.][noun pl.partit.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ past	actor
882	menneenä kesänä→	periods of time	[verb act II partic.sg.ess.][noun sg.ess.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	surface
887	menneinä vuosina→	all measurable time units	[verb act II partic.pl.ess.][noun pl.ess.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	surface
1135	menneisyys		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
712	mennyt aika		[verb act II partic.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	actor
713	mennyt kesä→	periods of time	[verb act II partic.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	actor
381	mihin aikaan		[pron.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	container	

1015	milloin tahansa		[adv.][konj.]	ANY TIME	time line	
770	milloin vaan		[adv.][konj.]	ANY TIME	time line	
631	milloinkaan 1		[adv.].	NEVER	direction	
708	milloinkaan 2		[adv.].	FREQUENCY	cycle	
632	milloinkin		[adv.].	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
382	minun aikanani		[pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.ess.][poss-suff. sg.1.p.]	LIFE AS TIME	time line	life
383	minun aikani		[pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.][poss-suff.sg.1.p.]	PERIOD OF TIME	time line	life
774	minuutilleen		[noun sg.all.poss.suff.sg.3.p.]	RIGHT TIME	container	surface
1159	Mitä kello on?		[pron.][noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind. pres.sg.3.p.]	CLOCK TIME	substance	
818	mitata aikaa		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.partit./acc.]	PASSING OF TIME	resource	
384	monesta aikaa		[pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.partit.]	AFTER A LONG PAUSE	substance	
385	monesta ajasta		[pron.sg.elat.][noun sg.elat.]	AFTER A LONG PAUSE	substance	
386	monista ajoista		[pron.pl.elat.][noun pl.elat.]	AFTER A LONG PAUSE	substance	
387	monta aikaa		[pron.sg.partit.][noun sg.partit.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	substance	
1139	muinaisuus		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
633	muinoin		[adv.].	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
388	muutamaan hetkeen		[pron.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	AFTER A LONG PAUSE	container	
704	myöhään 2		[adv.].	AT A POINT IN TIME	cycle	
635	myöhään1		[adv.].	AT A POINT IN TIME	container	cycle
694	myöhemmin 2		[adv.].	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction	
634	myöhemmin1		[adv.].	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	
397	näihin aikoihin		[pron.pl.ill.][noun pl.ill.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
398	näillä ajoin		[pron.pl.adess.][noun pl.instruct.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	actor
399	näiltä ajoin		[pron.pl.abl.][noun pl.instruct.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	surface	actor

400	näinä aikoina		[pron.pl.ess.][noun pl.ess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	actor
389	Ne ajat ovat tulleet ja menneet.		[pron.nom.][noun pl.nom.][verb act. perf.pl.3.p.][conj.][verb act.perf. pl.3.p.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction	actor
390	neljästi		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	cycle	
391	niihin aikoihin		[pron.mon.ill.][noun pl.ill.]	APPROXIMATE TIME	time line	
392	niillä ajoin		[pron.mon.adess.][noun pl.instruct.]	APPROXIMATE TIME	cycle	
393	niiltä ajoin		[pron.mon.abl.][noun pl.instruct.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	surface	actor
927	niinä päivinä→	all measurable time units	[pron.pl.ess.][noun pl.ess.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	time line	surface
394	niistä päivin		[pron.mon.elat.][noun pl.instruct.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	time line	
768	noihin aikoihin		[pron.pl.ill.][noun pl.ill.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
1167	nopeasti		[adv.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	resource	
990	nuoruudessa		[noun sg.iness.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	life
637	nykyään		[adv.].	NOWADAYS	time line	
395	nykyaikana		[noun sg.ess.]	NOWADAYS	time line	
636	nykyisin		[adv.].	NOWADAYS	time line	
396	nykyisinä aikoina		[adj.pl.ess.][noun pl.ess.]	NOWADAYS	time line	surface
1142	nyt 1		[adv.]	NOW	time line	
638	nyt 2		[adv.].	NOWADAYS	time line	
900	nyt ja vasta(kin)		[adv.][konj.][adv.]	STARTING FROM A POINT IN TIME	time line	
639	nyttemmin		[adv.].	NOWADAYS	time line	
401	odottaa aikaansa		[verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.][noun sg.acc./partit.][poss-suff.sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	actor

402	ohittaa aikansa		[verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.][noun sg.acc./gen.][poss-suff.sg.3.p.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	direction	actor
403	Oi aikoja, oi tapoja!		[interj.][noun pl.partit.][interj.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
404	oikeaan aikaan		[adj.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	RIGHT TIME	container	cycle
405	oikealla hetkellä		[adj.sg.adess.][noun sg.adess.]	RIGHT TIME	surface	cycle
730	oikopäätä		[adv.]	IMMEDIATELY	direction	
576	öin		[noun sg.instruct.]	DURING PERIODS OF TIME	cycle	
577	öin (ja) päivin		[noun sg.instruct.][noun sg.instruct.]	ALWAYS	cycle	
578	öisin		[noun pl.instruct.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
406	olla aikaa		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.acc./partit.]	USE TIME	resource	
407	olla aikaansa edellä		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.acc./partit.][poss-suff.sg.3.p.][adv.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_future	actor
408	olla ajastaan edellä		[verb act. I inf.][noun sg.elat.][poss-suff.sg.3.p.][adv.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_future	actor
409	olla ajastaan jäljessä		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.elat.][poss-suff.sg.3.p.][adv.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_future	actor
410	olla hyvää aikaa		[verb act.I inf.][adj.sg.partit.][noun sg.partit.]	MUCH TIME	resource	
1068	olla omaa aikaa		[verb act. I inf.][adj.sg.partit.][noun sg.partit.]	USE TIME	resource	
90	omalla ajalla		[noun sg. adess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	surface
411	omana aikanaan		[adj.sg.ess.][noun sg.ess.][poss-suff.sg.3.p.]	LIFE AS TIME	time line	life
412	omia aikojaan		[adj.pl.partit.][noun pl.partit.][poss-suff.sg3.p.]	REALIZATION	actor	
413	omia aikojaan		[adj.pl.partit.][noun pl.partit.][poss-suff.sg3.p.]	ANY TIME	resource	
414	on aika		[verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.][noun sg.nom.][verb act.I inf.]	RIGHT TIME	time line	actor

1072	onnen→ hetket	states of mind, periods of time	[noun sg.gen.][noun pl.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	life
581	Onpa aikoihin eletty.		[verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.][noun pl.ill.][verb pass.Iipartic.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
798	otollinen aika		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	SUITABLE TIME	actor	
415	otollinen hetki		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	SUITABLE TIME	actor	
820	ottaa aika		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.nom./acc.]	PASSING OF TIME	resource	
417	ottaa aikaa		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.acc./partit.]	USE TIME	resource	substance
416	ottaa aikaa		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.acc./partit.]	USE TIME	resource	substance
418	ottaa takaisin menetetty aika		[verb act.I inf.][adv.][verb.pass.Iipartic.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
756	päälle		[adp.]	APPROXIMATE TIME	container	surface
736	päästä		[noun sg. elat.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_future	
457	päättää ajallinen vaelluksensa		[verb act.I inf.][adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.acc.][poss-suff.sg3.p.]	LIFE AS TIME	resource	
458	päättää maallinen vaelluksensa		[verb act.I inf.][adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.acc.][poss-suff.sg3.p.]	LIFE AS TIME	resource	
419	pahaan aikaan		[adj.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	NOT SUITABLE TIME	actor	container
420	pahalla aikaa		[adj.sg.adess.][noun sg.partit.]	NOT SUITABLE TIME	resource	surface
1080	pahan päivän varalle		[adj.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.][noun sg.adess.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
753	paikkeilla		[adp.]	APPROXIMATE TIME	container	
439	päivä nousee		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres.sg 3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
440	päivä päivältä		[noun sg.nom.][noun sg.abl.]	ALWAYS	cycle	
1046	päiväkahvit		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	substance	
441	päiväkaudet		[noun pl.nom.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	substance	
442	päiväkaupalla		[noun sg.adess.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	substance	

1121	päiväkausia		[noun pl.partit.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	resource	
443	päivällinen		[noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	substance	cycle
444	päivän elää, toisen kuolee		[noun sg.gen.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	nature
1033	päivän ensimmäisinä tunteina		[noun sg.gen.][num.ord.pl.ess.][noun pl.ess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	
445	päivän perästä		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.elat.]	AN AMOUNT OF TIME AHEAD	direction_ past	
446	päivänkoite		[noun sg.nom.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
447	päivänkoitto		[noun sg.nom.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
448	päivänsarastus		[noun sg.nom.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
449	päivänselvä		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
450	päiväsiltään		[noun sg.nom.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = NEU-TRAL	substance	cycle
451	päivästä päivään		[noun sg.elat.][noun sg.ill.]	ALWAYS	time line	
452	päivästä→ toiseen	all measurable time units	[noun sg.elat.][pron.sg.ill.]	ALWAYS	time line	
981	päivät ovat luetut		[noun pl.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. pl.3.p.][verb pass.II partic.pl.nom.]	LITTLE TIME	resource	
454	päivät pääksytyksin		[noun pl.nom.][	ALWAYS	time line	
455	päivät pääksytysten		[noun pl.nom.][adv.]	ALWAYS	time line	
456	päivät päästään		[noun pl.nom.][noun sg.elat.][poss-suff.sg.3.p.]	ALWAYS	direction_ future	
453	päivät pitkät		[noun pl.nom.][adj.pl.nom.]	ALWAYS	time line	
436	päivien ketju		[noun pl.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	actor	direction
437	päivin		[noun pl.instruct.]	DURING PERIODS OF TIME	cycle	
438	päivinään		[noun pl.ess.][poss-suff.sg.3.p.]	LIFE AS TIME	resource	life

1158	Paljonko kello on?		[pron.][noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind. pres.sg.3.p.]	CLOCK TIME	substance	
421	panna aikaa [johonkin]		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.acc./partit.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
422	paraikaa		[adv.]	NOW	time line	actor
423	parasta aikaa		[adj.sg.partit.][noun sg.partit.]	NOW	time line	actor
424	parastaikaa		[adv.]	NOW	time line	actor
425	parhaaseen aikaan		[adj.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	SUITABLE TIME	container	
640	parhaillaan		[adv.].	NOW	time line	actor
737	perästä		[noun sg.elat.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	
731	perästäpäin		[adv.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	
426	perjantaina		[noun sg.ess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	cycle	
427	perjantainen		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	substance	cycle
590	perjantaisin		[noun pl.instruct.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
641	piakkoin		[adv.].	SOON	time line	
695	pian 2		[adv.].	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	direction	
428	pian aikaa		[adv.][noun sg.partit.]	SOON	time line	
642	pian1		[adv.]	SOON	time line	
1111	pienessä hetkessä		[adj.sg.iness.][noun sg.iness.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	container	
1001	pikapikaa		[adv.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	direction	
1110	pikapuolin		[adv.]	SOON	time line	
1034	pikkutunneilla		[noun pl.adess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	surface	cycle

643	pitkään		[adv.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	direction	
878	pitkällä aikavälillä		[adj.sg.adess.][noun sg.adess.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = LONG	surface	time line
431	pitkän aikaa		[adj.sg.gen.][noun sg.partit.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	direction	
879	pitkän ajan kuluessa		[adj.sg.gen][noun sg.gen.][adv.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = LONG	time line	actor
432	pitkän päivän ilta		[adj sg.gen.][noun sg. gen.][noun sg.nom.]	END OF A PERIOD OF TIME	resource	nature
877	pitkässä juoksussa		[adj.sg.iness.][noun sg.iness.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = LONG	actor	resource
433	pitkästä aikaa		[adj.sg.elat.][noun sg.partit.]	AFTER A LONG PAUSE	direction	
434	pitkästä ajasta		[adj.sg.elat.][noun sg.elat.]	AFTER A LONG PAUSE	direction	
429	pitkin aikaa		[adp.][noun sg.partit.]	ALWAYS	surface	
906	pitkin päivää		[adp.][noun sg.partit.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
430	pitkistä ajoista		[adj.pl.elat.][noun pl.elat.]	AFTER A LONG PAUSE	direction	
435	porvarillinen aika		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
1144	puoli kolmelta→	whole numbers	[num.][num.sg.abl.]	CLOCK TIME	surface	
930	pyhänä		[noun sg.ess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	surface	cycle
1096	pyhittää aikansa		[verb act. I inf.][noun sg.acc.+poss. suff.sg.3.p]	USE TIME	resource	
743	riittävästi aikaa		[adv.][noun sg.partit.]	ENOUGH TIME	resource	
459	saada aikaan		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.ill.]	REALIZATION	container	
909	saakka		[adp.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
460	saapuu aika (jolloin)		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.nom.][adv.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	direction_ future
732	saapuva		[verb act I partic. sg.nom.]	POINT IN TIME	direction_ past	actor

501	säästää aikaa		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.partit.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
461	samaan aikaan		[pron.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	container
644	samalla		[adv.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	surface
462	samalla aikaa		[pron.sg.adess.][noun sg.partit.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	
463	samanaikaisesti		[adv.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
674	samassa		[adv.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	container	
464	samoihin aikoihin		[pron.pl.ill.][noun pl.ill.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
465	samoilta ajoin		[pron.pl.abl.][noun pl.instruct.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	time line	surface
466	samoina hetkinä		[pron.pl.ess.][noun pl.ess.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	surface
467	sattui sopiva aika		[verb act.I inf.][adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	SUITABLE TIME	actor	
853	se aika on pois		[pron.][noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind. pres.sg.3.p.][adv.]	USE TIME	resource	
468	se on sen ajan murhe		[pron.sg.nom.][verb act.ind. pres.sg.3.p.][pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	time line	actor
1077	seitsemännellä→ kuulla	ordinal numerals	[num.ord.sg.adess.][noun sg.adess.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	surface	container
469	sekunnilleen		[noun sg.all.][poss-suff.sg.3.p.]	SUITABLE TIME	container	surface
470	sen aikaa		[pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.partit.]	SIMULTANEUSLY	time line	
1133	sesonki		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
902	seuraava viikko→	all measurable time units	[verb act.I partic.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	
1079	seuraavalla viikolla		[verb act.I partic.sg.adess.][noun sg.adess.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	surface

739	seuraavana päivänä→	days of the week, points in time, months	[verb act I partic. sg.ess.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	
471	seurata aikaansa		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.partit.][poss-suff.sg.3.p.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	direction
472	seurata jonkun jalanjälkiä		[verb act.I inf.][pron.sg.gen.][noun pl.partit.]	LIFE AS TIME	direction_ past	
473	seurata jonkun jälkiä		[verb act I inf.][pron.sg.gen.][noun pl.partit.]	LIFE AS TIME	direction_ past	
474	siihen aikaan		[pron.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
475	siihen aikaan kun isä lampun osti		[pron.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.][conj.][noun sg.nom.][noun sg.acc./gen.][verb act. imperf.sg.3.p.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
476	siinä hetkessä		[pron.sg.iness.][noun sg.iness.]	IMMEDIATELY	container	
1009	siinä iässä		[pron.sg.ess.][noun sg.ess.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	life
1093	siirtää kauas tulevaisuuteen		[verb act. I inf.][adv.][noun sg.ill.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	direction	
913	siirtää mappiin “ö”		[verb act. I inf.][noun sg.ill.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
1092	siirtää tulevaisuuteen		[verb act. I inf.][noun sg.ill.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	
477	siirtyä ajasta iankaikkisuuteen		[verb act. I inf.][noun sg.elat.][noun sg.ill.]	LIFE AS TIME	resource	nature
478	siirtyä ajasta ikuisuuteen		[verb act. I inf.][noun sg.elat.][noun sg.ill.]	LIFE AS TIME	container	
479	siitä päivin		[pron.sg.elat.][noun sg.instruct.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	time line	
480	siksi aikaa		[pron.sg.transl.][noun sg.partit.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
482	sillä aikaa		[pron.sg.adess.][noun sg. partit.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	surface
483	sillä sekunnilla		[pron.sg.adess.][noun sg.adess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	container	surface
910	sillä silmänräpäyksellä		[pron.sg.adess.][noun sg.adess.]	IMMEDIATELY	container	surface

881	sillä siunaaman hetkellä		[pron.sg.adess.][adj.sg.gen.][noun sg.adess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	surface	
484	sillä siunaaman minuutilla		[pron.sg.adess.][adj.sg.gen.][noun sg.adess.]	IMMEDIATELY	surface	
1103	sillä siunaaman sekunnilla		[pron.sg.adess.][adj.sg.gen.][noun sg.adess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	surface	
485	sillä välin		[pron.sg.adess.][noun sg.instruct.]?	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	direction
481	sill'aikaa		[noun.sg.partit.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	direction
645	silloin		[adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
646	silloin tällöin		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	cycle	
486	silmänräpäyksessä		[noun sg.iness.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	container	
1042	sinä päivänä→	all measurable time units	[pron.sg.ess.][noun sg.ess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	surface	direction
755	sisään		[adp.]	APPROXIMATE TIME	container	
754	sisällä		[adp.]	APPROXIMATE TIME	container	
647	sittemmin		[adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	direction	
648	sitten		[adv.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	
487	siunaaman hetki		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	POINT IN TIME	actor	
488	sopia ajasta		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.elat.]	SUITABLE TIME	substance	
970	sopimattomaan aikaan		[adj.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	NOT RIGHT TIME	actor	
489	sopimattomalla ajalla		[adj.sg.adess.][noun sg.adess.]	NOT RIGHT TIME	actor	
490	sopivaan aikaan		[adj.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	SUITABLE TIME	container	
491	sopivalla ajalla		[adj sg.adess.][noun sg.adess.]	SUITABLE TIME	actor	surface
975	sopivalla hetkellä		[adj sg.adess.][noun sg.adess.]	SUITABLE TIME	surface	
977	sopivasti		[adv.]	SUITABLE TIME	resource	

492	sunnuntaina		[noun sg.ess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	cycle
493	sunnuntainen		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	substance	cycle
592	sunnuntaisin		[noun pl.instruct.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
494	suoda aikaa		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.partit.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
903	suoraan		[adv.]	IMMEDIATELY	direction	
495	suotta aikojaan		[adv.][noun sg.partit.][poss-suff. sg.3.p.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
496	syksy saa		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
497	syksyllä		[noun sg.adess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	cycle
498	syyskuinen		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
499	syyskuussa		[noun sg.iness.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
1067	syysöinen		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	nature
500	syyspimeällä		[noun sg.adess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	nature
748	taaksepäin		[adv.]	AN AMOUNT OF TIME BACK	direction_ future	
649	taas		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	cycle	
650	taasen		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	cycle	
529	tähän aikaan		[pron.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
530	tähän maailman aikaan		[pron.sg.ill.][noun sg.gen.][noun sg.ill.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	container

898	takaisin		[adp.]	AN AMOUNT OF TIME BACK	direction_ future	
763	takana		[adv.]	END OF A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ future	
760	takana		[adp.]	APPROXIMATE TIME	direction_ future	
767	takaperin		[adv.]	AN AMOUNT OF TIME BACK	direction_ future	
532	tällä aikaa		[pron.sg.adess.][noun sg.partit.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	
533	tällä hetkellä		[pron.sg.adess.][noun sg.adess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	surface	
531	täll'aikaa		[noun sg.partit.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
675	tällöin		[adv.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	direction	
1118	talvehtia		[verb act.I inf.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
502	talvella		[noun sg.iness.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	cycle
1120	talven selkä taittuu		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.nom.][act.ind. pres.sg.3.p.]	END OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
1116	talven yli		[noun sg.gen.][adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	movement	
503	talvi saapuu		[noun sg.nom.][verb act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	direction
504	talvisaikaan		[adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
534	tämän kuun→ aikana	all measurable time units	[pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.][noun sg.ess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
535	tämän maailman aikaan		[pron.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.][noun sg.ill.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
505	tammikuinen		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle
506	tammikuussa		[noun sg.iness.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle

1137	tammikuusta→ toukokuun→ lop-puun→	months + months + names of a stage	[noun sg.elat.][noun sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
868	tänä aikana		[pron.sg.ess.][noun sg.ess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	
1021	tänä vuonna→	all measurable time units	[pron.sg.ess.][noun sg.ess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
654	tänään 1		[adv.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
696	tänään 2		[adv.].	NOW	time line	
507	tappaa aikaa		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.acc/partit.]	USE TIME	resource	
1019	tarpeen tullen		[noun sg.gen.][verb act.II inf. sg.instruct.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	actor	
1020	tarpeen vaatiessa		[noun sg.gen.][verb act.II inf. sg.iness.]	FREQUENCY	actor	
839	tärvätä aikaa		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.acc./partit.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
508	tarvita aikaa [johonkin]		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.acc/partit.]	USE TIME	resource	
536	tässä ajassa		[pron.sg.iness.][noun sg.iness.]	NOWADAYS	container	
1081	tässä→ vaiheessa	descriptive adjec-tives, demonstrative pronouns	[pron.sg.iness.][noun sg.iness.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction	
1090	tästä→ lähtien	all measurable time units, demonstrative pronouns	[pron.sg.elat.][verb act.II inf. sg.instruct.]	STARTING FROM A POINT IN TIME	time line	
509	tehdä pyöreitä päiviä		[verb act.I inf.][adj.pl.partit.][noun pl.partit.]	ALWAYS	resource	substance
904	tienoilla		[adv.]	APPROXIMATE TIME	time line	surface
928	ties kuinka monetta viikkoa→	all measurable time units	[adv.][adv.][num.ord.sg.partit.][noun sg.partit.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction	
510	tietää aikansa tulleen		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.acc./gen.][act. II partic.sg.gen.]	LIFE AS TIME	direction	actor
1004	tiettyyn aikaan		[adj.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	

1005	tietyllä hetkellä		[adj.sg.adess.][noun sg.adess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	surface	
1112	tiistaihin→ mennessä	days of week, whole numbers, months, years	[noun sg.illat][adp.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	time line	
511	tiistaina		[noun sg.ess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	surface	cycle
512	tiistainen		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	substance	cycle
587	tiistaisin		[noun pl.instruct.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
513	toiseen aikaan		[pron.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
772	toisena kertana		[pron.sg.ess.][noun sg.ess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	surface	cycle
1006	toisena päivänä→	all measurable time units	[pron.sg.ess.][noun sg.ess.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	
514	toisin ajoin		[pron.pl.instruct.][noun pl.instruct.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	resource	
651	toisinaan		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	cycle	
885	toissa kesänä→	season, days of the week, years, events	[pron.indecl.][noun sg.ess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction_ past	surface
1101	toissa kuussa→	months	[pron.indecl.][noun sg.iness.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	
886	toissa viikolla		[pron.indecl.][noun sg.adess.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	surface
652	toistaiseksi 1		[adv.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	time line	
705	toistaiseksi 2		[adv.].	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER IT	direction	
771	toiste		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	time line	
515	torstaina		[noun sg.ess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	cycle
516	torstainen		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	substance	cycle
589	torstaisin		[noun pl.instruct.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	cycle	
517	toukokuinen		[adj.sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	substance	cycle

518	toukokuussa		[noun sg.iness.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	cycle
519	tuhlata aikaa		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.acc./partit.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
720	tuleva aika		[verb act I partic.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	
1136	tulevaisuus		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
725	tulevana kesänä→	seasons, years	[verb act I partic.sg.nom.][noun sg.ess.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	surface
721	tulevana tiistaina→	days of week	[verb act I partic.sg.nom.][noun sg.ess.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	surface
726	tulevana viikonloppuna		[verb act I partic.sg.nom.][noun sg.ess.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction_ past	surface
520	tuli aika (jolloin)		[verb act.imperf.sg.3.p.][noun sg.nom.][adv.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
521	tulla aikaan		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.ill.]	REALIZATION	container	
523	tulla aikoihin		[verb act I.inf.][noun pl.ill.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
524	tunnilleen		[noun sg.adess][poss-suff.3.p.].	AT A POINT IN TIME	direction	
871	tunnin→ aikana 1	all measurable time units	[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.ess.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = NEUTRAL	surface	
292	tunnin→ aikana 2	all measurable time units	[pron.sg.ess.][noun sg.ess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	
526	tuntea aikansa lähestyvän		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.acc./gen.][poss-suff.][verb act.Ipartic. sg.gen.]	LIFE AS TIME	actor	direction
653	tuolloin		[adv.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	direction	
869	tuona aikana		[pron.sg.ess.][noun sg.ess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
527	tuossa hetkessä		[pron.sg.iness.][noun sg.iness.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	container	
1008	tuossa iässä		[pron sg.iness.][noun sg.iness.]	STAGE OF LIFE	container	life

528	tuossa tuokiossa		[pron.sg.iness.][noun sg.iness.]	IMMEDIATELY	container	
537	uhmata aikaa		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.acc./partit.]	USE TIME	actor	
538	uhrata aikaa [jollekin]		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.acc./partit.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
539	ulottuu yli hetken pyyteiden		[verb act.ind.pres.sg.3.p.][adv.][noun sg.gen.][noun pl.gen.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	direction
655	useammin		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	cycle	
656	useimmin		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	cycle	
657	usein		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	cycle	
658	uudelleen		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	cycle	
659	uudestaan		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	cycle	
969	väärään aikaan		[adj.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	NOT RIGHT TIME	actor	container
971	väärällä hetkellä		[adj.sg.adess.][noun sg.adess.]	NOT RIGHT TIME	surface	resource
1106	vaatia aikaa		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.partit.]	USE TIME	resource	
563	vähän aikaa		[adv.][noun sg.partit.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = SHORT	resource	
757	vähän päästä		[adv.][noun sg.elat.]	FREQUENCY	time line	
984	vajaan viikon→	all measurable time units	[adj.sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL	container	
564	väliaikainen		[adj.sg.nom.]	FOR A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
667	väliin		[adv.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	container	cycle
668	välistä		[adv.]	AT POINTS IN TIME	container	cycle
540	valita oikea aika		[verb act.I inf.][adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	RIGHT TIME	resource	
541	valita sopiva aika		[verb act.I inf.][adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	SUITABLE TIME	actor	
764	välittömästi		[adv.]	IMMEDIATELY	direction	
542	vanha hyvä aika		[adj.sg.nom.][adj.sg.nom.][noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
543	vanhaan aikaan		[adj.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	container

1078	vanhoilla päivillään		[adj.pl.adess.][noun pl.adess.+ poss. suff.sg.3.p.]	STAGE OF LIFE	surface	life
880	vanhuus ei tule yksin		[noun sg.nom.][verb neg.act.ind.pres. sg.3.p.][adv.]	STAGE OF LIFE	resource	
660	varhain		[adv.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	cycle	
661	vasta 1		[adv.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	direction	
697	vasta 2		[adv.].	NOT A LONG TIME AGO	time line	
698	vasta 3		[adv.].	STARTING FROM A POINT IN TIME	time line	
544	vasta aikojen päästä		[adv.][noun pl.gen.][adp.]	AFTER A LONG PAUSE	direction_ future	
3	vastainen yö		[adj.sg.nom.][noun sg. nom]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	actor	surface
662	vastedes		[adv.]	STARTING FROM A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
663	vastikään		[adv.]	NOT A LONG TIME AGO	time line	
545	viedä aikaa		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.acc./partit.]	USE TIME	resource	
546	viedä aikansa		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.acc./ gen.][poss-suff.sg.3.p.]	USE TIME	resource	
699	vielä 2		[adv.].	FREQUENCY	cycle	
676	vielä1		[adv.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
547	viettää aikaa		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.acc/partit.]	USE TIME	resource	
664	vihdoin		[adv.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
700	vihdoin viimein		[adv.][adv.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
924	vihdoinkin		[adv.]	AFTER A LONG PAUSE	direction	
548	viidesti		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	cycle	
549	viikkokaupalla		[noun sg.adess.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	substance	
1122	viikkokausia		[noun pl.partit.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	movement	
550	viikolla		[noun sg.adess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	

551	viikon kuluttua		[noun sg.gen.][adp.]	AN AMOUNT OF TIME AHEAD	direction_ future	
552	viikon perästä		[noun sg.gen.][adp.]	AN AMOUNT OF TIME AHEAD	direction_ past	
985	viikon→ ajan	all measurable time units	[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.gen.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL	time line	
1043	viikon→ kuluessa	all measurable time units	[noun sg.gen.][verb act.II inf.iness.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = NEUTRAL	container	
1131	viikonloppu		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
923	viikonloppuisin		[noun pl.instruct.]	DURING PERIODS OF TIME	cycle	
917	viikonloppuna		[noun sg.ess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	cycle
918	viikonvaihteessa		[noun sg.iness.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	container	cycle
870	viikossa→	all measurable time units	[noun sg.iness.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = NEUTRAL	container	
554	viime aikoina		[adj.indecl.][noun pl.ess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	direction	
884	viime kuussa		[adj.indecl.][noun sg.iness.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	container
1102	viime syksynä→	all measurable time units	[adj.indecl.][noun sg.ess.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	
766	viime tingassa		[adj.indecl.][noun sg.iness.]	BEFORE A POINT IN TIME	container	
883	viime viikolla		[adj.indecl.][noun sg.adess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	surface
931	viime yönä		[adj.indecl.][noun sg.ess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
665	viimein		[adv.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
899	viimeinen		[adj.sg.nom.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction	
925	viimeinkin		[adv.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	direction	

892	viimeiseksi		[adj.sg.transl.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	
893	viimeiseksi lauantaiksi→	all measurable time units	[adj.sg.transl.][noun sg.transl.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction	
555	viimeisellä sekunnilla→	all measurable time units	[adj.sg.adess.][noun sg.adess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	surface	
890	viimeisenä		[adj.sg.ess.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	
891	viimeisenä iltana→	all measurable time units	[adj.sg.ess.][noun sg.ess.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	time line	surface
1085	viimeisten aikojen alku		[adv.]	BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
666	viimeksi		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	time line	
1145	viisi→ yli kolme→	whole numbers between 1 and 59 + whole numbers between 1 and 24	[num.sg.nom.][adv.][num.sg.nom.]	CLOCK TIME	time line	
1148	viisi→ yli puoli kolme→	whole numbers between 1 and 59 + whole numbers between 1 and 24	[num.sg.nom.][adv.][num.][num. sg.nom.]	CLOCK TIME	time line	
1165	viittä vaille valmista		[num.sg.partit.][adv.][adj.sg.partit.]	CLOCK TIME	substance	
556	viittä vaille/vailla valmis insinööri→	professions, degrees	[num.sg.partit.][adp.][adj.sg.nom.]	CLOCK TIME	substance	
1146	viittä→ vaille/vailla kolme→	whole numbers between 1 and 59 + whole numbers between 1 and 24	[num.sg.partit.][adv.][num.sg.nom.]	CLOCK TIME	time line	
1149	viittä→ vaille/vailla puoli kolme→	whole numbers between 1 and 59 + whole numbers between 1 and 24	[num.sg.partit.][adv.][num.][num. sg.nom.]	CLOCK TIME	time line	
1147	viittä→ yli kolme→	whole numbers between 1 and 59 + whole numbers between 1 and 24	[num.sg.partit.][adv.][num.sg.nom.]	CLOCK TIME	time line	

1163	viittä→ yli puoli kolme→	whole numbers between 1 and 59 + whole numbers between 1 and 24	[num.sg.partit.][adv.][num.][num. sg.nom.]	CLOCK TIME	time line	
1164	viittä→ yli puoli kolmen→	whole numbers between 1 and 59 + whole numbers between 1 and 24	[num.sg.partit.][adv.][num.][num. sg.gen.]	CLOCK TIME	time line	
752	viivana		[noun sg.ess.]	IMMEDIATELY	surface	
582	Voi aikoja, voi tapoja!		[interj.][noun pl.partit.][interj.][noun pl.partit.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
557	voittaa aikaa		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.acc./partit.]	SPEAKER'S ESTIMATION: TIME HAS TO BE MADE USE OF	resource	
1061	vuoden→	all measurable time units	[noun sg.gen.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL	time line	
1051	vuoden→ alkupuoliskolla	periods of time	[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.adess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	cycle
1048	vuoden→ ensimmäisellä puoliskolla	periods of time	[noun sg.gen.][adj.sg.adess.][noun sg.adess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	cycle
1049	vuoden→ ensipuoliskolla	periods of time	[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.adess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	cycle
1076	vuoden→ kestäessä	all measurable time units	[noun sg.gen.][verb act.II inf.iness.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = NEUTRAL	container	
1115	vuoden→ päässä	all measurable time units	[noun sg.gen.][adv.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	direction_ future	
559	vuoden→ päästä	all measurable time units	[noun sg.gen.][adp.]	AN AMOUNT OF TIME AHEAD	direction_ future	
558	vuoden→ päivät sitten	periods of time	[noun sg.gen.][noun pl.nom.][adp.]	AN AMOUNT OF TIME BACK	direction	
1047	vuoden→ toisella puoliskolla	periods of time	[noun sg.gen.][adj.sg.adess.][noun sg.adess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	cycle

1138	vuodenaika		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
560	vuorokaudet läpeensä		[noun pl.nom.][ill.][poss-suff.sg.3.p.]	ALWAYS	substance	nature
876	vuorokausikaupalla		[noun sg.adess.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	substance	
1126	vuosi		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
1069	vuosien 1999→ ja 2002→ välillä	years + years	[noun pl.gen.][num.][conj.][num.][adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	
915	vuosien myötä		[noun pl.gen.][adp.]	TIME PROCEEDS -> SITUATION CHANGES	time line	surface
889	vuosien takaa		[noun pl.gen.][adp.]	RELATED TO A PERIOD OF TIME	direction	container
914	vuosien varrella		[noun pl.gen.][noun sg.adess.]	DURING PERIODS OF TIME	direction	surface
1098	vuosien→ kuluessa	all measurable time units + all measurable time units	[noun pl.gen.][verb act.II inf.iness.]	DURING PERIODS OF TIME	actor	
875	vuosikaupalla		[noun sg.adess.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	substance	
867	vuosikausia		[noun pl.partit.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = LONG	substance	
561	vuosina		[noun pl.ess.]	DURING PERIODS OF TIME	surface	
1070	vuosina 1999-2002→	years	[noun pl.ess.][num.][num.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	time line	surface
1127	vuosisata		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
562	vuosisatoina		[noun pl.ess.]	DURING PERIODS OF TIME	surface	
1134	vuosituhat		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
701	yhä 2		[adv.].	FREQUENCY	cycle	
670	yhä1		[adv.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	direction	
565	yhdennellätoista hetkellä		[num.ord.sg.partit.][noun sg.iness.]	END OF A PERIOD OF TIME	surface	

1109	yhdessä hetkessä		[num.sg.iness.][noun sg.iness.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = SHORT	container	
568	yhtä aikaa		[num.sg.partit.][noun sg.partit.]	SIMULTANEUSLY	surface	direction
1083	yhtä soittoa		[num.sg.partit.][noun sg.partit.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction	
566	yhtaikaa		[adv.]	SIMULTANEUSLY	surface	direction
567	yhteen aikaan		[pron.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	container	
1084	yhteen menoon		[num.sg.ill.][noun sg.ill.]	TEMPORAL ORDER	direction	
1023	yhtenä kauniina päivänä		[num.sg.ess.][adj.sg.ess.][noun sg.ess.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	time line	
669	yhtenään		[adv.]	FREQUENCY	cycle	
569	yksin ajoin		[num.pl.instruct.][noun pl.instruct.]	SIMULTANEUSLY	time line	
1156	yli kolme→	whole numbers between 1 and 24	[adv.][num.sg.nom.]	CLOCK TIME	time line	
1160	yli kolmen→	whole numbers between 1 and 24	[adv.][num.sg..gen.]	CLOCK TIME	time line	
872	yli viikon→	all measurable time units	[adv.][noun sg.gen.]	DURATION: HOW LONG = NEUTRAL	time line	
1124	yli viikon→ aikana	all measurable time units	[adv.][noun sg.gen.][noun sg.ess.]	DURATION: IN WHAT AMOUNT OF TIME = NEUTRAL	substance	time line
865	ylittää aika		[verb act.I inf.][noun sg.acc./nom.]	USE TIME	resource	
1065	ympäri vuoden		[adp.][noun sg.gen.]	ALWAYS	container	cycle
570	yöjuoksu		[noun sg.nom.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
1035	yöllä		[noun sg.adess.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	cycle	surface
1132	yömyöhä		[noun sg.nom.]	PERIOD OF TIME	actor	
571	yön selkään		[noun sg.gen.][noun sg.ill.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	actor	nature
1117	yön yli		[noun sg.gen.][adv.]	DURING A PERIOD OF TIME	movement	

1119	yöpyä		[verb act.I inf.]	RELATED TO A POINT IN TIME	actor	
572	yöt päivät		[noun pl.nom.][noun pl.nom.]	ALWAYS	cycle	
573	yötä päivää		[noun sg.partit.][noun sg.partit.]	ALWAYS	cycle	
574	yötä vasten		[noun sg.partit.][adv.]	AT A POINT IN TIME	container	cycle