Time Talks: Anthropocentrism of Time across Russian and American Cultures

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Abstract: My primary goal in this article has been to study the concept of time, its perception and anthropocentric attitude towards time, the way it talks. I argue that anthropocentrism characterizes not only language, but also nonverbal communication. Systems of teaching about time and temporalism in various epochs have been formed within the frames of cultural and historical conditions. In other words, temporal consciousness, temporal orientation and conceptualization depend on collective experience, on the collective social life of society. Time and perception are predetermined by culture. What is essential, is that perception, cognitive activity and reality come together and converge. Temporalism is universal for all cultures, which means that it is represented in all languages and cultures. The comparison of Russian and American attitudes towards time manifests both general and culture specific signs, reflecting the asymmetry of Russian and American temporal, cognitive systems.

Keywords: Time, time perception, temporalism, conceptualization, anthropocentrism, verbal, nonverbal communication

1. Introduction

Since the first human being thrust a stick into the ground to watch the sun's movement, he/she marked its circulation to observe its recurrent return. Time is an enigma, which is the most disputable and controversial in the attempts to understand it. Hall (1989) was an anthropologist who discovered the key cultural factors. "How Many Kinds of Time?" is the heading of Hall's work. At first sight, we have an impression, that there are no special channels for time perception. Lakoff (1990, p. 57) wrote: "We do not have detectors of time." Actually, there are no special detectors of time to perceive or see it. Time is intangible; it has neither odor nor haptics, taste etc. Nevertheless, time is considered the fourth dimension. However, "people have the sense of time" (Arutu'nova, 1999, p. 685).

For most ancient civilizations, time was a cyclic alternation of antagonistic forces (Encyclopedia Americana, 1999). However, in St. Augustine's vision, time was a linear, mental activity of the brain, which had strong memory, attention and expectation. In various cultures, time is conceptualized in varied ways: comparing, for example, 'Germanic time' and 'Slavic time', we find distinct ideas of conceptualization. While 'Germanic time' was based on length (extension), 'Slavic time' was based on rotation (circumrotation), which expresses different types of mentality (Kasevich, 1990). In antiquity, the conceptualization considerably differed in complexity. Studying the mentality of tribes in early stages of time, and their taboos, Makovskiy (1996) concluded that Sacred Time was conceptualized by metaphor associated

with the continuation of clans and at the same time with the notions of fire and soul (as the personification of the soul) and fire and sound (as the first creation of the soul). During a long evolution of the notion of time, its conceptualization also changed. In the Middle Ages, time had various hypostasis: terrestrial, sacred, profane, church, mythological... (Steblin-Kamenskiy, 1984; Eliade, 1987; Makovskiy 1996; Gurevich, 1999; Le Goff, 2000).

Time is explicitly included into the architectonics of cultures due to the exclusive significance of the human sense of life. Most scholars agree: "Time and space are always theoretically linked because space grows and is developed in time" according to St. Clair (2009, p. 30). With regard to temporality as well as to space, they both represent "determined parameters of world existence and foundational forms of human experience... Ordinary mind is guided by abstractions of 'time' and 'space'" (Gurevich, 1999 (2), p. 43). As Stepanov (2001) argued in his research, being part of the constant 'World', time is a basic constituent of the conceptual system. Time pierces everything in our life and the world. Temporality, being one of the most important categories of the way of life, is universal for all cultures and languages. However, time is culture-specific because it was conceptualized depending on the cultural views in various epochs. We know cultures (for example, Hindu) which perceive time as "some kind of concept connecting various changes of objects and events with the time." (Agarwal, 1993, p. 45). Hall (1990, p. 12) also mentioned that for Navajo Indians it was difficult to understand why... "Europeans divided time into strange and unnatural periods instead of having a 'natural' succession of days which began with the new moon and ended with the old."

One more interesting thing about time was provided by a Sioux Indian man, a superintendent, who came up to Hall (1990, p. 13) and remarked: "What would you think of a people who had no word for time? My people have no word for 'late' or for 'waiting' for that matter. They do not know what it is to wait or to be late." This is a vivid evidence of temporal perception and attitude to time that might be entirely different depending on cultures. Temporal consciousness, temporal orientation and conceptualization depend on collective experience. Nevertheless, time in the contemporary temporal worldview is both linear (as unidirectional progressive movement) and cyclic (as a succession of recurrent events) and both coexist (Hickson & Stacks, 1985; Aveni, 1998; Servan-Schreiber, 2000). According to the idea of cyclic time that characterizes all the people of the world, Tolstoy (1997, p. 17) writes: [Time] "is universal, to start with, it is based on the extralinguistic, extrapsychological, extrahuman and is connected with nature, activity of the sun and, finally, it is reflected in the earth."

Time belongs to the mundane; it can be measured, while eternity belongs to the celestial (to God), which cannot be measured. Nevertheless, as Gurevich notes, "mundane time correlates with eternity and at some critical moments, human history breaks through to eternity. Christians aspire to come from the time of the mundane vale of tears to the dwelling of eternal glory of God's elects." (Gurevich, 1999, p. 99).

2. Perception of Time

Perception is the most important part of human cognitive activity, including time. In cognitive linguistics, most "expressions are based on the perception of objects or situations in the real world" (Ungerer & Schmid, 2001). Usually, perception is regarded as "our most immediate

connection to the world." Pinker (2003, p. 199) states the following:

The idea that we just see things as they are, is called naïve realism, and skeptical philosophers refuted it thousands of years ago with the help of a simple phenomenon: illusions... Our perceptual systems are designed to register aspects of the external world that were important to our survival, like the sizes, shapes, and materials of objects. They need a complex design to accomplish this feat because the retinal image is not a replica of the world.

Neisser (1998) applied schemas to disclose the cognitive basis of time perception. Schemas play an important role in each perceptive act: they are involved in the process of ceaseless interaction of schemas, spheres and the mind. Though perception represents 'the activity extended in time', it is iconic for Neisser, because in his view, even a microsecond is enough for people to derive information. Neisser argues that the term 'perception' covers the whole cycle but not separate parts.

As Neulip believes, perceptual-temporal features can also add physical and spatial components. The author considers that "Human communication occurs in a physical space and perceptual time." (Neulip, 2012, p. 152). Further Neulip states: "The perception of time is cultural; it is a psychological component of the environment" (p. 158). Recently, some scholars integrated time into perceptual and motor skills (as cited by Maniadakis & Trahanias, 2014).

I argue that systems of teaching about temporalism in various epochs were formed within the frames of cultural and historical conditions. In other words, temporal consciousness, temporal orientation and conceptualization depend on collective experience, on the collective social life of society. Temporal conceptospheres are culturally important: time and its perception are predetermined by culture. Temporalism is culture-dependent and dominant in each epoch. In my view, time is a cognitive dominant of culture. Temporalism is inherent and universal in most cultures of the world, which means that it is represented in most languages and cultures of the world. Conceptualization of time at different stages of human history depended on the cultural views of the epochs. Comparison of worldviews in Russian and American cultures show an asymmetry of conceptual perception that depends on 'collective unconsciousness.' Being global, cognitive constructs, concepts are objectivized by language expressions, words, idioms, proverbs and texts, which together give us the possibility to research them. The objects that we perceive from the environment are grouped by our experience into categories (Pinker, 2003). Perception passing through any channel introduces a special form of our knowledge about the world.

3. Anthropocentrism of Time

Scholars found that the language we speak is anthropocentric, meaning that the language had cultural knowledge verbalized by people, which was proved by semantic and conceptual analysis. It was confirmed by Eleanor Rosh's prototype theory and categorical semantics. In addition, Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphor and Wierzbicka's theory added to the idea of structured space. Ryabtseva (1999) considers that there is direct connection between

perception and mental processes, which are reflected in languages: for example, *bitter confession;* warmest congratulations. The author concludes that this is the result of perceptual knowledge and experience and argues that our knowledge received from perception greatly differs from the knowledge received from lectures. This confirms that language is anthropocentric.

I also argue that not only language is anthropocentric, but also nonverbal entities among which the most important is the concept of time. I underline the importance of Time because it does not have special channels to let information flow; nevertheless, we all have the sense of time. Whorf (1956) researched and compared two cultures trying to explain what time is: English (American) and Hopi Indians have different grammar; Hopi could not imagine non-existent time words. Whorf found a lot of evidence to prove "that speakers of English conceive of units of temporal intervals as countable tangible objects. He notes that 'fashions of speaking' (i.e. metaphors) that English speakers use to talk about time clearly exhibit this conceptualization: we *spend / save/ lose/ buy* time; *time is money*." etc. Further, Wharf argues that "our very conception of history is due to our conception of objectivized time, derived from our linguistic categorization" (Whorf, 1956, p. 153). Hopi culture is conceptualized quite differently. Their "culture emphasizes continuity and persistence, rather than change."

Hall (1959), as a classic, leading anthropologist, came to the conclusion that people can "talk" to one another without words. In the same way, we can ascribe this ability to time. "Time Talks. It speaks more plainly than words. The message it conveys comes through loud and clear. Because it is manipulated less consciously, it is subject to less distortion than spoken language. It can shout the truth where words lie"; Hall (1990) writes this on the first page. Time transmits information both verbally and nonverbally; there is an assumption that nonverbal transmission of information is as powerful as the language. It expresses data nonverbally even more distinctly than words, "because nonverbal expression is manipulated less consciously; it is subject to less distortion than the spoken language" (Hall, 1959, p. 1). This shows how time is conceptualized in various cultures.

3.1. How Time Talks in Russian and American Cultures

It is well-known that communication posturizes extremely complicated, all-encompassing, integral processes, which simultaneously flow in several channels. However, this is highly disputable; there are scholars who think that communication is divided into two distinct systems: a nonverbal system that fulfills essential social functions (Kreidlin, 1999, p. 171), while a verbal system executes and discloses semantic information (Argyle & Trower, 1979). Still others believe that these systems are essentially integrated but are usually separated due to pragmatic aims (Beattie, 1983, p. 5). Actually, the interest in verbal and nonverbal communication goes back to antiquity and medieval times: Aristotle was the first scholar who created a communication model. John Bulwer (1644) wrote that gestures may well be regarded as "the tongue and general language of human nature which, without teaching, men in all regions of the habitable world most easily understand". In Bulwer's view, this "natural language of hand had the happiness to escape the curse of the confusion of Babel." (Quoted in Kendon, 1984, p. 75). René Descartes regarded the body as a lifeless corporeal mechanism with the soul possessing mentality; he separated consciousness from the brain and body. Those were the

attempts to find the status of verbal and nonverbal communication. Recently emerged corporeal semantics raised, among various problems, new issues questions about the relationship of verbal and nonverbal sign systems. The importance of corporeal research brought in the "corporeal turn" (Zalevskaiya, 2002). We have to regard them as an integral part of communication.

As for nonverbal aspects of communication in general and time in particular, I share the point of view of those scholars who introduces sensomotor information into the concept. To shortly explain the importance of nonverbal communication, I will address Kreidlin's idea (2000, p. 341): "... in a communicative act, the body turns from its natural substance to ethic norms and humane culture." In the background about the verbal and nonverbal communication above, in communicative situations verbal and nonverbal aspects intricately interweave and add or contradict each other, but are simultaneously perceived and interpreted whether it is correct or not, which depends on personal or cultural experience or cultural assumptions. So, when time talks, it might be expressed verbally or nonverbally or in combination of both. I will dwell on nonverbal indexes and analyze them.

3.2. Nonverbal Temporal Index of Status

Time may serve as a nonverbal index and express the attitude of a person, emphasizing his/her own status. Very often, the higher the status of a person, which underlines his/her status, the lower the status of the interlocutor. For example:

Donaldson kept Ritter waiting in his outer office **for fifteen minutes** while he read the paper. **He wanted Ritter to know his place**. Some of the DDO's remarks about leaks from the Hill had touched a sore spot with the senator from Connecticut, and it was important for appointed and civil service officials to understand the difference between themselves and the elected representatives of the people (Clancy, 1984, p. 305).

From this example, we can see how Donaldson manipulates Ritter's time: he was reading the paper doing nothing but keeping Ritter in his outer office. Donaldson confirms his own high status to make Ritter know his place. Explication of the index "status" of the concept "Time" discloses intentions of the hero: in American monochronic culture, there exists an unwritten rule: come to the office on time. The 15-minute time span is offensive.

3.3. Nonverbal Temporal Index of Revenge

Most often, 15 minutes will irritate a waiting person, but if he/she has to wait longer, they may become angry. There is a phraseological entity to kick/cool one's heels, which is used when a waiting person is extremely displeased or even exasperated. The story below illustrates how time talks in the following situation:

The story is told about Harry Truman, who shortly after assuming the presidency, was visited by a newspaper editor. After the editor had waited forty-five minutes in Truman's outer office, an aide went in to tell the President that the man was becoming

irritated about his long wait. Truman replied, "When I was a junior senator from Missouri that same man **kept me cooling my heels** for an hour and a half. As far as I am concerned, the son of a bitch has forty-five minutes to go (Hickson, & Stacks, 1985, p. 131).

Belonging to a monochronic culture, President Truman exploited time as a strategy of revenge to express his attitude to the person who made him wait for an hour and a half. That was his intentional, conscious revenge.

3.4. Nonverbal Temporal Index in *Politics*

There is a story about the US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who was forced to wait for some time:

I have to wait? It was more of a wail than a question. Should the Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, destiny's own man, be asked **to cool his heels** while the African Affairs Subcommittee went off to the Senate floor for a vote? It seemed unconscionable, but it was happening (cited in Henley, 1977, p. 43).

In this case, time was used as a political weapon to express disrespect and insult through lowering Henry Kissinger's status. We see that the nonverbal communication was a more powerful instrument than the words.

3.5. Nonverbal Temporal Index of Latecomers (With High Status)

'Miz La Salle will get back to you as soon as possible,' was the response. Miz La Salle took her time (Collins, 1983, p. 350).

Actually, she induced people to wait for her as most actors do. Henley (1977, p. 45) compares "theft of time" with territorial invasion. Wasting time in the US is criticized and is practically unacceptable, though rich people take the liberty of being late. The higher the status, the more control over the time by him/her. In addition, those who have power enjoy the privilege of entrenching upon our time, as much as they want.

3.6. Nonverbal Temporal Index of Non-formal Time and Ethnicity

Non-formal time is significantly different from formal time; I include non-formal time because it is based on ethnicity, which may be offensive, but very often people are just joking. These are *Colored People's Time* (abbreviation – CPT), also known as *Street Time*. African-Americans when they decide to meet somewhere, like to joke: "Do you mean 10 o'clock CPT?". They are joking to say that they warn people with whom they are going to meet may be late; their time is much more relaxed than the formal time. *Hawaiian Time* is a variety of non-formal time; it is characterized by less strict observance of schedules, submitting projects on time,

etc. *Hauley time* (white people's time), Hauley is a pejorative Hawaiian term that goes back to white missionaries who arrived to Hawaii to introduce their religion. Hauley means 'pale,' this is the hint to the white complexion of missionaries that spread to other white people (Hickson & Stacks, 1985, p. 124). *Coconut time* is a variety of non-formal time of Samoa people: there is no need to pick up coconuts; they will fall when time comes.

3.7. Nonverbal Temporal Index of the Idiom "Take Your Time"

The nature of nonverbal meanings is the same as the nature of coded natural languages. The idiom "take your time" is of high frequency in American culture. The index explicates the context and the meaning: "take one's time," means "don't hurry"/ "easy does it." If we directly read the inner part of the idiom, "take the time into your hands, control it, and manipulate it to underline your status." The linguistic representations of temporal concepts on the phraseological level, are of image characters. The phraseological entity is the source of cultural information that reveals the cultural apparition of the world by the ethnos. We can state that the idiom "take one's time" has connection with the axiological value "man the master of nature" which characterizes Americans (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1959). We will compare two approximately close entities: American "take one's time" and the Russian lexeme "povremenit" (do not hurry)." However, the representations differ in American English and Russian, but we will address conceptual signs in both cultures and analyze them. Cognitive-cultural analysis of idioms presupposes addressing the inner form (Kovshova, 1999; Ryabtseva, 1999). In this case, the prototype is "take time into your hands and manage it", "take control over the time," with the implicit agency of the verb take. Ryabtseva (1999) paid attention to the word "wait" that was missing in the English idiom, while these words were in Russian: "avos', poterpi, zhdi, obozhdi..." all of these terms have the same meaning of "wait" (Dal', 1990, p.3). What Ryabtseva interpreted as the meaning of "passively wait until time passes, and possibly, everything will be O.K" (p. 89). The author's conclusion is convincing: there is a passiveoptimistic assumption in Russian culture.

Solidarizing with Ryabtseva's interpretation, I would like to express my understanding of this idiom in the context of American culture. First, the fact that "take one's time" means that a person gives control over the time to the addresser, consequently, there is connection with the cultural assumptions of "Man is the master of nature." Second, it might be interpreted as confidence to the individual and connections with such values as "independence," and "individualism" which domineer in American monochronic culture. Third, it is connected with well-known American optimism that is considered the key feature of the American national character.

3.8. Nonverbal Temporal Index of Intellectual Ability

The concept of time may have a sign of intellectual ability. This sign is clearly and easily separated in the American cognitive system. This sign contrasts with the Russian cognitive system. I analyzed the emotional reaction of some American students who were too slow. For example, a heroine in one of the series of the film $Beverly\ Hills - 90210$ could not calm down

after the Spanish teacher questioned her and she had been too slow with her answer: she spent a whole *30 seconds* before she answered.

She was nervous and distressed; she was too emotional because she thought the teacher would think that she was retarded. As we see here, the student was afraid to waste time. If you waste time you might be considered "retarded." The attitude toward time contrasts in Russian and American culture

Table 1. Comparing Time Talks in Russian and American Cultures

Russians **Americans** They had to wait **for a long time**, in the outer Elaine was late for her tennis lesson, and office as it pertains for a big shot. (Akunin, her coach - a swarthy New Yorker with teeth 2001, p. 74). Zhdat' prishlos' dolgo, kak i like dazzling snow and a grip like a Samurai warrior – was not pleased. 'Ten minutes late, podobayet v priyemnoy bol'shogo cheloveka Mrs. C., is ten minutes lost. '(Collins, 1938). (Akunin). In American monochronic time, late-comers In Russian cognitive systems, people of irritate those who are waiting; usually, they higher status also keep others waiting for a do not disguise their emotions and reactions. long time: it goes without saying that lower At times, the reactions are violent: "You are status people have to wait, the more so if that late," Lane Walker said, raising his hand like a traffic policeman, "and like all late-comers person is your boss and he has the 'right' to keep people waiting. Long waits irritate you have no rights, so I bid you peace." people, but still, they usually understand (Gardner, 1976). the situation. At least people suppress their The late-comer was punished in a specific emotions, but there might be stormy reactions. American cultural way: where the key concept, In Russian polychronic time, there is a feature along with the time violation, is "Democracy": "patience" which neutralizes long waits. the late comer was deprived of his rights. **Superstars in Russian Culture Superstars in American Culture** Alla Borisovna arrived to the "Direct line" She turned up twenty minutes late, a middlelate almost for an hour and a half. She aged lady in a severely cut business suit entered the hall. Grown ten years younger (Collins, 1938). again, dressed in a good style, being aware of the effect she produced. (Newspaper $K\Pi$, 2002, №182/40). Interpretation of these two situations allows Second. nonverbal temporal us to retrieve two kinds of information: circumferential of the concept superstar. The first, both Russian and American superstars superstar in American culture made people temporally underline their status. The wait for a smaller piece of time, twenty superstar in Russian culture made people minutes late. waiting for an hour and a half.

Russians monetary concepts of time	Americans monetary concepts of time
Time is money (vrem'a den'gi; borrowed from American expression); Time and tide wait for no man (semero odnogo ne zhdut – Seven people do not wait for one). Time gives us money, but you cannot buy time even if you have money. (Vrem'a den'gi daet, a na den'gi i vremeni ne kupish) Dal'. Time is flexible. (Vrem'a – ponyatie rast'azhimoe)	has a wallet; an inch of time is an inch of gold; don't waste five-dollar time on a five-cent job; time is capital: invest it wisely; time is like money: once spent, it can never be spent again; another day, another dollar; seconds are the gold dust of time; use time as though you knew its value; he who gains

I regard the monetary concept as temporal if it contains the sign that consigns the general meaning of **money**/wealth. The key concept is TIME, which is linguistically represented in both cultures by various lexemes, idioms, phraseology, proverbs, sayings, etc. Comparing monetary concepts of Russian and American cultures, I paid attention to the asymmetry of the concepts. In the American cognitive system, monetary concepts are widely represented by proverbs and idioms. What is more, among those concepts there are new ones, which embody a monetary image; for example, *don't waste five-dollar time on a five-cent job* (Missouri state). The circumstance that time is conceptualized as monetary, might be connected with work discipline during industrial capitalism (Quinn & Strauss, 1997, p. 153). One more factor should be mentioned: Monochronic time and monochronic people.

Compared with American culture, the Russian cognitive system did not have monetary conceptualization of time because it did not comply with parameters: polychronic culture presupposes collective labor; time is perceived as approximation. There is an interesting illustration to what has been said about attitudes to money in the context below, which describes the scene at the entry to a Moscow bank (with foreign managers).

The morning. At the entry to the bank, employees hustle each other. A couple of minutes are left before hours. The journalist asked: "What is the matter? As it turned out, the bank fines the employees for each omitted minute; the late-comers have to pay \$50. Suchlike relationship between chief managers and subordinate became a customary thing. The employees get used to fines for smoking, for being late with timely submission of projects, talking on the mobile telephone during conferences. (Arguments and Facts – Moscow, # 12, 2002, p. 6) (AμΦ-Μοcκβa, № 12, 2002, p. 6).

At first sight, this seems like an awful attempt to impose a monochronic culture by enforcing rules into Russian polychronic culture. Monochronic culture, where a minute is highly estimated (\$50 per minute), punishes the latecomers financially. How do polychronic

people work in a monochronic atmosphere? Russian employees keep on coming behind time; violate deadline submission of the projects, waste time speaking on cellphones, smoking. In spite of fines (and big ones!), they prefer to behave as they want. Not all employees behave like this, some of them hate being late. What is interesting is that polychronic people's behavior explains why many Russians behave like this. They do not pay attention to material welfare, earthly matters, which may be explained by axiological orientation towards spiritual things. The second explication moment of such behavior is connected with other characteristics of polychronic people: approximation temporal sign, according to which time is flexible; people can do several things at a time. In American monochronic culture, being late is unacceptable; it means that those employees may be dismissed. Therefore, when two cultures meet, there might be intercultural conceptual misunderstandings, which are based on nonverbal characteristics and perception of time.

4. Conclusion

This study investigated the concept of time, the way it talks, its perception and anthropocentric attitude towards time. Anthropocentrism does not exclusively belong to languages; I argue that nonverbal communication, and particularly time characterizes nonverbal communication. Time is intangible; nevertheless, we have the sense of time. The concept of time is conceptualized in various cultures in many ways. For example, 'Germanic time' and 'Slavic time' are highly distinct in their conceptualization. While 'Germanic time' was based on length (extension), 'Slavic time's foundation was rotation (circumrotation), which expresses different types of mentality. Recently, findings in corporeal semantics research identified various problems and new issues regarding the relationship of verbal and nonverbal sign systems. The importance of corporeal research brought to "corporeal turn." It is essential to conclude that this is the result of perceptual knowledge and experience. The knowledge received from perception greatly differs from the knowledge received from lectures.

A comparison of time talk in Russian and American cultures, were found to be quite different: it concerns many aspects, but especially monetary concepts. Asymmetry was discovered: while the monetary concepts of time in American culture are almost sacred, in Russian culture, the attitude is the opposite. Judging from the number of proverbs in both cultures, monetary concepts of time prevail in American culture. In the USA, the problem of time lag, better to say, precisely the problem of waiting is considered as a very serious problem because while we are waiting, our time transforms into a resource controlled by the person whom we are waiting for. However, in Russian culture, though people do not like to wait, especially for a long time, people easily forgive latecomers; the attitude towards time is more relaxed. It does not mean that all people are latecomers; there are many people who hate to be late. Compared with American monochronic culture, in Russian polychronic culture time is less important than a person is; the attention should be given to a person, the anthropocentric focus is more important than temporal.

Notes

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