The study of the vocabulary of indigenous peoples of northern Russia shows that the majority of indigenous peoples have mastered the category of time to a significantly lesser degree than the category of space. The purpose of this study is to identify and analyse the semantic features of the temporal vocabulary in the context of the ethnic culture and mentality of the Palaeoasiatic peoples, specifically the Yukagirs and Alyutors, as well as the Tungus-Manchurians (particularly Evens). The linguistic material used in this article primarily consists of conversations with native Even and Yukagir speakers, natives of Allaikhovskiy and Nizhekolymskiy districts of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), as well as corresponding samples from root vocabulary dictionaries and authoritative research on folklore and language.

Within the framework of this study, methods such as interviews and analyses of the meaning of representative words in national idiomatic expressions have been used, allowing some very interesting observations on notions of time amongst the minor nations of the North. “Small” folklore genres - riddles, proverbs and sayings - were also of a particular interest in this study. Previously published field data obtained by earlier researchers from informants in the field proved extremely relevant to this topic, as they reflected mental notions of time and space amongst the populations under consideration.

Analysis of the vocabulary of Evens, Yukagirs and Alyutors indicated that vocabulary with spatial values prevails. At the same time, these spatial terms of the minor peoples of the Russian North are maximally objective. Analysis conducted on significant lexical formations led to the conclusion that the majority of indigenous peoples of the North, whose culture is very
archaic, have mastered the category of time to a considerably lesser degree than the category of space. This is typical of almost all primary culture nations who retain traditional activities - herding, fishing, etc. - and adhere to traditional ways of life and pagan (including shamanistic) beliefs.

Specialised research methods, including statistical ones, used to analyse the national lexicon revealed that in the Yukagir and Alyutor cultures the experience of time in frames habitual to modern man and the technological world (a second, a moment, a minute) is almost entirely absent. The ethno-semantic difference that exists between the temporal lexemes “period” and “time” is due to the fact that archetypal representatives of indigenous peoples of northern Russia were and are bearers of a cyclic consciousness. In the daily life of the indigenous peoples of the North, the corresponding archetypal orientation of the consciousness does not exclude the presence of the linear perception of time usual to modern man. But modern life itself posits the idea of memory of the past, generational change and a deep awareness of the linearity of human life from birth to death, and from this associates progressive movement with the natural solar and vegetative cycles of the earth. In the cultural paradigm of modern northerners, the idea of natural cycles, the infinite recurrence and repetition of events is combined with such characteristics of linear time as repeatability, uniqueness and the individuality of a life itself.

There is a need for further research into the eclectic nature of notions of time amongst the indigenous peoples of the Russian North. This is of great importance because ethnic concepts of time are a component of the “language” of the ethnic culture, its code. The study of the ethno-semantics of the temporal and spatial vocabulary of Palaeoasiatic and Tungusic peoples, as well as other indigenous peoples of Russia, offers the prospect of understanding the mechanisms of adaptation of these cultures to the modern world.

Introduction

In our daily life, temporal factors play a significant role. The pace of life in a metropolis differs substantially from the regularity of provincial existence. Representatives of different cultures perceive the flow of time differently. But for minor indigenous peoples of the North, it is qualitatively different than for Europeans.\(^2\) The philosopher and cultural expert A. Y. Gurevich accurately stated: “Man is not born with a sense of time. His time concepts are always defined by the culture to which he belongs.”\(^3\) Yet time

perception amongst indigenous peoples, particularly in the context of their perceptions of the environment, has been insufficiently studied in the ethnographic literature.⁴

Consider the following illustrative example. In industrial society, “time equals money” while, for example, the Sami people have a so-called Sami hour, a regulated mandatory delay of one hour before the start of any meeting. Such tardiness is not dictated by a lack of respect for others; most likely, it is one of the stable ethno-cultural features of the Sami, once again confirming the regularity of existence and slow pace of life of the representatives of this nation. But how did this kind of regular, “legalised” lateness come about? A solution was found - to meet one hour after the stipulated time - and thus the “Sami hour” unofficially settled into local consciousness and “temporal” conflict was avoided. This is one of the clearest examples of real accounting of the mental time perception of representatives of minority ethnic groups.⁵

It is well known that through use of language an ethnic group captures and broadcasts the mental stereotypes of its perception of the world and, along with this, hidden subconscious attitudes (including time-related ones).⁶ In order to understand the cultural chronotope of peoples of northern Russia, it is necessary to study the phenomenon of time and space from an ethnocultural and cultural philosophy perspective. To this end, the spatiotemporal vocabulary of certain northern peoples, in particular Evens, Yukagirs and Alyutors, have been analysed in this study.

**Methodology**

The linguistic material used in this article is the result of conversations with native Even and Yukaghir speakers, in particular, representatives of Allaikhovsky and Nizhnekolymskiy districts of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), as well as samples of corresponding vocabulary from dictionaries and from research on folklore and language.⁷ Interviews and analyses of the meaning of words and what they represent in national idiomatic expressions were also used.

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⁵ Yershova 1996, p. 56.
Study results

“Small” genres of folklore such as riddles, proverbs and sayings are of particular interest to this study since they reflect ethnic concepts of space-time and their correlation with that society’s code of conduct. For example, the regulation of the category of time is reflected in Even idiomatic expressions. In particular, Evens have prohibition against shouting in the evening because, as explained by respondents, “the spirit-master will hear” (“hisechin edilre irkagrakilra - muran dolchidik”). It is also forbidden to shout at night because “the dead may hear” (“dolba edilre irkagrakilra - bul dolchidikal”); also, “to sew at night is a sin.” Evens’ particular attitude towards the past should be noted. In particular, in the Even idiom “you cannot respond to an old man rudely - it is very bad” there is a temporal tag: the old man is the past that must be respected.

In the lexicon of these nations, spatial values are well-represented. For example, the vocabulary listed in Language and Folklore of the Alyutors includes specific terms to describe generic spaces that are not usually named in other languages, such as the word “kapta” which specifically defines the farthest place in the tent. Descriptions of concepts often have a spatial tag (e.g. “Yern”) such as “eavesdrop,” “Yit. Yern” in Alyutor, which literally means “the place where water flows down,” or a joint, “Yetne. Yern” - “the place where bones are connected.”

However, collected language materials show that the majority of the indigenous peoples of the North have mastered concepts of time to a significantly lesser degree than the category of space. This is common to almost all primary cultures. Temporal lexemes also often inclue a spatial tag, such as “Yivi. Yern” (“anniversary”) literally translated as “the space of the year.” This may be due to the fact that the concept of time, due to certain neuropsychological characteristics of minor nations, was inaccessible to specific sensory perception for a long time and was instead mastered through spatial perceptions. There are no such concepts of day (24 hours), calendar year, minute or hour in the languages of indigenous peoples of northern Russia, as illustrated by the time-related vocabulary in the Alyutor and Yukagir languages.

Using the method of continuous sampling, the words “time” and “space” were identified and processed using the quantitative calculations specified by this method. From this it was seen that amongst 3100 Alyutor lexemes presented in Kibrik et al.’s root Alyutor-Russian dictionary, 33

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8 Kibrik et al. 2000.
9 Melnikova 2003, p. 132.
had a temporal content and 24 a spatial one. In the Alyutor language there is a lack of clear division of time within the weekly cycle - temporal concepts common to Europeans such as “Monday,” “Tuesday,” etc. were not found. The future tense is designated with the lexeme “avagga,” which means “later” or “then” and indicates that Alyutors perceive the foreseeable future, but at the same time there are no specifics (unlike the Russian language which has specific temporal lexemes such as “tomorrow” “in a week,” “next year,” etc.). It should be mentioned that in the Alyutor language, future tense verbs are not present, and the vast majority of time-related lexemes are those of the past tense, for example:

Joti-guli = tyivi - the year before;
emeeeg - earlier, before;
wutin = eju - last year;
eju-wet - long time ago, but in the past (historical);
Yet ejo - long time ago, very long time ago (in fictional times);
titakin - timeworn.

Consulting Kurilov’s Yukagir-Russian dictionary\(^\text{11}\) permitted observations on the characteristics of temporal vocabulary in the Yukagir language. It was noted that temporal vocabulary indicating the past was represented most often. There are several different types of semantic content:

a) The common, familiar past, for example:
titanpalye - last year;
yigirukun - the year before last;
layane - recently.

b) The distant past, not tied to any large-scale, existential event in the life of the people:
time - a certain past time a while ago, but not associated with anything;
tapnigi - then, at that time, not now;
tadaatkumun - since then, since.

c) The absolute past:
hallerukkun - long sunk into oblivion;
indaa - before, in the old days, a long time ago.

d) Vocabulary reflecting the connection of the past to the present:
numunep - before and now, constantly since ancient times.

The word tidaa denotes time (long ago), but is not specific in its meaning: it is a very loose concept which simultaneously denotes yesterday, the day before yesterday, a year ago, etc.

\(^{11}\) Kurilov 2001.
The future and present tenses are represented only by a few lexemes; they do not have the semantic diversity as past tense lexemes. Future tense lexemes include:

- keygude - in the future;
- eguy - tomorrow;

The present tense is represented as follows:

- ide - nowadays, currently, now;
- tileme - indication of the time of the year, hour, day at the time of speaking;
- tileetkumur - until now.

Analysis

The use of the divisionary and comparative methods in analysing the time vocabulary sample revealed qualitative differences in the way the minor peoples of the north of Russia (including Yukagirs and Alyutors) describe time. In particular, the vocabulary gives no indication of people experiencing the present tense in its multiplicity of time intervals - a second, a moment, an instant, a minute - such terms are practically absent.

In the national languages discussed above, time concepts appeared relatively recently as a result of loan translations. This may be explained by the extreme specificity of concepts. The absence of the words “instant” and “moment” is due to the fact that they reflect the direct perception of time in its ontological essence. These words are associated with the present tense, and it is the present tense which is the area of sensory time perception.

For example, Yukagirs primarily associate the present tense with the concept “period;” the term that is used to denote this has many different possible translations, including season, weather, period and prime. The cosmological content of this lexeme is manifested in the fact that it is perceived as logical, objective, repeatable and independent of human desires. “Period” is always thought of as something given, it correlates with the cosmic cycle and therefore is always present in the nomination of calendar months. Through the lexeme “period,” the past and present are put into one cosmological line (life and nature cycle). In comparison with the lexeme “time” the lexeme “period” is more epic, it has qualitatively different characteristics: a “period” does not flow and does not change; it has an existential and spatial impact on the time axis.

Most likely, these ethno-semantic differences between the lexemes “period” and “time” are due to the fact that representatives of the indigenous peoples of the North, Yukagirs in particular, are archetypically bearers of a cyclic consciousness. Cyclicity in general is associated with
Notions of Time amongst Indigenous Peoples of the Russian North

concepts such as “period,” “previous,” “last” and “nowadays”; it represents a “set” for typification, the identification of what is already there with something that has been here more than once. The modern westernised person typically has a linear consciousness, aimed at individualisation. Linearity is associated with the concepts of “time,” “past” (meaning irretrievable) and “now.” Certainly, modern members of minor ethnic groups, even the in the purest representations, no longer bear a truly cyclic consciousness. But this worldview remains reflected in the cultural realities of the ethnic group, in particular in the language and ritual-ceremonial activities.

Conclusions
In the daily life of the minority peoples of the north of Russia, an archetypical cyclical orientation does not exclude the presence of linear time perception. Indeed, the flow of life itself poses the idea of remembering the past, generational change and a deep perception of the linearity of human life, the pathway from birth to death, and associates progressive movement with the natural solar and vegetative cycles of the planet. In the cultural paradigm of modern northerners, the idea of natural cycles, the infinite recurrence and repetition of events is combined with such characteristics of the linear time as repetition, uniqueness and the oneness of life itself.

This kind of eclecticism in the time perception of the minor peoples of the North has yet to be thoroughly examined from the perspective that ethnic notions of time are a component of the ethnic cultural “language,” in other words, its code. The importance of this research lies in the ability to understand the culture of any ethnic group, which offers promising prospects for further development of this aspect of the research theme.

Notions of Time amongst Indigenous Peoples of the Russian North:
The Problem of Social and Cultural Interpretation

(Abstract)

The purpose of this study is to identify and analyse the semantic features of the temporal vocabulary in the context of ethnic culture and mentality of the Palaeoasiatic peoples - specifically the Yukagirs, Alyutors and Tungus-Manchurians (particularly Evens). The linguistic material used in this article primarily consists of conversations with native Even and Yukagir speakers, natives of Allaikhovskiy and Nizhekolymskiy districts of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), as well as corresponding samples from the root vocabulary dictionaries and authoritative research on folklore and language. Methods such as interviews and analyses of the meaning of words and what they represent in national idiomatic expressions were used, leading to some interesting observations on the notions
of time amongst minor nations of the North. Small folklore genres - riddles, proverbs and sayings - were of particular relevance in this study.

Specialised research methods used to analyse the national lexicon revealed that in the Yukagir and Alyutor cultures the experience of time in frames habitual to modern man and the technological world (a second, a moment, a minute) is almost entirely absent. The ethno-semantic difference that exists between the temporal lexemes “period” and “time” is due to the fact that archetypal representatives of indigenous peoples of northern Russia were and are bearers of a cyclic consciousness. In the daily life of the indigenous peoples of the North, the corresponding archetypal orientation of the consciousness does not exclude the presence of the linear perception of time usual to modern man. Indeed, the flow of life itself poses the idea of remembering the past, generational change and a deep perception of the linearity of human life, the pathway from birth to death, and associates progressive movement with the natural solar and vegetative cycles of the planet.

Bibliographical Abbreviations

Yershova 1996  - G. N. Yershova, Vospriyatiye prostranstva i vremeni, in E. A. Okladnikova (ed.), Sistemnyye issledovaniya vzaimosvyazi drevnih...
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**Keywords:** indigenous peoples of northern Russia, culture, language, Yukagir, Alyutor, Even, time, mentality, time vocabulary, perception of time.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAMT - Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
Art-menedzher - Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Byilyie godyi - Byilyie godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn - Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR - The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.
CIS - Culturologicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
EJNH - European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
EZ - Evolucijazni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Forsait - Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Fundamental Research - Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika - Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya - Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HZ - Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan - Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
IAIAND - Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya - Istoriiografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost' - Istoriiya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
IzvSamarsk - Izvestiia Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
Kulturnoe nasledie - Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
LKK - Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
JIISV - Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
Marketing - Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MENP - Materialy po evoliycii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA - Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK - Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazahstana. Kazakhstan.
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<td>NNZ</td>
<td>Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkheologiya. Veliki Novgorod.</td>
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<td>Novosti</td>
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<td>NTB</td>
<td>Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.</td>
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<td>ONS</td>
<td>Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.</td>
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Prizrenie - Prizrenie i blagotvoritel’nost’ v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
PT - Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts’ Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA - Rossiiskaia Arkheologiiia. Moscow.
Reka vremen - Reka vremen. Moscow.
SA - Sovetskaja Arkheologija. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC - Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Serdalo - Obschenacionalnaya gazeta Respubliki Ingushetiya “Serdalo.” Nazran.
SGV - Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.

SV - Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.

SZ - Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.


TKA - Tulski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.


Trudovaya pomoshch’ - Trudovaya pomoshch’. Izdanie Popechitel’stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.

Vestnik AAJ - Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.


Vestnik Kazak - Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.


Vestnik Samara - Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.


Vestnik Semej - Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semey.


Voprosi Literatury - Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.


VTP - Istoricheskiye, filosofskie, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul‘turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.

