WHEN THE FUTURE COMES FROM BEHIND: MALAGASY AND OTHER TIME CONCEPTS AND SOME CONSEQUENCES FOR COMMUNICATION

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ABSTRACT. Having studied intercultural communication in Madagascar, the author takes his starting point in the Malagasy language and the expressed metaphor of time. In Madagascar what occurs in the past is expressed by notions such as taloha (before, in front), while future events are designated by aoriana (after, behind). Metaphorically speaking, it seems that the Malagasy moves backward into the future! However, this conclusion could be based on a too simplistic observation. It depends on who is moving, the observer or the time! The author presents three different time concepts: linear time, cyclic time, and event-related time, thus moving from objectively to subjectively experienced time. He contends that elements of all three time concepts are present in every culture. By examining several practical cases (e.g., making appointments, planning for the future, introducing modern technology, development work, etc.) the author shows how time concepts that are often taken for granted often cause misunderstandings and confusions in intercultural communication.

SOMMAIRE: L'auteur, ayant étudié la communication interculturelle à Madagascar, commence par les métaphors de concepts du temps de la langue malgache. À Madagascar ce qui est passé est exprimé par des notions comme taloha (avant, en face), tandis que les événements à venir sont exprimés par aoriana (après, derrière). Métaphoriquement on pourrait dire que les Malgaches avancent vers le futur en reculant! Mais cette conclusion peut dépendre d'une observation trop simple, car elle dépend de ce qui bouge, ou l'observateur ou le temps! L'auteur présente trois concepts différents de temps: Le temps linéaire, le temps cyclique et ce qu'il appelle le temps "lié à l'événement," ainsi partant du temps éprouvé objectivement il arrive au temps éprouvé subjectivement. Il propose que l'on peut trouver les trois éléments dans toute culture. A travers plusieurs exemples pratiques (faire rendez-vous, projeter pour le futur, introduire de la technologie moderne, travail de développement, etc.), il montre comment des concepts...
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RESUMEN: Habiendo estudiado la comunicación intercultural en Madagascar, el autor toma como punto de partida para esta investigación el lenguaje malagésico y la expresión metafórica del tiempo. En Madagascar lo que ocurre en el pasado se expresa con palabras como taloha (significando: antes/adelante), y lo que ocurre en el futuro con la palabra aoriania (después/detrás). Hablando metafóricamente pareciera que los malagásicos se mueven atrás hacia el futuro. Sin embargo, esta conclusión estaría basada en una observación demasiado simple. Depende de quien se está moviendo—el observador o el tiempo. El autor presenta tres diferentes conceptos del tiempo: lineal, cíclico y tiempo relacionado a eventos, moviéndose, por lo tanto, del tiempo experimentado objetivamente al tiempo experimentado subjetivamente. El autor afirma que elementos de estos tres conceptos del tiempo se encuentran en todas las culturas. Mediante un análisis de varios eventos comunes (citas, planes para el futuro, introducción de tecnología moderna, desarrollo de trabajo, etc.), el autor demuestra como los conceptos del tiempo que se toman por aceptados a menudo causan malentendidos y confusión cuando intentamos comunicar a través de culturas.

Time concepts are important ingredients of everyone’s world view. As will be demonstrated in this paper, based on research carried out in Madagascar, people of different cultural backgrounds often integrate time concepts differently, each concept adapted to specific situations and activities. In intercultural communication, misunderstandings emerging from the contrast of different time concepts often lead to frustrations and prejudices by both interlocutors in the cultural encounter.

MALAGASY METAPHORS OF TIME

In Madagascar what occurs in the past is expressed by notions such as taloha or teo aloha (before, in front), while present events are denoted by izao, which is demonstrative: “this”. Future events are designated by aoriania, any aoriania (after, behind), or any afara (last). Another expression referring to future is amin’ny manaraka (in the following, behind). Some of my findings reveal that this manner of conceptualizing time spatially is more than a metaphor. It also structures thought in a Sapir-Whorfian sense (Hoijer, 1991) as it establishes language categories “which act as a kind of grid through which he [the actor] perceives the world” (Trudgill, 1974, p. 24).

Several informants explained that both the present and the past times are known and visible. What has already happened, as well as the experiences of ancestors, was seen “in front of the eyes,” teo alohan’ny maso, while the future is totally unknown and therefore it is “behind,” any aoriania, or as some put it: “none of us have eyes in the back of our head”.

If this is so, it may indicate that metaphorically speaking the Malagasy moves backward into the future! But probably the following metaphoric observation is more correct: The observer does not move at all through time, on the contrary, it is time that moves from behind and passes the observer. In this way, having eyes only in the front of his head, one can “see” only present and past events, while the future remains unknown or “unseen”. Other evidence in the language also indicates that this is the traditional perception. When the Malagasys wish each other a happy new year, for example, their normal expression is: *arahaba fa tratry ny taona* (congratulations, for being reached by the year). It is not the person who reaches the new year, but the year that catches up with the person. The observer himself/herself is stationary, and time is a moving phenomenon arriving from behind with respect to the observer.

As Lakoff and Johnson point out, apparently contradictory metaphors about time are also used in Western languages. “In the weeks ahead of us . . . ” and “in the following weeks . . . ” both refer to future. They are coherent although the first refers to the person moving into the time, and the second to time as an object moving toward the person who in this case is considered stationary (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, pp. 41–44).

When Malagasy informants were asked about time orientation, they sometimes got confused and did not always agree as to whether the future was in front or behind. Further inquiries indicated that they usually did not consciously think about time in oriented categories in their day-to-day affairs. Nonetheless they always agreed that the metaphoric expressions *before, behind,* and *above* had the designated locative meanings and that the days and the years caught up with us, not the opposite.

The future is called *ho avy* (to come; forthcoming; in French, à venir). This reinforces the impression of time as a moving phenomenon with respect to the observer: “time will come” and “time is running”. The nearest future, the “horizon of the perceived present” is called “the forthcoming” by Bourdieu (1963, p. 61). It is essentially different from the Western conception of the future as an abstract series of interchangeable, mutually exclusive possibilities that are equally likely to come about. The nearest future, the forthcoming, is perceived in the same manner as the actual present to which it is tied by organic unity.

The past is different. It is known and therefore it is seen “in front of the eyes”. The past is called *lasa* (gone, departed) or *taloha* (before, in front). What happened yesterday, last year, and in the past is real. One knows the former generation and the ancestors. The past is close and present. Any action with the goal to change the forthcoming is therefore taken by turning towards the past, towards the ancestors.

One believes that the ancestors’ influences make it possible to find solutions to many of the problems of the present living community.
When the rain does not come as expected or when agriculture fails to meet expectations, one worships the ancestors through offerings or by changing shrouds on their dry bones in the ceremony of the "turning of the dead," famadihana (Bloch, 1971; Dahl, 1993). One believes that their power is so important that they can even influence the fertility of the soil, of animals, and of people. The past therefore lives through the presence of the ancestors—the "living dead"—just "in front of the eyes" (aloahan'ny maso).

LINEAR TIME CONCEPT

In contrasting Western–Malagasy world views, a triple scheme—linear, cyclic, and event-related time metaphors—was found useful for analysis.

As was already shown by Hall, industrialized Western cultures generally conceive of time as a linear metaphor. "Time is linear and segmented like a road or a ribbon extending forward into the future and backward to the past" (Hall, 1976, p. 19). Time passes in a continual flux, whether one is awake or sleeping, conscious or unconscious, active or passive. This linear time concept can be manipulated without reference to concrete events; it is abstracted as an objective standard constituted of a homogeneous flux. It is measurable in equal units and free from any concrete reality. Whether things happen or not, this quantitative time passes away from a distant past and towards a coming future, which, through the introduction of this abstract time concept, becomes predictable and tangible. Time can be "saved, spent, wasted, lost, made up, accelerated, slowed down" (Hall, 1976, p. 19)—all expressions also utilized for objects. Planning into the future has promoted the invention of devices like watches, calendars, and computers. Production, information, and transportation can be foreseen and calculated. Modern technology, using motors and machines that need maintenance and regular supervision, is a product of this regular time concept and reinforces it.

This abstract linear time concept is a result of a long historical process in which society has emancipated itself from nature and, probably still more important, from the supernatural. It is a logical result and has also at the same time been one of the contributing factors of industrialized societies. Nature, and more specifically agriculture, have lost their importance as the norm for use of time.

The linear time concept is adapted to the industrialized world view. Planning and discipline are both involved. There are certain predesignated times for starting work, for performing special tasks, and even for relaxing and sleeping. The claim for control and efficiency is also a claim for punctuality, for working towards certain deadlines. This attitude, characteristic of Western countries, is internalized from childhood
through education at home and in schools. Acceptance of an objective
clocktime as the daily “master” is taught both formally and informally.
There are certain times (hours) for listening, for writing, for recreation.
One has to adapt to the “program” and work towards a goal. Various
activities are organized in certain sequences, each of which will lead the
actor step by step towards a predetermined target. A causal mode of
thinking is the basis of this conceptualization in which the choice among
alternatives causes certain effects to occur in the future. Western cul-
tures, which share a linear orientation, are directed towards an end prod-
uct, a result. This linear time conception is future oriented.

An important consequence of this industrialized discipline is that time
becomes scarce. One “has no time” for this or that activity, and meta-
phors of a moving object like time “is flying” and time “rushes on,” are
adopted. “Corresponding to the fact that we act as if time is a valuable
commodity—a limited resource, even money—we conceive time that
way” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 8).

CYCLIC TIME CONCEPT

Another human conception of temporality is also based on observa-
tion of natural patterns. People watch sunrise and sunset in a diurnal
cycle. The passage of solar and lunar sequences appears to have led to
the perception of time as cyclical. To see human lives following one
another or reconstituting one another in the sequence of generations
further inspires a cyclical model. While the rites of passage can be viewed
linearly from the perspective of the individual, they can be perceived as
cyclical from the perspective of the community. Therefore, children,
representing the future, are considered links in a chain that ties them to
the past and to their ancestors. The rhythm of people and animals during
the seasons of the year gives the idea that time consists of ever-repeated
cycles revolving in an endless rhythm. Time in this conceptualization is
not scarce. It is ongoing and keeps coming continuously. Religious ritu-
als serve to manifest the cyclic character of time as they accompany
yearly events or life cycles of members of a culture. In many cultures it is
only for religious purposes that one needs calendars. With the help of
almanacs religious specialists can determine the destinies according to
the diurnal and yearly cycles or the stellar constellations.

Cyclic thinking is also inspired by the daily and yearly routines of
domestic and agricultural life. There are fixed times for meals during a
day. There are times for taking the animals out, for feeding, and for
watering. During the year there may be traditions for nomadism and
for moving animals from mountains to lowland pastures, thus creating
cyclical temporal perspectives and notions.

In this conceptualization, time is not a scarce resource. Time keeps
coming all the time! People are challenged to adapt, to be subdued by and to conform to natural cycles. The future is not seen as a variety of alternatives, but as a repetition of the past. "There is nothing new under the sun" says the ecclesiastic in the Bible (Eccl. 1.9). People become past oriented.

In the rural Malagasy context, the yearly return of agricultural seasons radically influences mental maps and behavior. In the villages there is a keen consciousness about the great events of history, most often connected with the narrations of persons one still remembers. Consequently, the counting of years or the remembering of exact dates are not so important. More important are the happenings related to known persons. The farmer usually knows quite a lot about some of the kings, his own ancestors, clan history, and the oral traditions that have been transferred from generation to generation.

Consecutive cycles, however, are not necessarily identical. Cycles can be thought of as a spiral where each cycle has moved a little compared with a previous one. Thus a cyclical metaphor does not contradict an evolution across time, nor is it contrary to a linear time metaphor, since parts of the cycles can also be studied as linear movement.

EVENT-RELATED TIME CONCEPT

A third model for conceptualizing time is qualitative. In contrast to a linear time metaphor it cannot be measured, only experienced and only in a subjective manner. According to this metaphor, time is when something happens. It is an event. It is isomorphic with the polychronic time in Hall’s model. "Polychronic time is apt to be considered a point rather than a ribbon or a road" (1976, p. 17). The point represents an event. Actions and their relations to others are organized from the experience of the event. When something happens—for instance, when the roof starts leaking—one takes action, and not before, even if one is aware of the damage to the roof. The event: the leaking, triggers the action: the repair. It is not a result of conscious planning, rather a result of a happening. Similarly, transactions with people are triggered by meeting these people and not as a result of monochronic planning as within a linear time concept. Event-related polychronic systems "stress involvement of people and completion of transactions rather than adherence to preset schedules" (Hall, 1976, p. 17).

The African authority on religion, John Mbiti (1969), once remarked (p. 19) that Europeans make mistakes when they think that people in traditional African societies are "wasting time" when sitting idly under a tree without activities. When Africans are not doing anything, they produce no happenings, no markings of rhythm, no "time". Thus, unem-
ployment is "un-timeness". When the time concept is event-related, it means that no event is no time. There is nothing to "waste" and nothing to "save".

Adherence to an event-related time concept has several important consequences for daily life. Here are some observations. One logical result is that the taxi-browse ("the bus operating in the bush") will leave, not at a fixed moment of the day, but when it is full, when it has enough passengers to pay for the fee, so that it can make the trip. Similarly, a meeting will start "when people (most of them) have come," not at a point fixed beforehand on an abstract clock. It is the event, "it is full" or "people have come," that triggers action, not the moment according to a measurable time standard.

Similar situations are described by Hall, who studied the Pueblo Indians in the United States. "Events begin when time is ripe and no sooner" (1959, p. 9). When anthropologists asked Indians when a ceremonial dance was to start, they could not tell. Nobody knew. "Those of us who have learned now know that the dance doesn't start at a particular time. It is geared to no schedule. It starts when 'things' are ready!" (p. 10). Time is not an outer standard that can interfere with events to trigger them into action. On the contrary, it is the events that trigger the actions to be taken.

In this time concept, personal relations are given priority. "I met my uncle on the road, and therefore I could not come earlier," was the excuse of one of my students. Showing due respect to his elder uncle was more important in his society than respecting an abstract schedule for an appointment.

In the event-related time concept, schedules are not fixed. Improvisations and rearrangements are expected and often serve the acknowledgement of personal relationships. "The way to ensure the message that one is accepted or loved is to call up at the last minute and expect everyone to rearrange everything. If they don't, it can be taken as a clear signal that they don't care enough" (Hall, 1983, p. 55).

While the linear time concept is future oriented, and the cyclical time concept past oriented, the event-related time concept is naturally present oriented. A worker does the work that gives him "enough" for the day or the immediate forthcoming, not for a distant and abstract future. The future is unknown; when it becomes present one has to respond to it, not before.

Duration is often unspecified. Time is not fixed at the beginning nor at the end of an act. In the event-related time conception, "Every act virtually has to take the time it turns out to take" (Johansen, 1985, p. 121). With this concept in mind, planning for the future is difficult if not illusory, and deadlines become meaningless, because "who knows,
something might happen" that will make it impossible to complete a project before a prefixed limit. Counting birthdays or other yearly cycles becomes unimportant as well.

The duration of some happening is not considered according to some abstract linear time concept, but related to actual events underway like the meeting of some people. Thus it was common for the king or the queen to make people wait when some important speech was going to be announced, the delay emphasizing the importance of the event. Also, in the present situation this habit is practiced by politicians or people of authority, thus communicating their importance. When important politicians announce meetings in the marketplace, they often enhance their power by making people wait for hours.

SOME CONSEQUENCES FOR INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Various metaphors of time exist in all cultures (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p. 41–43). One can find elements of linear, cyclical and event-related time metaphors in every culture, although one concept usually predominates. Event-related and cyclical time concepts seem to be predominant in the rural Malagasy culture, but the linear time concept does also exist. In contrast, the linear concept seems to predominate in Western industrialized cultures, and, in fact, may be a precondition for industrialization and bureaucratization. But the cyclical time concept is also present and plays an important role, especially in agriculture and other seasonal occupations. The event-related concept is also experienced in the West when one is having "a good time with friends". Then time is experienced subjectively, time "passes fast," while waiting for a bus that does not come induces the feeling that "time passes slowly". In the event-related concept, which is predominant in the rural Malagasy culture, it is the richness and the intensity of the experiences that regulate the "speed of time".

Different time concepts often cause misunderstandings and confusions among the participants in communication (Kluckhohn & Stroutbeck, 1961; Johansen, 1985). When people from a culture in which the linear time concept is predominant (urban Westerners) meet people from a culture in which the cyclical or event-related time concept is predominant (rural Madagascar), Westerners may feel frustrated, at least in situations that are linked to an almost taken-for-granted linear expectation. On the other hand, people who take the event-related or cyclical concept for granted may be confused during encounters that demand future-planning, discipline, and deadlines. Some cases will illustrate this point.

When approaching a car service station in Antsirabe (Madagascar), if the pump hose is hanging over the top of the pump, you need not drive
in. This nonverbal signal communicates that there is no more fuel. The situation may last for a couple of weeks before the tank truck arrives from the nationalized oil company with headquarters in Antananarivo. Yet the service station dealer never acted to order a new supply before the tank was completely empty. The lack of action until a triggering event occurred was observed on many occasions.

In one of the agricultural projects in the area surrounding Antsirabe there was a storekeeper who distributed different items for projects and also sold to the farmers. The items sold included pesticides, medicines for the animals, fertilizers, chalk, and other commodities. The clients came every day, especially during the agricultural season, to purchase what they needed. Some of the products ran out of stock and the storekeeper had to make a requisition to keep up the stock. When making out his order for supplies, he requested only those items that were completely out of stock. An observer could see several items that were nearly sold out. But when asked if he was going to also order these items he said: “Of course not, there are still some left!”

In Fandriana, where this author lived, the local community received a generator to produce electricity for the town. The motor was diesel powered. It worked regularly every night. After some months it suddenly stopped. When the oil was checked, it was found to be thick as porridge with no lubricative effect anymore. At that moment the event: “it stopped” triggered new actions to keep it going, but now the motor needed a full overhaul, which was very expensive. Regular maintenance apparently seemed unnecessary as long as the motor started every night.

The above examples do not mean that the Malagasys never plan according to a linear time concept. It has already been remarked that all time concepts exist in every culture. In school situations, for example, much of life was ordered according to linear thinking. But in certain other circumstances, concepts of time for Westerners and Malagasys do not correspond. For the Westerner, the service station, the store, and the motor are circumstances that relate to a linear time concept, while for the uneducated Malagasy they appear to arise from a more event-related time concept.

In other circumstances the Malagasy does participate in long-term planning for the future. S/He may for instance decide to build a new house or a new tomb, a decision that demands saving and investment. But more commonly they will not save all the money needed and simply wait to start the project when they have enough. Often they will start construction only with a small amount and then let the unfinished and partly built house wait for years until enough is accumulated to continue with more additions. The unfinished project may stand for years, and when it is possible to move in, one moves in whether or not it is finished. They sometimes cite a well known saying: Manao toy ny landy, ka ao
anatiny vao manatevina (One does as the silkworm making his cocoon, when inside he makes it thicker).

Likewise they can also start to plan the celebration of *famadihana* (ceremonial exhumation) some years ahead. This celebration requires cooperation among various members of a large extended family and therefore requires advance planning. A year for the celebration may be decided, but the date is not fixed by the astrologer until a few weeks or a few days before the event.

In the agricultural sphere it also seems that activities are very much guided by the cyclical time concept found elsewhere in the world. The diurnal cycle and the yearly cycle determine what has to be done. It need not cause any communication problem. But if concepts designed for use in a particular circumstance then also applied in other circumstances, communication may be hampered, as individuals may be referring to different meanings about time. For instance, on various occasions the present investigator asked several farmers why they collected seeds for the next spring. The answer: "Harvesting has always been done during this part of the year" indicates that collection of seeds was not done as a result of planning for the future, but as a repetition of what has always been done, i.e., action according to the cyclic time concept.

Problems of communication also occur when meanings are not shared by the partners involved. When the urban Westerner unconsciously acts and makes plans according to a linear time concept and the Malagasy acts according to an event-related time concept, they are likely to misinterpret each other's actions, and communication becomes problematic. In the cases narrated above, the Westerner will probably judge the Malagasy partner by stereotypes qualifying him/her as being inefficient, undisciplined, irresponsible, showing little interest for benefits, and lack of productivity.

In other cases — for instance, when there is no fixed time for bus departures, no defined starting point for a convened meeting, etc. (the bus leaves when it is full, the meeting starts when "everybody" has come) — the Westerner, judging from a profit-oriented linear perspective, is likely to characterize the Malagasy as being unpunctual, unreliable, irresponsible and even capricious. Westerners are frustrated when the Malagasy does not respect predetermined times such as an appointment, or when s/he fails to deliver the commodities agreed on until long after the deadline. Westerners are often unaware of their own subjectivity and judge the Malagasy on the basis of a set of meanings learned through socialization in a different culture with different standards and different goals.

On the other hand, the rural Malagasy unconsciously acts in relation to the cyclic or the event-related time concept. For instance, the bare shelves and the empty tank that trigger a new order by the storekeeper or the service station dealer, can be explained by the internalized event-
related time concept or by relating to the cycle: empty—new order—new stock—new sales—empty again, etc. The requested order is not the result of (a linear) planning for the future, (elaborating alternatives in a cause-effect fashion) but only a repetition of what has been done earlier when the stock was empty. Yet, these actions are also completely consistent with the Malagasy use of language, which was introduced in the beginning of this paper. When the future is behind the back of the head it cannot be looked into and acted upon before it has become present, i.e., in front of the eyes. Only the past is concrete and real. When the store-keeper registers that no item is left, the need has become real and concrete, a palpable event that requires action.

Many urbanized Malagasy (such as the service station dealer in Antsirabe) are conceptually not far from the rural Malagasy, as several moved to Antsirabe from the countryside as youngsters or grown-ups. They share many of the same motives, values, and preferences of the rural population. Their formal education and informal learning have fostered the event-related time concept without their awareness. Meanings and actions are automatically related to internalized values that give priority to people, not to task (Hall, 1983). From this viewpoint the behavior of the Westerner hurrying here and there may be regarded as extraordinarily rushy and pushy. The Westerners' tendency to give priority to jobs before people, especially kin, is not considered very commendable by the Malagasys.

When the Malagasy is too late according to an objective standard, like the watch or the calendar, it is not considered reprehensible—as long as s/he shows up. The event "that s/he comes" is what counts, making further personal transactions and the reestablishment of amiable personal relationships possible. People are more important than schedules. Therefore no excuse is necessary when one is late, a fact that may irritate the Westerner thinking in a linear perspective. For the Westerner, waiting is wasted time; his or her precious time is experienced as "lost".

When the cyclic concept is internalized, the most important attitude is one of adaptation, to submit to the internal order of nature and events. If a person raised with these concepts has to act in a linear setting, however, problems are likely to appear. The linear perspective presupposes the consideration of different alternatives for future exploration. Planning towards an abstract future is made especially possible through writing and calculation. The elaboration of distant goals or objectives, concretized in subordinated objectives and operation plans, is a very abstract and alien way of thinking indeed when the repetition of cycles and events determine procedures. In the latter case, concrete planning starts only when the events occur and on a short-term basis.

The Western dictum "time is money" is closely related to the industrialized linear concept valuing productivity and efficiency. It becomes rather
meaningless in an agricultural world where yearly cycles come by themselves, and rain and natural conditions determine the harvest and hence the economy of the family. The family itself is seen as a link in an endless cyclic chain that links collectivity to both the ancestors and the future generations. Under these circumstances the slogan: ny andro tsy efa (the days are unending) seems to be more appropriate.

A motor is likewise conceived of in a linear time system. It requires maintenance, oil change, and regular service according to the number of running hours. When a motor is moved to an environment where the event-related time concept is dominant, damage is likely to occur. In many cases one has seen motors completely run down before maintenance was carried out, and by then, in most cases, it was too late to repair the machine. The user of the motor with an internalized event-related time concept, will try solutions that usually work in this event-concept: improvisations. And their skill in adapting spare parts and fixing the run-down machine deserves admiration.

Finally, Westerners perceive of Malagasys from their internalized time concept, which is heavily influenced by linear thinking. This bias inhibits problems in understanding Malagasy attitudes. While Westerners are characterized as being maika be (in a great hurry) by the Malagasy, Westerners, in turn, think that Malagasys are best characterized by the commonly quoted Malagasy word moramora (take it easy). They always have time, they are in no hurry, they have no initiative, and they wait for things to happen instead of getting things done. The Malagasys do not seem to be concerned with the future and are not interested in interventions to change their own future. But as has been demonstrated here, the Malagasy attitude is indeed quite logical from an event-related time point of view.

Whether time comes from behind or from the front, the best response to the challenging study of time concepts may be to cling to the wisdom of the ancestors as it is strikingly expressed in this admonition: Manao dian-tana: banjinina ny aloha, todihina ny aorianana (Do as the chameleon when walking: look forward and turn the other eye backward).

REFERENCES


