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## **The Social Concept of Shame in English and Romanian Based on Quotations**

**Abstract:** Ruth Benedict, an American anthropologist, considers that “shame” is connected with a public exposure of a human being who experiences this feeling. If we speak about the concept of shame on the cultural level it is worth mentioning that the “monopoly of shame” is held by the Japanese culture after she has lost the Second World War.

We are most concerned about the concept of shame in English and Romanian cultures and in the monograph of the famous researcher Ana Wierzbicka we notice that in individualistic types of cultures such as the Anglophone one the interest towards other people’s business is low and the concept of shame is not so important nowadays. At the same time the concept of embarrassment has substituted that of shame and began to play a decisive role in this culture, because it is supported socially. If shame has a moral basis, embarrassment does not include it, the latter implying a confusing situation that happened to somebody. The English language popularity which promotes the Anglophone culture by introducing its borrowings into other languages leads to the rare presence of this concept in the Russian and Romanian and other cultures, only there is a misunderstanding on the cultural level here as people, for example, Moldovans, who try to behave like Americans don’t understand that in the American culture it is a shame to manifest shame in public, as they are educated not to manifest private emotions in public and they hide it carefully. Shame in the individualistic type of culture is not used as a tool of regulating human’s behavior, there are laws for that, in the collectivistic types

of culture shame is more important than the law, this culture is based on relationships.

**Keywords:** the concept of shame, type of culture, proverb, culturally specific values, intercultural communication

## Background and Research Questions

In recent studies on conceptual categories researchers speak about two types of emotional experience: personal and social (Stoica, *Lexicul Socio-afectiv în româna veche. Studiu de caz – Ruşine* 356). In this paper we focus on the concept of shame as a social one in the English and Romanian languages and in two types of cultures: individualistic and collectivistic. To begin with it is worth-while mentioning that social emotions having a social character associate with stereotypical behavior in a certain group and it is closely connected with the ethic judgments of what is good (the norm) and what is bad (against the norm), the act of breaking the rules is punished. Thus the social emotion subordinates to the mental profile of the given culture, fact due to which we notice a high range of cultural variety on the one hand and maximum standardization on the functional expressive-affective behavior within the given culture on the other hand (*Ibid.* 355).

The idea that emotion concepts are culturally specific is sustained by the famous constructivist researcher A. Werzbicka (*Emotional universals*) as well: in the individualistic types of cultures as those belonging to the English language the interest in other people's activities and the way of life is not so big as to people from such cultures as the Romanian or Moldovan ones in which the concept of *envy* that dominates the post-communist society in Romania gave rise to the expression *să moară capra vecinului* (*Let the neighbour's goat die*) (Vocila, *Emoțiile în viața socială. Rușinea și vinovăția în spațiul public postdecembrist din România*). Thus the concept of *shame* is less important in the Anglophone culture nowadays and the concept of *embarrassment* which denotes more a personal emotion substitutes that of *shame* in such cases. If the concept of *shame* has a moral basis the concept of *embarrassment* doesn't include it and denotes a confusing situation that happened to somebody (Werzbicka, *op. cit.*)

An important parameter in studying the social emotions is that of the semiotic system of the affective expression. The behavior and psychology determined by the socio-cultural models that have a high degree of

conventionality represent the expressive correspondence of affective lexicalization, having a function of standardized social signal.

The concept of emotiology contains the fusion of all the verbal and non-verbal means of expressing it and their contextual rules of usage are specific for a certain society in various communicative situations. The majority of affective experiences have a double face: personal and collective. The affective scenarios are composed of individual types of situation evaluation in the cultural context.

Speaking about the socio-affective vocabulary we must state that it includes the semantic component which is very important. Many of these words alongside the mentioned above component contain the socio-active one and describe an action as oriented from the interior to the exterior. The other words contain a socio-reflexive component and indicate the meaning of an action oriented into the interior. At the same time one must consider the focalization of the expression oriented onto the public or towards a private image (Stoica, *op. cit.* 357).

*Shame* is a concept that is studied inter-disciplinarily, i.e. researchers in sociology, anthropology, psychology and linguistics try to identify it, the ways it is expressed and manifested in each branch of science and the interconnection of these levels when we make an attempt to explain this concept applying the anthropocentric method (Гадамер, *Истина и метод* 512).

Gabriela Stoica while studying the concept of shame in Old Romanian supports the idea of applying a range of mixed criteria that come from different domains of science so as to identify the specific features of conceptual-semantic description of the concept of shame interdisciplinarily (Stoica, *op. cit.* 358).

To determine the semantic components of the lexeme *ruşine* (*shame*) in Romanian we employ the method of componential analysis to identify the smallest meaningful units of the word meaning. Thus according to Dex online (<https://dexonline.ro/definitie/rusine>) the lexeme *ruşine* has the following features or semes: [+/- affective], (a feeling of shyness and embarrassment, caused by failure or a mistake) [+social-normative validation]. From the psychological point of view the componential features include [+psychic energy], [+negative], [+subjective], [+intensity], [+durative]. The semantic characteristics [+social normative validation] allows us to include *ruşine* (*shame*) into the category of social affects or emotions. This generic term is part of some expressions such as the antonym *fără ruşine* (*shameless*), *a muri de ruşine* (*to die of shame*), *a-i plesni cuiva obrazul de*

*ruşine* (to have one's cheek burst of shame), *n-ai ruşine* (you feel no shame), *nu-ți e ruşine* (shameless). The second meaning of *ruşine* is modesty, shyness, retention and the third meaning refers to punishment, humility and offence: *a rămâne, a se da, a se face sau a da pe cineva de ruşine* (to be shameful, to make somebody feel shame). The actions expressed by these word combinations describe actions oriented from the interior to the exterior, into the society and vice versa. The generic term *shame* in the English dictionary (*Collins Cobuild Dictionary* 1329) has the following semantic features: an uncomfortable feeling of guilt and failure that you have because you have not behaved in an acceptable way, [+/- affective], [+social-normative-validation], [+personal-normative-validation], [+remorse], thus proving that in English *shame* is *guilt oriented* and *self-oriented*. The second meaning of lexeme *shame* refers to *dishonor*, and *disgrace*, the direction of the action being oriented from the society onto the person. The generic term *shame* in English is part of such expressions as *to do something to one's shame*, *to happen to the shame of somebody*, *to shame someone*, *something may shame somebody*, *shame on you*, *to shame*, *shamefaced*, *shameful*.

### Empirical analysis

In this part we would like to comment on the concept of shame in the Romanian and the English languages based on the semantic analysis of quotations about shame written by modern and classical writers from Great Britain, America, Moldova and Romania. Before we begin the contextual-semantic analysis of the lexeme *shame* and *ruşine* we consider it important to introduce the cognitive scenarios that these two terms describe. They are composed of the following main parametres: *Who? Positive or negative assessment; with reference to who/to what? (in public or in private) Why? (the cause of discrediting) Which are the consequences?* The meaning changes from action/state and its result to concretization of the meaning in the context, thus identifying the specific social aspect of the meaning: *who does the assessment, which is the reason of discrediting?* These are the concrete indices which compose the *mental or cognitive scenario* of conceptualizing the emotion specific for the epoch in correspondence with the existing socio-ethical norm.

Working with 194 examples of quotes that include the lexeme *shame* in English and 203 examples of quotes that contain the lexeme *ruşine* in Romanian we have identified the following semantic categories that are

common in both languages: *shame and the norm in the society* (E 48, Ro 46), *shame as part of self-conscience* (E 29, Ro 27), *shame and failure* (E 6, Ro 13), *shame and secret* (E 13, Ro 4), *shame and lies* (E 2, Ro 12), *shame and love* (E 6, Ro 6), *shame and ignorance* (E 2, Ro 8), *shame and the age* (E 1, Ro 4), *shame and the God* (E 3, Ro 1), *shame and the symbol* (E 3, Ro 13), *shame and courage* (E 4, Ro 3).

Alongside the common semantic features of the concept of shame in English and Romanian we identified specific groups of meaning characteristic for the English culture separately, for example: *shame as a destructive emotion for the human being* (40 examples), *shame and fear* (6 examples), *shame and sensitivity* (6 examples), *shame and guilt* (5 examples), *shame and time* (2 examples), *shame and the desire to hide* (2 examples), *popularity and shame* (2 examples), *shame and poverty* (1 example), *shame and rage* (1 example).

In the Romanian language we have identified the concept of shame associated with other meanings such as: *shame of one's own identity* (13 examples), *praise and shame* (11 examples), *shame and honour* (6 examples), *shame of an occupation* (6 examples), *criticizing lack of shame* (3 examples), *one's ego and shame* (3 examples), *shame and spiritual nakedness* (2 examples), *patience and shame* (2 examples), *shame and betray*, *shame and laziness*, *shame and joy*, each of these categories including one example. The examples of quotes in the English language are taken from (<https://www.goodreads.com/quotes/tag/shame>) and the examples in the Romanian language are collected from (<http://subiecte.cita.tepedia.ro/despre.php?s=ru%BAine>).

In what follows we intend to conduct a contextual-semantic analysis of the lexeme *shame* and *ruşine* and illustrate examples of each category of meaning of these concepts in English and Romanian. We start with examples that refer to similar categories, the first and the largest being *shame and the social norm*, e.g.:

(1a) *The more things a man is ashamed of, the more respectable he is* (George Bernard Shaw, *Man and Superman*).

(2a) *It was a shameful thing that she had nothing of which to be ashamed* (Philip José Farmer).

(3a) *With no blame there's no shame. A human society can't exist without shame. Shame is like handedness or walking upright. It's a central human attribute. In fact, it's the first human quality ever recorded.'*

'Where?'

'Genesis, Chapter Three. The covering of nakedness. The acquisition of shame was the first consequence of consciousness, of the speciating moment. Take shame from me and you are calling me pre-human (Sebastian Faulks, *Engleby*).

From the above examples we find out that the English and the American societies admit the concept of *shame* as a compulsory emotion felt by a human as a regulatory component of conscience that would regulate one's behavior in the society. In example (2a) we notice the concretization of the meaning of the term *shame* in the context, thus the self-disapproval of shameful actions of a human being is approved by the society. As (4a) *Perfectionism is not a way to avoid shame. Perfectionism is a form of shame* (Brené Brown).

In Romanian we identify:

(1b) *Ferește-te să faci fapte rușinoase! Când îți vine să întri în pământ de rușine, gândește-te că și morții intră tot acolo* (Gavriil Stiharul).

(2b) *Omului bun îi e rușine când face o faptă rea; omului rău îi e rușine când face o faptă bună* (George Budoii).

(3b) *De multe ori, când am luat anumite decizii, când am fost mândră sau când m-am rușinat de vreo faptă de-a mea, dar mai ales când aș fi avut nevoie de un sfat, m-am întrebat în gând: „Oare tata ce-ar spune acum?” Și am încercat să îmi imaginez părerea lui, sfatul lui, aprobarea sau dezaprobarea lui...* (Irina Binder).

Similar to the English and American societies the concept *rușine* helps regulate the people's behavior and the emotion of *shame* should be part of Moldovans' conscience. The approval or disapproval of a human's behavior is done not only by the society but primarily by the parents as in example (3b). A *shameful person* is considered to be good and a *shameless one*, on the contrary is considered as bad. Shameless people are compared to dead people (example 1b).

Another common category of *shame* in the English and Romanian languages is shame as part of the self-conscience, for instance:

(4a) *Good...if you've done things you aren't proud of. It means you have a conscience* (Criss Jami, *Killosophy*).

(5a) *Guilt, of course, is feeling bad about one's actions, but shame is feeling bad about oneself* (Gregory Boyle, *Tattoos on the Heart: The Power of Boundless Compassion*).

(6a) *Without shame, without conscience* (Chris Galford, *At Faith's End*).

Example (4a) can be introduced into the category *shame* and *pride* as well, such instances when one example can be included into more rubrics is common. The social approval is evident in this example as lexeme *proud* is used with a negation, i.e. [-proud] and [+shameful], [+decent], [+humble].

At the beginning of this paper we stated that the English language belongs to the individualistic type of culture which is a guilt-oriented one, thus example (5a) is of special attention to us. Gregory Boyle employs the two terms (guilt and shame) in a context that explains these ideas quite clear, associating shame with self-conscience and guilt with wrong actions. In Romanian the examples of these categories are also numerous:

(4b) *Cea mai mare rușine e cea pe care n-o vede nimeni: rușinea ta de tine însuți* (Nicolae Iorga).

(5b) *Rușinea ne împiedică să facem ceea ce legea nu interzice* (Alexandru Gh. Radu).

(6b) *Cu rare excepții, trăiesc sub capacitățile mele, cu conștiința apăsată de un sentiment de vină și de rușine violentă* (Emil Cioran).

Self-evaluation is the strongest feeling of *shame*, more than that, it is considered as the most intense feeling of *shame*. Thus the concept of *shame* as part of human conscience is more intense in Romanian than in English. This fact is proved by example (5b) which compares *shame* with *the law*, considering the former as stronger than the latter, fact which is not found in the English or American societies as the law is always respected in these nations. Contrary to what is said about the collectivistic types of cultures in the context of *shame* we notice the concepts *vină și rușine* (guilt and shame) in example (6) as a sequence of feelings elicited by a wrong action. *Vină* (guilt) is the state one experiences as a result of doing a wrong action. This may be directed onto another human being or on the self. After becoming conscious about guilt one starts feeling shame, this state being more profound and intense.

The category of shame and love includes an equal number of examples in both cultures among the collected examples, for instance:

(7a) *She hugged me and I could feel the heat rise in my face, either from shame or love, like there was a difference* (Christopher Moore, *Lamb: The Gospel According to Biff, Christ's Childhood Pal*).

(8a) *The good news is, shame has a kryptonite. Shame cannot survive under the power of love. Love defeats shame, every time. Love says that no matter what you did which may have caused guilt, you are loved. You are lovable. You are love itself. That is the truth. And because of that, you have*

*nothing to be ashamed of* (Stephen Lovegrove, *How to Find Yourself, Love Yourself & Be Yourself: The Secret Instruction Manual for Being Human*).

(7b) *În preajma iubirii, o clipă, și moartea se rușinează* (Costel Zăgan).

(8b) *Nu trebuie să ne fie rușine de iubirile noastre care isprăvesc prost și să le renegăm apoi, ci să rămânem cu sufletul împăcat că ne-am împlinit, fie și pentru o perioadă numai, harul cu care am fost înzestrați = acela de a iubi* (Emil Dogaru).

Example (7a) sounds quite confusing as a semiotic means of expressing *shame* is employed. A human feels *hot* and looks *red* (*the heat rise in my face*) in several cases: either of *shame* or *excitement*, or of *shyness* or *rage*. The additional context (*like there was a difference*) explicates the idea of equality between the two states, thus the *red colour* symbolizing *shame* and *love*. Often the concept of *love* is seen as superior to that of *shame* as in examples (8a), (7b) the state of being in love serves as an excuse for a *shameless* behavior. Nothing is shameful in love. This idea from the English and American cultures is supported by the Romanian example (7b), in which the superiority of *love* towards *shame* is emphasized by means of personifying the Death.

The concept of *shame* appears in the context of *secret*, in that of *failure*, in the context of *ignorance* and that of *courage*, and in the context of *age* in both languages, for example:

(9a) *Shame derives its power from being unspeakable* (Brené Brown, *Daring Greatly: How the Courage to Be Vulnerable Transforms the Way We Live, Love, Parent, and Lead*).

(9b) *Deoarece ne e o rușine cu salariile noastre, le ținem secrete* (Victor Martin).

(10a) *There is no disgrace in being knocked down, there is only shame in not getting back up; never quit!* (Ken Poirot).

(10b) *Vârful ne atrage, abisul ne sperie. Urcușul e o aspirație, căderea, o rușine* (Valeriu Butulescu).

(11a) *Youth has no shame, shame comes with age* (André Aciman, *Call Me by Your Name*).

(11b) *Totdeauna am privit îmbătrânirea ca pe o rușine* (Emil Cioran).

(12a) *Shame is the demon that keeps many of us trapped in our pain; healing comes when we gain the courage to confront our demon(s)* (J'son M. Lee, *One Family's AIDS*).

(12b) *Românul e rușinos, dar uneori poate lua de cumătru și pe Dumnezeu* (Grigore Vieru).

(13a) *There is no shame in ignorance and failing; there is only shame in not being willing to learn and repeating the same errors over again* (John Kramer, *Blythe*).

(13b) *Nu este nici o rușine să te naști prost. Rușine e să mori prost* (Marin Sorescu).

We would like to focus our attention on the examples that include the concept *shame* in the context of age as the interaction between these two concepts is different in English and Romanian. In the American culture *shame* is associated with experience and age, while in the Romanian one to grow old is a shameless process; this is the attitude of people from the two cultures expressed in the quotes.

The last common category in our classification of quotes about the concept of shame includes the symbol that expresses *shame* by means of a colour or a part of the body. In this context we must mention the physiological reaction of a person when experiencing *shame* as a common symbol to exteriorize it, i.e. the red or pink colour of the face. In the Romanian variants we have found more symbols associated with *shame* such as the *cheek*, *the lowered head*, and *the deer's horns*, for example:

(14a) *...shame spreads through his body like a drop of red dye in water* (Zak Ebrahim).

(14b) *Coarne: organe care la cerb sunt o podoabă, iar la bărbat o rușine* (George Budoii).

The next part of our research is concentrated on the cultural and semantic differences of the terms *shame/embarrassment*, *rușine* in the English and Romanian languages. As we have stated before, a large group of quotes that we have collected in English contain the idea that *shame* is a destructive emotion for the Americans and the British people, for example:

(15a) *Junie says that the worst thing about shame is the way it chains you down. The way it holds your mind hostage and won't let you go, gnawing from the inside out, feeding on you like a parasite* (Rasmenia Massoud, *You Don't See Any of This*).

(16a) *When you make a man ashamed, you make him dangerous* (Chris Cleave, *Little Bee*).

(17a) *Shame lies. All the time. About everything. Don't believe your shame* (Scott Stabile).

(18a) *Shame eats away at the core of who we are* (Christine Caine).

By analyzing examples (15a)-(18a) we can say that the English and Americans have such a law bound mind and their type of individualistic culture emphasizes each person's individuality so that their mind must be

free to create and develop, the concept of shame as a social instrument of punishment or as a part of conscience doesn't work nowadays as before. Spiritually they seem to be less prepared to endure the humility of *shame*, thus the metaphors that are used to describe the damage of the emotion of shame onto its Experiencer include such lexemes and expressions as *hound*, *chain down*, *eat away*, all characteristic of animate nouns that denote living beings. Thus we notice the negative attitude to the concept of shame in terms of experiencing it in the Anglophone culture.

Among the concepts that appear in the company of *shame* in the English language it is *shame* and *sensitivity*, for instance:

(19a) *Heaven knows we need never be ashamed of our tears, for they are rain upon the blinding dust of earth, overlying our hard hearts. I was better after I had cried, than before -more sorry, more aware of my own ingratitude, more gentle* (Charles Dickens, *Great Expectations*).

(20a) *Shame is always easier to handle if you have someone to share it with* (Craig Thompson, *Blankets*).

Previously we stated that the English and American cultures are *guilt based* rather than *shame based*, in this context we would introduce two examples of quotes to illustrate the idea:

(21a) *Without guilt or remorse, shame was an empty emotion. Indeed, shame would not be shame* (Sylvain Reynard, *The Raven*).

(22a) *Guilt addresses an external action while shame attacks the internal character!* (Evinde Lepins, *A Cup of Grace for the Day: Coffee Hour with Chicklit Power*).

From examples (21a) and (22a) we conclude that *guilt* is a component of *shame* as a state and as well *guilt* appears as a primary emotion enclosed into *shame* as a complex state, thus the particular meaning of *guilt* is a component of shame as a whole meaning and not vice versa.

Among other examples that we have collected there appear the ones with the meaning of *shame and time*, *shame and poverty*, *shame and fame* and *shame and rage*. Their presence in corpus linguistics is minor, still we decided to analyse them as well. For example:

(23a) *We live in a world of disposable memory; nothing's built to last, not even shame* (Dennis Lehane, *Since We Fell*).

(24a) *It was shame. Shame never faded* (Laini Taylor, *Dreams of Gods & Monsters*).

(25a) *[T]he principal suffering of the poor is shame and disgrace* (Gregory Boyle, *Tattoos on the Heart: The Power of Boundless Compassion*).

(26a) *Popularity makes no sense if your fame is a shame* (Michael Bassey Johnson, *Master of Maxims*).

(27a) *But sometimes shame is a more powerful engine than rage. Like rage, it burns hot; and like rage it tends to consume its own furnace* (Jonathan Maberry, *Dust & Decay*).

In examples (23a) and (24a) we notice an antonymous attitude to the concept of shame: the American writer Dennis Lehane considers that *shame* doesn't last in time, its value expires, while another American writer Laini Taylor introduces the concept of *shame* as one that exists long, how long we cannot infer as it is expressed by the abstract temporal adverb *never*, which is not measurable. So as we see in one and the same culture there are contradictory ideas about *shame*.

Example (25a) leads us to the idea that poverty in one's life is the result of being ashamed and vice versa, this being a vicious circle. A beautiful metaphorical comparison happens in example (27a) in which shame is equaled to rage by means of connecting these states with reality in terms of some hot object that gradually gets hot and red (*engine, furnace*). At the same time the last example illustrates the destructive character of the concept of shame as experienced by a human being.

Thus after having considered all the specific cases in which shame appears as a concept in English and American cultures we noticed nine various situations or cognitive scenarios, the most frequent numerically being *shame as a destructive emotion, shame and fear, shame and guilt and shame and sensitivity*.

In the next part of our paper we concentrate on the examples of quotes denoting the meaning of shame specific only in the Romanian language. We have identified eleven scenarios of shame situations in which the concept *rușine* is found in a specific context. Contrary to the English language in which the concept of shame is considered as a destructive emotion in the Romanian language the lack of manifesting or experiencing shame is criticized, for instance:

(16b) *Nu-i rușine să fii rușinos, dar e o mare rușine să fii fără rușine* (David Boia).

Identity is crucially important for any nation; in the Moldovan culture people often feel shame of their identity, for example:

(17b) *Mi-ar fi rușine să întreb pe maică-mea dacă-i româncă sau nu* (Grigore Vieru).

(18b) *Popor românesc, mari învățături îți dă ție această întâmplare! Dacă fiii tăi ar fi fost uniți totdeauna atunci și pământul tău strămoșesc rămânea unul și nedespărțit. Dar veacuri de dezbinare neîntreruptă te-au dus la slăbiciune, te-au dus să-ți vezi rușinea cu ochii!* (Mihai Eminescu).

(19b) *Nu cred că se află țară europeană în care să existe atâția intelectuali cărora să le fie rușine de neamul lor, să-i caute cu atât a frenezie defectele și să-și bată joc de trecutul lui!* (Mircea Eliade).

(20b) *Ni s-a setat în creier să ne fie rușine de condiția de a fi români* (Dan Puric).

So as we realize from examples (17b) – (20b) the *shame* of Romanian identity comes from the history of the people and the political itinerary of the country.

To praise oneself is considered a *shame* in the Moldovan mentality although the mentioned idea seems to melt in the context of globalization as we have found examples with an opposite meaning as well:

(21b) *Decât să mă acopăr de glorie, mai bine de rușine. Atâta doar cât rușinea mai ține de bun simț* (Gheorghe Mihail).

*Nu te rușina să fii genial* (Mircea Dinescu).

(23b) *Originalitatea mea stă în faptul că spun fără rușine banalul, pe când ceilalți îl caută* (George Călinescu).

(24b) *Sunt lucruri cu care unii se laudă, dar cu care eu aș muri de rușine* (George Budoî).

(25b) *Nu mi-e rușine de C. V.-ul meu, dar nici prea mândru nu sunt* (Dorel Schor).

(26b) *Spre rușinea ei, omenirea a prigonit multe genii, deși acestea, spre cinstea lor, au contribuit la gloria veșnică a omenirii* (George Budoî).

To understand one's true value and evaluate him/herself is not shameful (22b), (23b), this idea comes from the young generation of people, while the writers of the 20<sup>th</sup> century would support the idea of humiliation rather than one's self praise, as we notice in examples (24b), (25b) and (26b). The concept *rușine* is used as a tool for regulating people's behavior in the society, thus *rușine* appears in the context of human's honour:

(27b) *Ascultați-mă ce vă spun, noi de-a lungul istoriei am schimbat patul, nu curva. Mă scuzați că vorbesc așa, dar am fost operat de rușine* (Dumitru Dragomir).

(28b) *Nu știu dacă au spus-o și alții înaintea mea. Unii cu siguranță au trăit această vorbă. Pentru mine a devenit o religie: Mai bine mor cu onoare, decât să trăiesc în rușine!* (Ștefan Paraschiv).

(29b) *Este o mare diferență între slugă și slugoi. Să fii slugă nu e rușinos: muncești la stăpân și-ți câștigi pâinea cinstit. Să fii slugoi e însă josnic: slugoiul manifestă o supunere josnică, oarbă, excesivă, este totdeauna umil, servil, este lipsit de demnitate și de principii, își oferă serviciile și fără să-i fie cerute, ba o face cu un nemăsurat exces de zel, este o unealtă necondiționată a răului în mâinile stăpânului.* (George Budoii)

In the Romanian or Moldovan society the concept of *shame* can be found in the context of indecent occupation, for example:

(30b) *Politică "studentească": Profesorii vor avea salarii indecente, când învățătura se va lua ca o boală "rușinoasă!"* (Costel Zăgan).

(31b) *Le vindeam angro. Negustorii îți dădeau banii după vreo 2-3 zile. Era o rușine să te duci să-ți vinzi singur marfa. Mergeam pe jos cu câte 200 de buchete de crizanteme* (Maria Tănase).

(32b) *Dacă e o modă sa fii actor, atunci e o modă absolut nefericită. Actorii trăiesc foarte prost. Sunt plătiți mizerabil și rușinos. Și aici nu mă pot împiedica să nu discut problema spinoasă a necesității apariției unor agenții și impresari reali* (Adrian Pinteia).

(33b) *Am ales Opera și a trebuit să-i scriu tatei o scrisoare. Fiindcă eu de la 14 ani fugeam de acasă ca să mă duc la Operă... Vai de mine! A fost rușinea rușinii! Cum să fac eu așa ceva?! Ce-i aia să fii artist?! Eu am fost tot timpul oaia neagră a familiei. N-am o relație prea bună cu familia mea și recunosc. Dar eu mi-am creat singură drumul în viață și am știut să cred în mine, chit că alții mi-au dat cu șutul în fund și mi-au spus că nu sunt bună, că nu voi reuși... Eu am mers mereu înainte!* (Ozana Barabancea)

Alongside the fact that to be a vendor or a teacher is a *shameful thing* in these contexts, to get a small salary is also a *shame*.

In the individualistic type of culture the individual is 'the center of universe', while in the collectivistic one the collective mind is most important. A special attention should be paid to the concept *rușine* and *patience* in Romanian as these people are considered very patient, for example:

(34b) *Ce e viața noastră în sclavie oare?*

*Noaptea fără stele, ziua fără soare.*

*Cei ce rabdă jugul ș-a trăi mai vor,*

*Merită să-l poarte spre rușinea lor.* (Dimitrie Bolintineanu)

In conclusion we can say that the initial hypothesis about the connection of the type of culture and the concept of *shame* was confirmed and the quotations about this concept helped us realize the way the English and

Americans think about shame on the one hand and the Moldovans and the Romanians on the other hand. There have been identified common ideas about the concept shame and another concept in both languages though there are slight semantic, ideological and cultural differences in these common groups as well. The specific ideas about the concept shame in the four mentioned cultures were identified as follows: in the Moldovan and the Romanian ones we noticed criticism towards shameless people, shame of one's identity, shame and praise, shame and honour, shame of one's occupation as well as shame of a small salary, while in the American and the English cultures we identified shame as a destructive emotion, shame and human sensitivity, shame and guilt and shame and fear.

Thus, in general, in the two languages shame is part of conscience, only it is differently perceived: shame as part of the collectivistic culture in which it is a social emotion and a tool to control human's behavior as it is stronger than the law and shame as part of the individualistic culture, in which each individual is law obedient and is more inclined to feeling guilt and thus has his/her own standards of living, trying to hide shame.

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