AN ENQUIRY INTO ROMANIAN ANGER-LIKE

AND HAPPINESS-LIKE EMOTIONS

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Except where otherwise acknowledged, this thesis is the original work of the author

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TMC

Mulțumesc
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Abstract

This thesis seeks to shed light on the inner lives of the Romanian people via the language they use to communicate about their emotions. It is the first detailed study that analyses Romanian emotions by examining the words referring to them, as well as the syntactic constructions in which they occur. It also highlights Romanian belief systems and other cultural aspects that influence the Romanian emotional experience. In particular, the thesis focuses on ‘Romanian anger-like emotion words mânie and supărare and the happiness-like words fericire and veselie.

By using the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) and by drawing on instances of natural language, mainly extracted from the Romanian Corpus Linguistic, as well as proverbs, sayings, poems and songs, this study shows that Romanians feel very intensely and have highly responsive behaviors and reactions. In addition, it was found that Romanians feel and think socially rather than individually; for example, Romanians’ ability to feel something good is intensified when they share this good feeling with someone else.

Another strength of this thesis is that it demonstrates that basic and universal labels such as anger or happiness cannot be applied to emotion terms in the Romanian language because the emotional reality expressed in Romanian does not match the Anglo concepts described by these labels.
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Chapter 1
Introduction
Emotions, Languages and Culture

“De-al meu propriu vis, mistuit mă vaiet,
Pe-al meu propriu rug mă topesc în flăcări...
Pot să mai reviu luminos din el ca
Pasărea Phoenix?”
Mihai Eminescu (1883)

“Consumed by my own dream, I wail
On my own pyre I melt in flames
Is it possible to come out of it bright
As the Phoenix?”

1.1 Emotions and language – An overview

Emotions make up what many scholars and poets call *inner world*. They play such an important role in our everyday lives that one could almost say that they shape who we are, what we do and how we do it. Lazarus (1991, pg. 3), for example, states that we are influenced “by our emotions and the conditions that generate them”. One could perhaps add that besides our emotions and their circumstances, we are also influenced by our interpretation of them. According to Lazarus, and as it will be demonstrated in this study, emotions “contribute to physical and mental health and illness; positive emotions to health and negative to illness”. In addition, Plutchik (1962, pg. 3-4) describes emotions as being one of the major themes in all of our endeavors:
“The emotions have always been of central concern to men. In every endeavor, in every major human enterprise the emotions are somehow involved. Almost every great philosopher from Aristotle to Spinoza, from Kant to Dewey, from Bergson to Russell has been concerned with the nature of emotion and has speculated and theorized about its origins, expressions, effects, its place in the economy of the human life [...]”.

Yet, it seems extremely difficult to get a good grasp of people’s inner lives, especially in a cross-cultural context. Many psychologists have tried to gain access to people’s inner life by measuring bodily reactions and behaviours as we will see throughout this chapter. Others have associated emotions with facial expressions and based on that, they claimed that some emotions such as anger and happiness are universal (e.g. Ekman (2003)). Other scholars interested in researching and exploring people’s inner lives however understand that language is closely connected with emotions (e.g. Wierzbicka, 1999).

The purpose of this study is to shed light on the inner lives of the Romanian people via the language they use to speak about their emotions. This research focuses on descriptions of emotion expressions, proverbs and sayings and natural language used to describe how Romanians feel. At the same time, this study looks into cultural rules and beliefs associated with anger and happiness.

The results of my analysis will be phrased in an unbiased language, which is able to keep at the same time, the Romanian emotion perspective.

So far, there has been little research on Romanian emotions. Studies such as Macavei’s (2006) and Opriș & Macavei (2005) were mostly focused on the clinical side of emotions; that is, they closely investigated emotion trends in the Romanian population, causes of maladaptive emotions and behaviours, such as
attitudes and beliefs, and finally, methods to measure these emotions. Whilst these studies seem to be statistically sound, it was rather difficult for a cultural outsider to appreciate the attitudes and beliefs that are associated with what they call maladaptive emotions (in Macavei, 2006), not to mention that they fail to describe the emotions themselves.

Therefore, the uniqueness of this study lies in the fact that this is the first attempt to analyse Romanian emotions via language use in connection with the Romanian systems of belief and other cultural aspects that influence the Romanian emotional experience.

1.2 The relation between language and emotions

Language is a very important tool for human beings not only in that it allows them to communicate with each other, but also in that it can be a powerful tool that allows people to talk about how they feel.

Liebnitz (1704, quoted in Kulstad & Carlin, 2008) believes that “languages are the best mirror of the human mind, and that a precise analysis of the signification of words would tell us more than anything else about the operations of the understanding”.

On a similar note, Athanasiadou & Tabakowska (1998, pg. xi) notice that, “people are not only able to feel emotions, but also to express emotions, and to speak of emotions”. They also mention that

“the expression of feelings is largely limited to the psychological sphere of bodily symptoms – a quickened pulse rate, more pronounced and energetic gestures, dilated pupils, and so on; it is generally
believed that any attempt at expressing one's emotions by means of words must be futile by definition, as an attempt to ‘express what cannot be expressed’.

But if words are not used to describe the inner feelings, then how would a patient express their feelings, and how would psychologists refer to and understand the emotions they studied?

Before further discussing the importance of language in the study of emotions, it is instructive to have a close look at what emotions are.

**1.3 Difficulties in understanding the concept of emotion**

**1.3.1 Definitions of emotions**

Many scholars and psychologists are preoccupied with defining the complex and controversial concept of emotions. Cornelius (1996, pg. 10) for example, explains that “in everyday language, emotions are often equated with feelings, and, indeed, feelings, or particular kinds of subjective experiences or bodily sensations”. He continues that:

“most psychologists, however, think of emotions as being much more than feelings, and some psychologists don’t even think feelings are very interesting or important aspects of emotions at all! Emotions may be characterized by expressive reactions, such as smiles, frowns, or clenched teeth, by physiological reactions of various kinds, such as increases in heart rate or production of tears, by instrumental and coping behavior, such as running, seeking comfort from one’s mother, or rubbing one’s hands together, and by cognitions of various kinds, such as the thought that one has been unjustifiably wronged by another person”.

4
Young (1961) considers that an emotion is “a variety of affective process distinguished from the others as an acute (brief and intense) affective disturbance”. Plutchik (1980) is of the opinion that emotions “are total body reactions...” Scherer (1984) describes an emotion as “the interface between an organism and its environment mediating between constantly changing situations and events and the individual’s behavioural responses.” Others like Frijda (1987) believe that emotions arise from the perception that the stimuli that impact on the organism awake concerns, which he calls ‘dormant demons’. There seems to be an inconsistency in all of the definitions presented above. The attempt to define emotions seems to be failing, mainly from a linguistic point of view. Yet considering that emotions play such an important role in our everyday lives, one would expect that there should be a consensus among psychologists regarding their definitions.

This is where clear language use plays a major part. As Athanasiadou & Tabakowska (1998, pg. xi) have observed, humans use language not only as an act of interaction, but also as a tool to describe their social environments, emotions or to refer to abstract and complex ideas. Whilst the definitions presented above use complex linguistic devices to label emotions (mostly via a synonym such as feeling or sentiment) and to measure or name some psychological processes and physical reactions, they fail in measuring and describing in-depth the concept of emotion and its links with the individual and social belief systems. In addition, as Ye (2000, pg. 7) rightfully put it, “although neurological measurement may shed some light on the physiological aspect of emotions, it is incidental and only scratches the surface; physical processes, being concomitants or consequences of emotion states, tell researchers little
about the conceptual domain”. Wierzbicka (1999, pg. 2) gives a more comprehensive definition of emotion by stating that “the English word emotion combines in its meaning a reference to “feeling”, a reference to “thinking” and a reference to the “person’s body””. This definition encompasses the most important components of the meaning of the term emotion, namely cognitive process, feeling and bodily reactions. These components are the basis for the definitions of the Romanian emotions studied in this thesis.

1.3.2 Emotion labeling and the issue of universality

Another factor in the study of emotions is that many psychologists use the word emotion as a label cross-culturally. Frijda (1986, pg. 1-2) is one of the few who recognized the complexity of the English term emotion and suggested that this term should be used as a label to encompass certain phenomena on the basis of similarity. This means that under the label emotion, there are several other constituent labels such as anger, fear, joy et cetera. Whilst this approach is fairer than the definitions discussed in the previous section, things seem to be far more complicated than this. If anger, fear, joy and so on are labels, then what about terms such as rage, fury, outrage, dread, panic and cheerfulness? Are they direct constituents of the label emotion or is there a hierarchy?

Izard (1991) and Evans (2001) claim that there is a set of basic emotions, characteristic of all people as well as other emotions which are culturally specific. Izard (1991, pg. 49) states that the following are fundamental (basic, innate, pan-cultural) emotions: interest, enjoyment, surprise, sadness, anger, disgust, contempt,
fear, shame, guilt and shyness. Izard continues that there are five important criteria that establish these fundamental emotions:

- Fundamental emotions have distinct and specific neural substrates
- Fundamental emotions have a distinct and specific configuration of facial movements or facial expressions
- Fundamental emotions possess a distinct and specific feeling that achieves awareness
- Fundamental emotions were derived through evolutionary biological processes
- Fundamental emotions have organizing and motivational properties that serve adaptive functions.

Evans (2001, pg. 7) also agrees with the idea of universal and basic emotions, yet his list is different to that of Izard. Evans, like many others, believes that joy, distress, anger, fear, surprise and disgust are innate and universal. Evans (2001, pg. 29) divulges that there is a second category of emotions called higher cognitive emotions, which are also “universal, yet they exhibit more cultural variation.” These emotions are: love, guilt, shame, embarrassment, pride, envy and jealousy. Furthermore, Ekman (2003, pg. 12-13) sustains that there are universal facial expressions that correspond to universal emotion terms despite all the translation problems relating to facial expressions encountered in cross-cultural studies. Ekman’s theory regarding the universality of facial expressions was disputed by many scholars such as Russell (1991), Wierzbicka (1998) and Ye (2004).

In her study of Chinese facial expressions, Ye (2004, pg. 209) for example, observes that when Chinese people describe certain facial expressions, they do
not make a specific reference to an emotion. Instead, they rely heavily on description of the parts of the face involved in certain facial expressions. Furthermore, Ye notices that many linguistic devices point towards the fact that Chinese culture does not encourage very strong facial expressions as in Western cultures. Chinese people use the lower part of the face to express their emotions, while the upper part of the face is generally employed in Western cultures. Ye's study shows that “in the Chinese folk model of facial expressions, the primary mode of seeing and describing facial behaviors is not by attributing to them discrete emotion categories, but by interpreting the manner, focusing on the configuration of the components of the face”. It is clear from Ye's study that Chinese people’s facial expressions would not fit into Ekman's categorization of universal and basic emotions.

The evidence generated in the present study will further challenge Ekman's theory of universal facial expressions from a Romanian perspective.

1.3.2.1 The issue of synonymy and cultural specificity

Often scholars use emotion labels interchangeably when proposing 'basic emotions', as if they were synonyms. As seen above, Izard (1991) uses the terms enjoyment while Evans uses joy. On the same note, Izard speaks of sadness, while Evans refers to this concept with the word distress. This can create a great deal of confusion when speaking of emotions as each of these emotion terms has a specific meaning, hence perfect synonymy does not exist.
In addition to the issue of synonymy, the cultural specificity of emotion raises yet other problematic questions. Harkins & Wierzbicka (2001, pg. 3), for example, observe that

“[...] bilingual dictionaries usually equate English anger with the French ‘colere’, for example and deal in varying ways (if at all) with the fact that they cannot correctly be substituted for each other in every situations. They further observe that the adjective angry is often, though not invariably, better translated as ‘furieux’ is only part of the story (that is, ‘furieux’ cannot be regarded as an exact equivalent of furious).”

Harkins & Wierzbicka continue explaining that emotion words are connected with cultural attitudes and cultural identity, which therefore allocate a certain ‘feel’ to their meanings. “This feel of the words angry, furious, furieux has much to do with the kinds of English and French speakers do, how they look, sound and behave, when they feel these emotions” (Harkins & Wierzbicka, 2001, pg. 3). Yet, as mentioned above, Ekman (2003, pg. 13) declares solemnly that “despite the translation problems, there has never been an instance in which the majority in two cultures ascribes a different emotion to the same expression.” The issue here is that psychologists like Ekman, Izard and Evans fall into the ethnocentrism trap. They use an Anglo label such as anger to describe an anger-like emotion in other cultures, when the former has a meaning specific to Anglo people. Furthermore, these psychologists often refer to facial expressions as though they are universal when in fact their interpretation may differ from one culture to another.

As this study shows, Ekman’s position is challenged from a Romanian perspective. For example, when shown Image 1, Australian native speakers labeled the facial expression as sadness or fear. However, Romanian speakers would label the same facial expression as supărare.
The concept of *supărare*, as we shall see in Chapter 3, includes several emotions (from the point of view of the English language): *sadness, grief* and *anger*. Therefore labelling the facial expression in Image 1 as *sadness* would be ethnocentric and would not reflect the Romanian emotional reality:

![Image 1. Supărare. (Gânduri mari, mai mult mărunte, 2010)](image)

Wierzbicka (2009, pg. 9) observes that:

‘concepts like “anger”, “sadness” and “shame” are folk concepts and belong to the folk psychology embedded in the English language. By careful semantic analysis of such concepts we can find out what construals speakers of English impose on their experiences. [...] The culture-specific character of the categorization of emotion reflected in English words is now increasingly recognized by psychologists, but the extend of the linguistic and conceptual diversity in this area is still greatly underestimated’.

So how should one understand the emotion terms and expressions from other languages and cultures? This thesis proposes to use the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM). The following sub-section will introduce this method.
1.4 Natural Semantic Metalanguage

The Natural Semantic Metalanguage was developed by Anna Wierzbicka during the 1970's. A methodology such as NSM was long needed for communication about emotions because as (Harkins & Wierzbicka 2001, pg. 9) point out

“[...] language is a key issue in emotion research and [...] progress in the understating of emotions requires that this issue be squarely addressed. Human emotions vary a great deal across languages and cultures, but they also share a great deal. Neither the diversity nor the universal aspects of emotions, however can be studied without an appropriate metalanguage”.

Wierzbicka was deeply inspired by the ideas of Liebniz, who believed in the existence of ‘an innate alphabet of human thought’, which he called termina simpliciora- simpler terms (Liebniz cited in Wierzbicka 1992, pg. 13).

NSM is suitable for describing the meaning of emotion words and expressions because it is free of circularity (i.e. defining emotions via synonymy) and of ethnocentricity (i.e. using English emotion words for other languages). The main idea of NSM is that it uses reductive paraphrase, which is “founded on the principles of clarity and simplicity, by employing [...] simple expressions from ordinary natural language” (Goddard, 2006, pg. 56).

Wierzbicka (in press) believes that all people, regardless of their culture and language, have a 'mental lexicon' that encompasses simple, indefinable words, which cannot be decomposed. These simple words are called semantic primes. Goddard (2010) states that: "semantic primes can be thought of as simple and irreducible "atoms" of meaning. Wierzbicka (2009) proposes to describe emotion concepts in terms of the semantic primes THINK and FEEL in
combination with other primes such as: SOMETHING, TOWARDS SOMEONE, GOOD, BAD, WANT, DO, SAY, and so on. This model makes the description of the emotions clear and it also reflects cultural diversity. Table 1 below presents all the semantic primes discovered so far, as represented in English (i.e. English exponents).

**Table 1. Exponents of the Semantic Primes in English** (Goddard (2010))

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Substantives:</th>
<th>I, YOU, SOMEONE, PEOPLE, SOMETHING~THING, BODY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relational substantives:</td>
<td>KIND, PART</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Determiners:</td>
<td>THIS, THE SAME, OTHER~ELSE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantifiers:</td>
<td>ONE, TWO, SOME, ALL, MUCH<del>MANY, LITTLE</del>FEW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluators:</td>
<td>GOOD, BAD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descriptors:</td>
<td>BIG, SMALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental predicates:</td>
<td>THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL, SEE, HEAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech:</td>
<td>SAY, WORDS, TRUE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actions, events, movement, contact:</td>
<td>DO, HAPPEN, MOVE, TOUCH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location, existence, possession, specification:</td>
<td>BE (SOMEWHERE), THERE IS, HAVE, BE (SOMEONE/SOMETHING)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life and death:</td>
<td>LIVE, DIE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time:</td>
<td>WHEN~TIME, NOW, BEFORE, AFTER, A LONG TIME, A SHORT TIME, FOR SOME TIME, MOMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Space:</td>
<td>WHERE~PLACE, HERE, ABOVE, BELOW, FAR, NEAR, SIDE, INSIDE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logical concepts:</td>
<td>NOT, MAYBE, CAN, BECAUSE, IF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensifier, augmentor:</td>
<td>VERY, MORE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similarity:</td>
<td>LIKE<del>AS</del>WAY</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Romanian exponents of the primes are listed below in Table 2. In most cases, the exponents are easy to identify. However, exponents such as PARTE – ‘PART’, SIMȚI – ‘FEEL’, FI - ‘BE’, FEL – ‘KIND’, POATE – ‘MAYBE’ require further investigation. I shall briefly discuss some issues of polysemy in relation to some of these exponents, and then dedicate part of the following chapter to issues relating to SIMȚI - ‘FEEL’, an extremely important concept for the study of emotion.
One important aspect of the Romanian language is that many semantic primes, for example the determiners, quantifiers and evaluators, have different lexical entries for their feminine and plural forms (e.g. ACEST (Masc. SG) – ACEASTA (Feminine, SG) ‘THIS’; ACEȘTIA (Masc., PL) – ACESTEA (Fem., PL) – ‘THESE’). Furthermore, the evaluators BUN – ‘GOOD’ and RĂU – ‘BAD’, which are normally adjectives, also have adverb counterparts BINE – ‘WELL’ and RĂU – ‘BAD’ (see Chapter 2, sub-section 2.3.1 for a more detailed account of these exponents). On the same note, the prime BECAUSE OF THIS has two allolexes in Romanian, namely DEOARECE (lit. ‘because’) and DE ACEEA (lit. ‘of that’ or ‘because of this’).

In addition, the matter of polysemy requires some explanation. As Goddard (in press b)) explains,

“often the range of use of exponents of the same prime do not coincide, because as well as the identical shared meaning, the words in question also have additional meanings which differ from language to language, i.e.
there is a match-up between the meanings of lexical units but not between whole lexemes”.

This means that semantic primes such as SIMȚI – ‘FEEL’, FEL – ‘KIND’, FI – ‘BE’ and so on, have more than one sense in addition to the meaning they hold as a semantic prime. SIMȚI is a very important prime used in semantic explications for emotions, hence it will be examined in depth in Chapter 2. A full discussion of the Romanian Semantic primes however, is beyond the scope of this thesis. Verification and rigorous testing is required in future studies. In the NSM theory emotions are defined in terms of semantic primes and following semantic templates for specific constructions.

It is instructive to give a general overview of the concept of emotion using the NSM methodology as illustrated in Diagram 1 below. Firstly, emotions in general, have an obligatory framework, which normally includes the following three components: thinking, perceiving, rendered grammatically via evaluators such as GOOD/BAD in NSM and feeling (see Wierzbicka, 1999). Secondly, emotions are described via prototypical cognitive scenarios in which some components are not always present, but the existence of which are directly linked with the cultural specific meaning of the emotion terms in question. In Diagram 1, the obligatory components of the framework of emotion explications are listed in the red sections. The possible components of prototypical cognitive scenarios are listed in the blue sections.
Diagram 1. Proposed components of emotions

Legend

- framework or obligatory components of emotion
- possible components of prototypical cognitive scenarios for emotion terms

It should be pointed out that in English, there are two commonly used templates as listed below (from Goddard in press a)). The choice of any of these English models of explication depends on the emotion itself. As for the order of their components some English emotions may have as a salient component the feeling, hence it should be listed at the very beginning of the explication (e.g. template 2), whilst others may put an emphasis on the thinking frame (e.g. template 1):

**Template 1 for English emotions (Emotion Adj. + BE):**

Someone X was happy/angry/disappointed (etc.) at this time.

- someone X thought like this at this time:
  - someone X thought like this at this time:
  - ' - - - -
  - - - -'
  - because of this, this someone felt something (very) good/bad at this time
like someone can feel when they think like this

Template 2 for English emotions (FEEL + emotion Adj.)

Someone X felt happy/angry/disappointed (etc.) at this time.
This someone felt something (very) good/bad at this time like someone can feel when they think like this:
‘

These templates can be modified to match the specific grammatical frameworks and meaning of terms found in other languages. As I will show in subsequent chapters, the semantic template employed to describe Romanian anger-like and happiness-like emotion terms will follow none of the above templates. Instead, the template includes the syntactic frame - SIMȚI + emotion Noun. This syntactic frame was chosen due to the fact that the Romanian prime SIMȚI does not naturally combine with an emotion adjective as ‘FEEL’ does in English. Instead, it combines with an emotion noun, which better suits the Romanian language grammatical and semantic rules (see Chapter 2 for further detail).

In the following lines I propose a Romanian semantic template suitable for the explications of the Romanian emotion words:

Cineva (X) simte supărare, mânie, fericire (etc.) (de ceva timp) deoarece X a gândit astfel:
‘

Oamenii pot ști ce simte X, deoarece pot veade că X nu este cum era înainte.

Someone (X) feels supărare, mânie, fericire (etc.) (for some time) because X thinks something like this:
‘

People can know what X feels because they can see X is not the same as before.
1.5 Data

In this study I will focus on the Romanian anger-like emotion words mânie and supărare and the happiness-like words fericire and veselie by describing their prototypical cognitive scenarios and frameworks as discussed in section 1.4. Data is largely drawn from the Romanian Corpus Linguistic (RCL). Unless otherwise specified, all examples given throughout this thesis are extracted from the RCL. Web-based sources such as Înțelepciune.ro, Proverbe și Zicători (Proverbs and Sayings) and so on were also used. In addition, Romanian excerpts from books, newspapers, poems, songs, plays, as well as proverbs and sayings, are also employed. Furthermore, I also consulted Romanian informants, and drew on my knowledge as a Romanian native speaker.

The translations in this study are mine, unless otherwise specified.

1.6 Structure of this thesis

Chapter 2 introduces the word-classes of the emotion concepts, namely, supărare, mânie, veselie and fericire and the syntactic frame of the Romanian emotion verbs.

Furthermore, Chapter 2 introduces the Romanian verb a simți – ‘to feel’. This verb, like the other feel exponents in other Romance languages, is polysemous. Separate investigation to establish the basic meaning that should be used in semantic explications of Romanian emotions is required.

Chapter 3 examines the emotion nouns supărare and mânie. The chapter opens with a general discussion of the so-called ‘basic and universal emotion’ – anger.
The following subsections bring evidence from the Romanian language against this claim. It will also offer explication of two anger-like Romanian nouns supărare and mânie by using NSM.

Chapter 4 analyses the emotion nouns veselie and fericire, by using the same template and methodology as in Chapter 3.

Finally, Chapter 5 summarises the main features found in the Romanian emotions under-study and demonstrates that proposed basic and universal emotion labels such as the English anger are not universal.
Chapter 2
Observations on the syntax of Romanian emotion words

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on the syntactic framework of Romanian emotion words such as mânie, supărare, fericire, and veselie. Word-classes of these Romanian emotion words, as well as the Romanian exponent of the semantic prime FEEL, will be closely examined in the following sections.

2.2 Romanian word-classes and general syntactic frames of anger-like and happiness-like emotion nouns

The Romanian emotions under study, veselie, fericire, supărare and mânie can function as adjectives, adverbs, nouns and verbs (see Table 1 below).

Table 1. Word classes of the Romanian anger-like and happiness-like emotion words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emotion</th>
<th>Word Classes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Supărare’ – ‘roughly upset’</td>
<td>a (se) supâra – ‘roughly to get/make someone/oneself’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.1 Adverbial and Adjectival uses

In their adverbial and adjective uses, these emotion words are found to behave in very similar manner to other non-emotion adverbs and adjectives. For example, like all non-emotion adjectives, emotion adjectives are most likely to occur after the noun.

Like the adjective *fericite* in example (1) below, emotion adjectives generally agree in gender and number with the noun they follow and modify. However, this is not so in Vocative case where feminine adjectival forms can be combined with masculine nouns (as in *iubite amice* where the adjective *iubite* is feminine while *amice* is masculine). Thus *fericite* = feminine (fem), plural (Pl) takes the gender and the number of the noun it determines, here *zile*. Other complexities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>supărat'</th>
<th>upset'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mânie – ‘roughly anger’</strong></td>
<td><em>(a) mânia – ‘roughly ‘to get/make someone/oneself mânios’</em></td>
<td>mânie mânios(ă)^1 mânios(ă)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Veselie – ‘roughly cheerfulness’</strong></td>
<td><em>(a) (in)veseli – ‘roughly to make someone/oneself cheerful/to become vesel(ă)’</em></td>
<td>veselie vesel(ă) vesel(ă)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>'Fericire’ – ‘roughly happiness’</strong></td>
<td><em>(a) (se) ferici – ‘roughly to be/make someone/oneself fericit(ă)’</em></td>
<td>fericire fericit(ă) fericit(ă)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 The grammatical gender ‘Feminine, Sg.’ of Romanian emotion adjectives/adverbs are formed by adding the vowel ‘ă’ to the masculine form which usually ends in a consonant.
of case agreement fall outside the scope of this study (see Daniliuc & Daniliuc, 2000 for further information).

(1) *Icoane-duceți voi din zile fericite [...].*

Icons-bring, II, Pl you from days happy

‘Icons, please bring from *fericite* days [...]’

A second adjectival syntactic form available for Romanian speakers is found in the *predicate complement* construction, which is similar to the English one. The Romanian predicate complement construction consists of the following components: Subject (S) + copula *a fi* ‘to be’ + Adj., as shown in the example (2) below:

(2) *Tincuța era veselă nevoie mare și mândră de mine.*

Tincuța was cheerful need great and proud of me.

‘Tincuța was very *veselă* and proud of me’.

Here the emotion adjective *vesel(ă)* occurs in the Subject Complement (Subj. Comp) syntactic function. It refers back to the S, describing and modifying it, and is syntactically linked to the copula *a fi* ‘to be’. Interestingly, in contrast to the common use of ‘feel’ as well as ‘to be’ in English, the Romanian copula *a fi* is far more common in these constructions than *a simți* – ‘to feel’. The predicate complement construction is the most frequent emotion adjective construction in the data extracted from the Romanian Corpus Linguistic.

Emotion adverbs in Romanian behave similarly to other non-emotion adverbs.

What is interesting about them however, is the context in which they appear. The verbs that they modify provide insights into the behaviour that Romanian people exhibit when experiencing these emotions. Each emotion adverb is discussed in
more detail in Chapter 3 and 4 and will serve as additional evidence of the
behaviour displayed by Romanians when feeling anger-like and happiness-like
emotions. Adjective and adverbial word classes are mentioned at relevant points
in the following chapters. In the following section, the nominal and verbal forms
of Romanian emotion words are presented.

2.2.2 Nominal forms of Romanian emotion words

All the data in the Romanian Corpus Linguistic for the nouns supărare, mânie,
veselie, fericire display high frequencies for the syntactic frame which consists of
the preposition ‘de’ + emotion noun (seen in Table 2 below).

Table 2. Frequencies of the constructions ‘de’ + emotion noun in the Romanian Corpus Linguistic (RCL)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition ‘de’ + emotion noun</th>
<th>Frequencies in RCL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>de supărare</td>
<td>188 out of 917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de mânie</td>
<td>671 out of 2068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de veselie</td>
<td>323 out of 1362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de fericire</td>
<td>951 out of 3792</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The causal preposition de is often translated as ‘because of’, ‘of’ or ‘for’ and its
combination with emotion nouns modifies the meaning of the latter. The
expression indicates that the behavior displayed by the Experiencer is a reaction
to the emotion felt. Let us observe the following example:

(3) Cemp râse de fericire și apa caldă li pătrunse în gura care-și
pierduse rigiditatea.

‘Cemp laughed with fericire and the warm water entered his
mouth, which seemed to have lost its rigidity’.
As seen in the above example, the laughter is a reaction to the emotion *fericire*.

The core meaning of these type of constructions seems to be ‘I do/say something because I feel something’.

### 2.2.3 The Romanian Emotion verbs and their syntactic frames

As mentioned earlier, Romanian emotion verbs display characteristic syntactic frames in distinctive constructions and environments. All of the verbal forms of the emotion words under discussion in this thesis, such as *a (se) supăra*, *a (se) mânia*, *a (se) ferici* and *a (se) veseli/a (se) înveseli*, can display the following syntactic frames:

- Reflexive voice
- Transitive
- Transitive Reflexive
- Dative of attachment.

I will discuss each of these in turn.

#### 2.2.3.1 Reflexive Voice

One of the most frequently occurring syntactic frames in which Romanian emotion verbs occur is the *reflexive voice*.

In Romanian, reflexive voice is mostly linked with semantic roles such as Agent (A), Patient (P) and Experiencer (E). As defined by Andrews (2007, pg. 5) semantic roles involve “a verbal element that designates a type of situation,
which usually implies various roles, that is, ways of participating in that situation”.

Reflexive voice is used in Romanian when the Agent is simultaneously the Experiencer. For example in the sentence mă spăl (‘I wash myself’), the clitic reflexive pronoun mă/m– (myself) fulfills both the Agent and the Experiencer roles. The following examples show that the same situation can be applied to emotion verbs:

(4) S-a supără și a plecat.

himself-Past aux III, SG upset and Past aux III, SG left.

‘He got supără and left’ (my example).

(5) Se înveleşc când văd copii obraznici.

Refl III, Pl make cheerful when see children naughty.

‘They become cheerful when they see naughty children’ (my example).

One specification should be made here in regards to the reflexive pronouns, namely that a true reflexive pronoun occurs only in the IIIrd person Singular, as reflected in Table 3 below. The pronouns that help form the reflexive voice for the rest of the persons both singular and plural are in fact personal pronouns (see Table 3 below). They are called reflexive due to the role they have in forming the reflexive voice (Daniliuc & Daniliuc, 2000, pg. 71). From a syntactic point of view, the reflexive pronouns/clitics have no function, due to their being obligatory components of the reflexive voice.
Table 3. Reflexive Pronouns in Romanian and their grammatical features

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammatical category</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Grammatical Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal pronoun</td>
<td>Mă, mă²</td>
<td>I, Sg, Acc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal pronoun</td>
<td>Te-</td>
<td>II, Sg, Acc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflexive pronoun</td>
<td>Se, s-</td>
<td>III, Sg/Pl, Acc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal pronoun</td>
<td>Ne</td>
<td>I, Pl, Acc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal pronoun</td>
<td>Vă, v-</td>
<td>II, Pl, Acc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflexive pronouns in Dative case</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal pronoun</td>
<td>Îmi, -mi</td>
<td>I, Sg, Dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal pronoun</td>
<td>Îți, -ți</td>
<td>II, Sg, Dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflexive pronoun</td>
<td>își, -și</td>
<td>III, Sg, Dative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At first glance, the reflexive pronouns/clitics seem to behave as second objects (O). However, such a theory does not hold as the verbs can be followed by another NP, which has the syntactic function/semantic role of O/Theme as in the following sentence:

(6) M- am mâniat pe Maria (my example).

Cl Ref Acc-Past aux have get angry on Maria.

‘I got mâniat with Mary’ (lit. I got myself angry with Maria).

The noun phrase (NP) ‘pe Maria’ could be mistaken for the Prepositional Object of a prepositional phrase; however, this is not the case in Romanian since the direct O function is usually marked by the preposition (P) pe-on (Daniliuc & Daniliuc, 2000, pg. 282). Additionally, the reflexive pronouns are co-referential with the Subject and agree with it in number and person. They do not agree with

---

2 ‘M-’ is the short, weak form of the reflexive pronoun ‘mă’ (Daniliuc & Daniliuc, 2000, pg. 75).
the O in gender, number and case, which further indicates that these pronouns solely serve the purpose of expressing reflexive voice.

If the reflexive pronouns/clitics replace a noun or a stressed form of a pronoun, then they receive a syntactic function as in the following examples (Daniliuc & Daniliuc, 2000, pg. 75):

(7) \( \text{iși } \text{pune multe întrebări.} \)

to him D, Ref asks many questions.

‘He asks himself many questions’.

(8) \( \text{Lauda } \text{de sine nu miroase a bine.} \)

the praise of oneself no smell of good.

‘Praising yourself is not a good thing’.

Example (7) uses a non-emotion transitive verb (Vt) \text{pune-}asks, the Subject of which is omitted (\text{el/ea-}him/her’). The verb carries information about the Subject in its suffix \text{-e}. The syntactic function of \text{iși} is that of Indirect O. In example (8), the reflexive pronoun ‘\text{de sine}’ modifies the noun \text{lauda} - praise, hence it has the syntactic function of Nominal Attribute.

Finally, the meaning associated with reflexive voice in this contexts is ‘I feel something because I think/do something’. The verb ‘think’ is used since emotions generally have a thinking frame and a perception that triggers them. ‘Do’ here represents other semantic primes such as ‘see’ or ‘say’.

2.2.3.2 Transitive and Transitive Reflexive Constructions

Transitivity deals with whether a verb can take a direct O complement and if so, how many of such complements it may take (here I use complement as a
syntactic term that refers to grammatical relations, and arguments to refer to the roles that the situation described by a verb requires).

There are three main categories of transitivity in Romanian: transitive verbs, intransitive verbs and ditransitive verbs.

Transitive verbs ‘require a NP direct object complement’, unlike intransitive verbs, which ‘cannot take a NP direct object complement, but take zero or an indirect one’ (Fromkin, Rodman, Hyams, Collins, Amberber, 2005, pg. 115). A ditransitive verb can take both a direct and indirect object.

Romanian emotion verbs are found to be transitive; in other words they can have two arguments as in the following example:

(9)  Ana l-  a supără pe bunicu-l.

Ana Pron Pers, III, Sg, Masc have Past aux, III, Sg upset on granddad-the.

‘Ana made granddad upset’ (lit. Ana him made upset on granddad) (my example).

In example (9), the personal pronoun clitic ‘l-’ refers to the NP ‘pe bunicul’ and attaches itself onto the verbal complex. This phenomenon can be encountered only in Spanish and Romanian and has been called clitic doubling by grammarians such as Monachesi (2005, pg. 85). The semantic role that ‘l-’ and the NP ‘pe bunicul’ encode is that of Experiencer, while the Agent role is taken by the proper noun Ana.

So, how do native speakers distinguish between the personal pronouns and the reflexive pronouns? The answer is associated with the syntactic function and semantic roles of both the personal and reflexive pronouns. In other words, the personal pronoun clitics usually encode a direct O, while the reflexive clitics have
no syntactic function. This is discussed in more detail in section 2.3.1. In addition, the reflexive pronouns fulfill the role of both Agent and Experiencer, while the personal pronouns fulfill only the Experiencer role.

Yet, when the Subject/Agent is elided, the verbal suffix or the auxiliary carries information about its person and number. For example, *superi* is different to *supăr* in that the former carries the II person Sg suffix ‘-i’ which marks the Agent (see box 1 in Fig. 1), while the latter carries 0 suffix which is usual for I person SG Agent and Experiencer (see box 2 in Fig. 1).

Fig. 1 – Elision of Agent and Agent suffix marking on the verb

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'tu mā super-i'} & \quad \text{you me (make) upset-suffix} \\
\text{'eu mā super-i'} & \quad \text{you me (make) upset-suffix}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Eu mā supăr_ (pe lon)} & \quad \text{I myself (make) upset (on John)} \\
\text{Eu mā supăr_ (pe lon) - eu myself (make) upset (on John)}
\end{align*}
\]

Consequently, with transitive verbs that have an Object complement with Experiencer semantic role, the core meaning is ‘I feel something because someone does/says something to me’. In the case of emotion verbs, an additional component is needed, namely ‘I think this is good/bad’ as we shall see in the following chapters.

Emotion verbs can also be transitive reflexive. The difference between transitive constructions and transitive reflexive constructions is that in the latter the reflexive pronouns fulfil the semantic roles of Agent and Experiencer at the same time. In addition to this, the emotion verbs take another NP as their argument. This is usually marked by the preposition *pe* - ‘on’ which marks the Acc. case,
second object function. The semantic role of the NP is usually Theme, while its syntactic function is that of second object as observed in the following example:

\[(10)\] \(M\) -am \(supărat\) \(pe\) \(Maria.\)

Ref. Cl, I, Sg -Past aux, have upset-Part. on Maria.

'I got supărat with Maria' (lit. Myself made upset on Maria) (my example).

The NP \(pe\) \(Maria\) could be mistaken for the Agent or Experiencer of the anger. This is not the case as the reflexive clitic \(m\) fulfills both the Agent and Experiencer roles. The fact that the reflexive clitic \(m\) shares the same entity with the Agent and the Experiencer, suggests that whilst Maria is the target of the anger, it is the perception of the speaker that causes the speaker's anger. \(Maria\) has no role in either causing the speaker's anger nor does she necessarily feel anger either. This is why the NP \(pe\) \(Maria\) has the semantic role of Theme.

The meaning of transitive reflexive constructions is 'I feel something bad because I think someone did something bad'. The verb \(think\) indicates here the fact that the perception of the speaker regarding a certain event/person may cause their bad feeling he/she experiences.

### 2.2.3.3 Dative Constructions

Dative transitive constructions are particularly interesting as the combination of Dative clitics/pronouns with emotion verbs reflects a very important Romanian cultural value - closeness. The Dative form of the clitics, is mostly seen to accompany the gerund form as in \(supărand\) ('roughly making supărat(ă)') as in examples 11 below:
De când ai venit aici nu ai făcut altceva decât să mi superi fata.

Of when have - Aux II, Sg come here no have - Aux II, Sg done anything else but Conj- pers pron, D, I, Sg upset girl.

'Since you came here, you did nothing else than to upset my daughter' (lit. Since you came here you've done nothing else but to upset to myself daughter) (my example).

The clitic -mi' is in Dative case, although a Genitive has to be used in the English translation.

If the Genitive form were used in the Romanian example, then the construction would be different: ai venit aici să (o) superi pe fata mea ('you came here to upset my daughter'), where mea is the Genitive form of -mi. In addition, the preposition pe – ‘on/of’ is necessary due to the fact that the verb să o superi⁴ is transitive and requires a Direct O. The presence of the preposition is also an indicator that the Experiencer and the Agent are different entities, with the Direct O filling the Experiencer role.

Why is then Dative used in combination with emotion verbs? The answer is that the Dative form is used mainly to connect the speaker with someone that belongs to them. The idea of belonging suggests that there are strong bonds between the speaker and the person referred to. This type of Dative construction is often referred to by scholars as ‘possessive Dative’.

Hubler (1998, pg. 20-30), who observed the use of possessive Dative in Old English, sees it as “a device by which the Speaker expresses her/his (emotional)

---

3 ‘O’ is a clitic that replaces the NP ‘fata mea’.

4 The verb ‘supăra’ is conjugated for the conjunctive mood, present tense.
attachment to the person referred to by the Dative” and calls it ‘Dative of attachment’. I adopt the same term here because, in my view, it is an appropriate label for such constructions in Romanian.

The basic meaning of Dative transitive constructions can be formulated as follows:

‘if someone (X) is like a part of me, I can feel what X can feel
because of this if X feels something because someone else (Y) did/said something to them
I can feel the same thing as X’.

2.3 The Romanian exponent of the semantic prime feel

This section examines the use of the Romanian verb a simți, which is the exponent of the semantic prime FEEL. The scope of this exercise is to strip a simți of other polysemus meanings and reveal its basic meaning as a semantic prime in the Romanian NSM. All possible combinations of the prime SIMȚI with other semantic primes wil be also explored below.

As mentioned in the above paragraph, the verb a simți is polysemus. As this analysis will reveal, it occurs in different environments and allows/disallows different types of complements which modify its meaning.

Polysemy however, raises the question of which canonical meaning is to stand for SIMȚI and to be used in the Romanian semantic explications of the emotion words discussed in Chapter 3 and 4. This matter is discussed in sub-section 2.3.1 below.
2.3.1 The canonical meaning of SIMȚI and FEEL exponents in other Romance languages

Wierzbicka & Goddard (2002, pg. 14-15, Vol. I) explain that English FEEL is used “in several distinct contexts; for example, to ‘feel sad’, ‘to feel someone’s pulse; and ‘to feel that something is a good idea’”. The issue here is to establish which of all these meanings is to be used as a semantic prime. Wierzbicka & Goddard further explain that the meaning for FEEL as a semantic prime occurs in canonical contexts such as the one provided below:

(12) "(When this happened), I felt something good/bad" (Wierzbicka & Goddard, 2002, pg. 15).

Other valency frames for the English semantic prime FEEL found by Wierzbicka and Goddard (2002) include:

(13) “someone feels something (good/bad) (in part of the body)”
(14) "someone feels like this, someone feels something good/bad towards someone else”.

According to Goddard and Wierzbicka, ‘feel’ in example (12) has a very basic meaning, which covers the contexts in which the semantic primitive FEEL can occur.

The Romanian NSM valency frames for SIMȚI, which is the Romanian exponent of FEEL, are far more complex than those for the English counterpart observed in examples (12), (13) and (14).

If a mot-a-mot translation of the NSM canonical context was to involve SIMȚI the construction would be awkward and unusual to a native ear, as demonstrated by example (15). The adjectival forms bun(ă) - ‘good’ and rău/rea - ‘bad’ are
unsuitable for expressing emotions in this context. The adjective bun(ă) - ‘good’ and rău/rea’ – ‘bad’ are normally employed to convey meaning about taste (for example, înghetata e foarte bună – ‘the ice-cream is very good’), about indefinite things (for example, e un lucră bun că nu a trebuit să plece – ‘it’s a good thing that he didn’t have to leave’) or about concrete things (e un material bun – ‘it’s a good material’). However, there are instances when rău/rea- ‘bad’ can combine with SIMȚI to express ‘feel something bad’ as exemplified below (cf. page 22):

(15) ?Eu simt ceva bun/rău.
   ? I, Sg feel something good/bad
   I feel something good/bad (my translation).

(16) Simt ceva rău când mă gândesc la Elena
   Feel-I, Sg, something bad when Refl, I,Sg think at Elena.
   I feel something bad when I think about Elena.

(17) Simt ceva rău dacă mă sună.
   Feel – I, Sg something bad if Refl, I, Sg calls.
   I feel something bad if he calls (my examples).

It is important to underline that only the negative adjective rău- ‘bad’ can be employed in complex phrases such as those presented in examples (16) and (17) (i.e. containing clauses introduced by când- when and dacă- if). The role of the subordinate clauses seems to have a close link with an event or a thought that caused the bad feeling, and its presence seems to be implicit to the meaning of a simți. It looks like we are dealing with a cultural specific framework, which seems to point towards the fact that Romanians perceive emotional experiences to be strongly linked to an event/thought.
The positive adjective *bun(ă)* - ‘good’ cannot under any circumstances occur in constructions such as (12), (13) and (14). However, when Romanian speakers wish to refer to physical sensations and in certain cases emotions, then they employ the allophones of *bun(ă)* - ‘good’ and *rău/rea* - ‘bad’, that is, the adverbs forms *bine* – ‘well’ and *rău* – ‘badly’. In such cases, the prime SIMȚI must take a compulsory reflexive pronoun (see list of reflexive pronouns in sub-section 2.1), which fulfills the semantic roles of both Agent and Experiencer. The meaning of the verb when combined with the adverb *rău* in reflexive constructions, is usually inclined towards denoting *physical sensations* (especially to internal organs such as *inima* - heart, *ficat* - liver et cetera, although it can also be used to indicate pain in body parts such as *picior* - ‘leg’) as exemplified below:

(18) ‘Aș avea și eu o întrebare: de vreun an *mă simt rău*, amețesc și parcă nu mai am putere’ (Dana, 2011).

‘I would like to ask you something: for about one year now I have felt sick, I get dizzy as if I have no strength left’.

The negative adverb *rău* can only refer to physical discomfort/pain and not to emotional states such as embarrassment. Instead, in the latter case, colloquial Romanian uses the adverb *prost* - stupid as in example (19) below:

(19) **M-am simțit** atât de **prost** că nu am lăsat-o pe doamna cea drăguță care ne-a acceptat zâmbind scuzele pentru că i-am lovit căruciorul [...] (Lazăr, 2011).

*I felt so stupid (bad) that I didn't let that nice lady who accepted our appologies smiling because we hit her shopping trolley, to go ahead of us [...].*

It is important to remember here however, that ‘I feel something bad’ can be expressed by *simt ceva rău*. In the case of the positive adverb, *bine* – ‘good’ can be combined with *a simți* to refer to both health and a state of emotional comfort.
– equivalent to the English ‘I feel good’ (see example (20) respectively (21) below):


‘Leo Iorga defeats the cancer: “I feel good! The partial results are not bad”’.


‘I feel good at Universitatea Cluj! The atmosphere here is fantastic!’

The positive adverb *bine* refers to emotion only if accompanied by a subordinate clause or some other explanatory context that links the feeling with its cognitive frame and only if it occurs in the reflexive voice; refer to example (22) below provided:

(22)  *M – am simțit bine când n – a lăudat.*

give praise- Part.

‘I felt good when he praised me’ (my example).

The expression *a nu se simți bine* ‘to not feel good’ can refer to both physical health (example 23) and emotional discomfort (example 24):

(23)  *Nu m – am simțit bine să spun că mi – au murit părinții.*

die-Part. parents

‘I didn’t feel good mentioning that my parents died’ (Tutu, 2011).

(24)  "Mă rog la Dumnezeu să-mi dea sănătate, pentru că în ultima vreme nu..."
Nonetheless, constructions such as example (23) cannot be used in the NSM framework when describing strong emotions such as *anger* from the Romanian perspective. Some similar issues relating to the inappropriateness of positive and negative adjectives in NSM combinations as in example (13) above, have been observed by (Peeters, 2006, pg. 101-104) in French, and Italian. Thus unlike Spanish and Portuguese the Romanian language cannot support combinatorial properties for emotions such as verb (V)+ substantive+ Adjective, unless the adjective is *rău* and it is immediately followed by a subordinate clause that sets the cognitive frame of the bad feeling.

Like French and Italian, Romanian supports the valency frame V in reflexive voice + adverb *bine* – ‘well’. However, it does not support the valency options supported by other Romance languages and English, V + adverb *rău* – ‘badly’. Instead to express a negative emotion Romanian employs the valency frame V + substantive + adjective *rău* – ‘bad’.

It seems therefore that Romanian is quite different in its combinatorial properties to the rest of the languages studied by NSM scholars so far. A more thorough analysis of this data however is much needed and is to be developed in future studies.
To recapitulate, Table 4 below spells out the cannonical combinations of the prime SIMȚI in Romanian used throughout the following chapter for semantic explications of the Romanian anger-like and happiness-like emotion nouns.

**Table 4. Combinatorial properties of the Romanian semantic prime SIMȚI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Category</strong></th>
<th><strong>Formula</strong></th>
<th><strong>Example</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative emotion</strong></td>
<td>SIMȚI+ ceva+ Adj rău + subordinate clause/further context</td>
<td><em>Simt ceva rău când îl văd pe Mircea</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>I feel something bad</em> when I see Mircea*.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive emotion</strong></td>
<td>Reflexive Pronoun+ SIMȚI+ Adv bine+ subordinate clause/further context</td>
<td><em>Mă simt bine când îmi spune că mă iubește</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>I feel good</em> when he tells me he loves me*.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**2.3.2 The question of Polysemy of the Romanian NSM exponent of FEEL**

The Romanian *a simți* has the following polisemous meanings: *a simți* – ‘to feel’, *a miroși* – ‘to smell’, *a atinge* – ‘to touch’, *a gusta* – ‘to taste’, *a ști* – ‘to know’, *a avea bune maniere* – ‘to have good manners’.

This phenomenon is widely observed across all Romance languages, in which the word being the exponent of FEEL also has other meanings such as ‘hear’, ‘touch’ and ‘feel’. Whilst these additional meanings are shared by the majority of the Romance languages as observed by Peeters (2006), the meaning of the Romanian exponent of FEEL also includes meanings that are not shared by other Romance languages.
Peeters (2006, pg. 102) argues that the French *sentir + quelque chose de bon/mauvais* refers more to smell rather than emotions. The Romanian *a simți* can be used instead of smell provided that it is immediately followed by the N *miros* - ‘smell’, as in *simt un miroș plăcut de iasomie* – ‘I feel a pleasant smell of jasmine’.

Travis (2002, pg. 195) observed in Spanish that the verb *sentir* can also be equivalent to *oir* – ‘hear’. Unlike Spanish, the Romanian *a simți* cannot mean ‘hear’ as in *Simt că vine Radu* – ‘*I feel Radu coming*’. Instead, the verb *a auzi* - ‘to hear’ will be used in such contexts (exempli gratia: *Auzând vine Radu* – ‘I hear when Radu is coming’).

Romanians may employ *a simți* to refer to ‘heart beats’ (for example: *Îi simt bătăile inimii* – ‘I can feel his heart beats’). Its meaning in this context though is not equivalent ‘to hear’, but instead ‘to touch’. It seems that Romanian is similar to Portuguese and Italian in that it also can employ the verb *a simți* to refer to ‘touch’ and ‘taste’ (Peeters, 2006, pg. 103-104).

In addition Romanian *a simți* can also refer to feeling the results of an event/external factor such as a storm or earthquake (exempli gratia: *am simțit cutremurul aseară*– ‘I felt the earthquake yesterday evening’).

It can also refer to being aware or conscious of something (exempli gratia: *simt că ne îndepărtăm unul de altul*– ‘I feel that we are falling apart’).

Another interesting feature of *a simți* is that it can be an allolex of the semantic prime ȘȚI – KNOW. The type of *knowing* though is something that affects a person’s senses and causes them to feel the truth of a fact. Let us observe example (25) below:
Simțeam că mă mințea.

Felt-I, SG that myself was lying-III, SG.

‘I knew/felt that he was lying to me’ (my example).

Finally, this verb also has a cultural specific meaning, which roughly means having good manners and empathy towards other people (exempli gratia: e foarte simțit – ‘he has very good manners’).

Generally speaking, I agree with Peeters (2006) in that Romance feel-words are complex from the point of view of polysemy, especially from a Romanian perspective as demonstrated in this section, hence the necessity to discuss this matter separately before analysing and explicating Romanian emotions.

2.3.3 A simți in combination with emotions

It is important to briefly explain here that while the Romanian prime SIMȚI can be used in the Romanian NSM framework of emotions, in everyday language it rarely accepts emotion adjectives. In fact, the number of occurrences in the Romanian Corpus Linguistic are marginal and sound very awkward to Romanian native speakers. It is possible that these marginal examples indicate that the modern Romanian is influenced by Western languages such as English, and that in future, Romanian may allow for constructions involving emotion adjectives:

(26) În loc să spuneți: “M’ai supărat pentru că...”, spuneți: “Mă simt supărat când...”

‘Instead of saying: “You’ve made me supărat because...”, you say: “I feel supărat when...”’
Simți can only accept emotion nouns and subordinate clauses that refer to emotions as in the following examples:

(27)  
Simțeam o supărare puternică.

Felt-I, Sg a supărare strong.

‘I felt a strong supărare’.

(28)  
Simțeam că fericirea îmi cuprinde tot corpul.

Felt-I, Sg, that fericirea to myself take over all body.

‘I felt that fericirea took over my entire body’ (my examples).

Additionally, emotion adverbs can accompany the verb ‘a simți’ to provide the meaning of a short emotional state the speaker is in, as exemplified below:

(29)  
Mă simțeam fericit de câte ori îmi scria.

Ref. I, Sg felt – I, Sg. fericit of how many times to myself wrote-III, SG.

‘I felt fericit every time he wrote to me’ (my example).

It is clear from its contextual framework that the Romanian exponent of the English FEEL is rather unique as it reflects the Romanian linguistic and cultural reality.
Chapter 3

Romanian perspectives on anger: supărare and mânie

Când a aflat însa că, în schimb, George a început să dea târcoale fetei, l-a cuprins o mânie furtunoasă, a trântit și a suduit toată ziua, s-a certat cumplit cu Glanetașu și era cât pe-ací să-l sonească fiindcă l-a făcut fără noroc, iar pe urmă a băut singur, tăcut și posomorât, un litru de rachiu, la Avrum, pe prispă.

Rebreanu, 1920

'When he found out that George started to court the girl, a stormy mânie took over his entire being; he slammed the door and swore at everyone the whole day, had horrible quarrels with Glanetașu, whom he almost bashed because he conceived him without any luck, and in the end he drank by himself, silent and gloomy, one litre of grappa, on Avrum’s porch'

3.1 Is anger universal?

This chapter demonstrates that the many appraisal theories, which include the extremely categorical view that certain emotions are innate and universal, are culturally biased. It will also reveal that these theories do not necessarily encompass some aspects of the Romanian experience of ‘anger’ encapsulated in the words supărare and mânie.

According to Izard (1977, pg. 43 & Ch. 4) there are ten universal and basic emotions. One of these is anger.

In addition, Ekman’s (1992, pg. 171-175) argument for the theory of basic emotions is based on the fact that ‘emotions are viewed as having evolved to deal
with fundamental life-tasks’. He exemplifies this by stating that there are some universal ways of distinguishing one emotion from another. One of these ways is facial expression. Yet evidence suggests that although certain contexts are common to many cultures, the interpretation of them may cause different reactions and hence different emotions reflected in different words.

In this chapter I show how the meanings of two Romanian anger-like words *supărare* – roughly ‘upset’ and *mânie* – roughly ‘anger’ are quite distinct from the English *anger* concept.

In order to set the scene, I give a brief example of *supărare*, from my personal experience as an immigrant in Australia. When I first arrived in Australia and visited supermarkets or shops, I often left the premises with a feeling of frustration mixed with embarrassment and anger, an emotion Romanians call *supărare*. This feeling was usually caused by the fact that shop attendants would call me ‘love’. My reaction came from my perception of this Australian term, namely ‘this is something bad’. In Romania, one would generally use endearment terms similar to ‘love’ to refer to one’s partner or perhaps someone very close to them. If used by strangers, especially by the opposite sex, without clear indication of consent, this use of term would be considered an insult with sexual connotations.

This example shows that *supărare* involves emotions that are not expressed by the English emotion word *anger*. In such circumstances, an Australian would not experience *supărare*; on the contrary, the situation would cause a positive feeling and would indicate solidarity and equality.

Therefore, the same context may cause different emotions in people with
different cultural backgrounds, due to the existence of different perceptions. As Wierzbicka (2005) put it, the emotions arise from ‘I think this is good/bad’ because of this, I feel something good/bad’ rather than ‘something bad happened’.

Tavris (1989, pg. 49) also states that anger is dictated by certain rules established by cultures. Tavris argues that cultures may have very explicit rules (e.g. “thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife”) and also ‘more often implicit rules, disguised in the countless daily actions performed because “that’s the way we do things around here”. These unstated rules are often not apparent until someone breaks them. It announces that someone is not behaving as (you think) she or he ought’. De Rivera (1977, quoted in Tavris, 1989, pg. 49) states that the “assertion of ought is one common and essential feature of anger in all its incarnations”.

So what dictates Romanian supărare?

### 3.2 Supărare

#### 3.2.1 Introduction

The emotion word supărare is not just an emotion word for Romanians; it is a Romanian reality. When this emotion touches the Romanian soul it is personified into a constant presence, almost like a companion. This is reflected in the Romanian song Supărarea bat-o Doamne – ‘Supărarea, may God curse it’ which states that:

’Supărarea bate-o Doamni’
Numa-n pat cu mini doarmi
Eu m-ântorc cătri păreti
Blâstemata tot mă vedi1.

'Supărarea curse it God
Always sleeps in the same bed as me
I turn to face the wall
But the abominable/cursed can still see me'.

(Sofia Vicoveanca, 2011)

The emotional intensity felt by Romanians when bearing supărare in their souls, will eventually dry them out like an autumn leaf as stated later in the same folk song quoted in the below paragraph:

"și tu-n sân mi te-ai băgat și ca frunza m-ai uscat"

'and you got into my chest and you dried me out like a leaf'

(Sofia Vicoveanca. 2011)

So how does this Romanian emotion manifest and how do Romanian people cope with it? My analysis in the following sub-sections will reveal answers to this question. Part of the answer involves a study of this emotion word's definitions and translations, as well as a thorough examination of the language that Romanian people use to speak of such an emotional state.

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1 Transcription reflects the spoken Bucovinian dialect used in this song.
3.2.2. Definitions and Translations

The Romanian anger-like word *supărare* (*supărări* – Pl.) is defined by the *Dicționarul Explicativ al limbii Române* (DEX) - ‘The Explicative Dictionary of the Romanian language’ (2009, pg. 1073) as follows:

- Întristare, amăraciune, tristete (sadness group)
- Furie, irritare, mânie (anger group)
- Neplăcere, necaz, suferință, nevoie, neajuns, lipsa; Greutate, poveră, piedică, pagubă, stricăciune, deranj (second and third polysemus meaning—roughly lack group respectively burden group).

This definition uses synonymy to explain the meaning of *supărare*, for example the use of *mânie* in the anger group, thus falling into the trap of circularity.

In addition, it is difficult to distinguish the polysemous meaning in this definition. That is, besides *supărare*’s basic anger-like and sadness-like meanings, it can also mean burden and lack. In this thesis I focus on the anger and sadness-like emotional meaning of *supărare*.

Translations of this Romanian emotion word are even more problematic. *Supărare* is usually translated as *upset*, although in reality, it refers to a negative emotion that consists of a mixture of anger, regret, sadness and pain.


Since the definition of supărare is rather confusing for native speakers, the Romanian meaning of the word is easily lost in translation. This makes it difficult for a non-native speaker to grasp the meaning of this Romanian emotional concept. Consequently, in the following sub-section I shall propose an analysis and then a definition of supărare from an NSM perspective.

3.2.3 Analysis of the semantic components of supărare

3.2.3.1 Supărare. Which emotions do Romanian speakers contrast it with?

Supărare, is usually contrasted with positive emotions such as bucurie – roughly ‘joy’ and fericire – roughly ‘happiness’ as in the following proverb:

(1) Dăcă nu ai cunoscut ce-i supărarea nu știi ce-i bucuria (Înțelepciune.ro, 2011).

‘If you haven’t known supărarea, you can’t know what joy is’.

The contrast with the positive emotion words bucuria and fericirea indicates that supărare is not purely an anger word. Instead, its meaning encompasses a mixture of several negative emotions such as sadness, grief/hurt, frustration, pain and/or regret (see above). The many semantic nuances of this emotion noun clearly suggests its cultural specificity hence the inability to capture its meaning in translations into other languages.
3.2.3.2 What causes this Romanian emotion?

3.2.3.2.1 Prototypical causes of supărare

Supărare like other anger-like emotions, is caused by something or someone's action. This can be seen in example (2) below, where the fact that the author's father came home late, obviously caused the supărare of his/her mother:

(2) Cind s-a făcut dimineaţă şi mama s-a-ntors de la lapte, mi-a spus neagră de supărare că "taică-tu ăsta" iar se luase după colegii lui de la ziar şi mers' seara la bar ca să-l sărbătorească pe nu-ştiu cine.

'In the morning, after my mum bought the milk, (she) told me, black with supărare: “This father of yours joined his fellow journalists again and went to a bar to celebrate some guy’s birthday”’.

3.2.3.2.2 Complex causes of supărare

Multiple events rather than just one can cause the emotion of supărare. Generally, the consecutiveness of these events is often rendered by using the verb a aţâţa – ‘to stir up’. This verb is based on the Latin verb attitiare, which in its turn is derived from the noun attititio, -onis – ‘charcoal’ (DEX, 2009). It seems that the idea of fire and heat is still deeply ingrained in this verb hence its combination with supărare and mânie. In the following example it is the Agent (the Israelites- in example (3)) who gradually builds up the emotion in the Experimacer (God):

(3) Îmi voi potoli mânia împotriva ta, şi nu voi mai fi gelos pe tine. Mă voi linişti, nu voi mai fi supărat. Pentru că nu ți-ai adus aminte de vremea tineretei tale, ci m-a aţîţat prin toate aceste lucruri, iată, voi face ca purtarea ta să cadă asupra capului tău, zice Domnul, Dumnezeu, ca să nu mai săvîrşesti alte nelegiuri [...]!
‘I shall calm down my mânia against you and I shall not be jealous of you. I shall calm myself down and I shall not be supărât. Because you did not remember your youth, but you m-ai aţîtat (stirred me up) with all these things, so here, I shall make sure that your behaviour will condemn you, says God, so you stop sinning [...]’ (Biblegateway.com, Ezechiel, 16: 43)

Most interestingly, in contexts such as example (4), supărare itself seems to be the cause of retaliation or negative behaviour towards an Agent (note the anger-like aspect of this Romanian emotion). The focus is on the feeling (’I feel something bad’). The causing event (’someone did something to me’) and the thinking frame (’I think this is bad’) seem to be less important:

(4) Ce supărare le-ai făcut păgânilor acestora ca să te schingiuiaască așa?

’What kind of supărare did you cause these heathens to torture you like this?’

In addition, when an emotion such as supărare is preceded by the causal preposition de – ’because of/of’, the emotion seems to pass as the cause of a behaviour/retaliation in the Experiencer (see Chapter 2, (pg. 5) for further details).

3.2.3.3 Prototypical cognitive scenario and obligatory frame for supărare

As with other emotions, the obligatory components of the explication for supărare are the thinking frame, the feeling and perception as seen in Chapter 1. These components seem to be linked to each other as exemplified below.

Example (5) shows that the thinking frame (’I don’t understand these numbers and I can’t do any calculations’) and the perception (’I think this is bad’)
associated with the causing event (‘something happened and because of that this person has to review their finances’) lead to a negative feeling – supărarea:

(5) Şi-a dat seama că supărarea ei, din momentul în care a început să se preocupe de cifre - declaraţia de venit şi bilanţul - provenea din jena de a nu le înţelege.

‘Since she started to worry about numbers – the balance and income, she realised that her supărarea was based on her shame that she didn’t understand anything.’

The thinking process can also be extended in time, which may lead to anxiety. It seems therefore, that whilst Romanians value being free of their worries (example (6)), they also try to be cautious at the same time (example (7)), when confronted with hard situations:

(6) Acu ce-o fi o fi, nu-ți mai face grijă şi supărate de pomană! (Romanian Corpus Linguistic, 2011)

‘Now come what may, don’t worry and don’t feel supărare for no reason!’

(7) Fă împrumuturi şi te gătește de supărări. (Întelepciune.ro, 2011)

‘Get loans and prepare yourself for supărări.’

Example (7) is particularly interesting due to the fact that the emotion includes in its meaning the idea of long periods of time extended into the future. In other words, people think that ‘one should be aware and cautious because you will feel supărări if you get a loan’. This is probably linked with the Romanian dislike of being in debt, which is clearly reflected in this Romanian proverb.

Lastly, supărare has a very pessimistic thinking frame caused by sadness or grief. Here the thinking frame includes the component ‘I cannot think that things like
this will not happen to me’, as will be demonstrated below, in the discussion of
the colours associated with supărare.

3.2.3.4 What do Romanian people feel?

It could be said that supărare encompasses a sort of annoyance, resentfulness or
simply being angry as in example (8):

(8) *Am vrut să-i răspund că supărarea văcarului e pe sat [...]*. 
   ‘I wanted to respond to him that the cowboy’s supărarea was with the
   village [...]’

Regret and frustration mixed with anger are also components of this emotion – ‘I
could not do something very bad to Y, because of this I feel something very bad’.
Also described as ciudă, this feeling is rendered in example (9) by the expression
a-și mușca mânile de supărare – ‘to bite one’s hands because of supărare’:

(9) Își mușca mânile de supărare cum de n-a putut el să puie mâna și pe
    acest blestemat de zmeu să -l omoare, căci iată acum ce neajuns îi făcu.
    ‘He was biting his hands with supărare; why couldn’t he catch and kill
    this ogre, and avoid all the big losses he had suffered because of it.’

This feeling is similar to a frustration much stronger than the one described in
example (5) above - ș-i dat seama că supărarea ei [...]provenea din jena de a nu
le înțelege [...] – ‘she realised that her supărarea [...] came from the shame of not
understanding [...]’.

Anger is also experienced when feeling supărare as follows:

(10) *Clocotind de supărare s-a ridicat, dar a râmas acolo, neștiind împotrivă
cui să-și îndrepte furia elanului tăiat; s-a uitat ici și colo pisica nu mai
    era.*
‘Boiling with supărare, he stood up, but he remained there, not knowing against whom he should direct the fury of this destroyed enthusiasm; he looked around and the cat was gone.’

Nonetheless, deep regret and long-lasting grief can also be felt as exemplified below:

• poate că și-ar fi sunat câțiva din vechii prieteni pentru a-și cere scuze pentru eventuale supărări din trecut și să se împace cu ei - ‘maybe she would have called a few of her old friends to apologise for the possible supărări from the past and make peace with them’ (see example (12) below)
• atunci când se certau, el fujea departe și-o lăsa singură; stătea supărat ore întregi, chiar zile - ‘when they were arguing, he would run far away and would leave her alone; he was supărat for hours, sometimes for days’ (see example (14) below).

3.2.3.5 Feeling in the body and reactions (towards other people)/behaviours

In some cases bodily reactions accompany behaviours that target someone (for example the Agent or someone else). For this reason bodily sensations and behaviours that result from this Romanian emotion are discussed together.

3.2.3.5.1 Behaviours/reactions

The appearance of supărare is immediately accompanied by a behaviour reaction. Reaction(s) is/are expected from someone who feels supărare. For
instance, example (11) below indicates that the experiencer felt such strong 

**supărare** that they told someone a secret that they were not supposed to share.

(11) *Eu eram acela care i-am spus... știi, câte mai spune la supărare omul!*

‘I was the one who told her... you know how many things someone says when feeling **supărare**!’

There are various types of reaction the most predominant being lack of communication, and in many cases avoidance of the person responsible for the causing event, as shown in example (12):

(12) *Nu sunt sigur ce ar fi făcut soţia prietenului meu dacă ar fi știut că nu va mai apuca ziua de mâine, zi pe care noi toți o ignorăm într-o măsură destul de mare. Cred că ar fi telefonat celor din familie și prietenilor apropiati. Poate că și-ar fi sunat câțiva din vechii prieteni pentru a-și cere scuze pentru eventuale supărări din trecut și să se împace cu ei.*

‘I am not sure what my friend's wife would have done if she had known that she would not live to see the next day, something which we all ignore quite a lot. I think that she would have phoned all the family and close friends. Maybe she would have called a few of her old friends to apologise for any possible **supărări** from the past and to make peace with them.’

The emotion word **supărări** in example (12) speaks of **bad feelings** aroused by conflict. The presence of the verb *a împaca* – ‘to make peace, to reconcile’, indicates that the friend's wife's reaction to these bad feelings was to neither speak to each other, nor see her friends for a long time.

Although the prototypical cognitive scenario of ‘**supărare**’ in example (12) is reaction orientated (e.g. ignoring someone), in example (3) it produces more drastic action against the doer - ‘I do very bad things to X's body, because of this, X can feel something very bad in their body, because of this, X won’t do this after
this'. The idea of hurting someone physically is rendered by the verb *a schingiui* – 'to torture'.

*Supărare* can be a very deep and painful emotion that may cause the Experiencer to be selfish and behave unjustly towards others without really realising or wanting to do it. This is the case with the following example:

(13) [...] suntem supărați pe noi înșine și vârsăm supărarea pe alții și apar probleme diverse.

‘[...] we are *supărați* with ourselves and we pour our *supărarea* on others which can cause different problems.’

3.2.3.5.1.1 *What does the Romanian anger-like adverb supărat(ă) say about the reactive behaviour?*

Several verb categories occur with the emotion adverb *supărat(ă)*.

These verbs usually involve actions that can be described with the semantic primes *ZICE/SPUNE* – *SAY* and *FACE-DO*.

The largest verb category included *verba dicendi* such as: *a zice* – ‘to say’, *a spune* – ‘to tell’, *a întreba* – ‘to ask’, *a șohti* – ‘to whisper’, *a bombâni* – ‘to murmur’ and *a mormăi* – ‘to mumble’. This clearly indicates that one type of behaviour that accompanies *supărat(ă)* can be ‘I want to say something’. Consequently, it seems that Romanian speakers are verbally orientated when they feel something bad.

*Supărat(ă)* also co-occurs with more abrupt verbs which indicate that its meaning includes ‘I want to do something’: *a striga* – ‘to yell’, *a pufni* – ‘roughly to make an abrupt sound with one’s nostrils’, *a întrerupe* – ‘to interrupt’, *a mustra* – ‘to reprimand’, *a plesni* – ‘to burst’, *a (se) încrunta* – ‘to frown’. These verbs
express either saying or doing something.

Silence can also be interpreted as a sign that the interlocutor is feeling this emotion since *supărat(ă)* can occur with verbs such as: *a întoarce* - ‘to turn around’, *a fugi* - ‘to run’, *a porni* - ‘to start’, *a intra* - ‘to enter’, *a arăta* - ‘to look’, *a (se) culca* - ‘to go to sleep’, *a părea* - ‘to seem’, *a da* - ‘to give’, *a (se) uita* - ‘to look at someone’, *a privi* - ‘to watch/look at’, *a (se) ridică* - ‘to stand up’. All these verbs revolve around ‘I do not want to say anything, I do something else/move my body’.

In addition, *supărat(ă)* can combine with *a sta* - roughly ‘to be in the state of [...]’.

The state of being *supărat(ă)* can extend over a longer period of time and implies silence as in example (14):

(14) *Atunci când se certau, el fugea departe şi-o lăsa singură. Stătea supărat ore întregi, chiar zile.*

‘When they were arguing, he would run far away and would leave her alone. He was *supărat* for hours, sometimes for days.’

When associated with silence, *supărat(ă)* involves seclusion or some sort of withdrawal into the most inner self. This sort of emotion and withdrawal resembles sadness, regret or grief. The cause of this state may not necessarily be another human being, nor does the behaviour target someone else (see (15) below):

(15) *Ce-i cu tine? Ce stai supărat copile?*

*Lacrimi mici apar sub geană,*

*N-am nimic, am spart o cană!* (Versurile copilăriei, 2011)

“What happened child? Why are you *supărat*?”

Small tears appear under his eye-lashes,
‘It’s nothing, I broke a cup!’

Silence can also be implied when someone is affected badly by either natural calamities or other such events:

(16) *Stătea supărată că furtuna i-a distrus via.*

‘She was upset because the storm destroyed her vineyard’ (my example).

If they remain silent, other ‘people can still know that this person feels something bad’ because of the expression on their face (e.g. frowning, staring etc.), hence the component ‘I want to do something’ is still involved.

Other more passive behaviours are deemed to occur in contexts where the Experiencer wishes to repress their reaction. The expression *ca să-i treacă supărarea* – ‘for her *supărarea* to go away’ supports this statement and it involves doing something to calm oneself down, as in example (17) below:

(17) *Ca să-i treacă supărarea, îşi aprinse o țigară de la cea pe care tocmai o fumase, se ridică și intră agale în bar.*

‘In order for her *supărarea* to go away, she lit herself a cigarette with the butt from the one she had just smoked, stood up and walked slowly towards the bar.’

3.2.3.5.2 Reactions within the experiencer

3.2.3.5.2.1 Bodily reactions

Apart from reactions against the cause of this emotion, other types of reactions are observed in the Experiencers themselves. These are mainly bodily manifestations, which can differ in their intensity (see (18) below):
La 12 ani a făcut accident cerebral de supărare că i-a murit hamsterul
(Știrileprotv.ro, 2011).
‘A 12 year old girl had a stroke because of supărare when her
hamster died.’

Example (18) above describes a very intense supărare, which caused the little
girl a stroke and eventually lead to her death. Romanians believe that someone
who experiences such intense emotion, whether for a long time, or a short time,
may acquire unexpected illnesses. This is reflected in the following proverb:

Supărarea aduce boli grele (Proverbe-zicatori.com, 2011).
‘Supărarea brings only bad illnesses.’

Other bodily sensations that indicate how deep and painful this anger-like
emotion can be, include the bitter taste which results from the gallbladder being
affected, hence the expression a simți/a avea un gust de fiere de supărare – ‘to
feel the taste of one’s gallbladder in one’s mouth because of supărare’. Fainting,
can also be experienced by someone feeling this emotion:

[...] tot bocind ea, o apucă leșinul de supărare.
‘[...] and because she kept crying, she felt like fainting because of supărare.’

The seat of the emotion supărare is mostly the heart, which can be broken. This
causes a very intense and profound feeling of anger, grief and pain:

[...] în același timp, inima mea este frântă de supărare.
‘[...] at the same time, my heart was broken by supărare.’

3.2.3.5.2.2 Facial Expressions

Supărare can also be reflected on someone’s face. Example (22) below speaks of
‘sad eyebrows’, prominent feature for this emotional expression in Romanian
Experiencers (see Image 1 in Chapter 1). This particular facial expression is not found in English, which supports the theory that anger cannot be recognized by universal facial expressions as stated by Ekman (2003; see Chapter 1).

(22) A avea sprâncene posomorâte (Vrasite.eu, 2011).

‘To have sad eyebrows’.

In addition to sad eyebrows, supărare is reflected through paleness of the face, as in the expression a pâli de supărare – ‘to become pale because of supărare’ and the eyes:

(23) Ochii bărbatului se umplură cu supărare.

‘The man’s eyes filled with supărare’.

The lips manifest this emotion by becoming wrinkled, as in example (24):

(24) Nu găsesc nimic de râs, rosti Dana cu buzele încreştite de supărare.

‘I don’t find this funny, said Dana with her lips wrinkled with supărare’.

Besides the face, this emotion can also be heard in the voice of the Experiencer as observed in the following example:

(25) Supărarea i se mai simţea încă în voce dar nu la fel de intensă.

‘Supărarea could still be felt in her voice but it wasn’t so intense any longer.’

3.2.3.5.2.3 Moods and colours associated with supărare

Supărare is strongly connected to mood. Although the emotion itself is not mentioned, in the following three examples Romanians can still recognise it, especially in sayings (26) and (27). The moods suggesting supărare observed in prototypical situations can be suggested via comparative expressions such as:
losing something important\(^2\), continuous bad weather and so on:

\(26\) \(A\ nu\ fi\ în\ duşi\ buni\) (Vrasite.eu, 2011).

Not to be in good mood.

\(27\) \(A\ nu-i\ fi\ cuiva\ boii\ acasă\) (Vrasite.eu, 2011).

Someone that doesn’t have all his oxen at home.

\(28\) \(Parcă\ tot\ îi\ plouă\ şi-i\ ninge\) (Vrasite.eu, 2011).

He looks as if it is always raining and snowing.

As with all the anger-like emotions, supărare can occur in certain combinations with colour words such as negru- ‘black’. This gives different nuances of meaning to this emotion concept. For example:

- \(a\ fi\ negru\ de\ supărare\) – ‘to be black’ because of supărare implies that supărare is mixed with sadness
- \('a\ avea\ inima\ neagră’\) – to have a black heart indicates grief\(^3\) and frustration
- \('a\ vedea\ negru\ în\ faţa\ ochilor’\) – to see black before one’s eyes implies pessimism.

All these combinations with colour words seem to entail ‘I cannot think that things like this will not happen to me’.

\subsection{3.2.4 Semantic Explication of supărare}

Considering the analysis of the noun supărare in the previous section, I propose the following semantic explication, using NSM semantic primes, to enable both native and non-native speakers to gain a greater insight into the meaning of this emotion word.

\(^2\) Oxen used to be very important animals for the Romanian peasants as they were used in agricultural works.

\(^3\) Black is also the colour of mourning in Romania, hence the grief component in this anger-like emotion.
[A] someone (X) feels *supărare* (noun)

a) someone (X) felt something bad for some time because X thought something like this:
   b) ‘something happened to me
   c) I think this is bad, because of this I feel something bad
   d) because of this, I want to do something
   e) because of this, I feel something bad in my body
   f) I don’t want things like this to happen to me
   g) I can’t think things like this will not happen to me
h) people can know what X feels because they can see X is not the same as before.

[B] Cineva (X) simte *supărare* (noun)

a) cineva (X) a simţit ceva rău pentru mult timp deoarece X s-a gândit aşa
   b) ‘ceva s-a întâmplat
   c) cred că acest lucru e rău, de aceea simt ceva rău
   d) de aceea, vreau să fac ceva
   e) de accea simt ceva rău în corp
   f) nu vreau ca astfel de lucruri să mi se întâmple
   g) nu pot să mă gândesc că asemenea lucruri nu mi se pot întâmpla’
   h) oamenii pot ști ce se întâmplă cu X deoarece X nu este cum era înainte.

Components b) to f) represent the prototypical cognitive scenario of the emotion ‘*supărare*’. The cause is reflected in component b), while the immediate perception about this event appears in component c).

Component d) and e) describe the behavioural and bodily reaction. Component d) in particular, reflects the desire to do something either to calm oneself down (e.g. smoke), or let the feeling out (e.g. frown, let the face have the expression normally associated with this emotion), avoid reaction to thus punish the Agent or simply avoid further conflict and hurt (e.g. not speak to the offender) as well as, in some cases, take action against the Agent (e.g. yell at the offender).

While component f) is directly linked to the ‘thinking’ frame related to English *anger*, component g) adds the Romanian ‘thinking’ frame of pessimism.
Finally, component h) reflects the transparency of the emotion in the Experiencer and its acknowledgement by other people.

### 3.2.5 Supărare as a speech act

The noun *supărare* can also appear in speech act expressions. In one instance, the noun refers to bothering someone. It’s meaning blends worry and concern about whether one’s action may put someone else in an uncomfortable position. The expressions *a nu fi cu supărare* and *dacă nu vă supărați* are in fact polite formulae, both generally addressed to people with higher education, or social status, or to strangers and older people to whom the speaker must show respect.

Let us see the following example:

(29) *Dacă nu v-ar hi cu supărare, zise moșneagul lungindu-se într-un colț și uitându-se țintă la mine, v-aș întreba ceva. Nici o supărare, moșule, de ce să mă supăr?*

“If it’s not too much trouble”, said the old man while he was lying down in a corner staring at me, “I’d like to ask you something”. “No worries, old man, why should I be upset?”

The second instance of *supărare* as a speech act resembles an order or a command in special circumstances. It occurs in conversation with children or with people who are emotionally close to the speaker. It is used mostly to imply that someone has to do something to avoid the speaker being offended or hurt. It reveals a great deal about the Romanian people, who use this ‘pretended’ *supărare* in moments of tenderness to point out their worry about someone else. In these cases, the hearer usually knows that the speaker loves them. At the same time, they have to comply with a request to avoid causing the speaker any bad feelings. Let us observe the following example for a better understanding:
(30) Apoi numaidecît zise iarăși, cu o supărare drăgălașă: Dacă nu iai
doctoria, să știi că nu -ți mai povestesc niciodată, na!

‘Then she immediately said again, with cute supărare: “If you do not
take your medicine, (you should) know that I will never tell you
stories, so there!”’

In simpler, NSM terms, the meaning of this second speech act includes:

‘someone (X) does not want to do/say something
I think if X does not do/say this, something bad can happen to him/her
Because of this, I say I feel something bad now,
Because of this, I know X cannot not do/say what I want’

3.2.6 Romanian cultural script for the emotion supărare

The emotion noun supărare is salient for the Romanian people and is linked to
key cultural attitudes. Data highlighting this aspect is found in proverbs and
sayings. For example:

(31) Supăratului i se taie nasul (Intelepciune.ro, 2011)

‘He who gets upset/angry will have his nose cut.’

(32) În colivie, pasărea cântă nu de bucurie, ci de supărare (Ecitate.ro,
2011).

‘The bird in the cage does not sing because it is happy, but because of
supărare.’

(33) Nu te repezi la vorbe dulci, nu te supăra pe ce va fi mâine
(Intelepciune.ro, 2011).

‘Do not rush to say empty and sweet words, and do not supăra about
what will happen tomorrow’.

(34) Mai bine să petreci noaptea în supărarea inslutei decât în căința
răzbunării (Intelepciune.ro, 2011).

‘It is better for someone to spend their night in supărarea from an
insult than feeling sorry because they took revenge.’
Proverbs (31), (32) and (34) reveal that Romanians do not think highly of those who show their supărare. Public display of behaviour associated with this emotion is always frowned upon in Romania. This is indicated in example (31) where the nose of the one who is supărat is cut – roughly being punished if showing supărare.

In proverb (32) the noun supărare is very interesting for two reasons:

- ‘someone did something to this person; because of this, this someone can’t do many things now; because of this, this someone feels something bad now’ and
- ‘this someone does not want other people to know that they feel something bad; because of this, they do something else.’

Example (34) can be considered as a type of advice for people feeling this emotion. It is possible that this advice may have its roots in the subjectivity of the emotion; that is, in the fact that one may perceive things wrongly.

Furthermore, the adjective supărăcios(ă) - roughly ‘someone who gets upset easily’ is also linked to Romanian cultural attitudes towards this emotion. Its negative meaning indicates that Romanian people believe that such a character trait is undesirable. Examples of such instances are provided below:

(35) Fusese sănătos și activ, dar deodată puterile îl părăsiră, și când fu silit să stea la gura sopei, deveni îngrozitor de supărăcios.

‘He used to be healthy and active, but all of a sudden his strength left him, and when he was forced to sit around the stove, he became horribly supărăcios.’

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4 I would like to clarify that the noun ‘pașarea’ in proverb 30 can refer both to a bird, and symbolise someone deprived of freedom.
Example (35) shows that being ‘supărăcios’ can be caused by an event (such as not being active any longer). Here it reflects a state of bitterness and stress which may lead to the experiencer being jumpy, intolerant and ready to take offence.

Example (36) on the other hand, reflects the narrator’s negative opinion about someone’s character, where supărăcioasă is accompanied by other negative adjectives such as tâmpită şi încăpăţănătă (idiotic and stubborn).

Finally, example (34) speaks of the likelihood of doing something regrettable if someone is supărăcios in nature.

In light of the evidence presented above, I propose the following cultural script for supărare:

[C] cultural script for supărare

a) many people think like this:
   b) ‘when something happens
   c) it is bad if someone X does something because they feel very bad
   d) other people can know what X feels because of this
   e) it is not good if people know this
   f) because of this, it is good if this person does something else
   g) because of this, other people can not know if this person feels bad
   h) People think this is good.
[D] un script cultural pentru supărare

a) mulți oameni gândesc așa:
   b) ‘când ceva se întâmplă
   c) este rău dacă cineva X face ceva decarece simte ceva foarte rău
   d) de aceea, alți oameni pot ști ce simte X
   e) nu este bine dacă oamenii știu acest lucru
   f) de aceea, este bine dacă această persoană face altceva
   g) de aceea, alți oameni nu pot ști dacă această persoană simte ceva rău’
   h) oamenii cred că este bine să se întâmple așa.

The prototypical scenario for the Romanian cultural script for ‘supărare’ starts with the cultural beliefs or thinking frame typical of the Romanian people in components a) to f)). Component b) establishes a theoretical situation that could cause someone to feel bad. Component c) spells out what is not recommended for people to do, followed by component d) which expresses the reason for this recommendation. Component e) expresses the Romanian belief that people should not know what the Experiencer feels, while components f) and g) offer alternative behaviour and reasons for the proposed behaviour. Finally, component h) spells out people’s attitude towards this thinking frame.

3.3 Mânie. A Romanian emotion close to English anger

3.3.1 Overview

This section explores a Romanian emotion which is somewhat closer in meaning to the English anger. I start by providing Romanian definitions for this emotion as well as translations into English. This is followed by an in-depth analysis of the prototypical contexts in which mânie occurs and then by a proposed
definition using semantic primes and a cultural script related to Romanian
speakers views about this emotion.

3.3.2 Definitions, translations and analysis of the noun mânie

The word mânie expresses an emotion that is closer semantically to the English
anger.

DEX (2009, pg. 634) defines mânie as:

- *Izbucnire de iritare violenta, dar trecatoare, impotriva cuiva sau a ceva;
furie, suparare mare. Necaz, ciudă.* 'An explosion of violent irritation, that
is not-on-going, against someone or something; fury, great upset'.

- *Prăpăd, urgie, grozăvie, nenorocire, calamitate.* 'Great disaster, pain, bad
luck, calamity'.

The usual translations for this word are:

- ‘To vex’, ‘to make angry’, ‘to get angry’, ‘to grow angry’ (Dictionary.com,
2011).
- ‘To anger’ (Dicționar Englez-Roman.ro, 2011).
- ‘To make angry’, ‘to get angry’, ‘to anger’, ‘to cut up rough’, ‘to fly off the
handle’, ‘to lose one’s temper’, ‘to infuriate’, ‘to grab for altitude’
(en.bab.la, 2011).

The problem with these definitions and translations is that they fail to capture
the specific meaning of this Romanian anger-like word, which is affected by
Romanian cultural rules and their emotional reality. Such cultural rules establish
the behavioural *appropriateness* of a given situation (as in the *ought to* De
Riverab, quoted in Tarvis, 1989) and they determine the anger emotion triggered
by the breaking of these rules. Similar rules were observed in other cultures by Tarvis (1989).

3.3.3 Analysis and discussion of the Romanian anger-like word mânie

3.3.3.1 What causes mânie?

Prototypical scenarios that may cause mânie include something that happens or that someone does consciously or unconsciously, which are interpreted as very bad. Some examples of scenarios that may cause mânie are given below. In examples (38) and (39), mânie is experienced when someone does not call or when someone is in another persons’ house without consent:

(38) Azimioară îşi privi ceasul: Mi se pare ciudat că nu v-a telefonat. De ce să telefoneze? De ce să nu mă fiarbă dacă poate? Blestemă țigănește o vreme, imploră mânia cerului până osteni.

‘Azimioară looked at his watch: “It's weird that he hasn’t called you yet. Why should he call? Why not make me simmer if he can?”’ He started cursing in his gypsy language for a while and begged for heaven's mânia until he got tired.’

(39) Dacă o mai prind pe scorpia asta în casă, o iau de coc şi o azvârl pe uşă. Tu nu mă cunoşti încă! Nu se mai putea stăpâni, mânia îi umflase toate venele: pe tâmple, la gât, la mâini.

‘If I ever catch this shrew in the house, I shall grab her by her loop of hair and I'll kick her out. You do not know me yet!’ She couldn’t control herself, mânia swelled all her veins: on her forehead, her neck and her hands.’
3.3.3.2 What type of cognitive scenarios are associated with mânie?

The events that cause mânie are numerous; but it is their interpretation by the Experiencer that gives them a bad flavour. The cause is not necessarily good or bad in itself. The prototypical cognitive scenario consists of a thinking frame and cultural norms as exemplified in (40) below (c.f. Chapter 1):


'The priest stopped reading. “What is it Florică? What is bothering you?” His sister was leaning over a small table, organising her grains. "Well, the fate of these two infants.” The priest felt mânie: “Leave those bloody grains aside. If people found out that I allowed witchcraft in my house, a priest’s house, they would throw stones at me in the street.”'

Example (40) is very representative of the link between the cause – ‘Florica reading the future in her grains’ and the priest’s thinking frame and his perception of her action as ‘being something very bad’. This perception is governed by the Romanian superstition – a priest should never allow witchcraft or similar things particularly in his own house.

3.3.3.3 What is the feeling that accompanies ‘mânie’?

The word mânie is often contrasted with positive emotion words such as răbdare – ‘patience’, calmitate – ‘calmness’, linişte – ‘quiet’ and pace – ‘peace’. These antonyms point towards the fact that ‘mânie’ encompasses in its meaning the
idea of anger, or at least an inner state that is intense and negative at the same
time (I feel something very bad). Note examples (41) and (42) below:

(41) Mânia cu nimic se poteoște decât cu rabdare

‘Mânia can only be put off by patience’ (Întelepciune.ro (b), 2011).

(42) Rememorând momentul, revăzând brânciul pe care îl dăduse ușii,
înțelegând că nu reținuse nimic din trecerea de la atunci la acum,
energia se dilată în el, câpătă o nouă intensitate și deveni... o mânie
indignată!

‘Remembering that moment again, seeing how he had pushed the
door and understanding that he had remembered nothing from then
onwards, his energy started to expand in his body, it got a new
intensity and it became... an indignant mânie.’

Example (42) describes the intensity of the feeling; first this emotion begins with
thoughts or a re-visiting of one’s memories about a specific event. After the
thought process, the entire being is invaded by a type of energy that is similar to
excitement. However, the sensation is intensified by the fact that this energy is
negative in nature.

Mânie also co-occurs in certain contexts with ‘fear’ or ‘terror’ as exemplified in
(43) below. This shows that mânie encompasses an element of extremely
unpleasant surprise and panic:

(43) Marin fu cuprins de mânie și groază. Sunt cum? Sunteți arestat,
domnule.

‘Marin immediately felt both mânie and terror. “I am what?” “You are
under arrest sir.”’

At the same time, the meaning of mânie may also encompass ‘sadness’ and ‘grief’.
In this sense it is associated with the colour black:
‘Cherchez read the letter again and in the blackness of his mânie he barged into his wife’s room: “Where is Smaragda?”’

‘Become black with mânie.’

In example (46) below, this anger-like emotion takes the shape of frustration and rebellion against the causing event, out of concern for the victim:

‘Honestly, although you might find this paradoxical, the outburst of mânie you witnessed is explained by the concern we all feel in regards to your fate’.

3.3.3.4 What behaviour and bodily reaction are associated with mânie?

Reactions exhibited when feeling mânie usually revolve around certain behaviours, which can be rather violent (e.g. hitting someone, yelling at someone etc.), as well as particular bodily reactions.

Romanians perceive this emotion as a violent energy invading the body and as heat, which can make someone ‘boil’ with mânie, as in example (47) below:

‘But now he grew more nervous and became less patient. He was boiling with a strange mânie driven by the thought; “If I catch the...
guys from administration, I shall…” In that febrile/intense/hot state of his emotion, he wasn’t very clear about what he was going to do to them.’

The verb *fierbe* – ‘boil’ hints at the fact that the heat is felt inside one’s body. In addition, the meaning of *fierbe* – ‘boil’ involves liquid; and the liquid inside one’s body that can boil is normally blood, as illustrated in example (48):

(48) *Marin îşi păstră calmul exterior, dar simţea cum sângele începe să i se înfierbânte. Înaintă şi simţi încă o dată imensa mânie latentă a omului care îl aştepta.*

‘Marin kept his calm on the outside, but he felt how his blood started to get hot. He moved forward and he felt again the huge silent *mânie* of the man who was waiting for him’.

The heat felt inside the body is transposed to the Experiencer’s face as in examples (49) and (50). In (49) the face of a person who feels *mânie* can be compared with a crab that is being boiled hence the expression *roşu de mânie ca un rac fiert* – ‘red with *mânie* like a boiled crab’.

(49) *Roşu de mânie, ca un rac fiert, lăsă hăţurile celor patru cai şi aşteptă, hotărât să -şi ceară dreptul lui cu orice preţ.*

‘With his face red with *mânie*, like a boiled crab, he dropped the driving harness of the four horses and waited, determined to ask that his rights be respected.’

Example (50) confirms the cultural knowledge that Romansians share in regards to a red face, which either signals that the person is feverish or that they feel *mânie*.

(50) *Chipul roşiatric al unui om poate însemna febră sau mânie, iar o culoare gălbuie denotă boală.*

‘The red face of a person can mean that this person is feverish or feels *mânie*, whilst the yellow colour can mean that this person is ill’.
3.3.3.1 What other (bodily) reactions can be caused by mânie?

Heat and boiling blood can also have secondary effects on sight and sound judgement, as exemplified in (51) and (52) below:

(51)  (…) şi la gândul acesta ceva puse stăpânire pe mine, şti şi pentru o clipă n-am mai văzut șoseaua prin mânia mea roșie.

‘(…) and at this thought it felt like something possessed me, and for one moment I did not see the road through my red mânie.’

(52)  Știa că trebuie să fie mai maleabil, în barmanul celui mai elegant hotel din București pierdea un om prețios, dar mânia îi întuneca mințile.

‘He knew that he had to be more flexible because he was about to lose the most capable bar tender of the most elegant hotel in Bucharest, but his mânia darkened his mind.’

The interior boiling may also produce liquid around the mouth or on the body. This is rendered via the verb a spumega – ‘to spume or to foam at the mouth’ (as in example (53)) below and a transpira – ‘to sweat’:

(53)  Spumegă de mânie și amenință, dar în cele din urmă adună șase oameni și îi trimise, bodogânind, să ducă butoiaie jos, la berărie.

‘He was spuming/foaming at his mouth with mânie and he threatened them, but eventually he gathered six men and sent them murmbling to take the barrels down into the distillery’.

It is clear that Romanians are very impulsive when feeling mânie and are likely to behave irrationally despite their awareness of the reality and the consequences of their reactions.

The fact that Romanians are quick-tempered and irrational is also supported by the many expressions that often replace mânie. These expressions include:

•  lute la mânie

‘Quick to become angry (easy to make angry).’
• *A-şi ieşi din fire.*
  'To come out of one’s normal self.’

• *A-şi ieşi din pepeni.*
  'To come out of one’s melons’.

• *A-şi ieşi din râboj.*
  'To come out of one’s notched stick.’

• *Fierbe sângele într-însul.*
  'His/her blood is boiling inside her/him.’

Additionally, the use of the adjective *turbat* – ‘rabid’ also indicates that *mânie* can cause the experimenter to behave erratically and cruelly, like a dog affected with rabies, as exemplified below:

(54)  *Turbam de mânie numai la auzul cuvântului ‘adevăr’.*

  'I was rabid with *mânie* only when I heard the word ‘truth’.’

However, this Romanian emotion does not necessarily induce an immediate volcanic energy, heat and outwardly uncontrollable behaviour. It can also be silent, and inward as in *un tăciune mocnind* – ‘a smouldering brand’. The *mânie* here is held within and it produces a sort of burning pain at the same time:

(55)  *Îşi lipi obrazul de faţa mea, şi totul parcă se scurgea din mine: tăciunii mocnind ai încăpăţănării şi mâniei mele, nebunia ultimelor ore, teama, disperarea; zăceam acolo golit, ca mort, şi doar o strângeam şi mai puternic, de parcă forţele îmi reveniseră (…).*

  ‘She touched my face with her cheek and I suddenly felt like everything was going out of my body: the smouldering brand of my stubbornness and *mâniei*, the madness of the last hours, the fear, the desperation; I was just lying there empty, like a dead person, and I could only hug her tighter, as if my force had come back (…).’
Mânie can also turn into a burning pain over a long period of time, when issues remain unsettled and the experiencer cannot do anything to put the fire out. Despite its intensity, it can be controlled up to a certain point:

(56)  Mă privi cu mânie rece, stăpânită.

‘She looked at me with a cold, controlled mânie’.

There are also situations in which the emotion can disappear immediately:

(57)  Când am auzit toate astea mânia mi s-a risipit şi am început să râd.

‘When I heard all this, my mânia dispersed and I started laughing’.

Thus mânie can be easily acquired and easily dispersed.

The combination of venin – ‘venom’ with mânie results in something that poisons one’s soul. When this kind of pain, disgust and anger are combined, the reaction of the Experiencer can be tense and easily recognised. In example (58) below, the jaws are clenched and the Experiencer moves them as though chewing something, to control his/her reaction and keep calm:

(58)  Fălcile lui Gheorghiţă mestecau venin şi mânie [...]

‘Gheorghiţă’s jaws looked as if they were chewing venom and mânie [...’]

Other manifestations of mânie include: clenching of the body, trembling, use of a certain tone of voice (usually either high pitch or slow, low voice and talking between one's teeth), trembling of the voice, eyes moving quickly sideways, the hair becoming ruffled, the face becoming wrinkled and so on as reflected in the following examples extracted from the Romanian Corpus Linguistic:

(59)  Chipul lui Cerchez se boţi a mânie.

‘Cherchez’ face wrinkled in mânie.’
De câte ori îşi amintea că noră-sa "împuţea așternutul" până spre prânz, i se zbârlea părul de mânie.

Every time she remembered that her daughter in law 'dirtied' her sheets until lunch time her hair became ruffled because of mânie.

Mai du-te-ncolo cu apa ta! rosti Izea cu mânie. Ochii i se rotunjiră, i se rostogoliră şi, cu un gest de mult uitat, îşi duse mâna sub barbă, căutându-şi negul.

"Go away with your water!" said Izlea with mânie. His eyes became round and started to move quickly sideways and with a gesture that he had forgotten, he started to look for his wart from under his chin.

Toţi îl priviră cu uimire, fiindcă tremura de mânie. M-am săturat de voi. Mă faceţi de ruşine.

Everyone looked at him amazed, because he was shaking with mânie. “I am sick of you. You make me feel ashamed.”

Îl anunţă cu vocea tremurând încă de mânie: Va trebui să vă legăm la ochi, domnule.

He said to him with a voice still filled with mânie: “We will have to cover your eyes sir.”

Lui Marin, care stătea în cealaltă parte a camerei, îi era aproape imposibil să surprindă o continuitate în frazele lui. Dar felul în care erau pronunţate dovedeau mânie şi violenţă.

‘It was almost impossible for Marin, who was in the opposite part of the room, to grasp the continuity of his phrases. But from the way they were pronounced, they proved to be filled with mânie and violence.’

In the discussion of mânie and bodily reactions above, mânie was associated with the colours red (suggesting heat and boiling) and black (suggesting a mixture of anger, sadness and grief). However, sometimes, due to an Experiencer's effort to hold mânie inside, the internal tension causes a violet colour as in (65) below:

Era vânăt de mânie, barba înspicată îi tremura, iar ochii îi ardeau ca la zăltaţii Mănăstirii Sârindari.
'He was purple with mânie, his split beard was shaking, and his eyes were burning like those of the crazy people held in the Sărindari monastery.'

The adverb mânios and its feminine counterpart mânioasă provide further evidence of the reactive behaviour of Romanian speakers when feeling this emotion. These adverbs often accompany and modify verbs such as: a striga – 'to call/to yell', a spune – ‘to say/to tell’, a zice – ‘to tell’, a izbucni – ‘to burst’, a răspunde – ‘to answer’, a replica – ‘to reply’, a se încrunta – ‘to frown’, a sări – ‘to jump’, a (se) întoarce – ‘to turn’, a țipa – ‘to scream/to yell’, a răcni – ‘to bawl’, a se repezi – ‘to rush towards something/someone’, a lovi – ‘to hit’, a zvârli – ‘to throw’ and so on.

It seems that the adverbs mainly accompany two categories of verbs: verba dicendi which refer to speech and ‘doing’ verbs. This means that the adverbs like the noun, indicates that this emotion is heavily reaction orientated (‘I want to do something very bad, I want to say something very bad now’).

3.3.4 A semantic definition for mânie

In light of the above analysis I propose the following semantic explication:

[E] someone (X) felt mânie

a) X felt something because X thought something
b) X thought like this:
c) ‘something (Z) happened
d) I think Z is very bad
e) I did not think something like this could happen
f) I do not want this to happen
g) because of this, I feel something very bad now
h)  because of this, I can feel something very bad inside my body now
i)  because of this, I cannot think now,
j)  because of this, I say/do bad things now'
k)  because of this, people can know how X feels now.

[F] cineva (X) a simțit mânie

a)  X a simțit ceva deoarece X s-a gândit la ceva
b)  X s-a gândit așa:
   c)  ‘ceva (Z) s-a întâmplat
   d)  cred că Z e foarte rău
   e)  nu credeam că așa ceva putea să se întâmple
   f)  nu vreau ca asta să se întâmple
   g)  de accea, simt ceva foarte rău acum
   h)  de accea, pot simți ceva foarte rău în corp acum
   i)  de accea, nu pot gândi acum
   j)  de accea, spun/fac lucruri rele acum'
   k)  de accea, oamenii pot ști ce simte X acum.

The prototypical cognitive scenario of the word mânie is reflected in components b) to j). The cause (component c) is perceived as very bad by the experiencer (component d) who is shocked (component e) and angry (component f). The perception triggers the feeling reflected in component g). The feeling and the bodily reactions are described in components g) and h), while the secondary effects of this emotion are shown by components i) and j). Finally, component h) describes the fact that other people can know about the emotion the Experiencer feels because of his/her reactions.
3.3.4.1 Mânie – a cultural script

This anger-like emotion can also be expressed via many proverbs. These factors indicate its cultural salience. Proverbs (66) – (73) spell out Romanian attitudes towards this emotion.

(66) Mânia mațe varsă.
‘Mânia spells guts.’ (Înțelepciune.ro (b), 2011)

(67) Mânia de seară să o lași pe dimineață.
‘It is better to leave the evening mânia for the next morning.’ (Înțelepciune.ro (b), 2011)

(68) Pe cel furios în mânie, lesne îl supui, când dulce vei grăi lui, când vei tâcea de tot sau când vei fugi dinaintea lui.
‘It almost impossible to calm someone “furious in mânie” (lit.) even if you speak nicely to them, remain silent or run away from them.’ (Înțelepciune.ro (b), 2011)

(69) A-ți stăpâni o clipă de mânie înseamnă a evita un secol de regrete.
‘To remain calm when feeling mânie means avoiding a century of regrets.’ (Înțelepciune.ro (b), 2011)

(70) Mânia ca și focul se stinge, dar ce facem cu cenușa?
‘Mânia, like fire dies out, but what should one do with the ashes?’ (Înțelepciune.ro (b), 2011)

(71) Biruiesti mânia când taci.
‘One will defeat mânia by being silent.’ (Înțelepciune.ro (c), 2011)

(72) Mânia nu este un sfetnic bun pentru om
‘Mânia is not a good advisor to people.’ (Proverbe și Zicători (b), 2011)

(73) A înfrânge mânia înseamnă a triumfa asupra celui mai mare inamic.
‘Defeating one’s mania is being victorious against one’s greatest enemy.’ (Proverbe și Zicători (c), 2011)
As seen in previous sub-sections, mânie is very often reaction orientated. Romanians expect someone that experiences this emotion to react in a bad way due to the loss of control associated with it. The consequences of such behaviour are often seen as problems that are hard to fix or as a source for long-term regret as demonstrated by proverbs (66), (69), (70) and (71) above. Proverb (70) is particularly interesting in that it shows that mânie is an emotion that lasts for a short period of time (symbolised by the comparison ca și focul se stinge- like fire dies out), but the consequences (symbolised by the word cenușa- ashes) are long lasting.

Consequently, Romanians try to be aware of their inner feelings. They believe that when a person recognises the signs of this emotion, they need to take control of it by being patient and/or silent (proverb (71)). Time and patience/endurance are seen as cures for this emotion as demonstrated by proverb (67).

Mânie is seen as a deceiving advisor (proverb (72)) and is considered an enemy (proverb (73)). The fact that this emotion was personified as a bad advisor and an enemy, supports the idea that this emotion has a bad effect on people and should not be trusted or listened to. I therefore propose the following cultural script for mânie below:

[G] A cultural script for controlling mânie:

a) many people think like this:

b) ‘when something happens, people can feel something very bad, because they think something very bad

c) because of this, people can feel something very bad in their bodies

d) because of this, people cannot think like before

e) it is bad if these people do something very bad because of this
people think this is bad

it is good, if people do not do what they want to do’

[H] un script cultural pentru a controla \textit{mânia}:

\begin{enumerate}
\item mult\textsuperscript{i} oameni gândesc a\textasciitilde{a}:
\item \‘când ceva se întâmplă, oamenii pot sim\textsuperscript{\i} ceva foarte r\textsuperscript{a}u, deoarece ei se gândesc la ceva r\textsuperscript{a}
\item de aceea, oamenii pot sim\textsuperscript{\i} ceva foarte r\textsuperscript{a}u in corp
\item de aceea, oamenii nu pot să gândească ca înainte
\item de aceea, este r\textsuperscript{a}u dacă ace\textasciitilde{\i}tii oameni fac ceva foarte r\textsuperscript{a}u
\item oamenii cred că este r\textsuperscript{a}u dacă se întâmplă a\textasciitilde{a}
\item este bine, dacă oamenii nu fac ce vor să facă’
\end{enumerate}

The prototypical scenario of this cultural script for \textit{mânie} is reflected in components a) to g). Component b), c) and d) establish the theoretical cause, the feeling that accompanies it, and speak of negative bodily reactions. Component e) and f) however, reflect Romanian cultural views about someone feeling \textit{mânie}. Finally, component g) explains that people are encouraged to control their \textit{mânie} and withhold from doing what their \textit{mânie} dictates to them to do.

\textbf{3.3.5 Are \textit{mânie} and \textit{supărar}e different to anger-like words in other languages?}

\textbf{3.3.5.1 Overview}

In this sub-section I compare anger-like words in other languages to the Romanian anger-words \textit{supărar}e and \textit{mânie} analysed above. This comparison demonstrates that emotion words are quite unique due to strong cultural values embedded in their meaning. In Diagram 1 and 2 below I present the similarities and differences in semantic components of anger-like words from Yankuntja\textsuperscript{t}jara (Goddard, 2006), Chinese (Kornaki, 2001), English (Wierzbicka, 2005) and
Koromu (Priestley, 2002). The full explications of all these anger-like words in the other languages are offered in Appendix 1.

3.3.5.2 Comparison with anger-like words in other languages

The Romanian anger-like words supărare and mânie share one component with the anger-like words in English, Koromu, Yakuntjaŋjara and Chinese. This component is the thinking frame. It seems that anger-like emotions are always accompanied by a certain thinking frame which in fact, triggers them.

Furthermore, there are other similarities between the Romanian anger-like words and those in other languages, even though their meanings do not match. To begin with, supărare is self-orientated (‘something bad happened to me’ (c.f. pg. 66)). This is somewhat similar to English rage and Chinese naohuo. However, the meanings are distinctive especially in terms of the emotional time frame; that is, rage makes reference to the present – now, while naohuo does not include in its meaning any reference to a time frame at all.

In addition, supărare has a component that was not encountered in any of the emotion words presented above (except Koromu); namely ‘I feel something bad in my body’. Supărare is also unique in that there is a component ‘people know that the Experiencer is not him/herself’ when feeling this emotion. This Romanian emotion is also a bit pessimistic. It includes the component ‘I can’t think things like this will not happen to me.’ This feature is not observed in other emotion words.

Mânïe is even more interesting in that it is more intense than supărare, almost similar to Yakuntjaŋjara pikaringanyi, mirpanariny (Y-ku) and kuyaringanyi in the
desire ‘to say/do something bad’ (c.f. Section 4.3.1, pg. 84 for mânie and Appendix 1 for the Yakuntjatjara anger-like words). The difference between these words is that Romanian mânie encompasses an additional component, namely ‘I cannot think now’. Also there is a distinct component (c.f. component h. of the semantic explication of mânie, Section 4.3.1, pg. 84) - ‘I can feel something inside my body now’ which shows that mânie like supărare affects Romanian people deeply both at the emotional and physical level. This component also appeared in oru mei hekeni wera in Koromu. Whilst mânie and Koromu oru mei hekeni wera share the concept of a physical sensation similar to heat in the body (c.f. component h. of the semantic explication of mânie, Section 4.3.1, pg. 84 and Appendix 1 for oru mei hekeni wera), supărare does not necessarily encompass this meaning. In the case of the latter, ‘I feel something in my body’ has to do more with illness such as nausia, fainting, et cetera.

From this comparison it is clear that the world of emotions is not quite ‘basic and universal’ as many psychologists claim. Cultural specific components are clearly very present in anger-like emotions and they influence how people feel and react.
Diagram 1. Similarities and differences between the Romanian supărare and other anger-like words in English (Wierzbicka, 2005), Chinese (Kornaki, 2001), Yakunytjatjara (Goddard, 2006) and Koromu (Priestley, 2002)

Someone(X) felt something bad for some time because X thought something like this:
- Not found in Yakunytjatjara and English anger-words.
- Similar, in the idea of long time to Chinese sheng/qi

Something happened to me
- Not found in Yakunytjatjara anger-like words
- Same as Chinese nu, sheng/qi
- Similar to the English X was angry at Y, fury, outrage, appalled,

I think this is bad, because of this I feel something bad
- Not found in Yakunytjatjara and English anger-like words
- Similar to the Chinese nu and taoyan

because of this I want to do something
- Indirectly found as - 'I want to do something bad to someone (Y) who did something bad to me' in Yakunytjatjara, Chinese sheng/qi and nu
- Similar to English anger, rage, outraged

because of this, I feel something bad in my body
- Not found in English, Chinese and Yakunytjatjara anger-like words

I don't want things like this to happen to me
- Not found in Yakunytjatjara and Chinese anger-like words
- Similar to the English X was angry at Y, rage, outrage and shocked

I can't think things like this will not happen to me
- Not found in Yakunytjatjara, Chinese and English anger-like words

people can know what X feels because they can see X is not the same as before
- Not found in English, Chinese and Yakunytjatjara anger-like words
Diagram 2. Similarities and differences between the Romanian mânie and other anger-like words in English (Wierzbicka, 2005), Chinese (Kornaki, 2001), Yakunytjatjara (Goddard, 2006) and Koromu (Priestley, 2002)

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<td>someone (X) felt something because they thought something</td>
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<td>• Not found in Chinese anger words</td>
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<td>• Same as English frustration, X was angry with/at Y, indignation, fury, outrage, shocked, and appalled</td>
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<td>something (Z) happened</td>
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<td>I think Z is very bad</td>
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<td>I did not think something like this could happen</td>
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<td>• Similar to the Chinese nu, sheng/qi, naohuo, taoyan</td>
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<td>• Similar to the English angry at Y, outrage, appalled, shocked</td>
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<td>because of this I feel something very bad now</td>
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<td>• Similar to English fury, indignation, anger, frustration, rage and outrage</td>
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<td>• Similar to Chinese anger-like words</td>
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<td>• Similar to mirpanariny (Y-ku) and kayaringanyi in Yakunytjatjara and oru mei hekeni were in Koromu</td>
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<td>because of this, I feel something very bad inside my body now</td>
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<td>• Same idea as oru mei hekeni were in Koromu, different in lexical representation</td>
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<td>• Absent in English, Chinese and Yakunytjatjara anger-like words</td>
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<td>because of this, I cannot think now</td>
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<td>• Similar to English shocked</td>
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<td>• Absent in the other English anger-like words</td>
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<td>because of this, I say/do bad things now</td>
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<td>• Similar to mirpanariny (Y-ku) in Yakunytjatjara and oru mei hekeni were in Koromu and Chinese nu, sheng/qi</td>
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<td>• Absent in English</td>
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<td>because of this, people can know how X feels now</td>
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CHAPTER 4

Romanian happiness-like emotion words

*În Fericire*

“Sunt clipe când toate le am...”

Tăcute, duioase psihoze

Frumoase poveşti

ca visuri de roze...

Momente când toate le am.”

*Bacovia (1936)*

*In Happiness*

“There are moments when I have everything...”

Silent, sweet psychosis

Beautiful stories

like dreams of roses...

Moments when I have everything.”

4.1 Do all people feel happiness in the same way?

*Happiness* is another controversial emotion which scholars such as Ekman, Sorenson and Friesen (1969) consider innate and universal. These scholars draw their notion of universality from psychological and biological aspects of emotions. The view taken by scholars such as Ekman is that emotions are a product of natural selection and evolutionary adaptation. On the other hand, scholars such as Averill (1980, quoted in Prinz, 2004) believe that emotions are a social construct. Prinz (2004, pg. 6) also discusses this latter view by stating that:
'emotions, [...] are disclaimed actions: they are voluntary choices that we dupe ourselves into treating as involuntary. Averill also says that emotions need not involve any perturbations of the body. We can have an emotion without a racing heart. The tendency to associate emotions with bodily states is related to the tendency to see emotions as passive. We pretend that they are like animal instincts, rather than cognitive plots' (brackets added).

Prinz (2004, pg. 14) sees emotions as ‘[...] perceptions of bodily changes that represent such things as dangers, losses, and offenses, because they are set up to be set off by such things. I call this the embodied appraisal theory [...]. Emotions are embodied because they are perceptions of bodily changes, and they are appraisals because they represent matters of concern’ (brackets added).

The above theories are not only confusing and contradictory, but they also fail to shed light on whether people feel, react and behave the same when experiencing an emotion.

Linguists and scholars such as Wierzbicka (2005), Ye (2000) et al., argue that the issue of defining and explaining emotions is a language matter. Wierzbicka’s theory is that scholars of psychology lack a powerful tool that would enable them to capture their observations of bodily reactions and behaviours, cultural rules, beliefs and so on. The cultural component is claimed to heavily influence our perceptions of certain events that cause an emotion and its display (Wierzbicka, 2005). In this view, words like English *happiness* should not be applied to all happiness-like emotions cross-culturally. Wierzbicka (2005) observed that people experience emotions through their cultural spectrum, that is, the perception of certain events and the ability to control certain reactions to emotions is highly influenced by cultural rules. The words used in different languages represent different concepts or complexes of concepts.
Applying an Anglo label such as *happiness* in a study that seeks to explain Romanian emotion concepts accurately, would be *ethnocentric*. Translating a Romanian word such as *fericire* as ‘happiness’, for example, forces the meaning of English *happiness* on the meaning of its Romanian counterpart. As a result, the Romanian cultural specificity and perspective are lost.

It is also possible that when English Second Language (ESL) speakers hear the English word *happiness*, they immediately think of the approximate equivalent in their native tongue.¹ Wierzbicka’s study of Nabukov’s *Pnin* in her 2010 paper shows that ESL (or other second language speakers) suffer, not only from cross-cultural miscommunication, but also from the difficulty of expressing their emotions in their second language. Often the result is that their expression of emotion is culturally inappropriate. To see this is true, a brief study of existing literature/work was conducted on how happy people across the world claim to be. For example, Lee, Park, Uhlemann and Patsult (2000, pg. 359), compared the results of a happiness-related study on Canadian and Korean students. The study ascertained that Korean students are less happy than Canadian ones. However, as a consequence of using different words and concepts, it is possible that people might report that they are happier than other people or vice-versa.² So scepticism was felt about this finding until the authors’ acknowledgements of the weakness of their study were found as shown below:

‘Second, construction of the Life Goal Survey (LGS) was based on content analysis of only the Canadian sample. Thus, by not including the Korean

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¹ This affirmation is based mainly on my experience as an ESL learner; hence I do not claim that it can be applied to all ESLs.
² I am concerned here only with the impact that cross-communication factors have on self-reported happiness. Other economical and social factors were not considered due to the scope of this study. However, I wish to acknowledge that all these other factors may have had an important contribution in the studies I discussed.
sample, there is no way of knowing what other meaningful categories unique to Korean culture might have been missed’.

The lack of a cultural component affected the findings of the study. In my own research I asked a Korean native speaker how she would translate the sentence ‘I am happy’ in her own tongue. She sceptically replied that there was no equivalent translation and that normally, they would use *kibun jotta* – roughly ‘I am in a good mood’. It was not very clear from the study what words the survey used for the Korean informants and whether they were culturally appropriate for them to produce accurate results regarding their level of happiness.

Another attempt to measure happiness cross-culturally was made by Veenhoven (2009), the founder of the World Database of Happiness (2011). This database consults world publications on ‘subjective well-being’ and conducts surveys designed to measure people's ‘subjective appreciation of life as a whole’. In fact, Veenhoven (2011 a)) defines happiness as:

> ‘Overall happiness is the degree to which an individual judges the overall quality of his/her own life-as-a-whole favourably. In other words: how much one likes the life one leads. […] In this meaning it is often used interchangeably with terms like ‘wellbeing’ or ‘quality of life’ and denotes both individual and social welfare. This use of words suggests that there is one ultimate good and disguises differences in interest between individuals and society. Here the word happiness is used in the more limited sense of subjective enjoyment of life’ (brackets added).

Based on this definition, Veenhoven (2011) attempts to compare how happy people are in certain countries at certain points in time. However, his definition is confusing because *happiness* is used interchangeably with *wellbeing, welfare,* and *quality of life.*
The exercise is dangerous as the definition is not well established in English, and, it is also ethnocentric since other cultures may well employ other terms.

In addition to this, there is probably cultural bias rooted in cultural norms about the expression or non-expression of emotions and their sincerity. For example, Veenhoven (2011 b)) found that the average happiness score in some Asian countries, was 6.3 in China and 4.7 in Cambodia, compared with Australia and the USA which scored a happiness average of 7.7 and 7.4 respectively.

These measurements fail to acknowledge the fact that Western countries, which are individualism-orientated, tend to display more positive emotions, while Asian cultures which are collectivism-orientated, are not so pressured into displaying positive emotions to other people (Keith, 2011, pg. 348). The scores of collectivism-orientated countries may be lower precisely for this reason.

As a means of resolving these problems, Wierzbicka’s proposal to use semantic primes enables researchers and psychologists concerned with cross-cultural studies of emotions to better define concepts that are heavily influenced by cultural norms.

In the following sub-sections I shall discuss two Romanian happiness-like words *veselie* and *fericire* to demonstrate that they are significantly different to *happiness*.

### 4.2 Veselie

#### 4.2.1 Definition and translation

This emotion is heavily loaded with Romanian cultural beliefs about life and
how life should be lived. It also gives a very good insight on the type of people Romanians are and how they live and interact with each other. If Chapter 3 presented Romanians as quick tempered and reaction orientated, this section shows Romanians in social contexts.

*Veselie* is a socially orientated emotion. It highlights dynamic and interactive characteristics of Romanian people, who like to have fun with each other, laugh and make each other feel good. The analysis of ‘*veselie*’ below shows that this happiness-like emotion is difficult to define and to translate into other languages.

DEX (2008) defines *veselie* as:

- *Stare de bună dispoziție, de voioșie. Manifestare, comportare care reflectă această stare.* (Good mood, joyfulness. Manifestation: behaviour which reflects good mood)
- *Petrecere veselă cu mâncare și cu băutură* (party veselă with food and drinks).

First of all, it is evident that *veselie* is polysemous: the basic meaning refers to an emotion, while its second meaning refers to a *party* or a *banquet*. Since the second meaning falls outside the scope of this study, I shall leave its analysis for future study.

Secondly, there is a problem with the definition given by DEX in that it falls into the circularity trap; i.e. the use of the words *stare de buna dispoziție* – ‘good mood’, and roughly ‘joyfulness’ as well as ‘a manifestation of good mood’. The use of ‘good mood’ and ‘joyfulness’ is vague and does not describe the main components encompassed by the meaning of the word *veselie*. In addition, the
manifestation of good mood is included in the meaning of veselie and it should not be considered as a separate synonym nuance of the word as used by DEX.


None of the above definitions really describe accurately and clearly the meaning of veselie, nor do they give an insight on how Romanians behave in a social context.

In the following sections, I shall analyse possible contexts in which this Romanian emotion word occurs and explain its meaning by using semantic primes.

4.2.2 Analysis of veselie

4.2.2.1 Introduction

Veselie is an interesting happiness-like emotion in that is central to the Romanian life style as reflected in the following example:

(1) Lume, lumeeee... se dă sfioară-n țară, la toți cunoscuții că, în îndepărtatul ținut al Brașovului, în mândra comună Bod, va avea loc Festivalul “Recolta” și “Cubul de zahăr”, într-o frumoasă zi de 11 septembrie 2011, drept pentru care va rugăm, pre voi prea cinstiti oaspeți, să vă strângeți la un loc, pe terenul de fotbal din Colonie.
Aşa cum este obiceiul, în zi de sârbatoare, vom petrece cu veselie aşa cum îi şade bodeanului bine: cu multă voie bună, oameni speciali, muzică românească, spectacol de dansuri populare şi multe altele. Iar dacă bărbaţii se vor mândri cu exponatele din ogradă, gospodinele îşi vor arăta talentul culinar, să cunoaştem pe-ndelete numeroase feluri curioase de prăjituri delicioase!

'Hear ye, hear ye… we announce to everyone in the far county of Braşov, that the Festivals “Recolta” and “Cubul de zahăr”, will be held in the proud district of Bod, on the beautiful day of 11 September 2001, hence we wish to invite you to gather on the football court from Colonie. According to our celebration customs we shall party with veselie typical for all people in Bod: with much cheerfulness, with special people, Romanian music, folk dance shows and much more. And if men will proudly present their animals, the hard-working women will show their culinary skills so that we know the taste of the many interesting delicious cakes'.

Example 1 represents an advertisement inviting people to a Festival. The advertisement is cleverly tailored around the main things that make Romanian people veseli such as: good food, music, dances and meeting people.

Veselie is often contrasted with tristeţe – 'sadness', a further indication that this emotion is happiness-related as seen in example 2 below:

(2) După cum ştii veselia este indicată pentru sănătate. Atunci când ai o problemă greu de rezolvat sau când ești nedreptăţit sau... (sunt 'n' cauze ce pot provoca tristeţea), cum procedaţi voi ca să vă 'reveniţi?'

‘As you know veselia is recommended in order to have a good health. When you have a tough problem to solve or when justice is not on your side or...(there are many circumstances that can cause tristețea), what do you do to go back up?’ (Cornelia_leia, 2008)

4.2.2.2 What causes veselie?

The main motivation for veselie seems to be the desire to be in the presence of
many people, either to celebrate something, or simply to have fun together. To induce this emotion however, people may tell jokes, play music, dance or perform other fun activities. Veselie is a good indicator that Romanians think collectively and that being happy and having fun are inclusive of others, as observed in example (3) below:

(3) Orațiile nuntașilor dezlănțuiră o veselie amețitoare și trebuia să mă supun și să răspund și eu cu istorioare la poveștile comesenilor.
   ‘The wedding guests’ orations produced a veselie that could make one dizzy, so I had to go along and respond to my table companions’ tales with some short stories.’

There are of course other prototypical scenarios for veselie involving the joy of seeing a loved person, of hearing funny stories, and of finding something valuable. All of these things cause people to have ‘very good feelings’ and behave accordingly.

These scenarios also reflect the fact that veselie is often shared with others and not kept to oneself:

(4) Apoi, spre mirarea și veselia oamenilor, își cufundă capul în apa rece, udându-și gâtul și urechile.
   ‘Then to people’s amazement and veselie, he stuck his head into the cold water, making his neck and ears wet.

(5) Nu te puteai uita la ea fără să te - apuce o veselie nebună.
   ‘You could not look at her without being overwhelmed by a crazy veselie’.

(6) Mă Costachie, zise Vintilă și rise iar în prada unei mari veselii, eu de cînd te cunosc, numai prăpăstii spui!
   ‘’Costachie,” says Vintilă, laughing again, as he became the prey of a great veselie, “Since I have known you, you said only crazy stuff’.

The event that causes this emotion is not necessarily good or bad. As seen with the anger-like words in Chapter 3, personal perception of the event is
important.

4.2.2.3 What is the prototypical cognitive scenario for veselie?

In example (7) below, the experiencer’s veselie is caused by the fact that Petrică has changed. The change itself is not necessarily a good or a bad event but it is the Speaker’s perception that makes it good (‘I think this is something very good’).

(7) Îmi stătea încă în gît o mare veselie, o satisfacţie groasă, dacă nu grosolană, că dispăruse Petrică cel bleg şi duios, care mă plictisise destul şi reapăruse cel care mă încîntase atîtă vreme.

‘I had a great veselie sitting in my throat, a thick, almost rude satisfaction that the apathetic and kind Petrică who had bored me enough had disappeared, and the pleasant one who had been enchanting me for so long re-appeared’.

Additionally, veselie is a very social emotion caused by people gathering somewhere and having fun. The idea of being with people seems to be ingrained in veselie as reflected in the following Romanian folk song:

_Apoi mergem şi la nuntă_

_Câ acolo-i lume multă_

_Lume multă, veselie aşa cum îmi place mie_

‘Then we shall go to the wedding
As there are many people there

Many people, veselie, exactly the way I like it’

(Lavric, 2011)

However, the company of other people is not necessarily something enjoyable.

On the contrary, if someone does not like particular people, they will find it very
hard to feel veselie. Thus veselie depends on the thoughts and perceptions of the Experiencer (e.g. ‘I like to be with these people now’).

4.2.2.4 What is the feeling that accompanies veselie?

Veselie is perceived as being very refreshing and as affecting one’s sensations:

(8) Atît bucuria cît şi veselia învioarăză, dar una spiritul şi alta simţurile.

‘Both joy and veselie are refreshing, but one for the spirit and the other for the sensations’.

The verb a înviora – roughly ‘to refresh’, highlights this emotion as a ‘very good feeling’ that renews one’s energy, sensations and feelings. Furthermore, veselie also involves a sort of euphoria or elation as exemplified below:

(9) Şi avui eu însumi o reacţie pe care începusem să mi-o cunosc, un fel de euforie bruscă, de veselie, când aveam revelaţia instantanee a unui adevăr.

‘And I myself had a well known reaction, a sort of sudden euphoria of veselie, whenever I had an instant revelation of a truth’.

Example (9) is also very illustrative of the time frame of veselie. The adverb când – ‘whenever’, clearly suggests that the emotion is not constant or extended over a long period of time. The adjective bruscă- ‘sudden’ also conveys the shortness of the duration of this emotion.

Veselie can be described as a type of emotional freedom, of happiness and contentment, which is often stimulated by wine and champagne. Veselie is also seen to be similar to drunkenness where the senses are experiencing beauty and all negativity or worry is melted away, as observed in example (10) below:

(10) [...] de această înveselire făr de cauză conştientă, şi această mirare devine ea însăşi pretext de haz, acest haz, pretext de mirare, această
mirare, pretext de ris; și astfel, diavolii gazoși ai șampaniei te-au prins în trepidanta lor horă de luminite gîdilitoare. Devii cristalin și sonor. Șîngele nu mai curge: sună ca o ploaie de minusculi clopoței, prin care fiecare gînd scutură lungi vibrații ilare, inundîndu-te. Contopirea acestor vibrații, în jurul unei mese lungi, orbitor de albă, pe care cupele scînteie, e veselia șampaniei. Veselie pură ca zurgălăii unei sănii, sunînd în voioșia unui amplu trap robust, pe întinderi albe de zăpadă scliptoare.

‘[...] of this înveselire that has no conscious cause and this amazement, it becomes itself a pretext for humour, the humour a pretext for amazement, this amazement a pretext for laughing and thus the gassy devils of the champagne caught you in their dance of tickling little lights. You become clear and loud. Your blood doesn’t flow any longer; instead, it sounds like a rain of tiny bells through which every thought pours down long humorous vibrations, which flood your being. The mixing of these vibrations around a long, and very white table on which the cups sparkle, is the veselie of the champagne. It’s a pure veselie like the bells of a sleigh that sound joyfully when galloping through the huge, white blocks of land covered with snow.’

4.2.2.5 What bodily reactions and behaviours are associated with veselie?

Laughter is one of the most predominant manifestations of veselie:

(11) O trăsură venea în goană dinspre șosea cu un domn între două femei, hohotind de veselie, parcă toată lumea ar fi fost a lor’.

‘A carriage was coming from the main road, with a gentleman sitting between two women, who were guffawing with veselie as if the whole world was theirs.’

In fact, laughter, or something similar such as giggling and smiling, is the key evidence by which people recognise veselie.
Veselie can also be reflected in one’s eyes and cheeks (the cheeks most probably reflect this emotion due to their changing form when smiling and laughing) as exemplified below:

(12)  *O fericire gravă în adîncul sufletului, ca o peșteră pentru solitară închinare, bătută de valul viu al inimii; și o veselie școlărească în ochi și pe obraji.*

‘[he felt] a strong fericire within the deepest part of his soul, like a lonely worship cave, stricken by the lively wave of his heart, and a student-like veselie appeared in his eyes and cheeks.’ (the brackets were for clarity of translation)

Veselie can also be heard in someone’s voice. When someone is vesel, even the voice register changes in that it is clearer, louder and more lively and refreshing, as can be seen in example (13):

(13)  *Erau glasurile pline de veselie ale unor oameni bogați și fericiti.*

‘Those were the voices full of veselie of some rich and happy people’.

Most importantly, other typical behavioural manifestations of this emotion are singing and dancing. Romanians value romance and artistry. Veselie is the emotion that induces these inspirational states. This is well exemplified in (14):

(14)  *Lelea Safta, lăsîndu-i gura apă, aruncă marama pe spate și de veselie, începu să cânte [...]*

‘Old lady Safta, having a strong desire to join the party, threw her head-kerchief on her back and she started to sing out of veselie.’

The intensity of veselie and associated bodily reactions can either be subtle, or very intense, as in example (15):

(15)  *Scuturat de un acces de veselie soră cu sminteala, câțelul se dădea întruna peste cap și lăтра nebunește la cer.*

‘Shaken with an excess of veselie similar to craziness, the puppy was rolling over and barking madly at the sky.’
Bouncing and making loud sounds are also manifestations of veselie, reinforcing the idea of emotional intensity:

(16) Ţopăia, nu-şi putea stăpîni veselia şi scotea un adevărat chiot învîrîndu-se într-un picior după ce auzea detunătura.

‘He was bouncing unable to control his veselie and was yelling with joy, spinning on one leg every time he heard the explosion.’

Further evidence regarding behaviour or bodily sensations, which accompany veselie can also be highlighted by the adverb vesel(ă).

Like Romanian anger-like adverbs, vesel(ă) combines with verbi dicendi and verbs denoting sounds (c.f. Chapter 3) such as: a răspunde- ‘to reply’, a fredonă- ‘to hum’, a zice – ‘to say’, a spune – to say/tell, a izbucni - ‘to burst’, a cânta – ‘to sing’, a lătra – ‘to bark’ (about dogs), a clocoti – ‘to resound’ (about a forest), a striga – to yell/to call, a țipa – ‘to yell’, a exclama – ‘to exclaim’, a sporovăi – ‘to chat a lot’, and a sfîrâi – ‘to talk through one’s nose’. Other verbs denoting specific sounds also accompany vesel(ă), for example, a țiripi – ‘to carol’, a fluiera – ‘to whistle’, a chiui – ‘to make very happy yells’, a țohoti - ‘to roar with yells’, and a chicoti – ‘to giggle’ etc.

Loudness is also indicated by combining this adverb with other adjectives/adverbs such as zgamos(ă) – ‘loud’ and gălagios(ă) – ‘that makes noise’.

A third category of verbs that involve the body, some body parts or simply ‘doing something’, have also been observed with the adverb ‘vesel(ă)’. Examples are a zâmbi – ‘to smile’, a surâde – ‘to simper’, a (se) bâțăi – ‘to fidget about’, a sări – ‘to jump’ etc.

All collocations of vesel(ă) involving these verbs express the intensity of this
emotion. Consequently, the contexts in which vesel(ă) appears reflect the loud and passionate nature of Romanian people. It seems that emotions are expressed and shown to other people via *saying or doing* something.

### 4.2.3 A semantic explication of the word *veselie* 

In the following lines I propose a semantic explication for *veselie*:

**[J] X feels *veselie***

a) someone X thinks like this:

b) ‘something (Y) happened

c) I think Y is very good

d) I feel something very good because of this

e) because of this, I want people to know what I feel

f) at many times something happens in my body because of this

g) I want to do something with my body because of this

h) I want to be with many people in the same place now

i) I want people to feel something good because of this

j) because of this, I say/do many good things, because of this I laugh [m] now

k) because of this, other people can feel what I feel now’

**[J] X simte *veselie***

a) cineva (X) gândește așa:

b) ‘ceva (Y) s-a întâmplat

c) cred că Y e ceva foarte bun

d) de aceea, mă simt foarte bine acum

e) de accea, vreau că oamenii să știe ce simt

f) de accea, de multe oriceva se întâmplă înăuntrul corpului meu

g) vreau să fac ceva cu părțile corpului meu

h) vreau să fiu cu mulți oameni în același loc acum

i) vreau ca oamenii să se simtă bine

j) de accea spun multe lucruri bune, de accea fac multe lucruri bune, de accea acum râd [m]

k) de accea, oamenii se pot simți la fel ca mine.’
In the analysis of the word *veselie*, the prototypical cognitive scenario not only reflects the causing event (component b.), thinking frame (component c.), the feeling (component d.), the bodily reactions (component f.) and the behaviour (component h.), but also the social aspect of this emotion. Thus the desire to share the good feeling (component g.) and be with other people (component h.) is combined with the desire to make other people feel good at the same time.

### 4.2.4 A Cultural script for *veselie*

The following example highlights some common Romanian attitudes to *veselie*:

(17) *Veselia întinerește, tristețea îmbatraneste.*

‘Veselia makes people young while sadness makes them old’.

(18) *Nu-i mai mare veselie decât cea pornită din inimă.*

‘There is no greater veselie then the one that comes from the heart’.

(19) *Cine înveselește oamenii acela e iubit de toată lumea.*

‘He who înveselește people is loved by everyone’.

(20) *Veselia alungă frica de moarte.*

‘Veselia chases away the fear of death’.

(21) *Nevoile fug de cel ce trăiește în veselie.*

‘Needs/pains run away from he who lives in veselie’.

(22) *N-are ce mâncă dar el tot vesel e.*

‘He has nothing to eat, but he is still vesel’.

(23) *Mai bine să bei apă în veselie decât să mănânci miere în supărare.*

‘It is better to drink water and live in veselie then eat honey and live in supărare’.

(24) *Fii totdeauna vesel și voios căci dragostei nu-i plac oamenii posomorăți.*

‘Be always vesel and cheerful as love does not like sad people’ (all proverbs were extracted from Întepleciune.ro. (d). 2011)
Romanian people believe that true veselie has to come from the heart (see proverb (18)). If one truly feels this emotion, then one may expect positive impacts on several aspects of life. For example, if someone feels veselie in their hearts, then their bodies will maintain their youth (see proverb (17) above).

In addition to youth, veselie is believed to remove fears of death and of struggles as well as needs that people may have during their lifetime (see proverbs (20), (21) and (22)). Also the discussion in the previous subsection shows that veselie was believed to refresh/revive feelings and senses, which makes it being valued above riches as reflected in proverb (23). It also has a beneficial impact on people’s social life, and people appreciate others who display this emotion at all times as dictated in proverbs (19) and (24). Romanian people are attracted to those feeling veselie and usually tend to avoid those who are sad. Behind this behaviour lies the belief that emotions can be ‘contagious’ and that if one spends time around people who feel veselie, one is likely to start feeling this way too. It is clear that feeling this emotion is something highly sought by Romanian people.

These eight proverbs indicate that veselie is important for Romanian people and that it has a heavy cultural value to them. I shall therefore propose the following cultural script for veselie:

[K] A Romanian cultural script for veselie

a) many people think like this:
   b) ‘it is good when someone (X) feels something very good
   c) because of this, it is good, if X does many things with other people, it is good if X
      laughs [m] with other people’
   d) because of this, people can see what X feels
   e) because of this people can feel the same as X
f) people think this is good

g) because of this, people like to be with X.

[L] Un script cultural Românesc pentru veselie

a) mulți oameni gandesc asa:
 b) ‘este bine când cineva (X) se simte foarte bine
 c) de aceea este bine dacă X face multe lucruri cu alți oameni, dacă X râde [m] cu alți oameni’
 d) de aceea, oamenii pot vedea ce simte X
 e) de aceea, oamenii simt la fel ca X’
 f) oamenii cred că acesta este un lucru bun
 g) de aceea, oamenilor le place să fie cu X.

Component a) reflects the shared knowledge that Romanian people have in regards to veselie. Component b) establishes the type of feeling experienced and is followed by the advice given to experiencers of this emotion – ‘It is good if X does many things with other people’. Component d) and e) explain the reason for that advice, namely ‘people can see what X feels and they will start feeling the same’. These two components reflect the social aspect of this emotion and the desire Romanian people have to make others feel good by sharing their feelings with them. Components f) and g) refer to people’s attitude towards the experiencer of veselie.

4.3 Fericire

4.3.1 Fericire – An Introduction

The Romanian noun fericire is thought to be closer in meaning to English happiness than veselie. However, there are distinctive components in the meaning of fericire, which highlight its philosophical attributes.
Romanian people see *fericire* as an ideal rather than something easily attainable:

(25)  *Fericirea e ceva care nu se atinge niciodata... dar pentru cautarea ei merita sa alergi toata viata* (Întelepciune.ro (e), 2011).

‘*Fericirea* is something that can never be achieved... but it is worth looking for it your whole life.’

It seems that this emotion, or rather this emotional state, is highly sought after and the difficulty in attaining it, makes it even more desirable.

Defining the meaning of *fericire* seems to be as hard as answering the question: ‘what is the absolute truth?’ The definition of *fericire* given in example (25) does not classify it; instead of the expected description ‘a sort of emotion/state’, we are provided with a very vague and general classification by engaging the pronoun ceva–‘something’. Nevertheless, Romanian people are very spiritual and philosophical so they constantly attempt to gain a better understanding of such difficult concepts. For example, Romanian folk wisdom states that *fericire* can only be felt when one has had experience of trouble, sadness and pain/grief:

(26)  *Cine n-a încercat pe lume un necaz, nu cunoaște al fericirii haz* (Întelepciune.ro (e), 2011).

‘He who does not know trouble, cannot appreciate *fericirii.*’

*Fericire* is seen as a good feeling rooted in being able to appreciate something/someone. However, this appreciation seems to appear after adversity and turmoil. Romanian people also believe that if people are always *fericiți/fericite*[^3], they cannot appreciate their good life and they will start behaving and thinking in a negative way. This is supported by the expression ‘*nu mai poate de bine*’ roughly ‘everything is going too well and this is why they are feeling bad/do/say bad things’.

[^3]: *Fericiti* – masculine, Pl; *fericite* – feminine, Pl.
So how do Romanian dictionaries define this emotion, and how is it usually translated?

4.3.2 Definition and translations

DEX (2008) defines *fericire* as *stare de mulţumire sufletească intensă şi deplină* – ‘a state of complete and intense satisfaction of the soul’.

This definition refers to *fericire* as a state, which indicates that this emotion extends over time. Furthermore, it is described as a state of satisfaction of the soul, which is a limited description of *fericire’s* meaning. The use of the adjectives *intensă şi deplină* – ‘intense and complete’, indicates that *fericire* is a long-term state of satisfaction. The question is whether this definition is accurate and appropriate for the Romanian emotional reality that accompanies *fericire* (c.f. the following sub-sections on *fericire*).


Needless to say, that while these definitions are useful to fulfil the purpose of approximate communication, they are fairly ethnocentric in that they do not keep the Romanian view on *fericire*.

The following sub-sections examine how Romanians think, perceive and feel when experiencing this emotion.
**4.3.3 What causes *fericire***?

*Fericire* can be triggered by certain events and situations. All these events/situations have in common the idea that ‘something happened, I think this is good’. For example, *fericire* can be caused by the availability of hot water\(^4\). In addition, *fericire* can result from being exempted from something that is perceived as negative, such as the presence of people whom one fears, as in example (28):

(27) Se apropie de chiuvetă și dădu drumul la apă. Ce fericire! Apa era fierbinte. Și se apucă de treabă.
   ‘She got closer to the sink and she turned on the water. What a *fericire!* The water was hot. And she started to work.’

(28) Ascultă-mă Flora, omul ăsta era mort de spaimă cât timp a vorbit cu mine, iar când am plecat, a transpirat de fericire.
   ‘Listen to me Flora, this man was scared as hell while talking to me and when I left, he was sweating with *fericire*.’

In contrast, example (29) speaks of *fericire* in the presence of someone one loves:

(29) Da, e adevărat, fericirea n-are istorie, fiindcă istorie nu poate ieși din veșnica surpriză pe care ți-o face ființa iubită prin însăși existența ei...
   ‘Yes, it is true, *fericirea* has no history as history cannot be caused by the continuous surprise that the one you love gives you through her/his own existence...’

Romanian people have a strong connection with nature, especially with forests. Historically forests have been a refuge when fighting invading foreigners or against the tyranny of nobility. One of the major causes of the emotion *fericire* is being in a natural environment as exemplified below:

\(^4\) During the communist regime one of the things Romanians were deprived of was hot water, hence the happiness of the person narrating this story.
(30) Străbăteam pădurea, îi străbăteam vinovată văzduhul, generator de fericire, recunoscătoare, mai mult decit naturii, pentru lecția de speranță pe care mi-o dăduse cu atîtă altruism.
'I was crossing the forest and contemplated its sky which brought me fericire, with a guilty feeling, being grateful at the same time, for the lesson of hope it taught me with so much altruism'.

As indicated in example (26), one source of fericire is the lack of worries and troubles. In addition, vivacity and freshness cause fericire as in example (31) below:

(31) Fericirea copilăriei, cred eu, vine nu din lipsa necazurilor existente și chiar exacerbate de sensibilitatea acută a vîrstei pină la rangul de nenorociri ci din prospetitiea simțurilor și din extraordinul talent de a trăi pe care cei mici îl au pentru a-l pierde apoi într-o numărătoare inversă egalată de-a lungul întregii existențe.
'The fericirea of childhood, I believe, comes not from the lack of the existential misfortunes which can be exacerbated by the acute sensitivity of our age to the rank of disasters, but through the freshness of our senses and from the extraordinary talent to live, which the younger ones have; to then lose it in a sort of reverse count down displayed throughout our entire existence'.

Furthermore, being free though poor can prompt fericire:

(32) Din toate părțile ne cădeau gologani, libertatea intra în punga mea, și seara, frânt de oboseală, gustam din fericirea omului care poate trăi, fără să aibă buzunarele pline cu aur.
'We received money from everywhere, freedom was practically a gift to me, and during the evening, crushed by tiredness, I tasted from the fericirea of the man who can live without having his pockets filled with gold'.

Work and love are also two very common causes for this emotion as reflected in examples (33) and (34) below:

(33) Dacă mă gîndesc bine, singura fericire pe care o cunosc este munca.
'If I think about it, the only *fericire* I know is work.'

(34) *Dar eu știam că puterea acestor sentimente și îmbrățișări pasionate era ultima și că numai astfel puteam accepta să ne despărțim: nu noi eram vinovați, nu noi o doream, iată, ne iubeam, *fericirea* ar fi fost posibilă...*

'But I knew that the power of these feelings and passionate embraces were the last ones and only this way we were able to part: it wasn't our fault, we didn't want to split, because we loved each other and *fericirea* would have been possible...'

### 4.3.4 What are the prototypical thoughts that trigger *fericire*?

The prototypical cognitive scenario associated with *fericire* includes a thinking frame reflective of Romanian endurance against the sufferings that life may bring. The fact that Romanian people value the gift of endurance is indicated by the expression *a fi tare* – ‘to be hard’ (hard to break, impenetrable, strong, tough). This expression is normally used when trying to encourage someone who is suffering.

*Fericire* is related to endurance. People train themselves so that they were able to endure even in the darkest hour of the day. Such training is accompanied by reasoning in a positive way as in the following Romanian proverb:

(35) *Norocul e o întâmplare, fericirea e o vocație* (Întelepciune.ro (e), 2011).

‘Luck is a chance, *fericirea* is a vocation.’

In examples (36) and (37), the noun *vocație*– ‘vocation’ clearly supports the fact that *fericire* is learnt and practiced with incredible dedication. This is why example (25) speaks of ‘running after *fericire*’. People do not think that *fericire* lies in the emotion itself, but rather in its pursuit as exemplified below:
Fericirea nu se află în fericire ci în drumul către ea’ (Înțelepciune.ro (e), 2011).

‘Fericirea cannot be found in the fericire itself, but on one’s way to get it’.

Fericirea nu e o destinație. E un mod de a trăi (Înțelepciune.ro (e), 2011).

‘Fericirea’ is not a destination. It is a way of life’

Proverb (37) goes as far as spelling out that fericire is a way of life and that it is not a journey that can be completed. Most important is how one decides to get to the destination rather than the destination itself.

This means that Romanian people value trying to think positively and being grateful for small things. The inability to see the ‘silver lining’ will lead automatically to unhappiness as stated in the following proverbs:

Dacă ești nemulțumit din fire, nimic nu îți poate aduce fericire (Înțelepciune.ro (e), 2011).

‘If one is unsatisfied by nature, nothing can bring them fericire.’

Fericirea nu e decât o nefericire mai bine suportată.

‘Fericirea is nothing but an unhappiness that is accepted.’

The entire thinking frame that surrounds these proverbs and examples suggest that the source of fericire possibly lies in the Orthodox theology. Romanians have closely embraced the word of God and have always had a strong faith. The following proverbs seem to be rooted in Jesus’ teachings about endurance (proverb (39), forgiveness (proverb (41), contentment (proverbs (41), (42) (44) and (48), love and generosity (proverbs (40) and (43) and faith (positive thinking - proverb (50):

5 Or at least had. I do not claim that all Romanians are believers, however, God was always present in the traditional Romanian way of living.
(40) *Fericirea supremă a vieții este convingerea că suntem iubiți* (Întelepciune.ro (e), 2011).

‘The supreme *fericirea* of our lives is the certitude that someone loves us.’

(41) *Fericirea nu e nimic altceva decât o sănătate bună și o memorie proastă* (Întelepciune.ro (e), 2011).

‘*Fericirea* is nothing else but having a good health and a bad memory.’

(42) *Fericit este omul care se mulțumește cu mai puțin decât are* (Întelepciune.ro (e), 2011).

‘*Fericit* is he who is content with less than what he has.’

(43) *Fericit e acela care poate încălzi mai mulți în soba lui* (Întelepciune.ro (e), 2011).

‘*Fericit* is he who can make more people feel warm around his stove.’

(44) *Ia un strop de fericire... Dar vezi, nu toată gâleata* (Întelepciune.ro (e), 2011).

‘Take a drop of *fericire*... But see that you don't take the whole bucket’. 

(45) *Nici o fericire fără virtute* (Întelepciune.ro (e), 2011).

‘There is no *fericire* without virtue.’

(46) *Fiecare își culege fericirea de acolo de unde și-o seamână* (Întelepciune.ro (e), 2011).

‘Each man takes their *fericire* from where they planted its seed.’

(47) *Vei fi mai fericit în clipa în care vei renunța de a controla viitorul* (Întelepciune.ro (e), 2011).

‘You will be more *fericit* the moment you will give up controlling your future.’

(48) *Buna fericire nu stă în bogăție ci într-o mulțumire a inimii de starea ei* (Întelepciune.ro (e), 2011).

‘*True fericire* does not lie in richness, but in the heart's satisfaction with its state.’
Further evidence that Orthodox beliefs and *fericire* may be connected is also observed in the following example. Example (50) speaks of ceasing the earthly rationality (e.g. worries, fears et cetera) and receiving the Godly rationality that frees the soul of negative emotions and would enhance the appearance of *fericire*:

(49) *Fericirea este tot timpul în voi, în inima spirituală. Oprirea activității minții ne poate uni cu spiritul și astfel putem trăi fericirea în forma ei pură. Atît timp cât mintea funcționează și emană gânduri ca un vulcan care aruncă spre cer nori negri de cenușă nu vom trăi fericirea pură ci doar o descriere a fericirii. Prin intermediul minții noi nu avem acces la realitate, ci doar la o descriere a realității. Depinde de voi acum dacă vreți să abandonați fricile legate de angoasa insecursități și dorințele care sînt create doar cu scopul de a da de lucru minții. Abandonați toate acestea și eliberați-vă sufletul de angoase. Oriunde ați fi sînteți în Dumnezeu, iar Dumnezeu este suprema garanție a siguranței și fericirii noastre* (Țurcanu, C. G, 2001)

*Fericire is always in you, in your spiritual heart. Ceasing mental activity can unite us with the spirit and thus we can experience fericirea in its pure form. As long as the mind functions, and produces thoughts like a volcano that throws black ash clouds towards the sky, we won't be able to experience pure fericirea but merely a description of fericirii. We will not be able to access reality through our mind, but merely a description of reality. It only depends on you now whether you want to abandon the fears related to insecurity and to desires, which are created with the aim of keeping your mind active. Abandon all these and free your souls of worry. Wherever you are, you are in God and God is the supreme warrantee of our safety and fericirii.*

*Fericire* is not a state that can be maintained constantly; instead *fericire* as stated above, is always accompanied by sadness and turmoil as demonstrated by the proverb below:
Every fericire has its own discontent.’

Fericire is just enough to give someone a ‘taste’ of this sweet sentiment; the proverb below warns people about the shortness of this emotion. For such reasons, Romanians constantly pursue fericire and train themselves to attain it via reasoning (as in example (50)):

‘Fericirea lasts as long as a flower’s corolla’.

4.3.5 So what do Romanians feel when they are fericit? 

It is constructive to explain that there were two main types of feeling found in the meaning of fericire:

- Fericire as a very short, intense feeling
- Fericire triggered by positive thinking.

Each of these will be discussed in the following sub-sections as they are more clearly revealed in relation to sensation, bodily reactions and behaviours.

Example (53) describes fericire as an euphoria and as a wild, intense, strong emotion that invades the whole being and is almost uncontrollable. Fericire is another Romanian emotion concept that revolves around high intensity.

‘One could not hear a sound and in that moment he felt a fericire, a wild euphoria, a very invading emotion, too strong not to be dangerous’.
It can co-occur with the noun ‘explozie’ – explosion, which also suggests the intensity of this emotion:

(53)  *

\[O \textit{iubire din tinere\c{t}e, victim\u{a} a lipsei de maturitate, o scurt\u{a} explozie de fericire înăbu\c{s}it\u{a} de asprele realit\u{a}t\u{e} cotidiene.}\]

‘[...] a love from her youth, a victim of her lack of maturity, a short explosion of fericire, choked by the harsh aspects of the daily life.’

The second type of fericire, is often associated with peace and contentment that is drawn from the belief that once can feel something like fericire all the time, if one thinks positively.

4.3.6 What are the bodily reactions and behaviours that accompany fericire?

The bodily reactions associated with the intensity of fericire include choking, being crushed and exploding as in the following examples:

(54)  *

\[\textit{Risca s\u{a} fie sufocat de o imens\u{a} fericire.}\]

‘He was risking to be suffocated by his immense fericire.’

(55)  *

\[\textit{E strivit de fericire. Fericire adev\u{a}rat\u{a}, cu câteva minute, poate, înainte de a muri.}\]

‘He was crushed by fericire. True fericire, a few minutes maybe before he dies.’

(56)  *

\[\textit{Credeam c-o s\u{a} plesnesc de fericire...}\]

‘I thought I would explode with fericire...’

Furthermore, fericire can also be overwhelming to the point that the sensation one feels is a sort of happiness that turns into pain as seen in the following example:

(57)  *

\[\textit{O cuprinse o senza\c{t}ie de fericire dureroas\u{a}... furtuna care b\u{a}ntuia în sufletul ei o cople\c{s}e\u{a}.}\]
‘A sensation of painful fericire took over her entire being... the storm that haunted her soul overwhelmed her’.

The intensity and rapidness of this happiness-like emotion is felt at the level of the nervous system and in one’s veins and blood, as described in the example below:

(58) O fericire tânără și sfântă simtind cu foc prin nervii mei, prin vine.
    ‘I feel a young and holy fericire going rapidly through my nerves and veins’.

At the same time, these strong sensations point towards a feeling that is spontaneous and unexpected. It can also be unconscious and brief, as described in example (59) (note that the time reference is understood from the context, where the combination of crisis and thought through implies the idea of long-term, which opposes the short and unconscious fericire):

(59) Fericirea poate fi inconştientă, criza se autogîndeşte.
    ‘Fericirea can be unconscious, crisis however, is thought through’.

What is striking however, is the fact that fericire can also be felt as a pleasant, calming sensation. In the following example, fericire is accompanied by the noun ‘căldură’- warmth and the adjective ‘paşnică’- peaceful, which demonstrates that this emotion inundates one’s body with peace and calm. Whilst this emotion refers to peace, the presence of the noun ‘warmth’ still indicates intensity and the fact that the blood is the carrier of this warmth indicates the holistic character of fericire.

(60) De unde această căldură pe care o simţea în vine? Pe cine viza senzaţia de fericire paşnică din sângele ei?’
    ‘Where was this warmth she was feeling in her veins coming from? What was the target of this sensation of peaceful fericire from her blood?’
The manifestations of *fericire* are mostly marked in someone’s inner organs (e.g. heart), then in the extremities and other body parts, culminating with an oral manifestation as seen in example (61) below:

(61) *Capul i se înfierbântă, rândurile începură să-i joace în fața ochilor plini de lacrimi, mâinile îi tremurau și inima îi bătea nebunește. Ii venea să urle de bucurie și de fericire.*

‘His head became hot, the lines around him started to move because of the tears in his eyes, his hands were trembling and the heart was beating like crazy. He wanted to roar with *fericire* and joy’.

Romanians also often use the expression ‘*a-i cânta înima de fericire*’ – to have one’s heart singing with *fericire*, which illustrates the fact that the heart experiences a very vivid sensation:

(62) *Inima îi cânta de fericire.*

‘Her heart was singing of *fericire*’.

A state similar to drunkenness as well as crying, are also associated with this emotion:

(63) *Speriați, după care atât de ușurați încât erau să izbucnească în râs, cei doi se ridicară și se priviră, beți de fericire.*

‘Scared, then so relieved that they were about to burst into laughter, the two stood up and looked at each other, drunken with *fericire*’.

(64) *Ea mă întrebă dacă aș putea câștiga ce ne trebuie cu puținii bani ce-mi rămâsesese, și la răspunsul meu înflăcărat asupra viitorului de libertate și de iubire pe care eram în stare să i-l deschid departe de casa asta blestemată, lacrimi de fericire țâșniră din ochii ei.*

‘She asked me if I could procure what we needed with the little money that we had left and at my passionate response about the future of freedom and love that I was going to give her, far away from this damn house, tears with *fericire* emerged in her eyes’.

When *fericire* is very intense, the mind and the ability to reason are strongly affected to a point near to craziness:
Părea că dintr-o clipă în alta va înnebuni de atâta fericire. 'It looked like she was going to become crazy with fericire any minute now'.

Furthermore, the intensity of fericire can affect not only the ability to reason, but it can lead to numbness as described by example (66):

Înţelesei că gîndirea mea nu putea merge în adîncime, dar îmi dădui seama că instinctele mi se trezeau din amorţeala fericirii. 'I understood that my reasoning was superficial, but I realised that my instincts woke up from the numbness of my fericire'.

The behavioural reactions accompanying fericire include yells and gesticulations (example (67)) as well as bouncing around (example (68)):

Bloody Mary cu voal şi lămîţă şi buchetul de mireasă în braţe, țipînd şi gesticulînd de fericire. 'Bloody Mary wearing a veil, a lime flower on her dress, and the wedding bouquet in her arms, was yelling and gesticulating of fericire'.

Scoală-te, ia-ți patul tău şi umblă! 'Iar ele se dezmorţesc şi-ncep să țopăie de fericire, dînd slavă lui Dumnezeu pentru minunea săvîrşită. 'Get up, take your bed and walk! 'And he started to feel his legs again and was bouncing with fericire, praising God for the miracle he'd done'.

The face is definitely a most expressive mean of manifestation of fericire as reflected in the following example:

Constanţa, zărndu-l, se lumină la faţă de fericire [...]. 'After having seen him, Constanţa's face became bright with fericire [...]'.

The second type of fericire, which is attained via positive thinking, has no reference to intensity or intense bodily sensations. However, it does make reference to a calming, more soothing sensation, a state where strong negative
emotions are not present. This was seen in examples (40), (42), (47), (48) and (49). The focus in these examples is on fighting strong negative emotions that can be destructive, and by being at peace.

4.3.7 Additional evidence reflecting the two types of sensations when feeling fericire

The adverb fericit(ă) refers more to a state (second meaning of fericire) than a dynamic and active emotion (first meaning of fericire). The verbs that mostly co-occur with this adverb are also less dynamic than verbs discussed in previous sub-sections. When it occurs with such verbs, the most predominant ones include: a arăta – ‘to look’, a părea – ‘to seem’, a privi – ‘to watch’, a adormi – ‘to fall asleep’, a (se) socoti – ‘to consider oneself’, a rămâne – ‘to stay/remain’, a muri – ‘to die’, a trăi – ‘to live’, a sălășlui – ‘to live’, a îmbătrâni - to grow old, a asculta – ‘to listen’, a vedea – ‘to see’ (more with the meaning of seem), a menține - to keep/to maintain, a deveni – ‘to become’.

The adverb fericit(ă) acquires a more dynamic character when occurring with the following categories of verbs:

cricket.’

verbs denoting a facial expression such as: *a zâmbi* – ‘to smile’,

*a rânji* – ‘to grin’.

The fact that this adverb can co-occur with both state verbs and more dynamic verbs has to do with two important aspects about the concept of *fericire*, namely that it can indicate a state extended over a long time or it can be a passing yet intensive emotion.

### 4.3.8 What else indicates that the Romanian *fericire* has two meanings?

Further evidence that the Romanian *fericire* has two meanings and hence it can occur in two different collocation types, is suggested by its syntactic framework. Thus the first meaning of *fericire*, which refers to a short and momentary emotion, seems to have occurred mostly in collocations including the causative preposition *de* – because (of)⁶ (c.f. examples (67), (68), (69) etc.) as well as in the Vocative case, which is mostly rendered tonally in Romanian (c.f. example (27)).

The second meaning of *fericire*, which makes reference to a long-term state, has often been accompanied by the static verb *a fi* – ‘to be’. This was observed for example in examples such as (29), (33) and (37). The employment of the verb *a fi* – ‘to be’ was not random as the idea of long-term is embedded in its meaning. Therefore, this combination is specifically used to explain the Romanian belief that *fericire* can also be ‘a way of life’.

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⁶ *De* was translated in English as with to match the English language framework.
Similar patterns of meaning were observed by Wierzbicka (2011, pg. 159-169) in the English *happiness*, the French *bonheur*, the German *glück* as well as the Russian *sčast’e*.

### 4.3.9 Semantic explications of *fericire*

Since the two meanings of *fericire* have been analysed and explained in subsection 4.3.8, semantic explications will be offered for each of them in the following paragraphs.

**[M]** X does something with *fericire*¹ (intense, momentary)

- a) someone (X) thinks something like this:
  - b) ‘something happened
  - c) I think this is very good
  - d) because of this, I feel something very good now
  - e) because of this, I feel something very good inside my body now
  - f) because of this, I do many things now’
  - g) people can know what X feels because X is not like (s)he was before now

**[N]** X faceva de *fericire* (intense și momentan)

- a) cineva (X) se gândește așa:
  - b) ‘ceva s-a întâmplat
  - c) cred că e foarte bine ce s-a întâmplat
  - d) de aceea, mă simt foarte bine acum
  - e) de aceea, mă simt foarte bine în corp acum
  - f) de aceea, fac multe lucruri acum’
  - g) oamenii pot ști ce simte X deoarece X nu este cum era înainte

The prototypical scenario for the first meaning of *fericire*¹ begins with the cause event (component b)) which is perceived as being very good (component c)).
The use of very good is directly linked with the very good feeling in component d) which signals the high intensity of the emotion. Component e) announces that the feeling creates bodily reactions, while component f) speaks of behaviours that accompany fericire\textsuperscript{1}. Finally, component g) states that people notice the feeling in the experiencer’s bodily reactions and behaviour.

**[O]** fericire\textsuperscript{2} is […] (as a way of life)

a) sometimes, someone (X) can think like this:
   b) ‘I felt something very good before now because something happened
   c) I want to feel like this for a long time
   d) I know I can’t feel like this for a long time
   e) because of this I want to think something very good all the time
   f) because of this I know I can feel something good for a long time’
   g) X feels like this.

**[P]** fericire\textsuperscript{2} este […] (ca un mod de viață)

a) câteodată, cineva (X) poate să se gândească așa:
   b) ‘am simțit foarte bine înainte deoarece ceva s-a întâmplat
   c) vreau să mă simt așa mult timp
   d) știu că nu pot să mă simt așa mult timp
   e) de aceea vreau să mă gândesc la lucruri foarte bune mereu
   f) de acceea, știu că mă pot simți bine pentru mult timp’
   g) X se simte așa.

The prototypical cognitive scenario for fericire\textsuperscript{2} starts by describing a very good feeling felt in the past (component b. makes reference to fericire\textsuperscript{1}) and the desire to maintain it (component c). Component d) states the awareness that such an emotion cannot be experienced all the time, hence the desire to train one’s mind to think positively (component e) to achieve a similar state to fericire\textsuperscript{1}, but without its characteristic intensity. Component g) ends the scenario by actually stating how the experiencer feels.
4.3.10 A Romanian Cultural Script for *fericire*

Throughout the analysis of this Romanian emotion, we noticed that its meaning was heavily influenced by cultural values, such as the idea that *fericire* is a way of life and can be learnt. *Fericire* is something that each one of us has to shape according to his desires and personality as observed in the following proverb:

(70)  *Fiecare își culege fericirea de acolo de unde ș-i-o seamănă*  
(Înțelepciune.ro (e), 2011).  
‘Each man takes their *fericire* from where they plant its seed’.

In addition to this cultural component, Romanians believe that one should be content with what one has rather then setting out on a quest for more:

(71)  *Fericit este omul care se mulțumește cu mai puțin decât are*  
(Înțelepciune.ro (e), 2011).  
‘Fericit is he who is content with less than what he has’.

There is another belief amongst Romanians, namely that *fericire* is to be pursued and felt while alive, which again indicates that this emotion cannot last forever as exemplified in sentence (72):

(72)  *Fii fericit cât trăești pentru că mort o să fii mult timp* (Înțelepciune.ro (e), 2011).  
‘Be *fericit* while you are alive as you will be dead for a long time.’

Finally, *fericire* is directly connected with virtue and beauty. This idea comes from the belief that displaying virtues and good manners will trigger *fericire* (here it seems that *fericire* refers to living in peace with oneself and others). This explains why Romanians see this emotion as a way of life:

(73)  *Casa fericită este cuibul frumuseții* (Înțelepciune.ro (e), 2011).  
‘A home *fericită* is the nest of beauty.

(74)  *Nici o fericire fără virtute* (Înțelepciune.ro (e), 2011).
'There is no fericire without virtue'.

[R] A Romanian cultural script for fericire:

a) many people think like this:
   b) ‘if someone wants to feel something very good for a long time, it is good if that someone thinks many good things
   c) if someone wants to feel something very good for a long time, it is good if this someone does/says many good things’
   d) people think this is very good
   e) because of this, people want to do this all the time

[S] Un script cultural pentru fericire:

a) mulți oameni gândesc așa:
   b) ‘dacă cineva vrea să se simtă foarte bine pentru mult timp, este bine dacă acel cineva se gândește la multe lucruri bune
   c) dacă cineva vrea să se simtă foarte bine, este bine daca acel cineva face/spune multe lucruri bune’
   d) oamenii cred că acest lucru este foarte bun
   e) de aceea, oamenii vor să facă asta tot timpul

Component a) frames the cultural knowledge shared by Romanian people. The prototypical cognitive scenario is established by components b) and c), which are practical advice to how one should think and behave in order to feel fericit. Components d) and e) on the other hand, show the attitude people have towards such conduct and manner of thinking as well as the desire to put this advice in practice.
4.4 Happiness-like words in Romanian and other languages – a comparison

4.4.1 Introduction

As with anger-like words, I wish to investigate whether happiness-like words in Romanian are different in meaning to other languages.

Diagram 3, 4 and 5 are visual representations of the comparison between the main components of the Romanian happiness-like words and those of happiness (-like) words in other languages such as *happiness* in English, *bonheur* in French and *ščast’e* in Russian (see Wierzicka, 2011).

4.4.2 Comparison with happiness-like words in other languages

*Veselie* is distinctive in that it does not only include the ‘very good feeling’ linked with happiness-like emotions, but also ‘laughter’ in its meaning. *Veselie* is also a very strongly felt emotion; in fact its intensity leads to a very loud reaction from the Experiencer. Romanian people have a positive attitude towards someone who feels such an emotion. For such reasons Romanian people like to be around people experiencing *veselie* because they want to feel the same. These last components are strong cultural values embedded in the meaning of *veselie* (see Diagram 3 below).
Diagram 3. Similarities and differences between Romanian veselie and happiness-like words in English, French and Russian (Wierzicka, 2011)

- **something (Y) happened**
  - Less personal than English, French and Russian happiness-like words, which share the component: 'something very good is happening to me now'

- **I think Y is very good**
  - The perception - 'I think this is something very good' is not observed in the English, French and Russian happiness-like words. However, the certainty - 'this is good', the perception of the other happiness-like words is not left at the individual's discretion as in Romanian.

- **I feel something very good because of this**
  - This component is shared in all languages

- **because of this, I want people to know what I feel**
  - Component not shared by the English, French and Russian happiness-like words

- **'at many times something happens in my body because of this' & 'I want to do something with my body because of this'**
  - Bodily sensations and behavioural reactions are very salient for the Romanian veselie. This is not the case with the Russian, French and English happiness-like words.

- **I want to be with many people in the same place & 'I want people to feel something good because of this'**
  - The social component of Romanian veselie is not shared by the English, French and Russian happiness-like words

- **because of this, I say/do many good things, because of this I laugh [m] now & because of this, other people can feel what I feel now**
  - Laughter is a very important component of veselie, but this component is absent in happiness-like words in English, French and Russian. Sharing the emotion with other people is again absent from the other languages.
Like the anger-like words, happiness-like words in Romanian, English, French and Russian in the diagrams below, share a component that refers to the thinking frame accompanying these emotions.

Romanian *fericire* is different to other happiness-like words in other languages in that the feeling is felt both at the emotional and physical levels as seen with the anger-like words (c.f. 3.3.5). In addition to this, *fericire* can be such an intense emotion that the Experiencer's reaction is strong and hence enables other people to immediately decode the type of emotion felt. Happiness-like words in English, French and Russian do not display such characteristics. However, English, French and Russian do display two types of *happiness/bonheur/ščast’ e* (see Diagrams 4 and 5 below).
Diagram 4. Similarities and differences between Romanian *fericire* and other happiness-like words in English, French and Russian (Wierzicka, 2011)

- **'Something happened' & 'I think this is very good'**
  - Less personal than the English, French and Russian happiness-like words, which share the component: 'something very good is happening to me now'
  - The perception - 'I think this is something very good' is not observed in either the English, French or Russian happiness-like words. They do share, however, the certainty - 'this is good'. The perception however for the other happiness-like words is not left at the individual's discretion as in Romanian. These two components are shared with the Romanian *veselie*.

- **Because of this, I feel something very good now**
  - The same as English, Russian and French happiness-like words
  - The same as the Romanian *veselie*.

- **Because of this, I feel something very good inside my body now**
  - Component shared with the Romanian *veselie* but absent from the other happiness-like words in other languages.

- **Because of this, I do many things now**
  - Similar to the Romania *veselie* in terms of the reaction caused by this emotion. Absent from the other languages.

- **People can know what X feels because X is not like (s)he was before now**
  - Component shared with the Romanian *veselie* but absent from the other languages.
Diagrams 3, 4 and 5 above indicate that Romanian *fericire* and *veselie* are distinctive concepts which add further evidence against the theory that certain emotions such as *happiness* are basic and universal.

Consequently, emotions such as *fericire* and *veselie* are unique to the Romanian culture. Translating them into English as *happiness* and *cheerfulness* would not be sufficient to render the exact feeling and mind-frame that are embedded in their meaning. On the contrary, using such translations the meaning of the Anglo words will be transferred onto the Romanian emotions.

Whilst this sort of translation may serve an immediate cross-cultural communication purpose, the usage of such translations in the study of emotions is completely inappropriate.

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**Diagram 5. Similarities and differences between Romanian *fericire* and other happiness-like words in English, French and Russian (Wierzicka, 2011)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I felt something very good before now because something happened</td>
<td>• Shared with the Romanian <em>veselie</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Similar, yet less personal than the French, Russian and English happiness-like words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I want to feel like this for a long time</td>
<td>• Similar to the Russian, English and French happiness-like words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Different to Romanian <em>veselie</em> in terms of extended feeling.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I know I can’t feel like this for a long time</td>
<td>• Component absent from all happiness-like words in other languages and the Romanian <em>veselie</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because of this I want to think something very good all the time</td>
<td>• Unique component absent from all other happiness-like words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because of this I know I can feel something good for a long time</td>
<td>• Component not found in the other happiness-like words.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In addition, *happiness*-like concepts across some European languages studied so far, such as English, French and Russian (Wierzbicka, 2011) were found to display polysemy, indicated by collocations and syntactic frames in which they occurred. The matter of polysemy further complicates the use of direct translations in the study of emotions.

Many studies have also attempted to measure ‘how happy’ people are (for example see section 4.1). The problem is that measuring *happiness* fails cross-linguistically and cross-culturally if a basic metalanguage and meaning shared by all cultures is not used. Using labels such as *fericire, happy, bonheur* to measure ‘how happy Romanian, English and French people are’ does not enable unbiased measurements. As Wierzbicka (2004, pg. 39) observes the question ‘how happy are people?’ cannot be translated, and hence understood in the same way in languages such as French, Russian and Italian. If the questions used in such surveys do not share a common meaning, then the results will also differ.
Chapter 5

Conclusion

5.1 Summary of findings

The present study describes the inner world of Romanian people. It shows how Romanian experience anger-like and happiness-like emotions. The analysis of the Romanian emotion words does not rely on clinical measurements of neurological processes. It focuses instead on the language that Romanian people use to speak about their feelings.

5.1.2 Syntactic Frame

In the analysis of the syntactic environment of the Romanian emotion verbs: a (se) supăra, a (se) mânia, a (se) înveseli, a (se) feric, it has been observed that Romanian people’s perceptions of other people or key events triggered anger-like or happiness-like emotions. This is indicated in the reflexive voice and transitive reflexive verbal constructions where the Agent and the Experiencer of an emotion share the same identity.

Furthermore, a feature specific to Romanian language is found in the analysed data, namely the Dative of attachment. Romanians employ reflexive pronouns and clitics in the Dative case in combination with emotion words to express the idea of closeness and belonging. This means that Romanians express their very strong feelings for family or very close friends and are able to experience the
same feelings as their dear ones at the same time. In other words, if someone else upsets or makes someone close to them happy, then they feel the same emotions as the main experiencer. This reflects the strong family and social orientation in Romanian people. Individualism is not highly appreciated in Romania; it is rather perceived as loneliness.

Additionally, the syntactic environment of the emotion nouns shows the importance of the reactive behaviour in Romanian anger and happiness-like emotions. This is observed in contexts where emotion nouns are preceded by the causative preposition *de* – ‘because of’.

5.1.2 The Romanian semantic prime SIMȚI

SIMȚI is the Romanian exponent of the semantic prime FEEL. Unlike FEEL, numerous issues were found in the combinatorial properties of SIMȚI. Firstly, SIMȚI cannot produce combinations similar to ‘I feel something good/bad’. Instead, its reflexive form (for example *se simte* – ‘(s)he feels’) can only combine with the adverb BINE - GOOD to express a positive feeling. This is not the case with expressing negative feelings, where the evaluator RĂU – BAD employs only its adjectival form for expressing a negative feeling (e.g. *simte ceva rău* – (s)he feels something bad’).

In addition, like exponents in other Romance languages, SIMȚI is found to be polysemous and carries distinctive nuances of meaning typical to Romanian language.
5.1.3 Supărare and Mânie- The Romanian anger-like emotions

The two anger-like words supărare and mânie are a living proof against the theory that anger is a universal emotion. The first Romanian anger-like word supărare is extremely interesting as it combines anger with a series of other emotions (those expressed in English) such as: grief, sadness and regret.

In addition to the fact that supărare is culturally specific in meaning, the facial expressions associated with it are culturally distinctive as well. This is further evidence against Ekman’s (2003) theory that there are facial expressions which are universal (see image 1, Chapter 1).

The most interesting aspects of this emotion are the bodily reactions associated with it. Thus strokes, broken hearts, fainting and diseases are likely to occur when someone feels supărare.

Mânie is much more intense than supărare as far as the behaviour and bodily reactions are concerned. Thus when a Romanian experiences mânie they may feel that their blood is boiling, their appearance may resemble that of a boiled crab, they may spume and behave irrationally and erratically (as if they were rabid). It is clear that the concept of mânie in Romanian is far stronger than that of ‘anger’ in English. The concept of mânie is also very different to other anger-like concepts in Koromu, Chinese and Yakuntjatjara (see Chapter 3).

Once more, the Romanian way of feeling anger-like emotions combats Ekman’s (2003) et altrì’s theory that some emotions for example anger, are universal. Whilst some reactions and perhaps some facial expressions may be found to overlap in several cultures, the conceptual framework of a particular culture
mostly regulates behavior and bodily reactions (c.f. Diagram 1 and 2 in Chapter 3).

5.1.4 Fericire and veselie – The Romanian happiness-like words

As with the anger-like emotions, the Romanian happiness-like emotions are also very reactive and intense in nature.

The most important aspect found about fericire is that it can be a very short, intense emotion that produces erratic behaviour such as jumping around, singing, bouncing and dancing. On the other hand, fericire can also reflect the Romanian belief that positive thinking can achieve a happiness-like state that allows people to live a satisfying life without regrets.

Veselie as we can see in Chapter 4, is a very social emotion. Romanians don’t keep this feeling to themselves as its whole point is to make oneself and others feel something good. The behavior associated with veselie reflects the Romanian soul and way of living. It includes partying, sharing jokes, singing and dancing together, sharing funny stories and eating and drinking together. Associated bodily sensations experienced with this feeling resemble a state of drunkenness, a state of happiness and a state of cheerfulness that take over the entire Romanian being.

The Romanian perspective on happiness expressed both in fericire and veselie, is again different to that of many other cultures and shows that people feel differently, according to their cultural norms, regulations and concepts expressed in their language.
Whilst Anglo people appreciate individualism and regulate the intensity of their reactions, Romanians are their total opposite. Their passionate nature involves reaction and loudness, which reflects a strong social focus. Individualism would dry up the Romanian soul which longs for contact with other people and for sharing their emotions directly or indirectly (see Diagrams 3, 4 and 5 in Chapter 4).

5.2 Future studies

This study presents a first attempt at describing the way Romanian people feel and how culture influences their inner world.

However, there is much more to be researched in the area of Romanian emotions. For example, supărare refers to an emotion that combines anger with sadness and grief. Yet there are many other emotions such as amărăciune- roughly ‘bitterness’, măhnire- roughly ‘sadness’ and ‘grief’ and necaz- roughly ‘sadness’ and ‘trouble’, in the area of sadness to be investigated. In relation to anger-like emotions these are sifonare- roughly ‘wrinkling’, zburlire-roughly ‘anger’ and ‘puffing up like a turkey’ (being cocky), ofuscare- roughly ‘angser’ ‘upset’ and îmbufnare-roughly ‘anger’ and ‘being abnoxious’. Discussions of each of these would produce even more evidence of the Romanian emotional experience.

Furthermore, the Romanian experience of happiness-like emotions is rich in cultural specific words such as voioșie – roughly ‘a state of cheerful happiness’ (self orientated), desfătare – roughly ‘an abundant hapiness that stimulates the senses’, as well as noroc/norocie – ‘a sort of happiness and luck’.
Furthermore, given that the Romanian exponents of semantic primes display a high degree of polysemy, further in-depth studies of the Romanian NSM are in need.

A diacronical analysis of the four words discussed throughout this study and the semantic prime SIMȚI would be beneficial to understand their meanings' evolution and observe possible patterns of semantic change across time.

In relation to the semantic prime SIMȚI, a synchronic analysis would also be useful to investigate whether the media enabled its Western counterparts (e.g. the English prime FEEL) to influence its semantic content and whether there are patterns that suggest a future, radical change in its meaning and combinatorial properties.
## Gloss

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imp</td>
<td>Imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>3rd person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refl</td>
<td>Reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>First person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>Accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pers pron</td>
<td>Personal Pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masc</td>
<td>Masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem</td>
<td>Feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aux</td>
<td>Auxiliary</td>
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<tr>
<td>Part</td>
<td>Participle</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cl</td>
<td>Clitic</td>
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Appendix 1

A.1 Semantic explications of anger-like words in languages other than Romanian

A.1.1 Yakunytjatjara anger-like words (Goddard, 2006)

Pikaringanyi (Y-ku)

a. X wants to fight/cause pain (to Y) now

X mirpanarinyi (Y-ku)

a. Sometimes a person thinks something like this (about Y)
   b. “Y is bad
   c. I don’t want to do anything good for Y
   d. I want to do something bad for Y
   e. because of this, this person feels something bad
   f. X feels something bad

Kuyaringanyi

a. sometimes a person thinks something like this (about Y)
   b. “Y is bad
   c. I don’t want to do anything good for Y”
   d. because of this, this person feels something bad
   e. X feels like this
A. 1. 2 Chinese anger-like words (Kornaki, 2001)

**Nu**

a. X feels something
b. X thinks something like this:
   c. “something happened
   d. this is bad
   e. I don’t want this
   f. because of this, I want to do something very bad to someone now
   g. I can’t not do this”
h. X feels something very bad because of this
i. because of this, X can’t think now
j. something is happening inside X now because of this
k. something bad can happen to X because of this

**Sheng/qi**

a. X feels something
b. X thinks something like this:
   c. “something happened
   d. I don’t want this
   e. I want to do something bad because of this”
f. X feels something bad for a long time because of this
g. something is happening inside X because of this
h. something bad can happen to X because of this

**Naohuo (Xwei mou jian shi er naohuo –X is naohuo because of something)**

a. X feels something
b. X thinks something like this
   c. “something bad happened to me
   d. I don’t want this”
   e. X feels something bad because of this
   f. something bad can happen to X because of this
Fen

a. X feels something
b. X thinks something like this:
   c. “some people did something bad
   d. it is very bad if people do something like this
   e. when someone does something like this people feel something bad because of this
   f. I would want to do something because of this if I could”
g. X feels something bad because of this
h. X thinks something bad because of this
i. sometimes it is good if people feel like this

Taoyan

a. X feels something
b. X thinks something like this:
   c. “this is bad
   d. I feel something bad because of this
   e. I don’t want this”
f. X feels something bad because of this

A.1.3 English anger-like words (Wierzbicka, 2005)

Frustration

a. X felt something because X thought something
b. sometimes a person thinks:
   c. “I wanted to do something now
   d. I thought I could do it
   e. now ‘I see’ (have to think) that I can’t do it”
f. when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
g. X felt something bad like this
h. because X thought something like this
X was angry with Y

a. X felt something because X thought something
b. sometimes a person thinks about someone
c. “this person did something bad”
d. I don’t want this person to do things like this
e. I want to do something because of this”
f. X felt something like this
g. because X thought something like this

X was angry at Y

a. X felt something because X thought something
b. sometimes a person thinks:
c. “something bad happened”
d. because someone did (didn’t do) something
e. I don’t want things like this to happen
f. I want to do something because of this if I can”
g. when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
h. X felt something like this
i. because X thought something like this

Indignation

a. X felt something because X thought something
b. sometimes a person thinks:
c. “I know now: someone did something bad”
d. I didn’t think that someone could do something like this
e. I want to say what I think about this”
f. when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
g. X felt this
h. because X thought something like this

Fury

a. X felt something because X thought something
b. sometimes a person thinks about someone else:
   c. "something very bad happened
   d. because this person did something
   e. I don't want this person to do things like this"
   f. when this person thinks this, this person feels something very bad
   g. X felt something like this (for a short time)
   h. because X thought something like this

Rage

a. X felt something
b. sometimes a person thinks:
   c. "something very bad is happening to me now
   d. I don’t want this to be happening
   e. I have to do something now
   f. I don’t know what I will do
   g. I want to do something bad
   h. maybe something bad will happen because of this
   i. I don’t want to think about this (about what will happen)"
   j. when this person thinks like this, this person feels something very ad
   k. X felt something like this

Outrage

a. X felt something because X thought something
b. sometimes a person thinks:
   c. "I know now: something very bad happened to some people
   d. because some other people did something very bad
   e. I didn’t think these people could do something like this
   f. I don’t want things like this to happen
   g. I want to do something because of this
   h. I have to do something because of this”
   i. when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
   j. X felt something like this
   k. because X thought something like this
Appalled

a. X felt something because X thought something
b. sometimes a person thinks:
   c. “something very bad happened to someone
d. I didn’t think that something like this could happen
e. I have to think now: very bad things happen to people”
f. when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
g. X felt something like this
h. because X thought something like this

Shocked

a. X felt something because X thought something
b. sometimes a person thinks:
   c. “something has happened now
d. I know now: something very bad happened
e. I didn’t think that something like this could happen
f. I can’t think now”
g. when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
h. X felt something like this
i. because X thought something like this

A.1.4 Koromu anger-like words (Priestley, 2002)

Oru mei hekeni wera – ‘my insides are making fire’

a. I feel something because I think something
b. I say: something is making fire inside me
c. I say this because I want to say how I feel
d. sometimes a person thinks about someone else like this:
   e. “this person did something very bad
   f. I don’t want this person to do things like this
g. I want to do something bad to this person because of this”
h. When this person thinks this, this person feels something very bad
i. I feel something like this
j. because I think something like this

A.2 Semantic explications of happiness-like words in languages other than Romanian

A.2.1 English happiness (Wierzicka, 2011)

\textit{happiness}_1 \text{ (as in 'the pursuit of happiness', 'money doesn't bring happiness')} \\
\begin{enumerate}
\item it can be like this:
\item someone can feel something good for some time because this someone can think like this at that time:
  \begin{enumerate}
  \item ‘some good things are happening to me now as I want
  \item I can do many things now as I want
  \item this is good’
  \end{enumerate}
\item when this someone thinks like this, this someone can feel something good, like people feel when they think like this
\item it is good for this someone if it is like this.
\end{enumerate}

\textit{happiness}_2 \text{ (as in a moment of happiness)}
\begin{enumerate}
\item it can be like this:
\item someone feels something good at some time, like people can feel when they think like this:
  \begin{enumerate}
  \item ‘something good is happening to me now as I want
  \item I can do something now as I want
  \item this is good’
  \end{enumerate}
\end{enumerate}
A.2.2 French Bonheur (Wierzcka, 2011)

*bonheur*₁ (e.g. le Bonheur d’avoir des enfants’)

a. it can be like this:
b. something very good happens to someone at some time:
c. because of this, this someone can think like this for some time:
   d. ‘something very good is happening to me now
   e. this is very good
   f. things like this don’t often happen to people’
g. when this someone thinks like this, this someone can feel something very good because of this
h. it is very good for this someone if it is like this.

*bonheur*₂ (e.g. ‘quel Bonheur de vous revoir!’)

a. it can be like this:
b. someone feels something very good at some time, like someone can feel when this someone thinks like this:
c. ‘something very good is happening to me now
   d. this is very good
   e. things like this don’t often happen to people’

A.2.3 Russian sčast’e (Wierzcka, 2011)

*sčast’e*₁ (e.g. it’s a great sčast’e to live in this land)

a. it can be like this:
b. something very good happens to someone at some time
c. things like this don’t often happen to people
d. because of this, this someone can think like this for some time:
   e. ‘something very good is happening now
   f. this is very good
   g. things like this don’t often happen to people’
h. when this someone thinks like this, this someone can feel something very good because of this
i. it is very good if someone can think like this
j. it is very good if someone can feel like this.

**šćast’e**₂ (e.g. I experienced real šćast’e)

a. it can be like this:
   b. something happens to someone at some time
   c. this someone thinks something because of this at this time
   d. at the same time, this someone feels something very good
   e. people don’t often feel something like this
   f. this someone feels like people can feel when they think like this:
      g. ‘something very good is happening now
      h. this is very good
      i. things like this don’t often happen
      j. I didn’t think before that something like this would happen to me now
      k. I can’t want anything more now’

l. it is very good if someone can think like this
m. it is very good if someone can feel like this.
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