

Modest Grief in the Office of the Dead: A Case Study of Emotion Terms in Translations of the Orthodox Funeral Vigil

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Abstract. The aim of this paper is to consider the specific features of rendering ancient emotion terms and words connected with emotions into contemporary languages. The specific texts under study are the Great Litany and the prayer “God of all spirits and of all flesh” from the Byzantine Office for the Dead (its part is the Funeral Vigil): the Church Slavonic and Greek texts serve as the originals, and the translations are into Ukrainian, Polish and English. In religious contexts, ancient emotion terms usually contain psychic reactions and Christian associations which may have disappeared in modern usage. Besides, the emotions used in the funerary texts are never pathetic, but the positive and negative emotions are perfectly balanced. Special attention goes to the emotion of anger which acts as an ethical concept and serves as a synonym for divine punishment in mediaeval Slavonic cultures. The search for equivalents of emotion terms should go within two lines of reception: that of biblical lexis and that of patristic interpretation. Although the change of the meanings from physical rest to spiritual rest, death and other deathly associations is heavily dependent on the fundamentals of Christian theology, the exploration of the conceptual matrices of emotion terms discloses that even such universal emotions as fear and joy contain some space for the national interpretation of believers’ psychic states and the very Divinity. Moreover, translators have to remember that the conceptual matrix of emotion terms altered drastically after the Enlightenment, and the search for successful equivalents makes them insightful and creative

Keywords: *emotion term, liturgical translation, Office for the Dead, Funeral Vigil / Parastas, Eastern Christianity / Orthodoxy.*

Шмігер Тарас. Помірний жаль у Чині похорону: переклад термінів на позначення емоцій з православного Парастасу.

Анотація. Метою цієї статті є розглянути особливості відтворення стародавніх термінів на позначення емоцій та пов’язаних із ними словами сучасними мовами. Аналізованими текстами є Велика Єктенія та молитва «Боже духів і всякої плоті» з візантійського (православного) Чину похорону (його частиною є Парастас): оригіналами служать церковнослов’янський і грецький тексти, а переклади зроблено українською, польською та англійською мовами. У релігійному контексті стародавні терміни на позначення емоцій зазвичай містять психічні реакції та християнські асоціації, які не завжди присутні в сучасному вжитку. Крім того, емоції, використані в похоронних текстах, ніколи не бувають патосними, а позитивні та негативні емоції ідеально збалансовані. Особливу увагу приділено емоції гніву, яка виступає як етичне поняття і слугує синонімом божественної кари в середньовічних слов’янських культурах. Пошук еквівалентів термінів на позначення емоцій має відбуватися згідно з двома напрямків рецепції: біблійної лексики

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та патристичної інтерпретації. Хоча зміна значень від фізичного спокою до духовного спокою, смерті й інших смертельних асоціацій значною мірою залежить від основ християнської теології, дослідження концептуальних матриць термінів на позначення емоцій показує, що навіть такі універсальні емоції, як страх і радість, містять певний простір для національної інтерпретації душевних станів вірників і тлумачення самого Божества. Причому перекладачам варто пам'ятати, що концептуальна матриця термінів на позначення емоцій радикально змінилася після Просвітництва, а пошук вдалих еквівалентів стимулює їх бути проникливими й творчими.

Ключові слова: терміни на позначення емоцій, літургійний переклад, Чин похорону, Парастас, Східне християнство / Православ'я.

*Dedicated to the Ukrainian Soldiers
who paid the price of Ukraine's
Independence by sacrificing their brave and
virtuous lives.
Remember their deeds, eyes and graves.
They died for Free Ukraine.*

Introduction

Funerals are extremely emotional events, and emotionality is also expressed in the funerary text by the relevant set of emotion terms. Death is not only a tragic event of earthly life, but hope for a better – heavenly – life. This approach to death helps the Christian Church celebrate the saddest act of human life in a calmly joyful way. The contrast between folk mourning laments and ecclesiastical rites (covering oratory and musical parts) shows how the Church tries to ease the emotional burden of this event by directing a human to a more peaceful acceptance of the bereavement. The balance of using strong and weak, positive and negative emotions in various denominations and communities differs, but it is the key to the power of influencing believers' emotional intelligence.

Typically, even tactile perception can draw references and associations to the previous experience back in childhood: warm objects evokes “early experiences with caretakers who provide warmth, shelter, safety, and nourishment” (Williams & Bargh, 2008, p. 606). In the eschatological contexts, we also want to return to happy safe places, and the Church can help do it via using the emotion terms that are associated with these experiences.

Methodology

The study of emotional states in speech is what dominates in current research, and the focus on their verbalization covers wider circles of lexis (terms and evaluative vocabulary). The emotional aspects of communicative acts, pragmatics and semasiology are broadly and deeply summarized in two volumes of the collection “Handbook of the Sociology of Emotions” (Handbook, 2006; Handbook, 2014)

which testified to the scarcity of investigating the labelling and classification of emotions. The naming of emotions, which depends on their etymological origin, but reflects the historical dynamics of its semantic life, has enjoyed much less attention (see the existing literature and some pioneering ideas in Shmiher (2018)).

Emotionality in the text is permanently reiterated in translation research as a critic comes to the diversity of ways assessing readers' perceptual emotionality on the levels of associations, emotional vocabulary and the very emotion terms. Emotions turn out to be not only mental phenomena, but social practices as well. The society does help a speaker name and grade the range of their mental states evident in the variety of emotional events. The exploration or decoding of the very emotional states via emotion terms may look simple and is usually neglected. Actually, the decoding process is complicated and interesting, and it can bring unexpected conclusions. The aim of this study is to uncover the semantic parameters of emotion terms, which reflect speakers' emotional experience in verbal expression. Simultaneously, they are important for interpreting texts and speakers' experience in texts. Intercultural communication causes additional obstacles, as the experience is different not only between individual speakers, but also between communities. The perception of emotion terms can be studied successfully by conceptual modelling that covers both interpersonal codes and intercultural experience. Emotions as encoded practices can be scrutinized by applying the sociocultural model and the conceptual model which tightly connect the cognitive appraisal and sociocultural dimensions of emotional concepts.

A History of Texts

The study of emotion terms is exercised in the texts from the Orthodox Office for the Dead in Church Slavonic, Ukrainian, English, Polish and partially Greek versions. The dominant tradition is the Church Slavonic one, which is the original for numerous modern Orthodox Slavonic communities. The Greek text, which should have been the authentic original for the Church Slavonic translation, deviates in many places from today's approved texts. This fact is explained by the independent lives of the Churches and their shortening or alternating the text for their accepted praxis. This state of arts explains why translators use the Church Slavonic text (Евхологиѡн, 1646; Евхологиѡнъ, 1926) as the main one and refer to the Greek text (*cf* Funeral, 2011) only in special cases. The authored translations are some English ones (by Isabel Florence Hargood (Service Book, 1922)) and Polish (by Rev Henryk Paprocki (Euchologion, 2016)). The Ukrainian texts are approved by the Holy Synod of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church and they, like their English translations and some others, are unsigned. The texts collected represent three liturgical traditions according to the accepted and approved editions circulating in the liturgical life of Churches: first, the Greek Orthodox Church (Funeral, 2011); second, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the 17th century, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church (Евхологиѡн, 1646; Евхологиѡнъ, 1926; Требник, 2018; Требник, 2020; Order, 2012); third, the Russian Orthodox Church and the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church

(Требникъ, 2014; Service Book, 1922; Euchologion, 2016). The focal texts for study are the Great Litany and the prayer “God of all spirits and of all flesh”.

Results and Discussion

The Importance of Traditions and the Outer History of Emotions

The litany is constructed in such a way that it balances between the powerful negative and positive emotional words and the aim of this co-usage is the consequence of calmed emotional state. Actually, the key phrase is already in the beginning of the litany: ‘блаженный покой’. Church Slavonic ‘покои’ designates either the state of emotional, psychic peace (which is transformed into the later interpretation and sense ‘death-as-sleep’) or the place where a person can acquire such a peaceful condition. The development of the meaning from physical rest to spiritual rest, death and other deathly associations is directly connected with the essence of Christian theology.

The Russian tradition transformed ‘blessed repose’ into ‘blessed memory’ that immediately changes the leitmotif of the whole litany. Although the Patristic Greek ‘μακαρίτης’ associates with a dead person because of happy memories connected with them, the Kyiv tradition used to stress repose as the main value for afterlife and the necessity of exercising peacefulness in the earthly life, even in the drastic emotional events. Later in the litany the same number of negative emotions (tribulation, wrath, necessity, dread tribunal) is opposed by the same number of positive emotions (the realm of the living, the place of light, where all the saints and the just repose, unceasing joy). This litany is not found in newer and older Greek official orders of the dead that means Kyiv translators either used even older Greek manuscripts or designed it by themselves. The inner logic of the text is clear: the idea of repose is very important for the litany, and its authors and performers do not want to evoke excessive emotions among funeral participants. The Russians have modulated the text, but this ‘peaceful opener’ is lost and this loss is preserved in the translations by Hapgood and Paprocki.

Although these verbal formulae act like highly-authoritative texts of Judeo-Christian heritage, contradictory ways of perceiving and using them contribute to the diversity of intercultural interpretation. The ‘blessed memory’ in Polish (‘błogosławionej pamięci’) cultural space is seen as a Jewish symbol: ‘zikhroine livrokhe’. It is really interesting that this phrase entered the Polish lexical stock, though Ashkenazi Jews settled on a much wider territory. It really entered Polish culture so strongly that the Orthodox memory have no place in it as recorded by the dictionaries of Polish.

Once Eve Sweetser voiced a hypothesis that rhyming is also a way of conceptual and poetical blending for generating a very powerful aesthetical effect (Sweetser, 2006). This observation is applicable to the litany where the coexistence

of positive and negative emotions can have a modulating – and soothing – effect on listeners. It gives an additional spur to interpretation: thus, the ideal ‘realm of the living’ is the place without any ‘tribulation’; ‘the place of light’ is marked with the absence of ‘wrath’; ‘all the saints and the just repose’ as they have the ‘necessity’ of nothing; the greatest victory of the soul is when Christ’s ‘dread tribunal’ ends up with ‘unceasing joy’.

Ecclesiastical Emotions

The sociocultural parameters of assessing the translation of emotion terms has been taken from the sociological analysis by Stets and Turner (Stets & Turner, 2008) and attested for translation quality assessment in (Shmiher, 2018). The main ideas applicable for the context of penetrating the semantic structure of emotion terms focus on revealing their correlation with social structures and cultural experience. The objective is to identify how emotion terms render Christian experience and values and, thus, can evoke the required peacefulness during funerary procedures.

The promise of ‘unceasing joy’ sounds like an alien phrase in the Christian funerary text. The similar emotion term ‘ἀγαλλίασις’ in Patristic Greek renders strong, fervent joy of spiritual nature, which is associated with charity, grace, the visitation of the Lord and saint and even Resurrection. The term ‘εὐφροσύνη’ stands for joy after death and enjoyment by angels. The bookish Old Ukrainian lexeme ‘веселию’ was used for rendering those two Greek emotion terms. That is why the sense of spiritual joy dominates in written monuments, though it may have contradicted to the vernacular usage (fixed scarcely) where it denotes a wedding. In early Ukrainian translations, the lexeme ‘веселию’ was used to modify people’s mentality in order to make them feel spiritual joy. From the view point of a millennium-long written history of Ukrainian, this failed as in New Ukrainian, ‘веселість’ has more to do with carelessness and entertainment than the Christian idea of life after death.

It is not surprising that modern Ukrainian translators opted for the variant ‘радість’, which is strongly associated with pleasantness and comfort, but lacks Christian incorporation or gift. The Ukrainian translators chose the option ‘радість’, which historically contains both psychic satisfaction and Christian associations, though Christian associations are not well-manifested in contemporary usage, but can be regarded as a successful equivalent in translation. Simultaneously, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic translation (into English) chooses the variant ‘joy’, possessing the features of ‘a pleasurable state or condition; a state of happiness or felicity’ and being associated with ‘the perfect bliss or beatitude of heaven; hence, the place of bliss, paradise, heaven’. Thus, the tradition of Christian joy after death is rendered equally in Petro Mohyla’s and the UGCC’s Offices of the Dead.

The Russian Orthodox tradition transformed the litany and propagates Christ’s ‘оутѣшеніе’ which stands for the action of cheering or comforting which encloses

religious contexts as well. This term expresses an emotion, which is not so exultant as joy: that means it is more oriented at the listeners of the funeral vigil and it does not strongly promote the idea of extreme happiness of joining the Lord after death. This emotion is rendered as 'consolation' in English (by Hapgood) and 'pociecha' in Polish (by Paprocki) that accurately render the Russian tradition.

The Ukrainian and Russian traditions equally appeal to the emotion of fear, but the difference is the object of the fear: in the Ukrainian tradition, it is 'tribunal'; in the Russian one, it is 'throne' which chains to the power of God's instead of the emotional evaluation of a Christian. The Polish translation applies the bookish lexeme 'bojaźń' which is also used in the idiom 'bojaźń Boża' that means the attitude of accepting the greatness, power and holiness of God in comparison with human faultiness and sinfulness, conveyed in the desire to do good and avoid evil. This perception parallels the Christian understanding of non-sinful behaviour.

The emotional power of the tribunal / throne lies in the epithet 'страшный' which is rendered as 'awesome' (UGCC) or 'dread' (Hapgood). Both words developed complicated senses of fear and veneration from the simple subjective emotion of anxiety. The religious perception added the majestic connotation, which integrated tightly a subject's endangered impression of the unknown and their wish to express admiration of the authority. The dogmatic interpretation of a human's fearful condition is that God is not interested in the plain frightening of people, but also in manifesting God's power in order humans to act righteously. Today's semantic and distributional differences of 'awe' and 'dread' are not so far that both lexemes are good equivalents for the dogmatic emotion 'страшный'.

Why Anger?

In the litany, the happy place is a place without anger. The listener can easily interpret it as the place where a believer will not be angry. However, the logical implication is that anger can be expressed against the believer. This view has a deep dogmatic grounding, first of all based on the Bible where God's wrath is a synonym for judgement. Dogmatically, God's wrath is not a psychic concept (emotion), but an ethical one (punishment), and it always involves a believer's improper actions.

The conceptual modelling of emotion terms developed by Antypenko (1995, p. 8) describes the scheme of a situation (feelings; cause; subject; object), the plot (retrospective and prospective implications) and associations. The seeing of the emotion 'anger' via the prism of the whole plot can direct us to reveal an important domain of the emotion life connected with Christian eschatology: the Last Judgement. In Anglophone religious discourse, there are two main synonyms for the angry emotion: 'anger' and 'wrath'. The former emotion is used as the most general term; the latter is supported by the tradition of translating the funerary hymn 'Dies irae' as 'The Day of Wrath'. The contrastive table of the conceptualization of the two emotion terms clearly delineates their emotional and ethical essences.

Table 1
Conceptualization of the two emotion terms – Anger and Wrath

	Anger	Wrath
Feelings	a psychic state covering rage and suffering	a psychic state covering violent indignation and resentment
Cause	trouble, affliction, pain	unjust, mean, or unworthy actions
Subject	a human	a human OR: the Deity
Object	causative relations with other humans	causative relations with other humans OR: the Deity's reaction to the believer
Retrospective implications	improper behaviour	sinful behaviour
Prospective implications	injury and vengeance	punishment or vengeance as a manifestation of anger
Connotations	sorrow, trouble	passion
Cases	physical affliction or pain	acts of righteousness

Superficially, the emotion term 'wrath' looks stronger than 'anger', but the real power lies in its incorporation of ethical parameters which appeal to such high-authority categories like the Deity, Divine Law, Divine Punishment etc. This historical background makes it a good Christian equivalent for rendering the idea of God's anger for wrong – actual sinful and, thus, criminal – behaviour which is to be punished. This idea of Divine Punishment is very coherent in the text of the Funeral Vigil and relevant for describing Paradise as a place for righteous people (people who do not cause God's wrath and punishment).

In Middle Ukrainian mentality, the concept of anger/wrath is not divided into two: the lexeme 'ГНѢВЪ' designates both a psychic state covering rage and the ethical punishment of the Deity. The cause can be painful relations with other humans as well as unjust, mean, or unworthy actions, which call for Divine Punishment. The closeness of emotional and ethical parameters is explained by the predominant place of religious views in the social and cultural life of seventeenth-century Ukrainians. The idioms 'ГНѢВЪ ВѢЧНЫЙ', 'ГНѢВЪ БОЖИЙ', 'ГНѢВЪ ГОСПОДНІЙ' mean punishment from the supernatural forces. In the liturgical text, the phrase "скорбѣ, ГНѢВЪ и нужда" refers first of all to physical conditions of happy living after death. Thus, 'wrath' is a good equivalent for Church Slavonic and Middle Ukrainian 'ГНѢВЪ', although 'punishment' could also well perform the contextual function of this lexeme. In New Ukrainian, the role of 'ГНІВ' as an emotional and ethical amalgam has partially faded: the idioms are not recorded in the dictionaries, though their usage is not rare (except the idiom 'вѣчний гнів'). The tendency of drifting from the priority of religious writings activates primarily the stimulus of wrath-as-emotion, while wrath-as-punishment is not perceived as the result of the judgment of the deceased person's life.

The Polish counterpart ‘gniew’ follows the conceptual scheme of the Ukrainian lexeme: in the historical dynamics, the concept ‘gniew’ resembles English ‘wrath’ and Ukrainian ‘гнів’, indicating the semantic movement from a complex emotional and ethical phenomenon in the Late Middle Ages towards more emotional phenomenon. The ethical essence of this concept is manifested in the idiom ‘święty gniew’, but the Christian heritage of this word is not reiterated so often in contemporary Polish discourse. Besides, it did not have the explicit sense of punishment even in Old Polish, so today the lexeme ‘gniew’ is just treated as an emotion term, than a term connected with law and judgement.

Ancient Emotions and Modern Readers

In the prayer “God of all spirits and of all flesh”, the place of eternal rest is described in a double way: first, it is “a place of light, a place of verdure, and a place of tranquility”, but, second, it is a place “from which pain, sorrow and mourning have fled” (“ἐνθα ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη, λύπη καὶ στεναγμ”). The second description can be interpreted again both positively and negatively. Depending on the negation, this description indicates Paradise or Hell. Similarly, some emotion terms may also be ethical ones.

The Old Greek concept ‘λύπη’ contained the meaning of pain in the body and mind that enabled its ethical extension in the Patristic literature where it started denoting grief, especially grief for sins. The concept ‘ὀδύνη’ is very similar to the semantic structure of ‘λύπη’, though it was not used in Patristic writings, and its potential of grieving over sinful behaviour is not recorded. Thus, the original may mean the dynamic movement from physical and moral sufferings (‘ὀδύνη’) to Christian sufferings (‘λύπη’) which is the specification required for a pious Christian. The lexeme ‘στεναγμός’ (sighing, groaning) did not get the ethical or any additional Christian extension, and in the text, the third word is used for stronger feelings.

The phrase “болѣзнь, печаль и въздыханіє” written in the 1646 Service Book of St Petro Mohyla was ethical not only because of the context of usage and the context of the published source, but also because of the well-accepted Christian heritage: “болѣзнь” meant both illness, physical suffering, moral grief and – transfiguratively – heresy. Given its usage, it was often used in various religious contexts, supporting the ethical character of this lexeme. In New Ukrainian, this word has evaded, and the remnants of its usage indicate only illnesses. This is why the lexeme ‘болізьнь’ used in the accepted text in the UGCC is homage to Church Slavonic and Middle Ukrainian heritage, but is not dogmatic, as the basic idea of suffering is not even evoked primarily. The lexemes ‘печаль’ and ‘въздыханіє’ also contained some Christian associations connected with catharsis and remorse respectively. Their modern counterparts ‘печаль’ and ‘зітханья’ have drifted from the essence of deep ethical suffering, and today they are much closer to routine trouble (‘печаль’) or falling in love (‘зітханья’). The usage of the lexemes ‘мўка’ and ‘стражданья’ could make the text more oriented at the ethical description of life after death.

The contemporary Polish phrase “*boleść, smutek i westchnienie*” faces the same problems of transferring Christian heritage like the Ukrainian one. In today’s mentality, it does not evoke any specific associations with sins or any other punishable behaviour. It has an impressive semantic structure: the object or reason of suffering is followed by the reached psychic state of sadness and finalized by the outer sign. Although the outer sign (‘sighing’) can be misleading (its reason can be both suffering and love admiration), it is a very dynamic saying in the context of the whole prayer. Actually, this phrase in the Ukrainian form entered the general stock of sayings connected with death, and if Poland had been an Orthodox country, this phrase would have been similarly quoted very often disclosing a speaker’s Christian background.

In the English-language texts, the choice between ‘sickness’ (Hapgood) and ‘pain’ (UGCC) for rendering ‘*ὀδύνη*’ is definitely in favour of the latter: ‘sickness’ stands only for physical inability while ‘pain’ has the sense of punishment and suffering for a crime. In this perspective, Hapgood’s variant is person-oriented, and the option ‘pain’ is really a dogmatic word for the relevant original Patristic Greek interpretation. In the history of English, it was the word ‘pain’ that used to mean ‘the punishment or sufferings of hell (or of purgatory)’, though now this sense is regarded obsolete.

In Hapgood’s translation and in the UGCG translation, the Greek ‘*λύπη*’ is translated as ‘sorrow’ which has a tradition of being used in translations of Isaiah 53:3 where the prophetic phrase ‘Man of sorrows’ means Jesus Christ. In this perspective, the ‘biblical’ word is like a dogma, and it is possible to change it in the condition of accepting a specific translation of the Bible. In the translation approved by the Melkite Greek-Catholic Church, the second word of the verbal triad is ‘grief’ which is also used in the same biblical verse, but in modern limited usage, it designates a deep or violent feeling of regret for something lost or remorse for something done.

The third member of the triad – ‘*στεναγμός*’ – is rendered as ‘sighing’ (Hapgood) or ‘mourning’ (UGCC). The two words are rather close. ‘Sighing’ contains the component of emotional relief, which can be a word of support for mourners. Being ‘a ceremonial manifestation of grief for the death of a person’, ‘mourning’ is more powerful from the viewpoint of emotional connotations. The lexeme ‘mourning’ fits the stylistic dynamics of the Greek phrase quite well.

Conclusions

The analysis of the conceptual matrices of emotion terms proves that in the complicated conceptual structure of universal terms like emotions and even more or less unified dogmatic interpretation, there is always some place for the national perception of the Divinity. Despite their common biblical and dogmatic background, emotion terms still render the experience of a specific cultural community encoded in unique ways. In the historical perspective, some emotion terms were extremely close

in their meanings, but gradually difference grows. Actually, they were all closer to each other centuries ago, but now they acquire new experience and previous experience is lost. The larger the time-distant difference is, the larger the semantic difference is. This may be explained by the movement from theocentric mentality which had dominated before the Enlightenment, but the conceptual matrix of emotion terms restructured drastically afterwards.

The search for equivalents of emotions term in religious discourse should be based on two verifying principles which substitute one another: 1) some lexis is of biblical origin, and it is necessary to keep to the codes accepted in the existing translation(s); 2) some lexis comes from Patristic Greek writings, where it became dogmatic. Liturgy derived from the understanding and interpretation discussed in Patristic writings, so if there is a discrepancy between lexical options, the translator should start with Patristic Greek where the codes acquired new associations. Sometimes, liturgical texts contain biblical quotes, then the translator refers to the Bible, but in other contexts, they are to remember about the radical change of conceptual matrices existing before Patristic literature and as its result.

This point of attention is especially significant for emotion terms when they are not terms designating emotions, but designating other ethical notions. The standard sample is the case of 'wrath' which is often a 'punishment', but not a 'psychic state': thus, the substitution of 'wrath' for 'pain, punishment' can be considered successful and equivalent in specific translation cases.

Referring to retranslations, the translation historian should also be careful with identifying other translations as originals that will influence understanding the conceptual matrices of a specific liturgical traditions. Although the primary original of the Orthodox Office for the Dead did exist in Greek, each Church modify the *textus receptus* for its needs and dogmas. This is how the Church Slavonic text was transformed in different liturgical translations, and the historian is to remember what is right for one tradition may not be so for another. Hapgood's translation with the Russian mental background can be sufficient for the Russian Orthodox Church, but it is sometimes contradictory for the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, just because senses and concepts of cognate words have different dogmatic interpretation.

The above approaches to the exploration of emotion terms will help an analyst to penetrate the exchange of interpersonal and intercultural experience as well as the subtle beauty of literary communication and emotional manipulation. Traditionally, negative emotions are more popular among researchers, but the study of joy can reveal the mechanics of how Christian hymnographers wanted believers to behave morally via emotional modes (like 'calm joy' in opposition to 'crazy exaltation'). In religious discourse, the emotional balance is of primary importance, and it can block believers' unintentional wishes and bias to overinterpretation under aggressive emotional conditions of grief or joy. Similar is the effect of applying emotion term for targeted listeners' behaviour when receivers of time-distant literary texts or foreign-culture political speeches may misconstrue the stimuli encoded in the main body of a message, especially if the common cultural – for instance, Christian – *topoi* are not chosen efficaciously.

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