

A STUDY OF RESPONSES TO
RELIGIOUS TERMS

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. THE CONTEXT.	29
III. THE MEN.	35
IV. THE WORDS.	43
V. SUMMARY.	81
BIBLIOGRAPHY	84
APPENDIX A -- WORD SURVEY FORM.	90
APPENDIX B -- BIOGRAPHICAL DATA FORM.	91
APPENDIX C -- BIOGRAPHICAL DATA TABLE	92

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
I. Ages	37
II. Religions.	38
III. Education.	39
IV. Area of Longest Residence.	40
V. Responses to Stimulus Word "Heaven". . .	48
VI. Responses to Stimulus Word "Worship" . .	52
VII. Responses to Stimulus Word "God"	57
VIII. Responses to Stimulus Word "Bible" . . .	60
IX. Responses to Stimulus Word "Church". . .	63
X. Responses to Stimulus Word "Preacher". . .	66
XI. Responses to Stimulus Word "Priest". . .	69
XII. Responses to Stimulus Word "Pastor". . .	75
XIII. Responses to Stimulus Word "Hell". . . .	80
XIV. Biographical Data Chart (Appendix C) . .	92

INTRODUCTION

Study of religious words in English has proceeded along historical lines. Biblical scholars have wanted to know what Hebrew and Greek words meant in those tongues in order to translate them into English. A full statement of this development is in Dr. A. T. Robertson's Greek Grammar.¹ Partly as a result of these studies, English was seen to be a changing language. Its relationship to other developing languages became clearer. But research has now begun to ask what associations present day users have with religious terms.

Archbishop Trench, as early as 1851, published The Study of Words, from which grew his famous Synonyms of the New Testament, an exposition of the English meanings of Greek words nearly synonymous in the New Testament. Another result of Trench's interest in English words grew from a paper he read to the Philological Society in 1857, titled "Some Deficiencies in our English Dictionaries." That result was an interest in making historical dictionaries. By exercise of his intellect and position, he is called

¹A. T. Robertson, Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1934), "Introduction," p. 10.

with having exerted the impulse which led to the Oxford New English Dictionary.²

Among Bible scholars there continued the study of the history of Greek. At almost the same time that Trench was doing his studies, new fragments of First Century papyri, and ostraca were revealing the commonplace language of the people of that earlier day. There were letters from family members to each other, business letters, documents of lawyers, receipts, inventories, and memoranda of all sorts. Many of them seemed to be unconscious bits of the living speech reduced to writing. They gave an insight into the speech patterns behind the New Testament Scriptures. Moreover, they gave a fresh view of Greek, the Greek in which the New Testament had been written, directly opposite to the common idea held before. It became apparent that the Koine Greek was not a special "Holy Spirit language," but a social, commercial idiom used by writers of the Scriptures out of the mouths of people they lived among.³

Constructions which had been puzzling became lively

²Article unsigned, "Trench, Richard Chevenix," Encyclopedia Britannica (11th ed.), XXVII, 244-245.

³A. T. Robertson, Grammar of the Greek New Testament Introduction, pp. 3-137.

metaphors. Study and translation of the New Testament received fresh impetus. Verbs and substantives began to break the semantic patterns of the King James and Rheims-Douay translations. From an ecclesiastical language, the translators turned the new versions into English charged with the spirit of struggle, of "wrestling . . . against the world rulers of this darkness . . ."⁴ Phillips' translation of the New Testament has perhaps gone farthest in giving the vigor of the Koine.

To recover the original force of the words, in the English idiom, was the intent of the historical researchers, and translators. The new versions attest to the rich variety of their discoveries.

Alan Richardson has edited A Theological Word Book of the Bible, (New York: Macmillan Company, 1959), in which he gives the core meanings of the most frequently used words of the theological vocabulary. From his book were drawn the seventy-two words which were originally submitted to the population surveyed.

The late C. S. Lewis, especially in Studies in Words, (Cambridge: The University Press, 1960), and in Four Loves,

⁴Ephesians 6:12, American Standard Version.

(New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1960), examined classical and Christian religious uses of words expressive of kinds of love, of justice, law, and conscience. But he did not deal at any length with words examined in this paper.

In theological word studies, the interest is primarily historical: "What have these words meant?". The present paper is not historical; it is descriptive. It examined one hundred and seventy-three sets of responses to nine religious words, and collated the response words into groups of associations. Concepts began to be evident in clusters of associations. These concepts seemed to indicate meanings. Because the nature of meaning is far too complex to cover fully in such a report as this, much has had to be assumed. The assumptions are stated in the discussions. Statistical evaluation of the associations was outside the scope of the research. Frequency counts of the identical responses probably have no validity outside the context of the survey. However, within the limits of these one hundred and seventy-three sets of associations, frequency of the responses was the key to arriving at the basic concepts. Other possible meanings were noted and, in most cases, discussed. But associations ramify. They could not be pursued exhaustively.

The method used in taking the survey is presented in detail in Chapter II, under the "Context."

The nine words chosen represent terms referring to Deity, clerical offices, eschatology, ecclesiology, and verbal revelation in the Bible. It was expected that the stimulus words would evoke responses revealing varied associations, and these associations would tend to form clusters around a central core--or cores--of meaning. The clusters did appear, forming "constellations of meaning," as De Saussure predicted.⁵

Many of the core meanings were not new. Affirmations and negations of the propositions that God exists, that clerical offices are valid, that the Scriptures are the Word of God, that worship is a meaningful activity, and that relationship with God is possible, all appeared.

No attempt was made to determine whether these men were typical of the national population. Probably they were not. The Army induction process is itself an extensive screening. But the social context of communication applied to soldiers as well as to the civilian population. And there would seem to be no way for the soldier to get

⁵Ferdinand De Saussure, Course in General Linguistics (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959). First published at Geneva, 1915, by editors Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye. Pp. 126, 127.

his associative response except as some part of the larger social context, or from his own imagination.

Imagination and creative association are Philip Wheelwright's subject in The Burning Fountain, (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1954). And the basis of his reasoning in the chapter on "The Logical and the Trans-logical," is assumed here to be valid, i.e., logic has limits; scientific, statistical knowledge cannot know what is not measureable or numerable; a logic which can reach beyond measurements is needed to study emotional and mystical experiences. He has proposed his "principles of expressive language."⁶

The General Semanticists follow Korzybski in asserting that there is no meaning apart from a referent. If there is no objective, scientifically verifiable reality to refer to, then there is no meaning to the reference. Stuart Chase calls such references "blabs." Any reference to God as an objective reality would be, to such a semantic framework, a meaningless reference.

Words about God, or about belief in God, would be valid references, since men do have such beliefs and do require words to name the reference. Korzybski warned

⁶Philip Wheelwright, The Burning Fountain (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1954). pp. 60-75.

against referring to a word as though it were the object, or person, instead of being the name of the object or person, or the name of a fable. For Korzybski, God may be referred to in the same way as reference to the unicorn, validly as legend, but invalidly as reality. Objective, scientific reality was the only kind admissible to him. That there could be working meanings given through social contract he considered cause for reeducation.

A social contract is implicit in language. It requires accommodation of the speaker to the hearer, and an effort on the part of the hearer to understand and respond to the speaker. Awareness of word associations should make communication more effective, because it helps the speaker say what he means the hearer to hear him say.

There is no reason to assume that the hearer always hears what the speaker meant. When a speaker speaks and a hearer hears, and both are referring to the same referent, there has occurred a satisfactory use of a verbal symbol as a sign. Both have agreed that the sign stands for some reference. They have carried out a verbal transaction. Meaning is just such a transaction. "For the listener, the word is the sign, and without it the required reference does not occur."⁷

⁷C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, The Meaning of Meaning (New York: Harcourt, Brace Company, 1936. First published in 1923), p. 215.

The literature develops a graded polarity of views, from Erich Fromm at one end to the General Semanticians at the other. Erich Fromm says there is a primordial language which antedates all words. We all know this language in the unconscious levels of our minds. Our waking vocabulary is the camouflage of those desires and fantasies which the conscious levels of our minds will not admit. Further, Fromm says, our dreams are the eddying up of those fantasies. Myths and legends prove the truth of this view, he thinks. Dreams are the storehouse of those mythic icons, universal symbols which transcend the barriers of language and custom difference. Dreams have been the same for all men in all times and in all places.⁸ His is one pole on the axis of views of verbal meaning.

G. S. Lewis believed that every myth had somewhere, in some time, an objective reality, even gargoyles and dragons having been a part of an experience available to man, however distorted in the transmission. In his fictional trilogy, and in his allegorical novel about Psyche, Till We Have Faces, he explored dramatically some living myths.

Philip Wheelwright speaks of archetypal symbols which lend meaning to many kinds of metaphor. Father, mother,

⁸Erich Fromm, "Symbolic Language of Dreams," Language: An Inquiry Into Its Meaning and Function, Ruth N. Anshen, ed., (New York: Vol. VIII of Science and Culture Series; Harper and Brothers, 1957), pp. 188-200.

striving up, falling, bird flight, blood, sexual symbols, and others have a mythic quality which they lend to other symbols with which they are used. The context takes on the new associations and has a new meaning.⁹

W. A. Christian has traced five modes of religious reference which he says determine the meanings of religious words. They are: pointing at the object; giving examples; assigning regular effects, such as causation or logical sequences; assigning extraordinary effects, such as conditioned laws of nature, or miracles; and interpretation, which is the relation of parts to the whole, or the whole to the parts, or substance to attribute, or appearance to reality, or the ideal to the particular.¹⁰

The reference one intends determines the meaning of the word or words. One could intend to refer to God as objective reality, or one could intend to refer to God as subjective experience. The mode of the reference would determine the meaning.

Truth, Christian said, was discernible in religious utterance, but not through the mathematical, mechanical decision procedures of much statistical science. But

⁹Philip Wheelwright, Metaphor and Reality (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1962), pp. 118-119.

¹⁰W. A. Christian, Meaning in Truth and Religion (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 185.

"public facts" alone could not settle absolutely any basic religious question. A claim to truth is not, by its nature, logical; therefore a priori judgments are not the norms for deciding religious questions. Such questions are decided by mutually acceptable norms of judgment.¹¹

Apart from the question of truth in a religious statement, one could consider its meaning. Then rules of relevance, rather than norms of judgment, would be needed. These rules would ask, What is the sense of the utterance? Relevance involves dependency and gives form and direction to activity. Meanings are relevant to living, though they do not exercise truth's singleness of claim.¹²

Stephen Ullmann shares the view that one can speak of language and meaning without having to decide the truth of the meanings of the words used. We can ". . . eliminate the referent altogether. The student of language is concerned with words, not things; and . . . no direct relation obtains between the two The nature of the connection between reality and reflection is a problem for the psychologist and the philosopher; the philologist is

¹¹Christian, 48.

¹²Christian, loc. cit.

neither competent, nor called upon, to take a stand in this controversial matter. He can concentrate on . . . connecting the symbol with the thought."¹³

It was Ullmann's avowed purpose to offer a synthesis of the semantic approaches to give unity to linguistic science. His is an eclectic treatment of the problems of signification, meaning, association, semantic change, and linguistic structure. His is one of the best historical summaries of the study of semantics up to the date of the publication of his Principles of Semantics, (Glasgow: Jackson and Company, 1951).

Concerning the way meaning gets into language, he uses holophrastic constructions to show that the smallest unit of meaning is the word, such as "Help!," "Fire!". Such single words are meaningful with no syntax. The name of an object, action, relationship, etc. is the word; the sense is the mental content called up by the name. They are closely related, so that the name calls up the sense, and the sense calls up the name, when it is known. Meaning is the reciprocal relation between the name and the sense, which enables them to call up one another. Neither name nor sense is the actual referent, the object, etc., itself.¹⁴

¹³Stephen Ullmann, Words and Their Uses (London: Frederick Muller, Ltd., 1951, Third edition, 1960), p. 32.

¹⁴Stephen Ullmann, Principles of Semantics (Glasgow: Jackson Son and Company, 1951), p. 70.

The essential elements in meaning are : speaker, listener, symbol (word, or picture, etc.) the thing signified.¹⁵ There are essential meanings, and contextual meanings. Ullmann pointed to the ability to build dictionaries as another evidence that words can have meaning in isolation from context. The context offers an applied meaning.¹⁶ This is not the place to go into his detailed treatment of the ways words change their meanings, and the stages of ambiguity by which changes occur.

Ushenko, representing the theory of linguistic fields of tension, said that ". . . words are ambiguous and unmeaning because of an excess of meaning and not because of lack of meaning."¹⁷ Context creates fields of tensions which draw other words to fill places in those fields. Poets find the right word by exploiting these fields. Literature operates effectively because these fields are active.¹⁸

Richard P. Blackmur has taken this idea of the pregnant ambiguity of words, saying, "Half the labor of writing is to exclude the wrong meanings from our words; the other half is to draw on the riches which have already been put

¹⁵Ullmann, Principles, p. 68.

¹⁶Ullmann, Principles, p. 98.

¹⁷A. P. Ushenko, The Field Theory of Meaning (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1958), p. 142.

¹⁸Ushenko, p. 172.

into the words"¹⁹ "Every thought comes out of silence and must be translated into verbal thought. In so doing, it does not mean quite the same."²⁰ "Meaning is what silence does when it gets into the words."²¹

Charles W. Morris speaks of paradox as resolving ambiguities in the language of mystic experience. The nature of such an experience is that of being at one and the same time utterly isolated from all mankind and from any awareness of self, yet more keenly aware than ever of all reality and of self lost in that wideness. The language in which such an ambivalent experience is recounted would have the double viewpoint of the experience which it tried to communicate. Words can only give any experience partially and piecemeal. All cultures and all eras have noted the similarities of language in which men have tried to tell of mystic experiences. There would seem to be indicated a reality to express.²²

To the scientist, words are predictive symbols. Being predictive, they deal with phenomena in parts only. The mystic is dealing with an experience of wholeness. His cannot be language with meanings used as predictive symbols.

¹⁹Richard P. Blackmur, "The Language of Silence," Language: An Inquiry Into Its Meaning and Function, Ruth N. Anshen, ed., (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), p. 39.

²⁰Blackmur, 151.

²¹Blackmur, 140.

²²Charles W. Morris, "Mysticism and Its Language," Language, p. 344.

He, therefore, employs paradoxes to embrace as much as possible of the wholeness. All mundane articles and words take on new meanings for him.²³ From these experiences there are derived "post language signs." Just as a man looking at the points of light in the sky has learned to identify them with heavenly bodies out in space, so the words telling of a mystic experience are identified with transcendent concepts and are post language signs.²⁴

Ruth Nanda Anshen follows in the tradition of Ferdinand De Saussure. Her emphasis is upon the social contract implicit in the use of language. Meaning is constantly reaching toward universality, and never attaining it. Two factors are at work in this process: spontaneity of the specific reference, and organization.²⁵ "Words are promises. . . . To speak means to commit oneself. . . ."²⁶

Similar in some ways to the view of Ushenko is that of Kenneth Burke. He says that concepts have both essential and existential aspects. What is essential may be discovered only after the existential has been experienced. He uses the example of an apple. "Our experience is with

²³Morris, 187.

²⁴Morris, 180.

²⁵Ruth N. Anshen, "Language as Communication," Language: An Inquiry Into Its Meaning and Function, p. 344.

²⁶Anshen, 352.

an apple. If we are given to meditation, we conceive 'appleness' the essentials in which an apple differs from everything non-apple in all creation. The essential 'appleness' was in time first, before the existential apple which we saw and began to think about. The essence is implicit in the fact. The perfect is implicit in the extant. The platonic idea exists in its archetype."²⁷ He goes on to say that there are mythic elements and logical elements bound up in all meanings. The "linguistic approach leads readily into both without being confined to either."²⁸

Meaning for Burke exists as a wholeness, but perception of meaning is linear, divided, temporal. This linearity in our perception of the wholeness of meaning makes our thinking other than whole. This temporal manner of thinking, rather than any reality, causes us to conceive of sin, of divisions, and of the need for the whole religious vocabulary. For the religious words are attempts to describe experiences which are only apparent. They derive from the finite nature of man's plight, and the piecemeal quality of language.

²⁷Kenneth Burke, The Rhetoric of Religion (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), p. 25.

²⁸Burke, Rhetoric of Religion, p. 258.

Words to Burke are not always meaningful then. They may express feelings for a context in which some word would seem to be proper. But they may have nothing to symbolize-- a symbol without a symbolism.

For Burke, the supernatural at work in nature is an anomaly. For anything to enter nature makes it a part of nature; it is then no longer either unnatural or supernatural; it is natural.²⁹ And nature is a single "Allness"; Creator and Creation exist together.

Burke is trying to maintain a philosophical integrity between: 1. the Greek insight of an ideal concept which is other than its manifest phenomenon, and 2. the Hebrew insight of the unity of all nature. Mr. Burke finds a polarity coming into meaning. The positive assertion contains within itself its own negation, he concludes. This is made a fundamental "logological" concept. He dramatizes it in a dialogue, which he calls a monologue, between God and Satan. In it he has Satan speak of God as though they were one. Like Whitman in "I Chant The Square Deific," he has, not a Trinity, but a Four-person God who is all one. There can be no heresy in such a view. "Logology looks upon 'evil' as a species of the negative; and looks

²⁹Kenneth Burke, Rhetoric of Religion, p. 286.

upon the negative as a sheerly linguistic invention . . . like an eclipse."³⁰ His view is much more complex than the Hebrew Scriptures which look upon evil as functional, rather than philosophical, opposition to God's work. Burke is struggling toward wholeness in meaning, perceived with the equipment of human partiality. He could resolve many of his problems by allowing for the reality of relationships.

No one has done any more to stimulate thought on semantics than C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards in Meaning of Meaning (New York: Harcourt and Brace Company, 1923). They tried to bring order into semantic terminology and develop a "Science of Symbolism." For them, a sign is the simplest observation; it is the object or relation, or act. The sign is the thing, the referent. The thought is the interpretation an observer makes in his own mind of the referent. The reference is that thought. The word or picture, or sounds in which the thought is expressed is the symbol. Their Triangle of Reference is well known. It assumes that there is no relevant connection between the referent and the symbol, directly, but only through the reference or thought. The system is carefully thought out, but it does not fully reconcile certain facts.

³⁰Burke, Rhetoric of Religion, p. 199.

For example, Canon VI of Symbolism says that "All possible referents together form an order, such that every referent has one place only in that order."³¹ But there are many areas of reference in which two referents overlap. The referent which is symbolized in the reference red may be applied to the referents which are symbolized in the reference vermilion and again in crimson, and again in scarlet, but crimson is not equal to scarlet, nor scarlet to vermilion, nor vermilion to crimson. The word red is occupying at least three places. And depending upon the ability to discriminate and name, and think of, other shades of color as referents, there could be many more referents occupying the same place as the referent red. It would seem that any larger scale reference will overlap references to narrower scale referents. Ogden and Richards did not deal with these levels of reference as fully as more recent studies have done.

But Korzybski does deal with them in his theory of levels, or orders, of abstraction. The referent, or object, or relation, or state is the lowest level of abstraction. The reference to that object by naming and pointing at it is the next level of abstraction. A reference to the name makes the name, or word, the new referent on a still higher

³¹Ogden and Richards, Meaning of Meaning, p. 106.

level of abstraction. References to words, as words, in a more general way, would be a still higher level of abstraction. And generalizations would be abstractions of a high order indeed. References to these generalizations such as Freedom, Unity, Beauty, etc., as though they were entities would be, for Korzybski, an abuse of language, because of the tendency to think of high order abstractions as having identity in themselves, and an existence apart from our subjective thinking. He does not himself appear to believe in a transcendent God. But his system makes it possible to speak of God, as one would of a unicorn. These are references on a level of abstraction several times removed from the referent. The speaker has thought about the word naming a postulated reality. The word then is the reference on that level of abstraction. If one thinks of the thought about the meaning of the word, that becomes another level of abstraction, etc.³²

John Dewey emphasized experience of an object or relation as the means by which specific associations attach to words. But the generalized meaning which a word has for us it gains through our repeated experiences and through its use by other people. ". . . its habitual recurrent character gives the meaning constancy, stability,

³²Alfred Korzybski, Science and Sanity (Lancaster: Pennsylvania; The International Non-Aristotelian Library Publishing Company, 1933), p. 384.

consistence . . . takes it out of the fluctuating and wavering"33

This is the order in which a person develops the awareness of "appleness" from the experiences with one apple, two apples, etc., as Burke has pointed out. But meaning does not inhere in the words, nor their syntactical context only. Meaning involves attitudes. "Besides symbolizing a reference, our words also are signs of emotions, attitudes, moods, the temper, interest or set of the mind in which the references occur. They are signs in this fashion because they are grouped with these attitudes and interests in certain looser and tighter contexts."34

The attitude of the speaker to his audience, whether it is one of amity or hostility, is one of the emotional elements which condition the meanings of words as used, Ogden and Richards point out. In this survey, the attitude of the soldiers to the chaplain undoubtedly influenced the responses, though there is no way to distinguish sharply what the influences were. They were indicated in a general, ambiguous way, in the patterns of each individual's responses to the various words.

³³John Dewey, How We Think (Boston: D. D. Heath and Company, 1910), p. 125.

³⁴Ogden and Richards, Meaning of Meaning, p. 223.

Another of the emotional elements of meaning, from the list of Ogden and Richards is: our attitude toward the referent. Responses to such words as pastor, priest, preacher revealed associations from the Elmer Gantry variety to living saint. One response gave the name of a pastor, specifying the general term to a specific referent in mind as the man responded. Often attitudes of affection, of distrust, etc. were discernible.

The intention of the speaker influences the meanings of the words, say Ogden and Richards. That was not as evident in this survey. Some of the soldiers apparently ascribed to the speaker the intent to lead in worship on this occasion. Speaker intention has reference to the habitual, more fully assessed intention of the speaker. In less formal, more conversational verbal exchanges, the intention is more quickly, flexibly assessed. And among peers, there is a sharper focus of the emotional picture of word meaning. Friends often reverse the meanings of words by manipulating the elements of intention. When this feat is attempted by strangers, the response is "When you say that, smile!" Between friends, soldiers call each other the most obscene names, and they serve to reveal, and strengthen, the bond of trust. Use of familiar terms for the pastor, even for God, Himself, did not appear to be intended as irreverent, but as a use of intention to

reveal trust, and to ask for a mutual trust. Perversity of expression would seem to have a whole new vocabulary created by inverting the direct reference vocabulary of the more prosaic usage.

Meaning is a highly subjective quality. But associations are objectively discernible. Charles E. Osgood's research shows that attitude and meaning are not the same. Attitude is evident in the evaluative factors. But the "greater the emotional or attitudinal loading of the set of concepts being judged, the greater the tendency of the semantic framework to collapse into a single combined dimension."³⁵ In general, the Osgood findings revealed that such factors as evaluation, potency, activity were involved in associations. A high degree of all three factors indicated a high attitudinal, emotional loading. Other factors, such as tautness, stability, novelty, and receptivity were explored by Osgood, but his group did not find them as reliably checked as the good-strong-active factors.

Associations are not less complex than meanings; and meanings are made of associations by organizing and systematizing. Associations include the memories of all our past experiences with the object or person or relation or

³⁵Charles E. Osgood, Measurement of Meaning (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1957), p. 74.

activity which a word names, and our memories of all the past uses of that word. Occasions upon which we heard the word, or saw it, are a part of our context for that word. The attitude of the speaker, and the attitude we held or held to him constitute a part of the context of our associations with that word. The present occasion on which the word is used, and the syntax, all influence the associations likely to be called up. Total past and immediate experience of the hearer constitutes his context. Only a small part of that totality is availability to any researcher. This study attempted to reach only such factors as age, religious preference, education, family education and religion, foreign languages used by the soldier and his family, his geography, and reading habits. These are more fully discussed in the remaining chapters.

The viewpoint was that words have whatever meanings they derive from the communication transaction, and whatever meanings they derive from the whole context of experiences by which these men acquired these associations with them, and whatever meanings the whole human context has deposited in them. That there would be large areas of ambiguity in the meanings attached, was expected. But patterns were sought: identification, and attitudes, between speaker and hearer; between hearer and the referent symbolized; relations between referents; between hearer and

context, his religious background, language fluency, educational level, and geography. Predication and substitution were keys to interpreting the patterns.

Because the words were religious words, it was possible that there would be strong emotion in the responses. And the military setting was expected to offer its contextual color, especially to the words which have hierarchical connotations. All these expectations were borne out, but in ways not exactly predictable. Still other patterns which could not have been anticipated appeared. These have been discussed in connection with the words themselves.

Gathering of the information was done with as nearly controlled uniformity as possible. The men were interviewed in small groups of one, two, up to five. But this became so time consuming that three groups of thirty to thirty-five were surveyed. All received the same instructions; that the survey was an attempt on the part of the chaplain to find any association which religious words had. They were not to sign their names to the papers; they were to write down their first reaction without regard for whether it seemed to them to make sense; they were to go on to the next word and not consider any further the word to which they had already written their response; that there were no right or wrong response words; that any word

or group of words they might write would be all right. The biographical data sheet was shown to them, and its use explained. Questions were called for, and any about the method of recording the response were cleared up, but all questions of word meanings were answered with, "That is up to you; put down just what you think of."

The physical environment varied. Some of the men were in the field on training problems, sitting in tents, or on artillery pieces, or on the ground. Some were in day-room lounges; some in barracks, on their bunks. A few were in the chapel lounge, where the men had come to write letters and read. The larger groups were in the mess halls and the training class rooms.

All knew the unit chaplain as teacher of monthly classes in ethics and morals, a required attendance class in "Character Guidance" given to each soldier each month, and for which the unit chaplain is the instructor. His relationship is many-sided. He is confidant and advisor, pastor and preacher leading worship, a figure representing authority of the church and of the officer corps of the Army. The chaplain wears the uniform and insignia of his rank (Major, in this case), and of his religion (a cross for this chaplain). He was known to be Protestant, Southern Baptist, and since he had served with these men for a year, many personal details of their lives were known to him, and many of his were known to them.

The small groups were all asked about their willingness to help with the survey, and agreed, with apparent interest to the point of mild enthusiasm. Of the larger groups, there was no certainty that they volunteered. But these sessions were during the slowed training season of the week before Christmas, when boredom is a hazard to those who have not left for Christmas leave. Unless the chaplain was deceived by appearances, they seemed to be glad to escape seeing more training films, and to have an opportunity to be a part of something they thought might be a meaningful study. The almost complete filling out of all the papers would seem to bear out the sense of enthusiasm which the chaplain supposed he observed.

The list originally included seventy-two words. And the men responded to almost all these. But of that list, only nine are included in this paper. They are:

HEAVEN
 WORSHIP
 GOD
 BIBLE
 CHURCH
 PREACHER
 PRIEST
 PASTOR
 HELL

These were chosen because results of an earlier survey indicated that there would be more specific responses to them than to words for virtues, such as faith, hope, love, patience, faithfulness, humility; or to the personages such

as angels, demons, etc.; or to the technical words such as salvation, regeneration, sanctification, etc. The responses were specific.

The survey was administered first orally, with the chaplain speaking the stimulus words and the men writing their response word, or phrase, in a blank form given them. (See Appendix A). After all the list had been covered twice, to allow for any blanks to be considered and filled, the men were then asked to turn the sheet over. They had the same list with a blank beside each word. They were asked to write their responses, at their own pace, and without bothering about what they had put on the other side of the paper. If each man had put a different response to the printed and to the spoken stimulus words, there might have been 346 responses. There were no such number, of course. Most responded the same, whether the stimulus word was spoken or printed.

The method was not intended to be used as a statistical study. Use of the figures for statistical differentiations would lead to errors. Every response was listed in the collations, whether it appeared once or twice from a man's paper. And in many cases, one man's response yielded two or more meanings. When the stimulus word God was spoken, a compound response such as Everlasting Father was counted under both Father and Eternal. A response such as

Heavenly Father was collated as Father and Heaven. This study sought inclusive meanings, and patterns; it was not concerned with exact frequencies of the responses. Counts have been made only to give relative frequencies in a general way.

Evaluation of the responses, and arrangement of the concepts in the patterns reported here, was done by the same chaplain who administered the survey. The evaluations are partly subjective. No absolute authority has been claimed for them. If they serve to reduce by even a little the semantic distance from the pulpit to the pew, from the lectern to the student chair, they will have served their purpose.

CHAPTER II

THE CONTEXT

The context for this survey was not syntactical, but environmental, and personal. Army life is not normal life for young men. It introduces stresses emotional and moral which color their vocabulary. They "sweat out" a letter from home, or from a girl friend. They depend upon new personal relationships to fill the family roles. They often react to persons in authority as to a father. Their reaction to the chaplain is especially noticeable as a father-son relationship. To Roman Catholics this is overt and formally recognized by the title "Father" with which they address the priest of their faith; but they use this title with the Protestant Chaplain as well. And the Protestant soldiers indicated the same feeling in less stylized ways. They expressed the feeling by lingering to discuss general or personal matters after the survey was finished. Some reacted negatively as to a father who was an implicit threat. They finished the survey, and stood at a distance afterward, seeming to translate emotional distance into spatial distance. It would have been interesting to have been able to make some key to their papers to see if there were also semantic distances there. But no such keys were marked.

Because the chaplain was a clergyman and the men were told that these were religious words, his clerical office

formed part of the context. There probably were pre-symbolic responses as a result. The interviews probably had for some of the men an aura of a worship service. For some others there may have been the element of reward, or punishment, implicit in the occasion, and the relationships. For Roman Catholics, there may well have been an implicit need to defend the faith from the Protestant chaplain. The one "atheist" revealed in his responses a defensiveness which could be either personal, or general, either the effect or the cause of his "atheism."

One evidence of emotional elements in the responses arose around the stimulus word hell. A few of the men responded with Army. A few responded with the name of their individual unit. That the units in which these men were serving had at that time undergone changes of command, and were experiencing a measure of disorder, seemed related to another concept of hell, as chaos. This illustrates the environmental context as an element in the associations given, and thus, in the meanings attributed.

There may have been no referent for any of these words in the experience of some of the men. They left blanks among the longer seventy-two word stimulus-response chain. The group who did respond seemed to have some reference, either pre-symbolic or symbolic or "post-language" for the stimulus words. Yet, if there had been no real (to the men

who responded) referent, then he may yet have referred to the situation in which he had heard the word before. If there were any similarities in the survey situation to suggest the associations of church going, or of religious instruction, or any other context in which he had formerly heard the word used, then he may have responded with what he believed to be the appropriate word. This is not psitticism as Ogden and Richards call it.³⁶ It may not be a parrot-like response at all. It may be a response to the speaker, to the situation, or to a readiness for an experience which the soldier had not yet had. This presymbolic use of the words is not really distinguishable in such a limited syntactical context as these papers furnished. They were close to silence and its unlimited context. More delineating words and qualifiers might narrow the associations by repetition of the essential elements. Redundancies of a communication evoke and reinforce the pattern of a concept or meaning. The most that could be done with this limited context was to seek associations and derive from them possible meanings. No claim to having found the exact meanings intended by the soldiers is made.

Yet this very ambiguity made a freedom of response.

³⁶Ogden and Richards, Meaning of Meaning, 215.

Since there were no right or wrong responses, the men freely gave associations which at first glance, and taken in single pairs of stimulus-response, appeared to have no relationship to religious words at all. Of the other sixty-three among the seventy-two words, one was holy. One man responded with Moses. Holy Moses. Was he offering an expletive, or a beatification? Another stimulus word was Glory. A man responded with Be! Glory Be! With such freedom of response there were bound to be some unusual associations recorded. For a complete list of words used, see Appendix A.

Another element of the situational context is the fact that the speaker was speaking to several listeners in each interview, and in the course of the survey, to 173 listeners. Their responses, however, were addressed all to only one listener, the chaplain. What effect this had on the responses was not determined.

The largest context of all, the total experience of each man, was only barely touched. Biography was listed to the extent of place of longest residence; age; education level; foreign languages spoken by the man or by his parents; his religion, and that of parents; education of parents; and his reading habits. An attempt has been made to find correlations among these elements, and between such factors and the responses. Such as have been seen are discussed with the words to which they pertain. For a

copy of the Biographical Data Sheet, see Appendix B.

The experience which many consider most important of all was not mentioned on the data sheet, because it was felt that it would be so variously interpreted that it could not be assessed meaningfully. "Have you ever had any experience of personal conversion, or Meeting God?" The most conventional vocabulary is transformed in its intensity, and richness of interrelation of concepts between persons who believe themselves to have undergone such a "mystic" experience. They gain a referent for words describing God, and relations to Him. Such referents are no longer abstractions, but concrete experiences. The words used to describe such relationships are not high order abstractions, but very near to the experience.

This is true whether or not an interpreter allows the objective reality of the experience. If the persons using the terms believe the experience real, and speak to another whom they believe to accept the reality of the experience, religious vocabulary moves away from formal stimulus-response combinations. Among pietists the religious vocabulary takes on paradoxically physical, even sexual, terms to describe the spiritual phenomena of mystic experience. It is a massive semantic change, apparently.

But that information was not asked for. Nor was it assumed that any religious group would have a higher proportion of persons who had had such mystic experiences.

Men of all religions have reported having had such experiences. And they report them in remarkably similar terms, from every area and era.³⁷ But since they are not presently predictable, it appears impossible to study semantic change before and after such an experience.

Whether the nervous system of a person is changed by his semantic changes, as Korzybski feels,³⁸ or not, the relationships of the words in his vocabulary to each other seem to him changed, and thus, his equipment with which he makes and maintains contact with the world around him is transformed.

A study which had access to such factors in the experience of the subjects would be able to weigh the associations with a fuller context, and could reasonably expect to come closer to religious meanings, or meanings of religious words. This was not such a study.

³⁷ Charles W. Morris, "Mysticism and Its Language," Language: An Inquiry Into Its Meaning and Function, p. 183.

³⁸ Alfred Korzybski, Science and Sanity (Lakeville, Connecticut: International Non-Aristotelian Library Publishing Company, 1933), p. 107.

CHAPTER III

THE MEN

The men were soldiers of the First Infantry Division stationed at Fort Riley, Kansas. They were assigned to the Division Artillery units. While there is no specific policy of assigning men of higher abstracting ability to artillery units, there seem (from comparison with a former study) to be more of them on duty there than in one infantry unit surveyed. These artillerymen were able to handle religious words with more specific and varied associations than infantrymen. But they had more education than the group among whom the similar study was done two years earlier. The earlier group were infantrymen, and had a median age one year younger. This artillery group left fewer blanks in the survey response form and showed a wider reading range. They were not typical of the national population, it is believed.

Army induction requirements are a screening process which had already eliminated all with less than a fourth grade education or its equivalent. They all were physically able, in excellent health. They had no disabling emotional or mental handicaps or illnesses. They had, none of them, any known criminal record. This is assumed from the Army induction standards.

Soldiers in this group were younger than the Army average. Most were enlisted men of the lowest four grades. A few were of grade E-5 (Sergeant) and even fewer of grade E-6. There were not over seven men of grades E-7 through E-9. But the older men in lower grades had less education. The reason for this is that men with less education tend to remain longer in the lower ranks, possibly due to less efficient performance of duty and to the very same character qualities which prevented them from continuing their education. Character, education, and rank are generally related in the Army. Opportunity to continue education in service is offered, at every level. Those who take less advantage of the opportunity remain longer in the lower ranks. The report contains no responses from commissioned officers.

Appendix C contains all the biographical data. It reveals that the men were predominately protestant, of the age 20-25, with nearly half being high school graduates. Geographically, over half were from Midwestern states. Tables I-IV give extracts from Appendix C for convenient reference and comparison.

No patterns of association appeared to be based on geography or age. However, the study was not attempted on a close statistical basis. There may have been statistically meaningful data which were not evident to this researcher for lack of training in that field.

TABLE I

AGES

Over 40	7
30-39	18
26-29	15
22-25	73
21.	26
20.	15
19.	10
No age given.	9

Total

173

TABLE II
RELIGIONS

Roman Catholic	49
Baptist.	41
Protestant (No denomination)	21
Methodist.	18
Lutheran	13
Christian (Disciples).	6
Presbyterian	5
No religion.	4
Assembly of God.	3
Church of God.	2
Evangelical and Reformed	2
Pentecostal.	2
Blank (No entry)	2
Congregational	1
Church of Christ	1
Episcopal.	1
Nazarene	1
Jewish	1

Total	173
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TABLE III
EDUCATION
(YEARS OF SCHOOLING)

16 years	1
13-15 years.	15
12 years	83
9-11 years	53
8 years or less.	15
No answer.	6
<hr/>	
Total	173

TABLE IV
AREA OF LONGEST RESIDENCE

Midwest	94
Southeast	34
Northwest	14
Southwest	17
Far West	9
Virgin Islands	1
Germany	1
Guam	1
No answer	2

Total

173

Religion of the user was a more noticeable factor in his associations. This is studied more closely in dealing with the words themselves, but it is useful to say here that the Roman Catholic men had a more nearly homogenous response pattern for some of the words than did the Protestants.

Level of education did correlate with the number of words responded to. Men of higher education left few blanks on their papers; men of less education left proportionately more. No attempt was made to form a curve or plot of this.

Foreign language ability did not seem to make very much difference in the use of the words. On one paper a Spanish American responded to the stimulus word Preacher with English. But no general patterns developed.

The fact that these men were in The Army did make a difference in their responses. On the issue of authority, they were very alert. It is not entirely the military hierarchy which sensitized them to the over and under relationship, but they were acutely aware of it. In one of the words not examined in this particular paper, but included on the survey, Pride, the men did not give the usually deprecatory responses at all. They responded with many of the slogan words with which The Army seeks to inculcate unit pride. Again, the stimulus word, Hell,

had a highly specialized meaning for many of them. At least ten men responded with Army or with the name of their particular unit. Two more responded with confinement, which is a special usage meaning disciplinary confinement in the unit guard house or the Post Stockade. In at least one other case, the response to the word Pastor there were the words Chaplain and Chaplain Labunoo. While the title of an Army chaplain may be variously used, as Father, Pastor, etc., it is officially Chaplain, without regard to his rank or denomination. Indeed, the only unusual note in its appearing among the responses is that it did not occur more than it did. The word was purposely omitted from the list of stimulus words to prevent the person of the chaplain administering the survey from being intruded any more than necessary. That relationship to the men has been discussed under the chapter "The Context" above.

Race was not recorded, but there were Negroes, Caucasians, Mongolians (and American Indians).

CHAPTER IV

THE WORDS

Here are given nine of the seventy-two words on the survey. These substantives (Worship was also used as a verb) were chosen because they have frequent use in religious conversation, and from the pulpit. Their associations indicated attitudes to authority; to reward and punishment; to fear and guilt; to clergy and church; and above all to God.

Meanings developed in clusters of associations. This is a record of the associations and meanings.

1. HEAVEN

In English this word has had three core meanings: (a) an expanse above the earth in which the weather phenomena take place, the troposphere; (b) the visible universe of moon, sun, stars; (c) the abode of God, and the persons and attributes associated with Him and with the place or state of His abiding.

All these uses were found in this survey. But by far the largest number were among the third usage. The most frequent responses related Heaven to God, and eternity. This metonymic response indicated that one of the qualities of Heaven is relationship with or to God, as seen in the responses: God's Kingdom, City of God, Paradise

of God, and many other compounds joining the Name of God with some predicative or attributive word.

Duration was implied in the responses everlasting, Eternal, eternity, hereafter, after life, and Life forever. But New Testament writings indicate there is more than quantity in Eternity; it speaks of a difference of quality. Eternal Life extends to earthly life also. But in this particular survey, none of that could be discerned, partly from lack of syntactical context. There is no way to know whether these men would have developed this distinction or not. The association duration is explicit.

Condition or state of blessedness is expressed in such responses as happiness, rest, for good people, for straight people, glory, good life, salvation, peace, reward, something to look forward to, paradise, goal, wish, ecstasy, ideal, and pretty. The blessedness is differentiated as to beneficiary in the use of expressions like for good people. But the place-space associations add the idea of a place of blessedness to that of a state of blessedness.

Spatial expressions included City of God, place of reward, a better place, an ideal place, Paradise, place where God is, God's home, home, a place of rest, happy place, place for straight people, place for righteous people, Universe. This last is an example of the second

use common in English, "The Universe and the heavenly bodies."

Besides relationship with God, there was a group of associations with the other persons of Heaven angels, Good people, righteous people, straight people, wife and children, home.

There were associations with the culmination of a striving or fulfillment as goal, reward, highest, something to look forward to, Promised Land.

And the possibility of another outcome to life was noted in the antonym hell.

Death was associated with Heaven in the responses death, die, place to go when you die, life after death, where good people go when they die.

The oldest use of the idea of a heaven is an expense. Such a usage was shown in the associations highest, Earth, upstairs, up in heaven, up with God, above, where God lives, home up there, home above.

Reward and punishment were shown in the associations reward, wish, for good people, salvation, for righteous people; and the punishment aspect in hell.

Among other associations was found the platonic one of ideal, and the negative side of the same concept, not real.

General attributes of Heaven were such associations

as love, glory, faith, truth, good, happy, peace, golden,
pretty, ecstasy.

Several of the combinations were phrases from popular hymns Promised Land, Golden Gate, City of Gold, Great Hereafter.

The associations with God as ruler were not as frequent as the studies of Kenneth Burke would indicate. He feels that hierarchy is implicit in all relationship to God. Yet there were only nine expressions which contained the word kingdom. When we add the association Lord and the ideas of reward and punishment, there are still less than half of the total, or only forty-eight references which imply hierarchy. In Burke's categories the association Home would connote hierarchy, but that does not necessarily follow. If one includes temporal sequence, and adds in the expressions of eternity, and hereafter, then there is a new kind of hierarchy which is not necessarily "logically implied." It is a hierarchy based upon time, and not upon persons.

Granted, elders do the ruling, largely on the basis of temporal priority, and their being bigger than the children over whom they establish their hierarchy. But that is not sufficient grounds to make a logical necessity of the temporal-hierarchical relationship. It is not true that all who are older are rulers.

While the hierarchioal element was implied in the responses and associations here, it was not the overriding concept from which the others were drawn. Unless one includes "relationship to God" as part of the hierarchioal concept, as surely it might be, there is not any central authority structure in the associations around the word Heaven. If God, Lord, Jesus are added to the concept of hierarchy, then the associations have as their oentral core meaning, that of Hierarchy.

But this is to assume that any relationship has in it an implied over and under, and no equality. It would be blasphemous to suppose that one were equal to God in attributes, or in any personal qualities. But what does moral freedom mean if it does not mean equality in some essential ascription? To be like Christ is usually intended to mean to be made related to Him in some way which is not hierarchical, but which partakes of the agape kind of love. Love transcends the ranking tendency in man. Surely the loneliest man in the world is he who has no equals, to whom everybody is above or beneath him. Friendship's love usually levels differences in attitudes. Not in any logical way, but in some love way, relationship to God seems to imply an ascription by Him of our equality with Him.

The survey cannot answer these questions. It did not

TABLE V
RESPONSES TO STIMULUS WORD "HEAVEN"

God, Lord Jesus	34
Eternity, forever, everlasting.	20
hell.	18
place, nice place, wonderful place.	17
home.	12
Paradise.	11
rest.	11
Life, afterlife.	10
Kingdom, God's Kingdom, Kingdom of Love	9
happiness, happy, happy place	7
Peace	7
Reward, something to look forward to.	6
People, for good people, righteous people.	5
Earth	5
God's home.	4
Angels.	4
Promised Land	3
goal.	3
Great hereafter	3
Glory	2
good.	2
salvation	2
death, after death, go when you die	2
Golden gate	2
City, City of Gold, City of God	2
wish, not real, love, faith, truth, ecstasy, universal, ideal, Highest, religion, worship, church, Haven, upstairs, pretty	1 each

attempt it. But the central concept of the associations was that of relationship to God, a spatial, durative, qualitative relationship, which was called up by the word Heaven.

2. WORSHIP

The central associations with the word Worship, clustered around the Church. Whether this was as a house of worship, or as the universal agency which leads men in worship, the survey could not reveal. House of Worship was used, but it may or may not have been implied in the word Church. None of the respondents used the old expression Church House.

But the most frequently expressed association was that of an activity, as in pray, prayer, adore, adoration, praise, serve, pay homage, offer respect, give tribute, visit, go to church, put faith in, confide in, take part in, uphold, obey. Not quite as clearly, the following associations point both to a state and an activity, love, believe in, be loyal to, listen to God's word, devotion, study, understanding.

It was recognized that there could be worship of others than God. There arose such associations as idol, idolize, worship someone, and hell. Pride was an association which may have had paternal undertones, for the same man responded to Worship with the response my child, and had

responded to the stimulus word Pride with Joy. He may be saying "I worship my child," since the expression Pride and Joy is frequently used in the sentence "He is his Father's (Mother's) pride and joy." But without an explicit context there is no way to remove this from the realm of conjecture, as far as the particular response was concerned. There are other possibilities: pride might be the feeling toward one's religion or church; or it might be the personal attitude one sought to rid himself of through worship; or it might be what one sought through a sense of worth evoked by the worship. There are still other possibilities.

There were associations indicating an attitude and disposition of loyalty to God. Many of the responses localized worship to the church, to the Mass, but far more of them left place and time unbounded, although there were a few associations involving specific time statements; Sabbath, Lord's Day, every week and every night in God. Attitude and act were viewed as whole. Pray, honor, adore, serve, which are action words, accounted for over two-thirds of the responses.

But the most remarkable series of associations is in the response Adore and Adoration. Twenty men responded thus. Of that number, seventeen were Roman Catholic.

Seventeen of the forty-nine Catholics used this response. The three protestants who gave this response were Lutherans. In both faiths, the catechism includes a pairing of the words "to worship and adore God" in the description of the duty of man to God. Other responses which were limited to men who were or had been reared as Catholic were Mass, homage. Other religious groups gave the same response word.

The aspect of communication with God was shown in the frequency of the use of such words as confess, pray, message, thanking God, and praising God. Communication implied loyalty in such expressions as honor, obey, serve, respect, faith, confide in, believe, look up to, loyal, and religion. Recognition of the variant objects of worship was less widespread. Those who mentioned the person or object of worship used such terms as God, Father, Christ, Jesus, Lord in fifty-nine responses, and two others used idol, idolize; and two more said for someone.

Worship associations seemed to point to an active disposition toward God, resulting in loyal service to His honor, and enjoying communication with Him in prayer. They included above all, terms indicating relationship

TABLE VI
RESPONSES TO STIMULUS WORD "WORSHIP"

Church, house of God, go to church . . .	49
God, Christ, Jesus, Lord	59
Pray, prayer	23
Adore, adoration	20
Praise, look up to	14
religion, religious.	13
Faith, putting faith in.	10
Believe, belief.	8
serve, service (to faith or to God). . .	7
Love, love God, love someone	5
worship.	3
Mass	3
Respect God	3
Idol, idolize.	2
homage, tribute.	3
Day, Sabbath Day, Lord's Day	2
Obey, Heaven, hell, eternity, pride, people, good, necessary, Father, study, to like, confide in, listening to God's Word, every week and night in God, visit and take part in, message of the Lord, devotion, uphold, loyal, understanding. . . .	1 each

to God. There would seem to be little of pantheistic connotation in the associations. For frequency see Table VI.

3. GOD

By far the most frequent response to the stimulus word God was the idea of Father. This is in keeping with Burke's speculation that ideas of God include hierarchical expressions. Burke has classified the names of God under such headings as these: the ground of all possibility; the ultimate motivation, abstraction, generalization; principle of action; Death; unconscious, and all natural functions, phenomena, and insanity and mysticism; a function of prayer; principle of rebirth; evil in disguise; a name of honor for oneself; a slogan of the extreme right.³⁹ While one might wonder how Mr. Burke arrived at the associations which put some of these ideas in such close relation, his basic headings have utility, as tests to bring associations to.

Soldiers in this study used many of the same terms for God that Burke has used, including uncommon ones such

³⁹Kenneth Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives (New York: Prentice Hall Inc., 1952), pp. 298-301.

as All, Apex, Symbol, Universe, The Cause, and apparently a metonym, salvation, but listed Savage. (Presumably the soldier meant to write Salvage including the idea common in the Army of salvaging equipment, or a man's character. Yet the ambiguity may not be one of spelling, but an association much more enigmatic.) There were forty-three responses which included the word Father and twenty-four which used some word for rule, such as Ruler, Lord, Master, Leader, King; together there were sixty-seven uses of hierarchical terms among the 173 papers. In examining any of the tables, it is well to remember that they are not exact statistical valuations. There are terms used on the papers which are compound, such as Eternal King, which were noted as usages of both ideas, that of eternity and that of rulership.

When the various words for power, parenthood, service, might, and worship are added together, there are ninety-seven of the responses which include the element of hierarchical relationship. The important aspect is just this one of relationship. Persons ruled may or may not attain a super status by relation to a super being. But there is still the expression of seeking, and being related to, something or someone outside of one's self. It was far more frequently, someone, for these words are words which

relate to a person rather than an impersonal force. With the exception of High, Highest, Apex, Cause, Power, and Symbol, there is the possibility of personal relationship in every one of the responses. Law is not necessarily personal; good could exist without relationship; One could refer to one of anything, though it is usually heard in the Shema: "Hear, Oh Israel, the Lord our Lord (JHWH) is one Lord." Universe may be either impersonal, or personal. If one is part of the universe, and if God is related to the universe, God is related to the parts of the universe including the soldiers who wrote the word. But such a chain of reasoning is implicit, not always explicit. Though it has been put in such childhood prayers as "Thou who made the stars, made me."

At a closer distance of relation are such terms as Haven, All, Eternal Father, cross, hell, Heaven, Bible, Perfect One, and Supreme Being. At a distance yet a little closer in the relationship are such words as Faith, hope, Love, religion, Almighty, devil, person, worship, hold. Still closer are Savior, Christ, Jesus, Forgiver, Father, Creator, serve, Salvation, Ruler, Lord, Master, King, pray, love.

What to do with the response marry is a mystery. It is a relational word, and indicates the sense of God's involvement in the relationship of the family, husband and

wife, whatever else it may mean. It might help in evaluating the response if it were known whether the soldier was married, and whether he was happily married. But that information was not gathered. We shall never know whether the man was grateful or indignant.

Another approach to the responses might be made through their grammatical value. A syntax is lacking for most of them, because they consist of only a few words with no attempt to form a complete thought. But here as in other free association experiments, the responses tended to fall into predicative and substantive uses. The predicative feature was so explicit that the men often wrote the verb "is" before their substantives, furnishing a syntax: "God is love," or "is Good,"⁴⁰ Even when not written, it was clearly understood in such responses. Other predicates were believe in, worship, serve, praise, to be loved. Jacobson points out that the responses which form a complement to the stimulus word, do with the stimulus word, form a syntax. Substitutive responses included active metaphors and metonyms, such as Ruler, Creator, Savior, Almighty, Cause, Holy, Life, Way of Life, Good. There were also in each of the words studied some tautologies, in which men responded with the stimulus word itself. Table VII gives the relative frequencies of responses for the word God.

⁴⁰Roman Jacobson, "The Cardinal Dichotomy in Language," Language: An Inquiry Into Its Meaning and Function, pp. 155-178.

TABLE VII
RESPONSES TO STIMULUS WORD "GOD"

Father, my Father, Our Father,	
Holy Father, Heavenly Father,	
Father of all.	43
Ruler, Lord, King, Master, Leader	24
Creator, Maker, Originator.	24
Heaven, Heavenly.	24
Savior, my Savior	17
Love, to be loved	15
Almighty.	13
Jesus	11
Worship	10
Eternal, Everlasting.	10
Life, Life Restorer, Way of Life.	7
Holy.	7
One, The One.	7
Good, The Good, The great	7
Christ.	5
Person, the Person.	5
Faith, my faith, put faith in	5
God	4
Man	4
Church.	4
Holy man, wonder man, man I live for.	3
Law	3
Believe in.	3
Haven	3
Earth	2
Serve	2
Highest, Apex	2
Holy Spirit, All, pray, Three, devil,	
Cross, Savage (sic), hell,	
forgiver, marry, Salvation,	
hope, religion	1 each

4. BIBLE

Surely there were not fifty-seven men in this group who could have known that the Greek word for Book was Byblos, yet, for this stimulus word there were that many responses in which the word Book was a part of the association. They did list religious affiliations in which they may have been exposed to that knowledge, but there may have been some other reason why they responded as they did. First of all then, The Bible is a book. This association is overwhelmingly the most frequent one found in the survey. It is a Golden Book, A Guide Book, Book of the Lamb, Holy Book, Missal, and The Book. To one man it is Books, recognizing its composite nature.

For twenty men it was Word, Word of God, Word of the Father, Holy Word, Word of the Lord, and The Word. They were aware of the mystic Logos quality which has been attributed to the special Book. For this group the associations of Word-Bible was likely to continue, for some of them answered to the stimulus preacher with the response of the Word or some similar association. The syntax would seem to be "The Bible is the Word of God."

Nineteen men said that it had the association Holy. This word has the sense of "set aside for special use" which is the basic meaning of the Greek word hagios from which the idea came into English ecclesiastical vocabulary.

Holy has come to have the meaning of "Divine in attributes or nature." In any case, the meaning "associated with Deity" would seem to be implied in this response. Holy Book, Holy Bible, were terms which related the Bible to Deity. Twelve men used the name God, of Jesus, or Christ, as the sole response to this stimulus word. Again, they associated the Bible with God, in a relationship.

But there were associations which related the Bible to man. Sixteen called it Law, Way of Life, Rules for World, Holy Guide, To go by, Guidance, Rules to live by, Rules for Christians; all of these associations clustering about the concept of guidance, of law, of rules binding on human conduct. There would seem to be a relationship, through the Bible, of men to a principle of order, a rule of life, or some imperative. How binding the claim was upon the man, there was no way to tell. That would have to wait the fruits of daily living.

Gospel as an association was used by three men. This word has such rich connotations in the preaching of Christian preachers, that there would have been no surprise if it had appeared more frequently. It was itself used as one of the seventy-two stimulus words in the larger list, and did receive a rich variety of responses. Gospel, as good news, and as a portion read each worship day, is related to

TABLE VIII
RESPONSES TO STIMULUS WORD "BIBLE"

Book, Holy Book, Golden Book,	
Missal, Guide Book,	
Book of the Lamb	57
Word of God, Word of the Father,	
Word of the Lord	20
Holy.	19
Law, Way of Life, Rules for World,	
Holy Guide, to go by,	
guidance, Rules to live by,	
Rules for Christian.	16
Christian	12
Jesus, God.	4
Believe, What you Believe	3
Gospel.	3
History, History of Religion,	
History of God's People.	2
Mass.	2
Read.	2
truth	2
Pray, prayer.	2
Life.	2
Church, Father, study, Religion,	
Scripture, on table at home,	
Salvation, Letter, Hand of	
the Lord, Message from the Lord,	
Text of God's doings, Biblical	
text, Literature	1 each

faith. And this word was used as a response. It came in the idea, "What you believe" which was given by four as their association with Bible.

The Bible as history came in for a share of the responses, History, History of God's people, History of religion, God's doings.

Responses indicated relationships with God and man, with man and man through law, and with man and man through the idea of God's People, and with man and man in the family in on the table at home. Bible, like the other words in the religious vocabulary, seemed to function to describe relationships.

See Table VIII for other uses and responses.

5. CHURCH

Worship was the strongest association with the word Church. Seventy-four of the men used this word explicitly in their responses. It was called House of Worship, Place of Worship; and the simple word Worship was used. The place was emphasized in fifty-eight responses, House of God, Home of the Lord, Home of God, Holy Place, place of prayer, house of prayer, special place, temple, chapel, building. An overwhelmingly large portion of the men had this association. Only a few thought of it as an institution, or an organization.

Four men equated the word with the response Catholic and one with Nazarene. Two gave the tautology Church and one more said my own. These were views of the church which related the man to the act of worship and to a specific group with whom he worshipped.

One man said my wife and child, and two spoke of congregation, two more of people and one of body. It is possible that this association is not relational but a reference to the hand play game taught to children in which the fingers interlace and the thumbs form a steeple. This verse accompanies the handplay: "Here is the church; here is the steeple; open the door and see all the people." A twist of the hands reveals the interlaced fingers in rows like pews of people. In any case, there was emphasis on the persons rather than the place.

Other examples emphasized the activity which takes place in the church, and were thus related to the response worship, prayer, pray, house of prayer, place of prayer. Of these there were eighteen. Combined with the worship responses, there were eighty-seven associations which clustered around the activity of, or in, the church. This is activity in which man is related to God. There would seem to be grounds to add to this group the responses religion, religious, for religion seems to be a word of relationships.

TABLE IX

RESPONSES TO STIMULUS WORD "CHURCH"

Worship, house of worship, place	
of worship, to worship	74
House of God, home of God	46
God, Lord, Christ	27
religion, religious	18
pray, prayer, house of prayer,	
place of prayer.	13
place, holy place, special place,	
place of peace	8
Faith, my faith	7
Catholic.	4
holy.	3
church.	2
congregation.	2
people.	2
building.	2
priest.	2
School, Sunday School	2
Christian, Nazarene, Sunday, Bells,	
love, temple, chapel, sacred,	
Life, Universal, Institution,	
organization, leader, pastor,	
Holy man, truth, my own, one,	
to belong, pillar of love, my	
wife and child, body, Bible.	1 each

Another chain of synonyms appeared in the substitutions, Church-religion-denomination-faith. The question is often asked "What is your Church?" and the answer given Catholic. Or again, "What is your religion?" with the same answer. In this case, the response religion should be considered with the group of man-man relationships. It had the ambiguity of both man to man and man to God relationships. It had reference to persons, to activity, and to the place of the religion or religious activity; it was rich in associations.

Other references such as priest, Sunday School, bells, preacher, love, Life, Pillar of Love, Body, Bible, and to belong may be found in Table IX.

6. PREACHER

There was more spread in the association attached to this word than to Church. Fifty-four attached God's name explicitly as part of their response, God's servant, God's voice, God's helper, and even God's Hucksters. The preacher was related in the responses to God.

Minister, agent, and messenger were words which had another vector of relationship. They related the minister to the people. Words like Teacher, Minister, Leader of the Church, Leader of Worship, Leader of the Flock, Christian

leader, Pastor, Reverend, Helper, Advisor, Wedding, Father, and other separate singular responses as to save souls, person you believe in, one you can trust, were all responses which indicate the vector of man-man relationships, but in a unique status. This man was an agent of God to these men, if their associations said anything, and being related to him was somehow relating to God through His agent. It was also a man-man relationship of mutuality, as the advisor and trust responses indicated. But it was further a relationship of service, functioning in such specific ways as performing weddings.

The verbal, the oral, the forensic element in the nature of the preacher's peculiar work was noted in the associations Speaker, Messenger, passes on the Word, Word, the tautology preacher, Talker about religion, Voice of God, Leader of Worship, and One who gives sermon.

He was related to the church in such expressions as Church, pulpit, Christian Leader, Leader of the Flock, leader of worship, protestant, Baptist, Cardinal, and Pastor, and perhaps in the title Reverend.

There was some tendency to more specific association categories here as in use of Baptist, protestant, Cardinal, reader (possibly a Christian Science association), or Episcopalians refer to "Lay Reader" (preachers who have

TABLE X
RESPONSES TO STIMULUS WORD "PREACHER"

Of God, servant, speaker, agent, messenger, voice, helper, man	41
Teacher.	23
minister	14
Word, speaks the Word, passes on God's Word, teller.	10
Leader, Christian leader, leader of worship, of the flock	9
Priest	8
Preacher	7
Church	6
carrier.	5
Holy man	5
Reverend	5
protestant	5
Bible.	5
Messenger.	4
pulpit	4
Worker with Christ, worker for Christ.	4
Helper	4
Advisor, religious advisor	4
wedding.	4
Baptist.	4
Talker about religion.	3
holy	2
Father	2
one you can trust.	2
One who gives sermons.	2
God's Hucksters, to save souls, person you believe in, prophet, Human Being, my hometown, Mr. Brady, Heaven, fool, loyal, cardinal, reader, Rouel	1 each

not been ordained). In another kind of narrow category were such personal associations as Mr. Brady, My hometown, and Rouel, apparently the name of a preacher.

Whether the response fool was a derogatory value judgment, or an echo of the Apostle Paul's "by the foolishness of preaching," or the title God's Fool, which has been variously applied to St. Francis and to Martin Luther, it is not possible to distinguish.

But here, as in the other words of religious vocabulary, there is a heavy loading of relationship associations. See Table X for frequency comparisons.

7. PRIEST

There were fifty-three expressions associating the priest with God. They included such phrases and words as of God, teacher of God to men, speaks of God, agent of God, servant of God, disciple of God, and follower of God. Relationship of the priest to God is one of several relational facets, summed in the ancient definition of priesthood, "Bringing God to man and man to God."

Another and institutional side of the relationship may have been implied in the twenty-five responses Catholic. Priestly function seemed more specifically the emphasis of the churches which have in their name the word Catholic, in

its sense of universal. Apparently, juxtaposition of the two words Preacher and Priest brought for some men associations of Protestant and Catholic. Both Protestant and Catholic soldiers used the word Pastor in the same general sense of "a personal religious guide." Rank was involved for some of the Catholic men; they saw the pastor as Bishop, and as chief priest of the church staff. Relations implicit there included inter-official ones. Thus, the idea of an organization, and the relations among the offices of that organization, were added.

As might have been expected, nineteen men, all Catholic, responded to the stimulus word with Father. Fourteen Protestants associated priest-preacher. He became, for them, the same relational figure as the preacher in their own congregations. This relationship was primarily one of teacher and exhorter, leader of worship. Thirteen soldiers called him Minister. Eleven responded with Church. The responses sermon, pulpit, preacher, seemed to accent the act of public worship, in the specific pattern of representing man to God and God to man.

Other responses associated the priest with men. He was called Father, minister, teacher, Leader, messenger, pastor, advisor, healer, forgiver, and referred to with confidence, honesty, one to obey, and as The Person. The

TABLE XI
RESPONSES TO STIMULUS WORD "PRIEST"

God, teacher of, man of, follower of, agent of, servant of, disciple of . . .	52
Catholic	25
Father	19
Preacher	14
Minister	13
Church	11
teacher.	9
Leader, spiritual, religious, Christian	6
Advisor, someone you can trust	6
Messenger.	5
Speaker.	5
Pastor	4
Holy, sacred	4
Word, carries word	4
Reverend	3
Chaplain	3
Bishop	2
Talker	2
prophet, Chaplain Labunoo, Jesuit, pulpit, sermon, healer, ordained, fool of people, saint, Son of God, man who represents us to God, obey, faith, clergy, confidence, high, nature, honesty, job, wrong for me, forgiver, Parson, Bible	1 each

old cognate, The Parson, did not appear as a response on these papers.

In summary, there were these relationships: priest personally to God, priest personally to man; mediator of the relationships of man to God, God to man; priest to priest; priest to institution, the Church. These associations seemed clearly implicit in the responses of the soldiers. For other responses, Table XI offers a frequency count.

8. PASTOR

Forty-two responses of Preacher fell right down the lines of non-liturgical churches, while twenty-six men of liturgical background responded with Priest. Allowing for compounds, seventeen men coupled their responses by associations of the pastor with God. They called him Agent of God, follower of God, Servant of God, Man of God, and Helper of God. Twelve referred to him as teacher; twelve more related him to Church, and ten associated him with leadership. Or perhaps it is more accurate to speak of their associating the word, which designated the title, with those responses.

Yet there seemed to be strong identification of the person, the office, and the title of the office.

Such a tendency was at work throughout. While warnings are rife that one should not identify the word with the thing, these soldiers did just that all through their papers. It was explicit; men responded to the stimulus word with the name of a certain person, Chaplain Labunco, Reverend Martin, Mr. Brady. And the magical loading of the title words were sufficient to evoke such responses as healer, Son of God, Holy man, saored, forgiver. But was this really magic, or reverence for the agent of God. If the agency associations were significant, as they seemed to be, then the men were acknowledging the clerical offices and the persons who filled them, as in some special relationship with God, and therefore worthy of special respect. But one must leave room for the magical interpretation. People often seem to expect a mediation of grace, almost magical, from the pastor. Generals and Doctors of Philosophy have asked ministers to go along to prevent rain for a pionic.

Negation of this special respect may have been shown in calling the clerics fool of God, or Fool of the people. If the man who wrote these responses actually meant fooler of the people then derogation was clearly intended. But if he meant what he wrote, then there may be an allusion to "The foolishness of preaching" as The

Apostle Paul used the expression in I Corinthians 1:21. He was speaking in irony. To sophistry-blinded people preaching was foolishness. If the pastor-priest-preacher is the fool in the sense of having a set of values inverted from those of the world around him, then the association is not derogatory, but complimentary. Whether it was meant so, or not, there is no way to tell.

It is interesting that a negation does not always negate. Men have few ways in which they can express affection for each other without opening themselves to unpleasanties. Whether to avoid these implications, or from some inner perversity, or for the sheer enjoyment of variety of expression, or in the exercise of some semantic law, men often do express affection by calling a friend insulting names. The insult is not meant as such, and both men, and indeed the bystanders, know that it was meant in quite another sense, a negation of the negation, in fact. "Negative definitions indicate what they negate," says C. S. Lewis.⁴¹

Whether this group of negative reactions was such a specifying or not cannot be settled here. There are other possibilities. Negative reactions to authority figures are common enough to require no explanation.

⁴¹C. S. Lewis, Studies in Words, 18.

When the priestly power figure is used by parents to reinforce arbitrary decisions on their part, there are usually negative reactions. And such workings are frequent. Pastors are requested to validate family authority in decisions which are distasteful. Pastors have sometimes taken the position that parents were right no matter what the issues were. When they have done so, they have often produced an attitude of defiance on the part of the youth. He has associated the arbitrariness of parents with the office of the cleric. As a result, the same negation of his duties to the parent has carried over to his feelings about the clergyman. Since he feels so about the person, the word naming the office arouses the same associations.

A new clergyman in that parish may spend much of the first few months trying to bridge the chasms in personal relationships left by such a precursor. Happily, he inherits from a former pastor the warmth of tone, which is manifest in the rich vocal color given to the word Pastor when spoken by affectionate parishioners.

In summary, the words Pastor, preacher, priest, minister, are words which did not only specify offices, or roles, or persons even. They specified all these and they referred to relationships, extremely personal relationships. The relationship was conditioned possibly by

the soldier's response to his chaplain, and by past experiences with other clergymen, and the concord or discord between persons close to him and their ministers. These affects were expressed in the survey positively in such responses as counselor, friend, one you can trust, guide, shepherd, etc. The negative affects were shown in responses to the word Preacher, like Huckster, fool (possibly). But there was not a single negative response to the word Pastor. Apparently it was free of any negative affects with this group of men, or they did not feel free to express them.

There was no way to tell whether all these men had experienced a pastor-parishioner relationship in their past. If they had not, then they were perhaps reacting according to a convention of what the word should have as its associations. Unfortunately it was not known whether the men had a pastor to relate to. One could have looked for evidence of experimental freedom in the responses. One might have answered the question whether men with more experience in this relationship felt freer to experiment with conventional terms, and whether those whose experience was limited tended to fall back on convention for their responses. Certainly in other personal relationships the greater the intimacy the freer and fuller the associations.

TABLE XII
RESPONSES TO STIMULUS WORD "PASTOR"

preacher	42
priest	26
of God, Follower, Agent, helper, servant, man.	17
teacher.	12
Church	12
leader	10
minister, ohief minister	9
Reverend	4
Advisor, Guide, Counselor, one to have faith in.	4
Person, holy, good	3
protestant	2
clergyman.	2
Carrier.	2
worker, of good, for men, of the Lord	2
Messenger, Servant, speaker of the truth, Martin, prophet, worshipper.	1 each

In great intimacy there is the tendency to invent personal names to the point of nonsense. Witness the lawyer Hyacinthus' names for his son in Browning's The Ring and the Book. Such a tendency, to a lesser extent is aoting in the names and titles invented for the minister.

One last possibility in the relationships did not seem to be shown in these responses, that of fear. Sometimes people fear the minister, due to his power in the community, but especially due to his special relationship with God, and therefore with a potent force able to hurt. Fear of God is transferred to His agent, the minister. But no such fear was found in the responses on this survey. If it was there, it has been misinterpreted by the researcher.

9. HELL

Hell was a place of burning heat, associated with Satan, for the largest group of responses in this survey. There were thirty-seven using such words as fire, brimstone, flame, hot, burning, and coals. Thirty-five answered with devil, Satan, home of the devil. Twenty-three called it a place of punishment, of sinners, devils, for bad people, a bad place, of damnation, of

atonement, far down below, of evil, of burning, and the worst place to end up.

Heaven was the response to hell for twenty-two men, even as the antonyms had suggested each other when the stimulus-response was reversed. Such a reaction does not require explanations, being so common.

Hell was a stimulus suggesting a class marked by badness shown in twenty-one responses, bad, evil, wrong, worst, no good. Associations with pain were evident in fourteen responses, Punish, punishment, torture, torment, eternal suffering, eternal punishment. It was not a passing sensation according to the ten associations Eternity, everlasting, forever. It was for sinners, punishment for sin, for the sinful, said thirteen responses. And uniquely, these soldiers named The Army or specific military units, in ten of their responses. Were they paraphrasing General Sherman? Or were they giving a personal expression of their own Army experience, or was it simply a snarl reaction, an opportunity to protest, seized?

Besides associating hell with Satan, with badness in general, with the Army, with sin, and Eternity, there was a group of associations around death, dying, and destruction. Eight men responded with these. And nine

made the reference apply to people, bad people, evil people, wicked people, unsaved men, non-church goers, lost people, people condemned, where you go when you have been real bad.

It was down, far down, below, depths, drain, for five men. It was Kansas for one man. Five specifically referred to damnation, five to a life of sorrow and suffering, perhaps meaning here on earth rather than in an afterlife. Three replied with the tautology, hell. One of the answers was confinement, which to a soldier has the special meaning of confinement in the stockade or guardhouse as punishment. Two responses said, horrible, terrible. Two said Judgment. Other single responses were light, water, sleet, ground, earth, hate, hunger, Inferno, Infernal, not sure, temptation, everywhere, Holy (apparently part of an expletive), divine, opposite of goal, and the question "What is hell?".

The groups of associations indicated levels of intensity, from suffering, through sin, badness and the privations of military service down to the relatively light ones shown above. Hell was associated with Heaven, through the idea of reward and punishment, pleasantness and unpleasantness. It had temporal and eternal associations; by extension its immortal aspects pertained

during mortal life, and the quality of sinfulness or wickedness in mortal life was extended to the immortal life. People and the devil were associated with each other and with the quality of badness, evil, sinfulness. There were relationships implicit even in the antonym, Heaven, and the idea of punishment. For God was the Punisher. Nor should it be overlooked that the punishment was related to the quality of life one has lived, evil, wicked, etc. There was relationship between the church and the stimulus word, in that there were responses such as a place for non-churchgoers.

But the most frequent responses, after the personal negative relations, were those which had to do with spatial relationships. A place was the expression used over and over again. Down, down under, below, etc. were associations with space and direction.

Personal relationships among humans, with God, with Satan; spatial relationships, temporal-eternal relationships, and quality of life here and hereafter sum the associations with the word hell shown in the responses of these soldiers. See Table XIII for frequencies of responses.

TABLE XIII

RESPONSE TO STIMULUS WORD "HELL"

fire, coals of, flame, hot,	
brimstone, burning	37
devil, Satan, home of devil	35
place	23
Heaven.	22
bad, evil, wrong, worst, no good.	21
punishment, torture, torment,	
eternal, punish.	14
Eternity, everlasting, forever.	13
Sinner, sin, sinful	13
Army (specific unit).	10
for people, bad, evil, wicked,	
lost, unsaved.	9
Death, die, destruction	8
down, far down, below, depth.	5
damnation	5
Life of sorrow, of suffering.	5
hell.	3
confinement	2
horrible, terrible.	2
atonement	2
Judgment.	2
Light, sleet, water, ground,	
earth, Kansas, hate, hunger,	
inferno, Infernal, not sure,	
temptation, everywhere, Holy	
divine, opposite of goal,	
what is hell?.	1 each

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

It became evident that this portion of the religious vocabulary of these men was primarily a vocabulary of relationships. Most responses were loaded with associations relating the soldier's personal emotions and thoughts to the world of persons around him, and to experiences with God, and the agents and agencies which the soldier believed to be God's. These positive relationships may have been brought with him from home. He had established many of his associations earlier. The negative ones most strongly expressed were in relationship to military life and The Army. Most of the men tended to hold approving associations with the names of the offices of clergymen. God was the primary object of worship, though the soldiers were aware of other objects worshipped. God was not a threatening, but a loving God. The Church was a helping institution, rather than a restricting one. Heaven and hell were places of reward and punishment, as well as qualities of life. A minority, smaller than expected, negated these affirmations.

The relationships pertaining in these religious terms, for these men, were personal relationships. They used personal pronouns He, I, We, in their responses. And the responses tended to form a syntax of identification, supplying the verbs is or are between the stimulus and response words, e.g. God is love.

In general there were few associations limited to a given group. Neither age, religious denomination, geographical factors, nor degree of education seemed to make any consistent patterns throughout the survey. The stimulus-response Worship-adore was unique with liturgical churchmen; as was the priest-Father response pair. But others were not found. Further study might reveal pairs or patterns overlooked.

But the most striking pattern revealed was the one which has been noted already repeatedly--these religious terms were expressive of relationships, primarily personal relationships. The associations which these soldiers had with any specific religious word seemed to follow each man's basic attitude toward religion. Sympathetic responses with one word, tended to be repeated with the other words. God-Father occurred on the same paper with Heaven-Home, Pastor-God's Servant. A negative response seemed to be general.

Heaven-not real occurred with Hell-everywhere. But there were few negations.

The men using these religious terms seemed to omit the distinctions of metaphor and objective reference. They referred to God as having real existence, in personal terms. And qualities related to God tended to lose their distinctions in an Allness, one overwhelming quality, above, but related to men, as good-strong-active.

These nine religious terms revealed relation and attitudes to God; to pastor, preacher, priest; to church, to worship, to a hope of the afterlife, and to the scriptures. They have been studied through the means of word associations. This group of soldiers was found sensitive, responsive, and often specific in replying to these religious words.

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APPENDIX

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|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Pride _____ | 37. Humility _____ |
| 2. Love _____ | 38. Wrath _____ |
| 3. Faith _____ | 39. Doubt _____ |
| 4. Heaven _____ | 40. Hell _____ |
| 5. Worship _____ | 41. Blasphemy _____ |
| 6. Reward _____ | 42. Punishment _____ |
| 7. Grace _____ | 43. Sin _____ |
| 8. Righteousness _____ | 44. Evil _____ |
| 9. Salvation _____ | 45. Damnation _____ |
| 10. Temptation _____ | 46. Assurance _____ |
| 11. Life _____ | 47. Death _____ |
| 12. Blessed _____ | 48. Accursed _____ |
| 13. Demon _____ | 49. Angel _____ |
| 14. Devout _____ | 50. Heretic _____ |
| 15. Innocence _____ | 51. Guilt _____ |
| 16. Peace _____ | 52. Suffering _____ |
| 17. Forgiveness _____ | 53. Vengeance _____ |
| 18. Creation _____ | 54. Eternity _____ |
| 19. God _____ | 55. Satan _____ |
| 20. Commandment _____ | 56. Gospel _____ |
| 21. Religion _____ | 57. Idolatry _____ |
| 22. Redeemer _____ | 58. Compassion _____ |
| 23. Confession _____ | 59. Repentance _____ |
| 24. Trust _____ | 60. Hero _____ |
| 25. Bible _____ | 61. Truth _____ |
| 26. Consecration _____ | 62. Holy _____ |
| 27. Justification _____ | 63. Sanctification _____ |
| 28. Conversion _____ | 64. Regeneration _____ |
| 29. Atonement _____ | 65. Sacrifice _____ |
| 30. Crucifixion _____ | 66. Glory _____ |
| 31. Immortal _____ | 67. Soul _____ |
| 32. Church _____ | 68. Pastor _____ |
| 33. Priest _____ | 69. Communion _____ |
| 34. Preacher _____ | 70. Prophet _____ |
| 35. Virtue _____ | 71. Purity _____ |
| 36. Spiritual _____ | 72. Kingdom _____ |

- | | |
|-----------|-----------|
| 1. _____ | 37. _____ |
| 2. _____ | 38. _____ |
| 3. _____ | 39. _____ |
| 4. _____ | 40. _____ |
| 5. _____ | 41. _____ |
| 6. _____ | 42. _____ |
| 7. _____ | 43. _____ |
| 8. _____ | 44. _____ |
| 9. _____ | 45. _____ |
| 10. _____ | 46. _____ |
| 11. _____ | 47. _____ |
| 12. _____ | 48. _____ |
| 13. _____ | 49. _____ |
| 14. _____ | 50. _____ |
| 15. _____ | 51. _____ |
| 16. _____ | 52. _____ |
| 17. _____ | 53. _____ |
| 18. _____ | 54. _____ |
| 19. _____ | 55. _____ |
| 20. _____ | 56. _____ |
| 21. _____ | 57. _____ |
| 22. _____ | 58. _____ |
| 23. _____ | 59. _____ |
| 24. _____ | 60. _____ |
| 25. _____ | 61. _____ |
| 26. _____ | 62. _____ |
| 27. _____ | 63. _____ |
| 28. _____ | 64. _____ |
| 29. _____ | 65. _____ |
| 30. _____ | 66. _____ |
| 31. _____ | 67. _____ |
| 32. _____ | 68. _____ |
| 33. _____ | 69. _____ |
| 34. _____ | 70. _____ |
| 35. _____ | 71. _____ |
| 36. _____ | 72. _____ |

BIOGRAPHY

Date of birth _____ Place of birth _____

Your Sex _____ Cities and States you have lived in the
longest times _____

The highest school year you finished _____ Degrees you hold _____

Your church denomination or religion _____

Your parents' religion--Father _____

Mother _____ If they

changed their religion, what was it formerly? _____

Your parents' educational level-- Father _____

Mother _____ Did your parents speak any

foreign languages? Mother, which ones _____

Father, which ones _____ Do you speak

any foreign languages? _____ Which ones _____

Do you read many books? _____

Please circle the kinds of books you read. Fiction,
Biography, Technical, Philosophy, Religion, Science,
Handicraft, Sports, Travel, Comics, _____,

_____, _____, _____.

Would you care to list a few of your favorite authors?

Thank you for your help in this study.

William E. Gamble

TABLE XIV

KEY TO SYMBOLS USED IN BIOGRAPHICAL DATA CHART

Religions

AG	Assembly of God
B	Baptist
C	Catholic
CC	Church of Christ
Congre	Congregation
CG	Church of God
E	Episcopal
E & R	Evangelical and Reformed
Hl	Holiness
Is	Islam
J	Jew
L	Lutheran
M	Methodist
Nz	Nazarene
Pb	Presbyterian
Pt	Pentecostal
Spr.	Spiritualist
Xn	Christian
Y	None
Two entries indicate a change of religion from, to, in that order.	

Languages

Bel	Belgian
Cre	Creole
Cro	Croatian
Dan	Danish
Fr	French
G	German
Gr	Greek
Hun	Hungarian
It	Italian
Jap	Japanese
Kr.	Korean
Lat	Latin
Rus	Russian
Sp	Spanish

Dashes on the Chart represent dashes marked by the men on the questionnaires. Blank spaces were left that way also.

TABLE XIV -- Continued

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA CHART

State	Age	Sex	Education Self	Religion Self	Religion Father	Religion Mother	Education Father	Education Mother	Fa.	Mo.	Self	Serial Number
Texas	22	M	12	B	B	B	12	12	---	---	---	1
Ark.	21	M	6	Xn	CG	Xn		9	---	---	---	2
Ga.	25	M	12	B			6	6	---	---	---	3
NC, NY	24	M	12	P	P	P	10	9				4
Calif.	25	M	10	Pr	Pr	Pr	8	8	---	---	---	5
So. Dak.		M	8	Pr	Pr	Pr			---	---	---	6
Mo.	25	M	12	Xn		M	12	12	---	---	---	7
No. Dak.	21	M	12	C	C	C	12	12	G	G	---	8
Ohio	23	M	16	M	M	M	12	17	---	---	---	9
Iowa	20	M	12	C	C	C	8	8	Boh	Boh	Boh	10
Ill.	24	M	15	C	C	C	6	6	Gae- 11c	Gae- 11c	Gae- 11c	12
Ind.	23	M	12	Xn	Xn	Xn	7	6	---	---	---	13
Ia., Mo.	21	M	12	Xn	Xn	Xn	8	12	G	---	---	14
Fla.	19	M	12	B	B	B	12	12	---	---	---	15

Biographical Data Chart -- Table XIV -- Continued

State	Age	Sex	Education Level	Religion Self	Religion Father	Religion Mother	Education Father	Education Mother	Fa.	Mo.	Self	Serial Number
Miss.,La.	25	M	11	B	B	B	5	8	---	---	---	16
Mich.	24	M	12	B	B	B	12	12	---	---	---	17
Ohio	21	M	12	P	P	P	7	8	---	---	---	18
Mich.	24	M	12	C	---	C	14	13	---	---	---	19
Miss.,Ark.	21	M	9	B	B	B	9	10	---	---	---	20
Minn.	24	M	12	C	C	C	4	12	---	---	---	21
Ill.	30	M	7	B	B	B	12	14	---	---	---	22
Md.,N.C., Tenn.	19	M	8	B	B	B			---	---	G	23
Ga.,Ill.	25	M	11	B	C	C	8	12	---	---	---	24
Tenn.	25	M	12		Y	Hl		12	---	---	---	25
O.,Mich.		M	9	C	C	C	8	12				26
Mo.	28	M	12	CG	CG	CG	8	10	---	---	---	27
Guam,Okla.	36	M	11	C	C	C			Guam	Guam	Guam	28
Mo.	20	M	12	B	B	B	12	12	---	---	---	29

Biographical Data Chart -- Table XIV -- Continued

State	Age	Sex	Education Level	Religion Self	Religion Father	Religion Mother	Education Father	Education Mother	Fa.	Mo.	Self	Serial Number
Texas	20	M	12	Xn	Xn	Xn	6	12	---	---	---	30
Fla.	21	M	7	B		B	16	12		Sp	---	31
Ohio	25	M	10	Y	P	P	12	10	---	---	---	32
No.Dak.	20	M	11	B	B	B	7	3	G	G	G	33
Tenn.	48	M	12	B		B			---	---	---	34
Ky.	27	M	12	P	P	P	---	---			---	35
	48	M	10	B	B	B	4	8	---	---	---	36
Miss., Ark.	31	M	12	B	B	B	12	12	---	---	---	37
Texas	23	M	8	C	C	C	9	8	Sp	Sp	Sp	38
NY	20	M	12	C	C	C	8	9	---	It	---	39
	24	M	10	C	C	C	8	8	---	---	---	40
Wisc.	20	M	10	C	C	C	12	12	G	G	---	41
Texas	24	M	12	B	B	B	12	12	---	---	---	42
Calif.	21	M	11	C	C	C			Sp	Sp	Sp	43
Texas, Mo. Kans.	21	M	12	B	B	B	8	12	---	---	---	44

Biographical Data Chart -- Table XIV -- Continued

State	Age	Sex	Education Level	Religion Self	Religion Father	Religion Mother	Education Father	Education Mother	Fa.	No.	Self	Serial Number
Minn.	24	M	10	C	C	C	--	--	Sp	Sp	Sp	45
NY	23	M	11	C	C	C	13	8	C, Sp Pr	Sp	---	46
Minn.	20	M	11	L	L	L	--	--	---	---	G	47
Colo.	24	M	12	C	C	C	6	9	---	---	---	48
Fla., Ga., Ala.	22	M	11	AG	AG	AG	4	6	---	---	---	49
Fla.	22	M	10	B	B	C	12	12	---	---	Kr	50
Ill.	25	M	10	B	B	B	12	12	---	---	---	51
Mo.	24	M	14	C	C	C	12	10	Sp	Sp	Sp, It	52
Ger.	22	M	11	P	P	P	6	10	---	---	G	53
Mich.	22	M	12	B	B	B	8	11	---	---	G	54
Ariz.		M	12	C	C	C	5	8	Sp	Sp	---	55
No. Dak.	25	M	9	L	L	L	8	8	---	---	---	56
Md., Ill. Ill.	33	M	12	L B	L	L B			---	---	Kr	57
O., Mo. Kans.	20	M	14	L	L	L	10	8	---	---	---	58
Ohio	20	M	11	B	B	B			---	---	---	59

Biographical Data Chart -- Table XIV -- Continued

State	Age	Sex	Education Level	Religion Self	Religion Father	Religion Mother	Education Father	Education Mother	Pa. Mo.	Self	Serial Number
Wiso.	19	M	12	L	--	--	--	--	---	---	60
Mo.	28	M	7	E & R	E & R	C	--	--	---	---	61
Okla.	21	M	--	---	---	---	--	--	---	---	62
Ind.	22	M	13	P	P	P	12	12	Latin	---	63
Ohio	24	M	12	M	M	M			---	---	64
Colo.	27	M	12	M	M	M	12	14	---	---	65
Mo.	25	M	12	M	P	P	12	16	---	---	66
Mich.	25	M	14	C	C	C	8	8	G	---	67
Tenn., NY	26	M	14	B	B	B	8	8	---	Lat	68
O., Ind. Ill.	21	M	12	Y L	L M	L M	8	11	---	---	69
Iowa	22	M	13½	C	C	C	12	12	---	---	70
Ind.	26	M	15	M	M	M	12	12	---	---	71
Mich.	21	M	12	C	L	C	8	11	---	Pl Kr	72
Wash., Fla.	25	M	12	J C	J Y	J C		---	---	Fr, G	73
Ga.	26	M	15	M	M	M	10	10	---	---	74
Ill.	24	M	15	C	C	C	6	6	Gae- lic	Gae- lic	75

Biographical Data Chart -- Table XIV -- Continued

State	Age	Sex	Education Level	Religion Self	Religion Father	Religion Mother	Education Father	Education Mother	Fa. Mo.	Self	Serial Number
Ill.	19	M	10	Y	Y		12	12	---	---	76
Mo.	38	M	12	P C	P	P	12	6	---	---	77
Ala., Miss.	23	M	11	B.	B	B	12	16	---	---	78
Mich.	19	M	12	C	C	C	11	12	sp	---	79
Ill.	22	M	12	C	C	C	8	18	---	---	80
Texas	36	M	12	C	C	C			sp	sp	81
Mo., Kans.	24	M	12	Nz	Nz	Nz			---	---	82
Ga., Pa.	21	M	11	C	C	C					83
Ohio	20	M	10	L	C	L	8	12	---	---	84
Wisc., Mont.	36	M	12	P	---	---	8	8	---	---	85
Wisc.	20	M	10	C	C	C					86
Ohio	37	M	12	P						G	87
Ohio	21	M	10	M	M	M	8	9		---	88
Mich., Calif.	29	M	12	B	B	B	12	12	---	---	89
Ohio	24	M	14	C	C	C	9	10	Hu	Hu	90

Biographical Data Chart -- Table XIV -- Continued

State	Age	Sex	Education Level	Religion Self	Religion Father	Religion Mother	Education Father	Education Mother	Education Pa.	Mo. Self	Serial Number
Neb.		M	12	M							91
Fla.	26	M	12	B	Hl	Hl	12	12			92
Ind., Kans.	25	M	12	Pt	Pt	Pt	8	9			93
Me., Col.	32	M	12	C		C	12	12	C		95
Neb., Kans.	48	M	12	L Xn	L Xn	L Xn			Dan	Dan	96
SC, NY	34	M	12	P Is	P	P	5	8			97
Mich.		M	10	C	C	C					98
Fla., La.	35	M	12	B	M	B	10	9			99
NC	33	M	12	B	B	B		8			100
Pa., NY	37	M	10	L	L	L	12	10	G	G	101
Iowa	22	M	13	L C	L C	L M	12				102
NJ		M	---	C	C	C	14	12			103
NY	22	M	10	L	L		12	12			104
La.	24	M		M	M	M	--	--			105
Iowa, Ill.	25	M	12	C	C	C	16	12			106
Miss., Tenn.	M	12	B	B	B	5	7				107

Biographical Data Chart -- Table XIV -- Continued

State	Age	Sex	Education Level	Religion Self	Religion Father	Religion Mother	Education Father	Education Mother	Education Pa.	Mo.	Self	Serial Number
Ala., Ill.	23	M	10	B	B	---	12	9	---	---	---	108
Ala., Ga.	42	M	10	B	B	B	8	12	---	---	G	109
Mich.	19	M	12	C	C	C	11	10	Pl	Pl	---	110
Mich.	22	M	10	B		B	8	12	---	---	---	111
No. Dak.	25	M		Pb	Pb	Pb	8	12	---	---	---	112
Kans., Colo.	39	M	11	P	B	B	6	12	---	---	Jap	113
Pa.	21	M		P	P	P	12	12		It		114
Tenn., Mich.		M	11	B	B	B	10	8				115
NY	21	M	9	C			12	13	---	---	---	116
W. Va.	20	M	8	B	P	P	12	8	---	---	---	117
Ala.	26	M	9	B	B	B	6	8	---	---	---	118
Neb.	24	M	8	C	C	C			---	---	---	119
Ore., Ill.	19	M	10	P	P	P	8	12	Fr, G Sp	---	---	120
Ohio	23	M	12	P	P	P	12	12			---	121
Pa.	24	M	11	B	B	B			---	---	---	122

Biographical Data Chart -- Table XIV -- Continued

State	Age	Sex	Education Level	Religion Self	Religion Father	Religion Mother	Education Father	Education Mother	Pa.	Mo.	Self	Serial Number
Mont.	25	M	12	C	C	C	9	12	Croatian	.	.	123
Pa.	26	M	12	C	C	C		10	---	---	Fr	124
Iowa	21	M	8	C	C	C	7	8	G	---	---	125
W.Va., Ohio	22	M	12	B	B	B	12	12		---	---	126
Miss.	33	M	12	C	C	C	6	6	---	---	---	127
Mich.	20	M	12	C	C	C	16	12				128
Calif.	21	M	12	C	L	C	12	12	---	---	---	129
Minn., Pa.	19	M	10	P	P	P	5	9	---	---	Kr	130
Iowa	27	M	12	L	L	L	5	8	Nor	G	---	131
Pa.	20	M	12	C	C	C	12 +	12				132
Ind.	23	M	9	B	B	B	12	12	---	---	---	133
Mo., Kans.	25	M	12	M	M	M	8	13				134
Mich.	21	M	10	C	C	C						135
Ind.	22	M	13	P	P	P	12	12	---	Latin	---	136
N.Mex., Colo.	21	M	12	C	C	C			---	---	---	137
Iowa	24	M	12	L	L	L					---	138

Biographical Data Chart --- Table XIV -- Continued

State	Age	Sex	Education Level	Religion Self	Religion Father	Religion Mother	Education Father	Education Mother	Education Father	Education Mother	Pa. No.	Languages	Self	Serial Number
Iowa	24	M	12	Xn	Xn	Xn							---	139
Iowa	24	M	12	M	M	M					---	---	---	140
Ark.	42	M	8		B	B					---	---	---	141
Tex., Ky.	32	M	12	P	P		12	9			---	---	---	142
Mich.	34	M	9	P	P	P					---	---	G	143
Miss.	24	M	12	C	M		12	12			---	---	---	144
Wisc.	26	M	11	L C	C	C					Pol Boh	Pol Boh	---	145
Tenn.	41	M	8	P	F	P	8	8			Y	Y	---	146
Ind.	21	M	12	M	M	M	12	9			---	---	---	147
Iowa	21	M	12	M	M	M	7	8			---	---	---	148
Tex., Ark.	20	M	9	B		B	14	12			Kr	Sp	---	149
Ill.	25	M	10	C P	P	P	12	12						150
Ky.	28	M	8	B	B	B	Y	Y			---	---	---	151
Minn.	21	M	12	C	C	C	8	10						152
Mo., Ga. Germany	20	M	9	Pt	Pt	Pt	4	6			---	---	---	153
Okla., Kan. Calif.	24	M	10	Pb	Pb	Pb	Y	Y			---	---	---	154

Biographical Data Chart -- Table XIV -- Continued

State	Age	Sex	Education Level	Religion Self	Religion Father	Religion Mother	Education Father	Education Mother	Languages Fa. Mo. Self	Serial Number
La.	26	M	12	C P	P	P	5	7	---	155
NY	22	M	12	C	C	C	6	6	---	156
Virgin Islands	41	M	11	E	E	C			Cre Dan Sp	157
No.Dak.	24	M	12	L	L	L	8	8	Gr Gr	158
Wisc.	25	M	10	Y	Y	Y	8	8	Pol --- G,Boh	159
Pa.	19	M	12	Pb	Pb	Pb	8	10	Bel Rus	160
Calif.	20	M	9	C	C	C	--	--	---	161
Pa.		M	8	C			--	--	---	162
Ill.	24	M	12	M	M	M			---	163
Ill.		M	12	M	M	M	6	16	---	164
No.Ark. Calif.	25	M	6	AG	AG	AG	8	6	---	165
Ohio	23	M	14	Congre	Congre	Congre	13	13	---	166
N. Va.	23	M	12	M	M	M	12	12	---	167
Ohio	21	M	11	B	B	B	16	10	--- Fr	168
Va.	21	M	12	P	B				---	169
Mich.	22	M	12	M		M	9	8	---	170

Biographical Data Chart -- Table XIV -- Continued

State	Age	Sex	Education Level	Education Self	Religion Self	Religion Father	Religion Mother	Education Father	Education Mother	Education Fa.	Mo.	Self	Serial Number
Ill.	34	M	12	CC	B	B	B	8	8	---	---	---	171
Ill.	24	M	14	M	M	M	L	12	16	---	---	9p	172
Mich.	21	M	12	B	M	M	Spr	11	10	---	---	---	173

A STUDY OF RESPONSES TO RELIGIOUS TERMS

by

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AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S REPORT

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MASTER OF ARTS

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1965

ABSTRACT OF
A STUDY OF RESPONSES TO RELIGIOUS TERMS

This paper reports a search for meanings through associations, based on a survey of a group of religious words and their associations for 173 American soldiers.

In theological word studies, the interest has been primarily historical: "What have these words meant?". The present study is not historical, but descriptive. It sought meanings, not so much through definitions or logical symbols as through associations having relational connotations which are emotional, social, and even mystical. These connotations, revealed in associations, point toward meanings. Clusters of synonyms and identifications did occur as De Saussure predicted they would in his Course in General Linguistics.

Literature concerning the 'ways words mean' reaches in gradation from Erich Fromm's view of a proto-language preserved in myths and dreams, to the extreme opposite pole that there is no meaning apart from a scientifically verifiable referent, which view is held by the General Semantists. In this paper it has been assumed that meaning is a social contract between speaker and hearer in the context of the total experience of each. A

meaningful verbal transaction was assumed to occur when speaker and hearer acknowledge a common reference.

To find what response patterns, what concepts, gave rise to what meanings on the survey papers, they were collated according to frequency of identical responses to a stimulus word. Identification patterns such as God-Love, and Heaven-home were interpreted as a syntax supplying is or are. Substitutions such as synonyms, metonyms, antonyms were interpreted as associational patterns.

Responses seemed to reveal attitudes toward authority, the Church, clergy, hope of an after life, the Scriptures, and God. A sympathetic attitude tended to be repeated through the complete chain of any individual's responses. A negative attitude also brought negating responses with some consistency. Specific, direct associations were most frequent, though they were varied in the words chosen to express them. Far more responses showing approval than negation were found.

This approval was evident in the tendency to use various gradations of the good-strong-active response words. Most striking was the cluster of Allness responses to the stimulus word God. It was used with possessive pronouns, obviating any idea of Otherness.

Relationship was the most frequent concept common to the responses to all the terms. Activity, and attribute or quality, were next most frequent. State or station was another concept seen. The relationships implied were those of man to self, man to God, man to church and clergy, man to other men, man to family, man to Army. Personal pronouns, I, we, He, were used in the responses.

Group patterns by different religious denominations were not as distinctive as expected. More Catholics used worship-adore, and priest-Father. But no evidence was found for patterns based on geography, education, age, reading habits, nor family background.