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# Weeping as social interaction : the interpersonal logic of the moist eye.

Randolph R. Cornelius  
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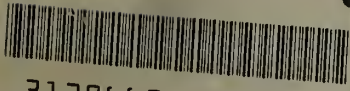
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WEEPING AS SOCIAL INTERACTION:  
THE INTERPERSONAL LOGIC OF THE MOIST EYE

A Dissertation Presented

By

RANDOLPH R. CORNELIUS

Submitted to the Graduate School of the  
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

September 1981

Psychology



Randolph R. Cornelius      1981  
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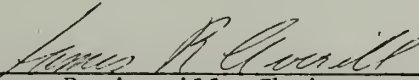
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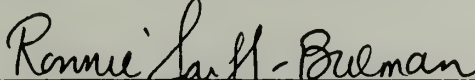
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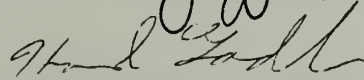
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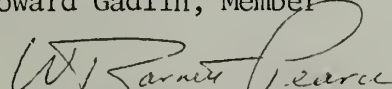
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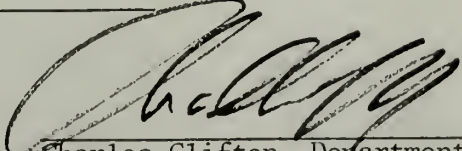
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For Rod Kessler.

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## PREFACE

The present study marks the culmination of more than two and a half years of research on weeping. In coming to this point, I have attempted to read everything that was ever written about weeping, I have cut out every reference to weeping I found in a newspaper or popular magazine, and I have carried out several pilot studies on the subject. Some of the studies I performed were quite simple--I once collected twenty people into a room and asked them to describe weeping to someone from another planet--and some of them quite complicated, being in-depth but scaled-down versions of the study described herein. Curiously, but perhaps not unexpectedly, weeping seemed to become more and more complex as my studies became more elaborate and involved.

Three years ago I read Arther Koestler's chapter on weeping in his book The act of creation (1967)--the subtitle of this study was adapted from the title of his chapter. Koestler's was the first serious study I read with regard to weeping and even though I now think that his analysis for the most part misses the point, I must say that his work provided me with many ideas at a time when I had few of my own. In addition, I must confess that I still share with Koestler something of a sense of wonder at the power and mystery of weeping. I have found that my investigations have tended to enrich that wonder rather than diminish it.

In The book of imaginary beings, Jorge Luis Borges (1978) describes a creature called the Squonk (Lacrimacarpus dissolvens)

thought to live in the remote regions of Pennsylvania. The Squonk is cursed with uncomfortable, misfitting skin, "covered with warts and moles" and because of this it is always unhappy, "in fact it is said, by people who are best able to judge, to be the most morbid of beasts" (p. 213). Not surprisingly, the Squonk weeps constantly, and hunters pursuing the creature are able to track it by following its tear-stained trail. However, no Squonks have ever been successfully captured for, when frightened or cornered, the Squonk dissolves itself in tears. Many a hunter has bagged an unwary Squonk on a cold night ("when tears are shed slowly and the animal dislikes moving about") only to find upon returning home a knapsack full of tears and bubbles. I hope that my search for the nature of weeping has not been as quixotic.

ABSTRACT

Weeping as Social Interaction:

The Interpersonal Logic of the Moist Eye

September 1981

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Directed by: Professor James R. Averill

The aim of the present study was to characterize episodes of social weeping involving two people who share a friendly or intimate relationship. Thirty-eight subjects were asked to describe a situation involving sadness in which they wept in the presence of another person. In addition, subjects were asked to describe 1) a situation involving sadness in which they felt like weeping but did not, also in the presence of another person, 2) a situation involving happiness in which they wept in the presence of another person, or 3) a situation in which they asked another person for a favor. Information was obtained on these latter episodes in order to provide comparisons with sad weeping.

Subjects were asked to describe the various episodes in terms of the Act/Episode model provided by Pearce and Cronen (1980). That is, subjects were asked to describe the episodes in terms of a series of acts occurring in temporal sequence within discernible boundaries. In addition, subjects were asked to provide intuitive judgments of the strength of the various ways in which the acts they performed were entailed within the episode. From these judgements an index of

the extent to which subjects perceived their weeping, feeling like weeping and asking a favor to be reactive or proactive was derived. Subjects also completed a number of mood adjective ratings scales, etc.

Subjects described many different kinds of weeping episodes; there did not seem to be a "typical" weeping episode. Sad weeping occurred most often in situations involving frustration, sadness or depression over life events and in situations involving conflict with a close friend or loved one. Happy weeping occurred most often in situations involving a period of anticipation followed by some climactic event (e.g., returning home after an absence), formal ceremonies (e.g., weddings), and during experiences involving strong religious or aesthetic feelings. Episodes in which subjects felt like weeping but did not were quite similar to those in which they actually wept. The two kinds of episodes seemed to be distinguished by the attitude of the subject toward weeping. Subjects regarded weeping more negatively or ambivalently in those episodes in which they felt like weeping but did not.

Sad weeping was most often preceded by weeping by the other person present or by a positive remark by the other person. Feeling like weeping followed similar events that had a somewhat more negative quality. Happy weeping followed very positive, climactic events (e.g., an embrace by a loved one).

Weeping, especially sad weeping, often brought about a marked change in the interactions between the subject and the other person present. In almost all of the episodes, weeping drew the other

person's attention to the subject. In situations involving conflict, the focus of the interaction often shifted from antagonism to succorance after the subject wept. Thus, sad weeping appears to have a pronounced communicative aspect.

Curiously, in spite of the obvious effects of weeping on the other person and the episode as a whole, effects almost always beneficial to the subject, subjects did not perceive their weeping to be proactive, that is intended to bring about a response by the other person. When compared with asking a favor, a voluntary (proactive) act, weeping was perceived by subjects to be quite reactive. These results are discussed in terms of the social meaning of weeping as an elicitor of succorance or sympathy. It is argued that weeping could not have the social effects that it does if it was regarded as anything but reactive and involuntary.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Consider the following scenario: John and Mary are having an argument. Mary would like to scale down their relationship for the summer. John is adamantly opposed to the idea. Mary tells John she would like to date other people, John tells her that would mean the end of their relationship. Tears fill John's eyes and he begins weeping. Mary, after a pause, tells John that maybe she was wrong, perhaps they should stay together as a couple for the summer. She sits down beside him and they embrace.

Many of us have been through situations similar to the above, and some of us have wondered about the marvelous power of tears to transform the meaning of situations. It is not difficult for most of us to think of a situation involving another person in which we or the other person wept, and many of us may even be able to step back from our memory of the situation to describe what was "really" going on between the participants involved. But, aside from personal anecdotes, how much do we know about weeping in interpersonal interactions? In what kinds of situations does weeping occur? How do people experience weeping? What does weeping mean?

#### Weeping: A Neglected Problem in Psychology

Unfortunately, we actually know very little about weeping.<sup>1</sup> Weeping, it appears, in spite of years of research on emotions and interpersonal relations, has been all but overlooked as a topic of

serious investigation. In 1906, Alvin Borgquist noted that weeping was a neglected problem in psychology. Today, three-quarters' of a century later, this statement still holds some truth. The present study is aimed at providing the first steps toward remedying this situation.

In the past decade there have been only two published social psychological studies of weeping in adults (Bindra, 1972; Efran and Spangler, 1979), one psychoanalytically oriented case history involving weeping (Sachs, 1973), and one or two studies of the physiological functions of weeping (e.g., Frey, et al, in press). This state of affairs should not be taken to mean that weeping is uninteresting or that it has already been "explained" in some comprehensive fashion. In fact, just the opposite appears to be the case. When we observe someone weeping we are likely to pay attention to that person; weeping is one of the most compelling of human expressions. And yet, in spite of the obvious strength of its appeal and its ubiquity, weeping remains a rather opaque phenomenon. We know very little about weeping aside from the fact that it often occurs in situations involving various forms of negative affect. In view of this, the purpose of the present undertaking is to 1) briefly review the present research on weeping, 2) examine what is of interest in the phenomenon from the standpoint of the study of the person as a social being, 3) point out how the recent research on weeping has ignored or obscured the most interesting aspects of the phenomenon, and 4) present the results of a study of weeping considered as a form of social interaction.

Before venturing into these relatively uncharted waters, however, it is pertinent to ask, "Aside from the fact that the phenomenon is ubiquitous but relatively neglected as a topic of scientific investigation, why study weeping?" (After all, yawning is rather ubiquitous also and appears to be even more neglected.) First of all, weeping, that is, emotional weeping, is unique to humans. Aside from apocryphal stories of crocodiles and family pets shedding tears of sadness, only humans are known to weep. Second, weeping is noteworthy in being one of the most visible physiological components of emotions. Unlike increases in heart rate or changes in skin conductance, tears are a manifestation of emotion immediately available to anyone who is looking. For this reason, the study of weeping should allow us to determine some of the ways in which physiological activities that serve as components or "signs" (if you will) of emotions become incorporated into the complex social roles that we call emotions (cf. Averill, 1980a).

One further point should be mentioned; weeping is one of those activities that stereotypically serve to differentiate gender at the level of everyday experience. According to the stereotype, females weep easily and often while males seldom do, and do so with some difficulty. (In the scenario presented above, the male would be considered to be acting out of role. The scenario, by the way, was adapted from a description of an actual event.) We first of all need to determine whether or not this is true, and if it is true, how and why males and females came to differ in this respect. That

is, we would want to study the functions of weeping with regard to biological and social considerations. If the stereotype turns out to be seriously in error (as most stereotypes do), we would want to know what functions the stereotype serves (say, in the maintenance of male domination, cf. Key, 1975, p. 109).

### Recent Studies of Weeping

The present review deals in depth with only the two most recent social psychological studies of weeping, namely, Bindra (1972) and Efran and Spangler (1979). There are two reasons for so restricting the review. 1) The present study is concerned with weeping as a social phenomenon and most, if not all, of the older studies cover a range of topics irrelevant to this issue. Where appropriate, of course, the data and conclusions of some of the older material are presented. 2) Many of the older studies are seriously handicapped by methodological and conceptual problems--the majority are far from systematic--and their conclusions are somewhat unreliable. (A thorough review of the available literature on weeping, from Descartes to the present, may be found in Cornelius, Note 1).

Bindra (1972) asked 50 university students (25 males and 25 females) to fill out a brief questionnaire on "crying".<sup>2</sup> Subjects were asked to describe "any recent occasion on which you cried" (p. 281) and additionally to comment on their "typical" weeping episode. Each of Bindra's subjects was able to recall a recent episode of weeping which, according to Bindra, might suggest that



weeping is universal among men and women.

Weeping was often described by Bindra's subjects as occurring when their "prevailing emotional state" became "too overpowering to allow normal adjustive behaviors to proceed" (p. 282). The event precipitating weeping was often described as the "last straw." Once weeping was initiated, however, the prevailing mood or emotion often shifted to a less intense or dramatic phase. Thus, Bindra notes, "(w)eeping is...a feature of an acute transitional state, different from both the initial and resulting emotional state" (p. 283).

Intuitively, one might expect that men and women would differ with regard to the reports they gave Bindra; the usual stereotype, as mentioned above, is that men weep less than women. Although Bindra's method did not allow him to assess differences in the frequency of weeping across sex, he did find that women tend to report that they weep for longer periods than do men. Men most often reported that their weeping episode lasted "two minutes or less" while women most often indicated that they wept "more than two minutes but less than 15." Men and women also differed with regard to the morphology of their weeping. Men most often reported having "watery eyes" and women most often reported sobbing. In addition, Bindra reported sex differences in the types of emotional states subjects reported experiencing before they began to weep. Men wept more often than women when their emotional state was described as "elation" or "dejection," while more women wept when their emotional state was described as "anguish." Finally, several women, but no men, mentioned

organismic or physiological factors as weeping-triggering events (e.g., sleep deprivation, menstruation, etc.).

Much of what Bindra reports will strike most anyone as unsurprising. His data with regard to sex differences seem to support popular notions about male and female weeping--much of what he found could have been predicted with a moment or two of careful reflection. The exception to this, of course, is the finding that men report weeping more often out of elation and dejection, women more out of anguish. Unfortunately, Bindra provides us with no idea of what his subjects mean by these terms and how they describe concrete instances of interaction. But, they do give us a hint that something interesting may be going on.

Bindra's finding that subjects report weeping when "normal adjustive behavior" can no longer proceed has been cited before, most notably by Plessner (1970), who developed a theory of the existential "limits to human behavior" from it. Likewise, Bindra's conclusion that weeping represents a transition between more and less intense phases of emotional experience finds echos in Lund's (1930) observations of hospitalized depressives and even Descartes' (1649/1927) speculations about weeping.

The problem with such observations is that, again, we have little idea of what they mean in terms of the particulars of face-to-face interaction. The data that Bindra presents seem to consist of nothing more than superficialities (although in terms of what we know about weeping his was no mean contribution). The reason for this is quite

simple, but has enormous implications. The information that Bindra obtained appears trivial because his study was conducted in the absence of a coherent theory of social interaction. Without the framework offered by such a theory, efforts to come to terms with weeping will be plagued with difficulties. Under these circumstances, one has no metric by which to gauge what is of importance and what is not. Indeed, deciding what counts as data is itself problematic; all pieces of information will be given equal weight.

In actuality, the picture is even more complicated. In the absence of an explicit theory of social interaction, research is often guided by a host of implicit theories, often of a contradictory or mutually exclusive nature. In such an environment, the gathering of data tends to become almost random and it is difficult to ascertain where "progress" is being made in the understanding of the social world.

In the recent past, several philosophers, psychologists and sociologists have sought to remedy this state of affairs (e.g., Winch, 1958; Armistead, 1974; Harre and Secord, 1972). Most recently, Cronen and Pearce (in press; Pearce and Cronen, 1980) have presented a theory of social interaction, based on a model of dyadic communication, that takes into account many of the criticisms and suggestions of people like Harre and others. It is argued below that one way to intelligently investigate the phenomenon of weeping is to incorporate that undertaking into the larger framework for the study of social interaction as provided by Pearce and Cronen, drawing as well on

the theory of emotions presented by Averill (cf. 1980). However, before considering how this might be done, space must be given to one further study of weeping. Discussion of this study will hopefully illustrate what appears at this time to be one of the most important and neglected aspects of weeping.

Efran and Spangler (1979) present what they call a "two-factor" theory of weeping. They point out (as many others have done) that the production of tears seems to accompany or follow the release of tension. Further, they propose that the act of weeping may be divided into two phases, and that weeping proper, the production of tears, occurs only during the second phase. During the first, so-called "arousal" phase, the "organism"<sup>3</sup> is somehow activated or aroused, creating tension. The events of this first phase may be variously characterized by individuals as positive or negative, depending on the context. Tears do not appear at this stage, but only after some event has allowed the "system" to shift into a phase where the arousal is more or less suddenly alleviated. Tears occur, then, during the recovery from heightened arousal.

The notion that tears accompany tension-reduction and occur during transitional states is, of course, not new (cf. Lund, 1930; Bindra, 1972), and in fact forms the basis for the psychoanalytic approach to the problem of tears (cf. Greenacre, 1945; 1965). Efran and Spangler, however, attempt to provide a more rigorous formulation and empirical test of this hypothesis. Efran and Spangler also provide a characterization of the event which leads to the so-called

recovery phase. They assert that recovery from heightened arousal is occasioned by the removal of some psychological or physical barrier or obstacle which prevents the individual from accomplishing certain ends. "In our view, tears signal that a person has given up work on an issue, either because the issue has been resolved . . . or because the current approach need no longer be pursued. . ." (p. 67).

Efran and Spangler tested this notion by having subjects evaluate the script from the play The miracle worker (Gibson, 1962), indicating at what points they felt like weeping. Of the 11 subjects used in the study, all were in total agreement concerning their response to the major climactic events in the play. All of these climactic scenes could be characterized, according to Efran and Spangler, as following their schema for the production of tears; that is, some barrier which had been placed in front of a character was removed.

From these results the authors conclude that what is important to observe in the phenomenon of weeping is the event that occasions the shift from arousal to recovery. According to this point of view, the appearance of tears in (say) a psychotherapy session can be seen diagnostically as indicating that some important psychological event or "reorganization" has just occurred and that the intervention which preceded the weeping was thus of value. This leads Efran and Spangler to assert that "tears are not otherwise 'valuable' and producing them need not become an end in itself" (p. 68).

Efran and Spangler's demonstration of this aspect of weeping seems straightforward enough; their conclusions, however, warrant

some comment. For one thing, there is the question of how similar are the tears of an observer to those of the actor him/herself. Recall that Efran and Spangler only elicited judgments from the observers as to when they would weep in response to the action in the play. Efran and Spangler seem to tacitly assume that the intuitive judgments of their subjects as observers will generalize to situations in which the observers have become actors. This certainly need not be the case. In any event, it is a question open to empirical test.

A more serious problem with Efran and Spangler's theory concerns the nature of the "tension" or "arousal" which presumably must be present in order for weeping to occur. Concepts such as these are dear to the hearts of many emotion theorists but pinning down their exact definition is often difficult. When Efran and Spangler speak of an increase in tension before the climactic events in The miracle worker, are they referring literally to some physiological process or, more figuratively, to something psychological, e.g., feelings of anticipation? Without a doubt, concepts like tension and arousal often inform the way people interpret their emotions but it is dangerous to use such vague terms in an explanatory manner until specific referents are supplied for them.

Another problem with Efran and Spangler's analysis is the difficulty they encounter in trying to differentiate weeping from what they regard as similar acts, e.g., laughing. The authors point out that weeping and laughing are very similar in that both follow

shifts from arousal to recovery, or what Sroufe, et al. (1974) call "the resolution of indeterminacy" (p. 51). Efran and Spangler, however, are unable to specify just when tears will appear to the exclusion of laughter, and vice versa. The best they can offer is that laughter occurs when the phase-shifting event can be incorporated into a pre-existing cognitive schema and weeping occurs when the event cannot be so integrated. They admit, however, that this is pure speculation.

Efran and Spangler argue that the theory they have developed covers situations where tears accompany joy as well as sadness. The only difference between the two types of situations, according to Efran and Spangler, resides in the labeling of the context in which the tears appear, and not in the 'mechanism' of weeping involved. Asserting that the only difference between joy and sadness is one of contrasting contextual labels, however, is a gross oversimplification, to say the least. Efran and Spangler's focus on the 'mechanism' of weeping diverts their attention from the full complexity of the problem. As Averill (cf. 1980a) would point out, sadness and joy are not simply labels but refer to multifaceted human relationships. The tears that may be shed in the context of joy or sadness may have vastly different meanings in terms of the relationships within which they appear. This point also bears on Efran and Spangler's inability to distinguish weeping from laughter. Following Averill's line of reasoning, we would expect laughter or weeping to occur in situations where each is meaningful in terms of the history of the situation or

episode involved and the relationships within which it is embedded. Episodes where laughter or weeping appear to be unrelated to the meanings of participants would most likely be thought of as "enigmatic" (cf. Harre and Secord, 1972; Cronen, Pearce and Snavely, Note 2) and the actor involved thus perhaps pejoratively labeled, e.g., as a psychotic (for an interesting example of this, see Barbara Tuchman's, 1978, description of hysterical mystics in the Middle Ages, p. 231). Efran and Spangler ignore meanings; in fact, they assert along with Nisbett and Wilson (1977) that meanings are unimportant. It is certainly arguable that until we possess a more complete critical description of weeping, such a move is premature.

Efran and Spangler's conclusions may also be criticised from an ethological point of view. Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1975; 1979), among others, has made considerable progress in exploring the evolutionary significance of various expressive reactions. He points out that almost any observable reaction which more or less reliably accompanies a certain state of affairs for an organism may eventually come to serve as a signal to conspecifics of that state (1979). For instance, he suggests that the primate facial expression which signals aggressive intent, the grimace--drawn lips, bared canines--developed into a signal because it reliably indicated that the organism was in the first stages of attack. Eibl-Eibesfeldt contends that many expressive reactions at both the human and non-human level have acquired the "meanings" they now have through this process of biological ritualization whereby various movements and reactions are transformed



into signals (1979, pp. 3-55; see also Goffman, 1981). The raw material for these signals may come from four classes of behaviors or reactions, so-called "intention movements," displacement activities, acts performed for other purposes and epiphenomena of excitation (Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1979, pp. 10-14). It is beyond the scope of this study to go into any detail regarding the ritualization of each of these classes of behavior. Suffice it to say that a case can be made for the evolution of weeping from an "epiphenomenon" of excitation to a social signal of a biological nature and thus to a complex form of social interaction mediated by higher-order meanings. A brief account of what the evolutionary path of weeping may have been is in order.

Darwin (1872/1974), Montagu (1960), Frey, et al (in press), and others (e.g., Margules, 1979) have offered theories to account for the physiological functions of weeping. Darwin, in his famous account, argued that weeping is an epiphenomenon of screaming, serving to protect the eyeballs during violent exertion. Montagu also contends that weeping is an epiphenomenon of screaming but that its function is to keep the nasal mucosa moist. Frey, on the other hand, holds that weeping serves to rid the body of "toxic wastes" built up during periods of stress. Whatever the precise physiological function of weeping, it is certain, following Eibl-Eibesfeldt's arguments, that once the organism evolved to such a point that weeping reliably accompanied certain internal states or external situations, the social biology of the phenomenon took precedence over the more physiological

aspects. Through ritualization, then, we would expect weeping to acquire some signal value.

But, what does weeping signal? The most likely answer is that in its prototypical form weeping signals some state of helplessness or pain in the organism. Reynolds (1924) offers speculation along these lines, and Bowlby (1969) considers weeping as an important "attachment" behavior, reliably produced when young primates or humans are separated from their mothering one (cf. p. 199, passim), certainly a state of helplessness. Ekman and Oster (1979), in fact, call weeping the "universal signal of distress" (p. 533, emphasis in original). But whatever its function in a biological sense, we must be wary of regarding weeping strictly in terms of its biological functions. Human beings are social animals with a difference, and, whatever their biological heritage, the fruits of evolution should never be viewed as immutable givens. Biology is always experienced through and modified by human culture (cf. Strauss, 1977). We should certainly expect that weeping will have various meanings produced through social interaction and the dialectical interplay between biology and society.

To return to Efran and Spangler for a moment, we should not rule out the possibility that weeping manifests itself in the manner they have outlined. However, their explanation covers only one aspect of the phenomenon and by failing to include a consideration of meaning, either on a social or biological level, in their formulation, their analysis tends to be somewhat sterile. In addition, and more

importantly, their approach leads them to the conclusion that there seems to be no real reason for the appearance of tears qua tears in the types of social interaction they highlight (cf. p. 68). If tears are but "one outward manifestation of the shift to recovery," being themselves, "not a part of sadness, happiness, anger, or similar emotion...but. . . instead a part of the recovery from these states of heightened arousal" (p. 68). Then why tears and not something else? Efran and Spangler overlook the fact that tears always mean something to individuals (we scarcely need an experiment to prove this). They may in fact function just as Efran and Spangler say, but that is not the complete picture. In order to more fully understand weeping, it may be argued that we will need to take into account the meanings and relationships within which tears are embedded. This task, in turn, must be carried out within the framework of a theory of social interaction which identifies actors' meanings as important items of concern for the social scientist.

The above criticisms of Efran and Spangler's study and the ensuing comments about the necessity of considering meaning imply that there is an aspect of the phenomenon of weeping which should be considered paramount but which has in fact been all but ignored. What is of interest with regard to weeping, in this perspective, is how this seemingly involuntary, physiological activity gets incorporated into various social roles and the various forms of social interaction they embody. In short, how do people render acts of weeping meaningful? In order to make sense out of questions such as these, we must first move away from conceptions of emotion and emotional

expression that focus only on particular aspects of these phenomena. It is necessary to approach emotions not from their component parts, e.g., physiological arousal, emotional "label" and so on, but rather as forms of social interaction themselves (cf. Averill, 1980a). That said, how should we proceed to study weeping? Obviously, the first thing we need to do is characterize more precisely weeping as a form of social interaction; that is, social weeping. The purpose of the present study is to undertake such an investigation, employing the framework for the analysis of social interaction provided by Pearce and Cronen (1980). As outlined below, their theory not only provides a structure for the critical description of weeping as social interaction, but further, allows us to come to some understanding of how people perceive the logic or "necessity" of weeping episodes.

Notice that this is not an investigation into the functions of weeping as a signal in the biological sense (i.e., as an innate releaser), although it is assumed that in one way or another, the biological/evolutionary functions of weeping form a substrate out of which the higher-order functions and meanings of weeping are wrought. Note also that this is not an investigation of the broad cultural relevance and meaning of weeping, although here too we would expect that cultural meanings will enter into and be constitutive of individual actor's meanings. The focus of the present study is on the dyad and how weeping functions within dyadic interaction. For the moment we will simply have to set aside our interest in the

biological and cultural significance of weeping except insofar as it will help us to understand weeping at the level of face-to-face interaction.

### Framework for the Study of Weeping as Social Interaction

The theory of social interaction developed by Pearce and Cronen (1980; Cronen, Pearce and Snavely, Note 2; Cronen and Pearce, in press) operates on two levels. 1) It functions descriptively by identifying the relevant structural components of interaction episodes, so-called constitutive and regulative rules. These structural components are conceptualized as having variable configurations, thus allowing for the construction of a taxonomy of episodes (cf. Cronen, Pearce and Snavely, Note 2, Figure 2). The theory also functions 2) in an explanatory manner by identifying the existence of and specifying the measurement of two forms of "necessity" in social interaction, so-called practical and prefigurative logical necessity.

Cronen and Pearce conceptualize human beings as active information processors continually at work constructing the realities they inhabit. Central to Cronen and Pearce's theory is the notion that people act in accordance with the meanings they construct and derive from and for social interaction episodes. Thus, breaking ranks with the prevailing behavioristic trend in psychology and social science, Cronen and Pearce take seriously the proposition that "ideas have consequences," and, further, that "regardless of the validity of (these) ideas, they function as 'causes' of the actions

of those who believe them" (Cronen and Pearce, in press, p. 9). However, there need not be any one-to-one correspondence between the "ideas" that a person possesses and the actions he or she undertakes. For Cronen and Pearce, the locus of meaning is intra-personal or intra-psychic while the locus of action is interpersonal (Pearce and Cronen, 1980, p. 148). One of the implications of this is that people may not always perform the actions they intend to perform. That is, the meanings that guide an actor's behavior in a given situation may combine with those of other actors to produce a "logic" for action which is different from and supercedes the logic which may have been generated by the individual actor's meanings alone. This important notion gives rise to an understanding of one form of necessity, namely, prefigurative logical necessity.

#### Two types of logical necessity.

According to Cronen and Pearce, at least two types of necessity may be identified with regard to the determination of social action. The first, so-called practical necessity, involves willful goal-directed activity or the extent to which a person translates his or her wishes or intentions into action. "The power of practical necessity depends upon the amount of normative pressure an actor feels to perform or not perform a certain act. Practical force. . . (refers to) . . . how persons respond to the normative pressures of an actor, a culture, or an institution in selecting goals and the means to achieve them" (Cronen and Pearce, in press, p. 2). Practical necessity thus involves what Alfred Schutz called "in-order-to"

motives (1973, p. 21, passim). For the purposes at hand, the extent to which a person wept in a given situation in order to bring about certain ends would be a measure of practical necessity.

The second form of necessity identified by Cronen and Pearce, so-called prefigurative necessity, refers to the extent to which certain configurations of meanings "demand" or require certain actions. This type of necessity draws our attention to the ways in which certain actions are "prefigured" by the logic of any given social episode. Prefigurative necessity functions in a manner similar to Schutz' "because" motives (1973, p. 22, passim). In the present case, prefigurative necessity would be revealed in the extent to which an actor felt compelled to weep in a given situation or wept because "that was the only thing to do."

According to Pearce and Cronen, each person may be conceptualized as possessing a systematically-arranged network of meanings and rules for meaning and action. The structure and content of any individual's rules for meaning and action account for his or her behavior. When two or more individuals interact in some social situation, the occurrence of the specific patterns of action and meaning that result may be accounted for by reference to the combined influence of each actor's rule/meaning network. The "logic" which results from this combinatory action is what Cronen and Pearce identify as prefigurative necessity. "The combinatory potential of two or more persons' 'ideas' is the logical force which (on an individual basis) accounts for specific acts and (on a dyadic or social level) accounts for transpersonal

durative patterns of behavior" (in press, p. 12).

Cronen and Pearce realize, of course, that prefigurative force may not be the only type of necessity operating within a given social situation. Individuals must also be seen as attempting to accomplish some kind of "work" within the situation (cf. Goffman, 1959; 1967). However, Cronen and Pearce's theory allows us to move beyond such considerations of practical necessity and onto the study of patterns of human action which may not be the result of conscious activity or planning on the part of the participants involved. Thus, Cronen and Pearce incorporate into their theory the important notion that "actors are not always creating one coherent pattern (of activity) or another. . ." (p. 11). That is, individuals may find themselves in situations where they feel overtaken by events, in the grip of forces they did not consciously create or will. These "forces" are nevertheless of their own making, and this is a crucial point, as they result from the ways in which the individuals have imposed meaning on the world. The value of this conception, and the apparatus for its empirical investigation, for the study of emotions and emotional expression from the standpoint of the "constructivist" (cf. Averill, 1980b) is considerable. As Averill (1980a) points out, one of the distinguishing features of emotions is that they are experienced as "passions," that is, as not being the conscious constructions of the individuals involved in "having" them.



### Meanings and rules.

Cronen and Pearce suggest that we think of persons as possessing "systems of multileveled meanings and rules (for meaning and action) the primary function of which is to transform raw sensory data into meanings and meanings into action" (in press, p. 19). Their conception is actually quite similar to Kelly's (1963) notion that people possess systems of personal constructs with which to make sense out of the world. Cronen and Pearce's constructs, however, are not hypotheses that predict what might happen but rules that specify what should be done (cf. T. Mischel's, 1964, interpretation of Kelly's theory). People make sense out of the world, then, by reference to the meanings they possess and the rules which give those meanings coherence and guide appropriate action.

Systems of meaning. According to Cronen and Pearce, the various meanings that allow individuals to transform the raw data of experience are systematically arranged within hierarchies where each meaning is embedded within or contextualized by higher order levels of meaning. "Meaning" conceptualized in this manner, is actually an emergent property of the system as a whole and not a characteristic of individual elements, as we shall see.

At the lowest level of contextualization is the actual content of an action or communication, i.e., the information it conveys in isolation from any "instructions" as to how the information is to be interpreted. The informational content of an action or utterance is embedded within or contextualized by at least five supraordinate

levels of meaning. Each lower level of meaning is seen as being contextualized and defined by the level above it.

The immediate contextualization of the content of an action or utterance is the act or speech act within which it occurs. This refers to what a person does to another by saying or doing something (cf. Austin, 1975). For example, calling someone a "nitwit" usually "counts as" an insult. However, there may be some situations where this counts as something else, say, an affectionate or playful remark. Thus, acts are contextualized within episodes.

Episodes are experienced by participants as patterned wholes, "characterized by special rules of speech and nonverbal behavior and often distinguished by clearly recognizable opening and closing sequences" (Cronen and Pearce, in press, pp. 20-21; see also Harre, 1980, pp. 45-61). In the example referred to above, the episode "affectionate play" provides for the interpretation of various acts and utterances in a specific way as opposed to an episode characterized as an "angry confrontation." Episodes may be thought of as sets of rules for the interpretation of various acts. Of considerable relevance here is Averill's (1980a) conceptualization of emotions as "transitory social roles" (p. 152, passim). Emotions, as transitory social roles, can be seen as bestowing meaning upon the various acts which are contextualized within emotional episodes. Emotions as social roles, consisting of more or less well defined sets of acts (see Averill, 1980b, pp. 307-308, emotions as "syndromes"), may also be contextualized within the boundaries of more inclusive types

of episodes (the extent to which the set of emotional acts was "more or less" well defined would depend on the requirements of the episode in question).

Episodes are embedded within the relationship between or among the actors involved in the episode. Cronen and Pearce refer to relationships at this level as "master contracts." Master contracts are defined as each individual's implicit expectations as to the kinds of episodes that should occur between him/herself and the other(s) within the defined relationship. For example, a hand placed on the shoulder of another as a prelude to more intimate interaction will be contextualized in different ways and given different meanings depending on whether it occurs within the context of a relationship between marriage partners or strangers.

Encompassing the level of meaning represented by relationships or master contracts is notion of life-script or self-image (self-concept, etc.). Life-script refers to the kinds of expectations a person has about the kinds of relationships, patterns of episodes, acts, etc., he or she should engage in given the way he or she defines him/herself. Cronen and Pearce prefer the use of the term life-script rather than the more common self-concept or self-image because the former suggests a more dynamic and less reified notion of the self.

Life-scripts are contextualized within "supra-personal" patterns of culture, what Berger and Luckmann (1966) call "symbolic universes" (pp. 92-93). The patterns of culture define humankind's relationship

to nature, mind to body, etc. These are the mythologies of culture, the most general levels of legitimation.

These six levels then, represent how meanings are contextualized hierarchically. However, this does not exhaust the various ways in which meanings may be contextualized. Account must also be taken of two kinds of temporal contextualization.

Temporally antecedent meanings (acts, episodes, etc.) contextualize subsequent meanings. In the simplest case, antecedent conditions may change the probability of occurrence of certain subsequent acts (cf. Rausch, 1972). Temporally consequent meanings, e.g., goals and purposes, may contextualize antecedent meanings. For example, a person's expectations with regard to some desired future goal may lead him/her to interpret present events in a particular manner. Contextualization by temporally consequent meanings may also take the form of a hierarchy in that we may recognize that a person's actions are guided by immediate episode-dependent goals (e.g., finishing a paper one has started), as well as more long term goals (e.g., one's ultimate goal in life--cf. Adler, 1959).

Figure 1 presents a model of the hierarchical and temporal contextualization of an act.

#### Rules for meaning and action.

The various levels of meaning that individuals possess are given intrapersonal coherence by means of rules. Rules provide structure for meanings and actions through various forms of entailment, that is, how one meaning or action is implied by another meaning or action

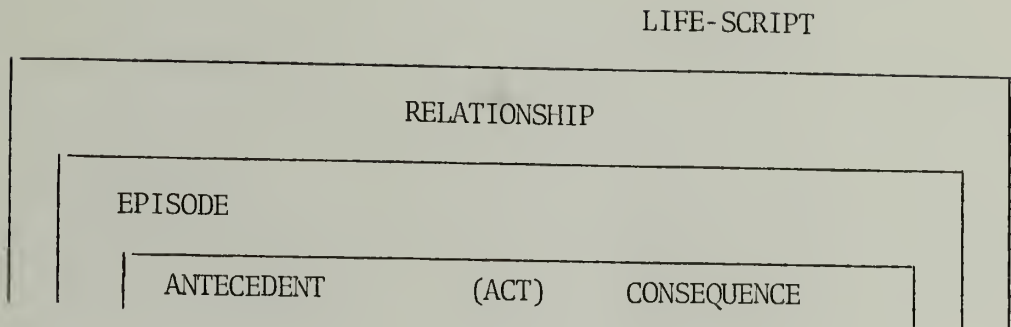


Figure 1. Hierarchical and temporal contextualization of an act.

as movement ("If A occurs, do B.") or equivalence ("A equals B."). The strength of the entailments among the various meanings and actions that a person possesses is conceived of as being variable.

Cronen and Pearce draw on Von Wright's (1951) notion of "deontic" logical operators to express the variable nature of entailment. Using deontic operators, entailment is expressed in terms of the strength of the relationship among components of the intrapersonal system of meanings and actions; subjectively, this might be expressed as "degrees of oughtness" connecting the performance of two acts (e.g., the "ought" connecting "Will you?" and "I will" is much stronger when one is involved in a marriage ceremony than when one is being asked to go out for pizza). These entailments thus represent the types of connections that people themselves perceive among their "ideas."

Figure 2 presents the contextualization of an act expressed as entailment of variable strength (all possible connections are not represented in the interest of clarity). Each arrow represents entailment of variable strength. The double-headed arrows indicate that certain meanings may be entailed in two different ways. For example, the performance of a certain act may be strongly entailed by a person's life-script so that there exists some pressure or force to perform the act arising from the way the person defines him/herself. Conversely, an act may be performed in order to bring about a certain self-definition. This dual nature of entailment is discussed more fully below.

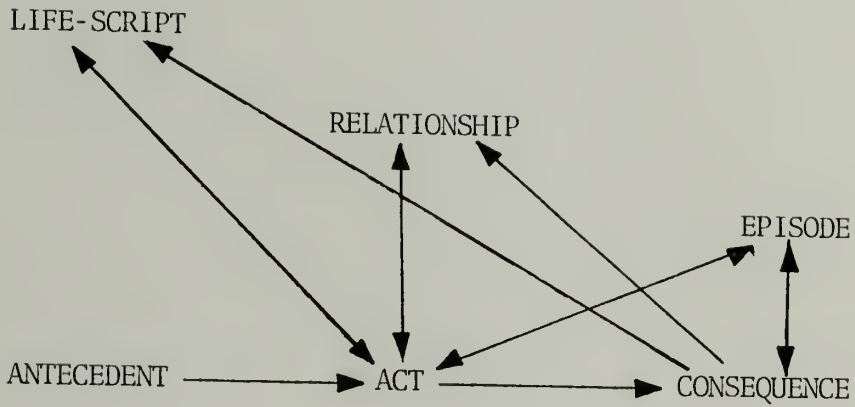


Figure 2. Contextualization expressed as entailment of variable strength (after Pearce and Cronen, 1980, p. 145).

The rules that connect the various meanings and actions that a person possesses, and give form to expression of entailment are of two types, so-called constitutive and regulative rules.

Constitutive rules. Constitutive rules render different meanings and actions equivalent, they "create and define" (Searle, 1969, p. 33). "Constitutive rules specify how sensory inputs count as meanings, or how meanings at one level of abstraction count as meanings at another" (Pearce and Cronen, 1980, p. 141). Constitutive rules involve entailment expressed in hierarchical and equivalence ("counts as") operators. For example, as discussed above, "You nitwit" usually counts as an insult if it is contextualized (hierarchically) as occurring in an argument. "You nitwit," however, may count as something quite different if it is contextualized in another way. Thus, constitutive rules specify how the various levels of contextualization outlined above are connected. A schematization of a simple constitutive rule is presented in Figure 3.

Regulative rules. Regulative rules are rules of movement, they specify what actions should or should not be taken given certain antecedent conditions and contexts. "(I)n the context of certain social action, if given antecedent conditions obtain, then there exists some degree of force for or against the performance of subsequent actions" (Pearce and Cronen, 1980, pp. 141-144). In addition to specifying obligatory and prohibited performances, regulative rules may also specify the consequences of the performances in question. Regulative rules thus involve entailment expressed in



Episode: Argument in high school locker room

cR=  $\boxed{\text{Adversary's "turn" } \supset (\text{"You nitwit"} \rightarrow \text{INSULT})}$

$\boxed{\phantom{x}}$  = "In the context of \_\_\_\_\_ episode"  
(hierarchical entailment).

$\supset$  = "If..., then..." (sequential entailment).

$\rightarrow$  = "...counts as..." (equivalence).

Figure 3. Example of a simple constitutive rule (after Cronen and Pearce, in press, Figure 2).

sequential as well as hierarchical operators. For example, in an argument between teenagers in the high school locker room, being called a nitwit might entail that one should follow the insult with another in order to maintain one's status in the locker room pecking order. A line of action prohibited by such a rule would be to make light of the insult and treat it as a joke. According to this rule, this would lead to a diminution of one's status. A schematization of a simple regulative rule is presented in Figure 4.

It should be clear from these examples how interaction based on interpersonal rules develops. Interpersonal rule systems are emergent properties of the combination of two or more intrapersonal rule systems. The action resulting from the application of one person's regulative rules in a situation becomes the antecedent condition for the application of another's rules. These interlocking rules produce a "logic" for interaction and hence an interpersonal system emerges. Thus, even though Cronen and Pearce's theory focuses on the structure of individuals' rule systems, the ultimate aim of the theory is to account for interpersonal interaction.

Although Cronen and Pearce do not address the issue, there is no reason why the "other" who compliments one's intrapersonal rule system need be present or even real in order for an interpersonal logic to develop. Following the tradition of Mead (cf. 1977, p. 217, passim), Sullivan (cf. 1964, p. 46, passim) and others, we may speak of a "generalized other" (Mead) or specific "personifications" of others (Sullivan) with whom one may interact imaginatively. Thus,

Episode: Argument in high school locker room

rR=  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{Insult by} \\ \text{adversary} \end{array} \supset \begin{array}{l} \text{Oblig: Return insult} \\ \text{Prohib: Make a joke} \end{array} \right) \supset \begin{array}{l} \text{Maintain} \\ \text{status} \end{array}$

$\square$  = "In the context of \_\_\_\_\_ episode"  
"hierarchical entailment).

$\supset$  = "If..., then..." (sequential  
entailment).

Figure 4. Example of a simple regulative rule (after Cronen and Pearce, in press, Figure 3).

in terms of the regulative rule notion, the application of a certain rule would involve how one expects the other, present or not present, real or not real, to act. The way an act is contextualized and the specific form of necessity implied by an act (see below) would depend on imagined antecedents and consequences when the other is not present or real. Again echoing Sullivan, we might even go farther and say that all human action involves at least one other person, even if not present or real (cf. Carson, 1969, pp. 25-26). At the risk of misusing an important concept, we might say that in some sense, every human act is the product of interpersonal interaction.

#### Prefigurative and practical necessity.

According to Cronen and Pearce, the structure of regulative rules is variable. Specifically, regulative rules vary in the strength of the entailment among levels of meaning, prohibited or obligatory acts, etc. That is, the way an act is contextualized within a regulative rule is variable in Von Wright's sense ("deontic" logic). Within the structure of each regulative rule, two important configurations of entailments may be identified. The strength of the entailments among the various components of these two configurations define the degree of prefigurative and practical necessity expressed within the regulative rule.

The configuration of relationships which define the prefigurative necessity exerted by a regulative rule involves how the action implied by the rule is entailed by "pre-existing" conditions. These pre-existing conditions include the particular antecedent to the act in

question, the life-script of the actor, the relationship between the actor and others involved and the situation or episode in which the act is embedded. If the strength of these entailments to the specific act implied by the regulative rule is high, then the act is said to be prefigured by the pre-existing conditions. For example, suppose that we obtain the following report from someone:

"Every time I have a discussion with a certain colleague about psychology or linguistics (episode), and he criticizes some aspect of my theory of mind (antecedent condition), I can usually disarm his criticism by telling him, 'You're wrong to criticize me on that point because I never said that!' (act). I almost always have to defend myself in this way because I'm more familiar with the philosophy of mind than most people (life-script)" (after Cronen and Pearce, in press, p. 28).

In this example, the specific act undertaken by the actor is closely associated with his sense of himself, and is prefigured by his definition of the episode, his perceptions of the antecedent conditions, etc.

It is necessary to emphasize here that the "pre-existing conditions" that may prefigure the action in an episode are the creations of the actor, i.e., they exist only insofar as he/she perceives them to exist. In order to be more precise, we should say that the actor's definitions of him/herself, the situation, etc., prefigure the action.

The extent to which actors translate their intentions into goal-directed activity is represented in the configuration of entailments defining the practical necessity implicated in regulative rules. These entailments involve how well the consequences of one's actions reflect one's goals; that is, the extent to which the consequences of engaging in a particular act help one become the person one wants to be (life-script), attain the kinds of relationships one would like to have, etc. In the example cited above, getting into arguments about the philosophy of mind may be perceived by the actor as a means to become an expert on the subject (at least in the eyes of others).

Relative necessity. Prefigurative and practical necessity do not always work in concert. As Cronen and Pearce have pointed out, the predominance of one type of necessity over the other produces characteristic forms of activity. For example, interactions in which prefigurative necessity is very strong and practical necessity weak tend to be highly ritualized or stereotyped and may be perceived by participants as beyond their control. Situations in which practical necessity prevails at the expense of prefigurative necessity may appear to be "enigmatic" to participants; interaction may be perceived here as being relatively uncontrolled by situational constraints with each participant striving to attain his/her goals regardless of feedback from the others involved, etc. (cf. Cronen and Pearce, in press, p. 30).

Following the measurement procedures outlined below, the manner in which people contextualize the various regulative rules they employ

for any act within an episode may be ascertained and the prefigurative and practical necessity expressed by each act computed. The relative necessity expressed by each act within the episode may then be obtained by comparing prefigurative and practical necessity (e.g., by subtracting one from the other).

Summary: The structure of social action.

Cronen and Pearce's theory, then, provides us with a model of social interaction based on the meanings individuals impose on events. Social actors make sense of the world by means of rules for meaning and action. The rules and meanings that people possess are assumed to be organized more or less systematically and it is possible to obtain judgments from people as to the ways in which various meanings entail other meanings and actions. By examining the manner in which actors perceive the various configurations of entailment among the meanings they possess, the perceived necessity of social action may be determined.

#### Weeping as Social Interaction

Thus far, we have seen how the most recent (and representative) research on weeping has bypassed or ignored certain crucial and theoretically interesting aspects of the phenomenon; namely, that it is a meaningful social activity. Previous research has never really gone beyond description of the superficial aspects of weeping. Part of the reason for this, it was argued, is that most of this research was carried out in the absence of an explicit, coherent theory of

of social interaction. Cronen and Pearce's theory of social life was seen as an antidote to the relatively theory-deprived state of research on weeping. The study described below was an attempt to investigate the phenomenon of weeping from the standpoint of such a theory of social interaction. In a sense, the phenomenon at hand, social weeping, is one that has not been studied before. To be sure, investigators in the past have dealt with social weeping, but they never explicitly recognized that they were doing so.

#### Social weeping: Assumptions.

In order to make explicit the manner in which the present study differs from previous research on weeping in terms of the basic conceptualization of the phenomenon, the following assumptions are offered:

- 1) Weeping was assumed to be a meaningful act embedded within more or less clearly defined episodes.
- 2) It was assumed that subjects would be able to describe their social weeping in terms of episodes consisting of a series of discrete acts on the part of each participant involved.
- 3) Further, it was assumed that subjects could describe (indirectly) the manner in which weeping was rendered meaningful for them; that is, the ways in which their weeping was entailed by the various meanings they imposed on the episodes.

#### The purpose of the present study.

The specific goal of the present study was twofold: 1) an



attempt was made to characterize in precise terms the structure of weeping episodes involving more than one person and 2) to assess the relative contribution of prefigurative and practical necessity in the genesis of social weeping as perceived by subjects. The major task of the study was to elicit from subjects detailed descriptions of weeping episodes in terms of the structural variables identified by Cronen and Pearce, e.g., the meaning of the various acts, the episode, the relationships involved, etc.

#### The structure of weeping episodes.

The present study sought to advance what is known about the actual social situations in which weeping occurs by eliciting from subjects detailed, structured descriptions of their weeping. Subjects were asked to describe the various acts performed by each participant within a situation in which they wept. By providing subjects with a relatively structured format within which to describe their weeping, the relationships among the various acts performed by the subject and others in the situation and the meanings each had could be assessed.<sup>4</sup>

Researchers in the past (cf. Bindra, 1972) have sought to construct a taxonomy of weeping episodes, but have lacked the kind of detailed information necessary for such an undertaking. The collection of detailed descriptions in the present study was carried out partly in an attempt to construct a weeping episode taxonomy and to answer the question, "Is there a typical weeping episode?" (i.e., "Do all weeping episodes share something in common?", cf. Koestler, 1967).

In order to make the present undertaking somewhat more manageable, subjects were only asked to provide descriptions of two kinds of weeping (along with descriptions of other kinds of situations--see below), namely, sad weeping and happy weeping. Subjects were asked to describe the former because it is probably the most common. Subjects were asked to describe happy weeping because even less is known about it than about sad weeping (or weeping associated with negative affect in general) and, in addition, it is one of the more perplexing aspects of the phenomenon (cf. Feldman, 1956; Weiss, 1952).

#### Weeping and perceived necessity: An hypothesis.

Weeping is often described by individuals as something they could not help doing, as something beyond their control. According to the framework developed here, such an experience would emerge from an episode marked by relatively strong prefigurative necessity and relatively weak practical necessity.<sup>5</sup> In view of this, it may be hypothesized that the perceived necessity of the act of weeping should be relatively more prefigurative than practical; that is, weeping should be perceived by subjects as prefigured by the situation, antecedent conditions, etc.

#### Sex differences in weeping.

Stereotypically, one of the most outstanding features of weeping has to do with sex differences in its display. Bindra's (1972) study suggested some of the sex differences in weeping but his conclusions were rather vague. A pilot study carried out in preparation

to the present undertaking indicated that there are some sex differences in weeping, but the results were far from clearcut.<sup>6</sup> One of the major tasks of the present study was to gather more information on this issue, both in terms of sex differences in episode type (a difference suggested by Bindra's findings) and relative necessity.

## C H A P T E R I I

### METHODS

#### Subjects

Thirty-eight undergraduate students, 18 male and 20 female, enrolled in psychology courses at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, served as subjects.<sup>7</sup> Subjects received class credit (points toward their final grade) for participation in the study. At the time of recruitment, potential subjects were told that the study consisted of a one- to one-and-a-half hour interview during which they would be asked to recount their experiences in a situation where they wept in the presence of another person.

#### Design

Subjects were randomly assigned to one of three groups. Subjects in all three groups were asked to describe an episode involving sadness in which they wept in the presence of a person with whom they had a friendly or intimate relationship at the time; and, depending on the group he or she was assigned to, each subject was also asked to describe one of three contrast episodes. Subjects were asked to describe 1) an episode in which they felt like weeping but did not, 2) an episode involving happiness in which they wept, or 3) an episode in which they asked for a favor from a friend or intimate.

Subjects were asked to describe one of the three types of contrast episodes in order to determine how sad weeping episodes differ from

similar episodes in which weeping does not occur (felt like weeping episodes), episodes involving a similar act where the act could be supposed to have a different meaning (happy weeping) and a non-emotional situation (asking a favor). Descriptions of asking a favor were obtained in order to provide a measure of discriminant validity in determining the relative necessity of the various types of acts involved (sad weeping, happy weeping, feeling like weeping, etc.), since, following Cronen and Pearce, asking for a favor should be an almost totally voluntary act (subjects were told to think of a favor asked more out of convenience than need) and thus, should load highly on practical necessity. The act of asking a favor thus served as a benchmark in determining the relative necessity of sad weeping.

Subjects in all three groups were asked to provide episodes in which the sex of the other person present (specified as a friend or intimate for both episodes) was the same for both of the episodes they described. The order of elicitation of the two episodes (sad weeping and contrast) was counterbalanced.

When the study began, an attempt was made to assign equal numbers of subjects to each of the three groups (12 to a group, 6 males and 6 females). However, due to a clerical error, two extra females were assigned to one of the groups (sad weeping versus felt like weeping).

## Materials and Procedures

Each subject was interviewed individually by the experimenter in a quiet, comfortable office-style room. The interview protocol consisted of essentially two tasks, 1) elicitation and description of episodes and 2) characterization of each episode in terms of entailment ratings and adjective checklists.<sup>8</sup>

### Elicitation and description of episodes.

Depending on the group he or she was assigned to, each subject was asked to provide a description of 1) a situation involving sadness in which he or she wept in the presence of another person who at the time was a friend or intimate,<sup>9</sup> and, 2) a description of a) a similar situation in which he or she felt like weeping but did not, b) a situation involving happiness in which he or she wept, again in the presence of a friend or intimate, or c) a situation in which he or she asked a friend or intimate for a favor out of convenience. The instructions given to subjects for the description of sad weeping were as follows:

"Please describe, as completely as you can, a situation involving sadness where you cried in the presence of a person with whom you have or had a friendly or intimate relationship (e.g., boyfriend, girlfriend, parent, sister, brother, etc.). For the purposes of this study, crying is defined as the shedding of tears, sobbing, getting watery eyes, and so on. I'd like you to think of a situation that occurred no more than 6 months ago if

possible. Try to describe the situation as a whole, that is, how it began, how it ended, how one event led to the next and so on."

The instructions for the description of the other kinds of episodes were essentially the same, except, of course, for the specific object of the episode (see Appendix B).

After obtaining an initial description of the episode, the experimenter asked the subject to try to describe the episode in terms of a series or sequence of acts on the part of each participant (e.g., asking a question, weeping, embracing, etc.). Subjects were provided with an example of an episode schematized in this manner as depicted in Figure 5. Care was taken to assure subjects that not all episodes need occur in the manner outlined but that this was a convenient way to think of them. An attempt was made by the experimenter to obtain from subjects verbatim accounts of what was said and done during the episodes and not merely superficial descriptions of the action. However, subjects varied greatly in the extent to which they were able to do this. After the experimenter had sketched out the episode as described by the subject in terms of discrete acts, he and the subject discussed the schematization until both agreed that it captured the essence of the interaction. This sometimes meant revising the subject's description two or three times.

After descriptions of the episode in question were obtained from subjects, each was asked to describe in further detail the other person who participated in the episode and the relationship

Acts

Participants

Actor A:	"Why didn't you clean this place up? Its a mess." (Act 1)	"Well, it certainly isn't my job." (Act 2)
Actor B:	"That's not my job: Who do you think I am?" (Act 1)	"I'm not your servant." (Act 2)

Figure 5. Example of an interaction episode (an "angry confrontation"), illustrating sequencing of acts on the part of each participant.



that he or she had with that person at the time of the episode. This was done for two reasons, 1) to ensure that the experimenter had enough information about the other person in order to interpret any enigmatic episodes or interactions, and 2) to allow the subject to think about the situation and the other person somewhat before describing events in greater detail.

### Quantitative evaluation of episodes.

When subjects had finished describing the episode and the other person who was present at the time, the experimenter presented the subject with three sets of rating tasks.

1) Each subject was asked to rate how he or she perceived the strength of the various entailments among the components of the regulative rule involved in the determination of each act in the episode. Essentially, this procedure involved ascertaining how subjects situated each act within the pattern of possible meanings that may contextualize an act. In order to make this task somewhat easier, subjects were asked to provide a name for each act in the episode (e.g., insult, plea for help, etc.). This not only made the acts easier to talk about, but also provided the experimenter with some information on the kinds of equivalencies used by subjects in constitutive rules for the episode. Thus, when the various episodes were being analyzed in terms of content, the experimenter had some notion of the meaning of each act in the subject's eyes. Each act in the episode was given a label in this manner except for the act of weeping. Weeping, of course, already had a convenient label and

so it was not necessary to further mark it.<sup>10</sup>

2) If the episode involved sad or happy weeping, subjects were asked to rate the act of weeping on two adjective checklists. Subjects also rated the intensity of their weeping and the extent to which they felt relieved after weeping.

3) Subjects were asked to rate their mood during the episode by means of a brief adjective checklist and, if the episode involved sad or happy weeping, or feeling like weeping, they were also asked to rate how positive or negative they considered their experience of the episode before, during and after they wept or felt like weeping.

All of the rating scales and adjective checklists were presented verbally to the subject by the experimenter. That is, rather than have subjects fill out the various rating scales themselves, the experimenter read each item to the subject and recorded his/her answer. This procedure was used because many of the rating scale items, especially those involving perceived entailment, required substantial elaboration and probing; written instructions clarifying the various items would have made the interview prohibitively long and confusing. In order to facilitate the subject's reply to the various rating scale items, he/she was given a card on which a 9 point response scale for the items was typed. The interview protocols and rating scales are presented in the Appendices.

After the subject had completed all of the above tasks for the first episode he/she described, the experimenter, after a brief rest

period, asked him/her to describe the second episode. The procedures for the elicitation and description of the first and second episodes were identical.

### Dependent Measures

#### Categorization of episode content.

One of the major tasks of the present study was to classify the various types of episodes in which subjects reported weeping, either for happiness or sadness. The types of episodes in which subjects felt like weeping but did not were also classified. The classifications were carried out in the following manner: the experimenter read each of the episode descriptions and assigned a label to each depending on the kind of situation involved, e.g., argument with a loved one, receipt of unpleasant news, etc. Labeling the various episodes in this manner proved to be a relatively straightforward task as all of the situations were more or less clearcut. An attempt was made to construct categories of a purely descriptive rather than interpretive nature, using, as often as possible, the subject's own label for the interaction.

The kinds of events (e.g., acts performed by the other person present) that preceded weeping, both sad and happy, and feeling like weeping, were also categorized, as were the events that followed weeping, that is, the effects of weeping on the other person. Again, an attempt was made to follow the subject's own description of events as closely as possible when constructing the categories.

### Subjective evaluation of episodes.

Overall evaluations of the "valence" of the sad and happy weeping and felt like weeping episodes were obtained by asking subjects how positively or negatively they would rate their experience of the situation 1) up to but not including the point at which they wept or felt like weeping, 2) during the time that they wept or felt like weeping, and 3) after the point at which they wept or no longer felt like weeping. Ratings of episode valence were performed on a 9 point scale (1--very negative, 9--very positive). Anecdotally, weeping is frequently characterized as bringing about some positive outcome in a situation. (cf. Day, 1980). Examination of the differences among the above evaluations allowed for an assessment of whether weeping resulted in positive or negative movement in the situations described by subjects.

Subjects evaluated their mood during the episodes they described by means of a five item bipolar adjective checklist. Subjects rated the extent to which they felt "calm" or "tense," "weak" or "strong," "nonemotional" or "emotional," etc., on a 9 point scale.

### Characterization of the act of weeping.

Subjects were given the opportunity to characterize their weeping, both sad and happy, in four ways. 1) After subjects had rated the valence of the weeping episode they had described, they were asked how relieved they felt after they had wept. Subjects rated their relief on a 9 point scale (1--not at all relieved, 9--very relieved). 2) Subjects were then asked to characterize the emotional content

of their weeping on a ten-item adjective checklist consisting of such items as "angry," "sympathetic," "happy," etc. These items were also rated on a 9 point scale (1--not at all, 9--very much). 3) Subjects rated the intensity of their weeping on a 9 point scale (1--not at all intense, 9--very intense). 4) Finally, subjects were asked to evaluate how appropriate, adaptive, good and unpleasant they considered their weeping in the episode to be. These items were presented to subjects in terms of bipolar opposites, e.g., "Inappropriate--Appropriate," "Maladaptive--Adaptive," etc. A 9 point scale was used in rating the items.

#### Perceived entailment.

As discussed above (see INTRODUCTION, p. 28, passim), the pattern of entailments for any act within an episode may be divided into two clusters, those representing the prefigurative necessity expressed by an act, and those representing the practical necessity expressed by an act. Prefigurative and practical necessity represent, respectively, the degree of reactivity and proactivity expressed by an act (cf. Harris, Note 3).

Prefigurative necessity. The cluster of entailments representing prefigurative necessity consists of the episode to act, antecedent to act, relationship to act and life-script to act entailments. These express the extent to which the subject felt "compelled" to act in the episode by the "logic of events." Subjects were asked to rate the strength of each entailment on a 9 point scale. For example, in order to ascertain their perception of the strength of the episode to

act entailment, subjects were asked, "How much would you say that the situation seemed to require that you (subject's act)?" (1--not at all, 9--very much). The items used to assess subjects' perceptions of the strength of the entailments expressing prefigurative necessity are presented in Table 1.

Practical necessity. The cluster of entailments representing practical necessity consists of the act to consequence, the consequence to relationship and consequence to life-script entailments, along with the valence of the consequence. All of these entailments express the extent to which the subject engaged in the act in question in order to bring about some desired outcome, e.g., a specific response on the part of the other person present. For example, in order to determine the perceived strength of the act to consequence entailment, subjects were asked, "How much would you say that you did (subject's act) in order to bring about a particular response by the other person?". The items used to assess subjects' perceptions of the strength of the entailments expressing practical necessity are also presented in Table 1.

Note that in the items presented in Table 1 the specific act in question is left unspecified. This is because the same questions were used for every act in the episode. The same set of 9 point rating scales was applied successively to each of the acts the subject performed within the episode he/she described.

Relative necessity. Indices of prefigurative and practical necessity were obtained by averaging the four entailment ratings

TABLE 1

Items Used in Determining the Strength of the Various Entailments  
for Any Act Within An Episode\*

Items expressing practical necessity:

"How much would you say that you did (subject's act) in order to bring about a particular response by the other person?"  
(act to consequence).

"How much would you say that doing (subject's act) in the situation you described helped you bring about the kind of relationship you would like to have with the other person?"  
(consequence to relationship).

"How much would you say that doing (subject's act) in the situation you described helped you become the kind of person you would like to be?"  
(consequence to life-script).

"How much were you pleased with what the other person did after you (subject's act)?"  
(valence of consequence).

Items expressing prefigurative necessity:

"How much would you say that the situation seemed to require that you (subject's act)?"  
(episode to act).

"How much would you say that what the other person did before you (subject's act) seemed to require that you do it?"  
(antecedent to act).

"How much would you say that doing (subject's act) in the situation you described represents or closely reflects what kind of relationship you would like to have with the other person?"  
(act to relationship).

"How much would you say that doing (subject's act) in the situation you described represents or closely reflects who you are, that is, the kind of person you see yourself to be?"  
(act to life-script).

\*All of the questions were answered on a 9 point rating scale  
(1--not at all, 9--very much).

representing each type of necessity. In order to determine the relative contribution of prefigurative and practical necessity to each act, an index of relative necessity was derived. To obtain the index of relative necessity for any act, the index of prefigurative necessity was subtracted from the index of practical necessity. The values on this index could range from -8, indicating maximum prefigurative necessity, to +8, indicating maximum practical necessity. A value of 0 would represent the case where neither type of necessity was predominant.

Component entailments. In addition to obtaining an index of relative necessity from subjects' perceived entailment ratings, each of the individual entailments was used as a separate measure of the perceived structure of an act/episode in question.



## C H A P T E R I I I

### RESULTS

#### Overview

The results of the present study are organized into two major sections, each divided into a number of smaller subsections. The first section deals with the categorization of the episodes described by subjects (sad and happy weeping, felt like weeping, etc.) and the characteristics of those episodes. The second section deals with subjects' perceptions of the necessity of weeping.

Recall that all subjects (N=38) were asked to describe an episode involving sad weeping as well as another type of episode (contrast episode). Twelve subjects were asked to describe a happy weeping episode in addition to a sad weeping episode, fourteen subjects were asked to describe an episode in which they felt like weeping but did not (a clerical error resulted in the inclusion of two extra subjects), and twelve subjects were asked to describe an episode in which they asked someone to do them a favor. Each of the two major sections of this chapter first present the results for all of the sad weeping episodes combined, followed by the results for the other episodes. Each type of contrast episode is presented in comparison with the sad weeping episodes described by the subjects who provided that particular kind of contrast episode (that is, the twelve episodes provided by subjects who were asked to describe asking a favor are compared with the sad weeping episodes provided by the same twelve

subjects, and so on).

Differences between males and females for each of the various kinds of results are discussed at the end of each of the major sections of the chapter.

### Data analysis.

Analysis of the data involved two distinct sets of tasks. Categorization of the episodes involved judging the similarities and differences among the various episode descriptions and providing labels for classes of similar episodes. All categorization tasks were carried out by the author.

Analysis of the quantitative data (adjective checklists, entailment ratings, etc.) was carried out in a two-step process. 1) The data for all of the 38 sad weeping episodes were first analyzed in terms of sex of subject and type of contrast episode (that is, what kind of contrast episode each particular sad weeping episode was paired with) in a 2 x 3 analysis of variance (male versus female, happy weeping versus felt like weeping versus asking a favor contrasts). It is important to note that this analysis does not include data from the contrast episodes, but merely tests the effect of pairing the description of sad weeping with another type of episode description. 2) The second step of the analysis, where appropriate, consisted of repeated measures analyses of variance carried out within each contrast episode pair. In these analyses, sex of subject served as the between-subject variable and episode or act type (sad weeping versus other: happy weeping, felt like weeping or asking a favor) served as the

within-subject variable (cf. Myers, 1972, pp. 191, passim).<sup>11</sup>

Prior to the above analyses, all of the data were checked for order effects (recall that the order of elicitation of the sad weeping episode was counterbalanced). No order effects were found for any of the dependent measures and so the data from the two orders were combined.

All analyses of variance were performed by the BMDP (P2V) repeated-measures analysis of variance program (Dixon, 1977). Correlations and t-tests were performed by the SPSS PEARSON CORR and T-TEST programs, respectively (Nie, et al., 1975).

### Categorization of Episodes

#### Overview.

In this section, the results of the categorization and characterization of the sad weeping episodes are presented first, followed by the results for the happy weeping and felt like weeping episodes. The episodes described by subjects in which they asked someone for a favor are discussed only briefly in this section. Subjects were asked to describe asking a favor not so much for the content of the episodes (they were all essentially the same except for differences in the object of the favor, e.g., borrowing a car, buying a soft drink, etc.) but rather because the episodes provide a baseline or anchor for the determination of perceived necessity within the emotional episodes.

Differences between males and females are presented at the end

of this section--males and females differed only slightly on most of the material presented here.

#### Categorization of sad weeping episodes.

Within the format outlined by the interview protocol, subjects described a wide variety of sad weeping episodes. Although by definition all of the episodes involved the subject and another person, the degree of participation by the other person in the subject's weeping varied considerably. The least involved others, in terms of amount and quality of interaction, occurred in descriptions of funerals, where the interaction between the subject and other person consisted of, at most, a glance or brief (non-verbal) expression of emotion. The most complex interactions involved arguments between the subject and other person about their relationship. The majority of the episodes tended to include interactions of the latter sort.

The quality of the relationship between the subject and other person also varied considerably along the dimension of familiarity, ranging from casual acquaintance to marriage partner. The majority of the other people involved in the episodes, however, were intimates or close friends of the subject.

Types of sad weeping episodes. Table 2 presents the various types of sad weeping episodes described by subjects along with the number of subjects whose descriptions fell into each category.

The largest number of episodes (12) were categorized as involving "frustration, sadness or depression" over life events in which

TABLE 2  
Types of Sad Weeping Episodes

<u>Type of episode</u>	<u>Total N</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>
Frustration, sadness or depression over life events (expressing this to other*).	12	7	5
Conflict in relationship with intimate other (conversation or argument issues in relationship)	9	6	3
Receiving sad, unexpected or unpleasant news/information.	4	3	1
Saying goodbye to intimate or other friend.	4	1	3
Remembering sad events (relating them to other).	3	1	2
Funeral services of friend or relative.	2	0	2
Conflict in relationship with non-intimate (receiving reprimand from superior).	1	1	0
Guilt over past behavior (expressing this to other).	1	1	0
Weeping occasioned by other's weeping.	1	0	1
Revealing self to other (expressing fear, love to other).	1	0	1
	<hr/> 38	<hr/> 20	<hr/> 18

\*Other involved as a third party.

the subject wept before or after describing these feelings or events to the other person present. In all of the episodes within this category, the other person present was involved only indirectly (as a third party) in the events described by the subject. A typical episode in this category involved a young woman describing to a female friend her feelings about having recently terminated her relationship with her boyfriend. Two of the episodes included in the category began with the subject weeping after having become sad or depressed while thinking about some life event. In the remainder of the episodes in the category, weeping was embedded in the subject's description of his/her thoughts and feelings to the other person present.

A smaller number of subjects (9) described episodes involving arguments or (sometimes heated) conversations with the other person about issues in their relationship. In these episodes, the other person present was always directly involved as an intimate of the subject. A typical episode involved one of the partners in the relationship (the subject) confessing to the other that he would like to date other people. At issue in three of the episodes in this category was the (female) subject's dissatisfaction with her boyfriend's contribution to the relationship. Conflict over relatively unimportant matters (not the "real issues" in the words of one of the subjects) contributed to the weeping in two of the episodes. Other issues involved parental pressure to discontinue the relationship, the actual break-up of a relationship, and the emotional residue

from a fight that occurred between the partners sometime before the weeping episode.

In the episodes described in the first two categories, there did not seem to be a specific act or event which "provoked" the weeping, although, of course, preceding events were meaningfully related to the weeping. In many of the other categories, however, weeping did seem to be provoked by a specific act or event. Specifically, four subjects described weeping after receiving some unsettling news or information, four subjects reported weeping while saying goodbye to a friend or intimate and two subjects described weeping at funerals during which their tears were provoked by specific events (a glance from a family member and passing the casket). Although less clear cut, specific events also seemed to provoke the subject's weeping in three episodes in which the subjects described weeping after remembering a sad event and in one episode in which the subject received a reprimand from her superior at work. Weeping by another person preceded subjects' weeping in several episodes (see below), but it only appeared to provoke the subject's weeping itself (that is, appeared to be the sole reason for the subject's weeping) in one of them.

Characteristics of the episode descriptions: Sad weeping.

The richness of description and level of abstraction of the sad weeping episode descriptions varied considerably across subjects. The longest episode described involved a total of nine acts each on the part of the subject and the other person present, along with a

wealth of marginal comments. The shortest episode described involved one act (weeping). The mean number of acts described by subjects for the sad weeping episodes was 3.6.

Some subjects were better than others at providing detailed descriptions of the various acts they performed. The level of abstraction at which the acts were described varied from verbatim et literatim accounts of the actual things that were said (e.g., "I don't know in your mind where this relationship is going.") to rather vague descriptions of what happened (e.g., I talked about how I felt I didn't have any close friends from high school.), with most subjects offering a combination of the two.

The majority of subjects described episodes where the other person present was a female (23 of the episodes involved females, 15 involved males), although the difference was not statistically significant.

#### Categorization of the acts preceding sad weeping.

Table 3 presents the types of acts or events which immediately preceded or occurred simultaneously with the subject's weeping. It should be noted that the acts or events which immediately preceded the subject's weeping did not necessarily serve as the "cause" or "stimulus" for the weeping. The weeping described by subjects, especially in those episodes involving conflict, was embedded in rather complex forms of interaction and it would be difficult to pick out one cause of the weeping and assign it primary importance.



TABLE 3

## Events Immediately Preceding or Concomitant with Sad Weeping

Type of Act or Event	Total N	Females	Males
Weeping by the other person present.	9	3	6*
Positive remark directed toward subject, the situation or subject's condition (e.g., expression of concern, sympathy, commiseration, etc.). Example: "All that stuff happens and we'll just have to hang in there."	8	4	4
Other person attending to subject without speaking (e.g., listening to subject, waiting for him/her to respond, etc.).	5	4	1
Question or comment about relationship between subject and other person, uttered by other person. Example: "I didn't know my behavior was bothering you that much."	3	3	0
Remark by other person encouraging the subject to weep. Example: "It seems like you need to cry: Look what you're doing to yourself."	3	2	1
Physical contact (e.g., embrace, hug) between subject and other person.	2	0	2
Active disregard of subject by the other person (e.g., ignoring subject, attending to others, etc.).	1	1	0
Non-verbal expression of emotion by other person (facial expression of distress).	1	0	1
Receipt of sad, unexpected or unpleasant news/information--not necessarily carried by the other person. Example: Subject told by doctor that she was pregnant.	3	2	1
Events not described in subject/other interaction: Subject began weeping when other person was not present or, if other was present, began weeping before interacting with him/her. Example: Subject woke up in the middle of the night worrying about a problem and began weeping.			
	3	1	2
	$\frac{3}{38}$	$\frac{1}{20}$	$\frac{2}{18}$

\*One episode included both weeping and physical contact.

Some of the preceding acts, of course, were more closely linked to the subject's weeping than others. Specifically, in the episodes in which the subject received sad or unexpected news (4), said goodbye to a friend or intimate (4), or wept after observing another person weeping (1), the subject's weeping did seem to be provoked by preceding events.

The most frequently described act or event preceding the subject's weeping was weeping by the other person present. Weeping by the other person preceded the subject's weeping in nine of the episodes and followed the subject's weeping in six of the episodes. It would be a mistake, however, as pointed out above, to try to draw too strong a causal inference from this association. Nevertheless, weeping by one person seemed to beget weeping by the other, but in only one case did it seem clear that weeping by the other person present "caused" the subject's weeping.

A positive remark by the other person, such as an expression of sympathy or concern, preceded the subject's weeping in eight of the episodes. Such remarks, along with remarks directly encouraging the subject to weep (2), appear to be effective in facilitating weeping.

Five subjects described their weeping as beginning during a lull or pause in the interaction. The other person present was described at these times as merely listening to the subject or waiting for him/her to respond. Lack of a response by the other person while he/she was actively attending to the subject also seemed to be a

facilitator of weeping. Perhaps, in some instances, not saying anything is equivalent to saying, "Go ahead and cry."

In three of the episodes, subjects described weeping after the other person (in all three cases an intimate) asked a question or made some comment pertaining to the relationship existing between the two or the manner in which he/she had been acting toward the subject, e.g., "I didn't know my behavior was bothering you that much?" or "Has something I've said got you upset?" It is interesting to note that the subject's weeping constitutes a powerfully affirmative reply to such questions.

In three of the episodes, subjects described their weeping as being occasioned by sad or depressing thoughts, sometimes involving the other person present and sometimes not. In these episodes the subject's weeping provided the act which began the interaction between the subject and other person. Typical of such interactions is one in which a subject woke up during the night and began weeping over an incident that had occurred earlier in the day. In all three episodes, the other person present was familiar enough with what was happening to the subject to be able to correctly contextualize his/her weeping immediately; that is, at least in terms of how subjects described the incidents, none of the subjects' weeping was perceived by the other person as enigmatic.

#### Categorization of the consequences of sad weeping.

Except for a few special instances, the consequences of weeping by the subject was a response by the other person acknowledging the

weeping and attempting to act on the weeping in some manner, as is indicated by Table 4. Weeping almost always drew the other person's attention to the subject. Weeping for the subject was most often followed by some form of physical and/or verbal comforting by the other person (7), verbal comforting alone (4), or weeping by the other person (6). In several of the episodes, weeping by the other person following the subject's weeping may have represented a form of comforting or sympathy. Many of the other categories of responses by the other person could also be construed in a broad sense as the expression of sympathy or comfort. Such activities as encouraging the subject to weep (4), asking the subject why she was weeping (2), and simply listening to the subject weep may all be taken as expressions of concern or sympathy.

The other person did not respond to the subject's weeping in five of the episodes. In three of the episodes the other person had no chance to respond or could not respond, e.g., during a funeral service. One of the episodes involved an argument between the subject and her boyfriend (at issue was the boyfriend's lack of responsiveness) and the other involved a very matter-of-fact (female) doctor telling the subject that she was pregnant. The latter two episodes represent the only cases in which the other person present did not respond to the subject's weeping when it was not physically impossible to do so (in the episode involving the subject and her doctor, the doctor eventually did respond to the subject's weeping by pushing a box of tissues toward her--she did this while engaged

TABLE 4  
Consequences of Sad Weeping

<u>Consequences</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>
Other physically comforted subject (embraced, hugged, etc.), with or without verbally consoling subject.		
<u>Female Other</u>	1	3
<u>Male Other</u>	3	0
<u>Total N</u>	7	
Other began weeping.		
<u>Female Other</u>	2*	3
<u>Male Other</u>	0	1
<u>Total N</u>	6	
Other was aware of but did not respond to subject's weeping.		
<u>Female Other</u>	2	1
<u>Male Other</u>	1	1
<u>Total N</u>	5	
Other encouraged subject to continue weeping. Example: "Go ahead and cry; its good for you."		
<u>Female Other</u>	4**	0
<u>Male Other</u>	0	0
<u>Total N</u>	4	
Other verbally consoled subject or tried to make subject "feel better." Example: "Just sit down and relax for awhile..."		
<u>Female Other</u>	1	0
<u>Male Other</u>	1	1
<u>Total N</u>	3	
Other listened to subject, acted concerned.		
<u>Female Other</u>	1	1
<u>Male Other</u>	0	1
<u>Total N</u>	3	

TABLE 4 continued

<u>Consequences</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>
Other asked why subject was weeping.		
<u>Female Other</u>	0	0
<u>Male Other</u>	2	0
<u>Total N</u>		2
Other made comment about relationship or situation. Example: "I didn't know I was upsetting you this much."		
<u>Female Other</u>	0	1
<u>Male Other</u>	1	0
<u>Total N</u>		2
Other left situation.		
<u>Female Other</u>	0	1
<u>Male Other</u>	1	0
<u>Total N</u>		2
Other was not aware of subject's weeping, did not respond.		
<u>Female Other</u>	0	1
<u>Male Other</u>	0	1
<u>Total N</u>		2
Other encouraged subject to stop weeping.		
<u>Female Other</u>	0	0
<u>Male Other</u>	1	0
<u>Total N</u>		1
Other made light of the situation (to "break the mood."). Example: "Look at us, we look like two babies crying."		
<u>Female Other</u>	0	1
<u>Male Other</u>	0	0
<u>Total N</u>		1

\*In one episode, Other encouraged subject to stop weeping before she herself began weeping.

\*\*In one episode, Other embraced subject while weeping.

in another task).

### Subjective evaluation of sad weeping episodes.

Data analysis. Subjects' evaluations of the various sad weeping episodes they described were expressed in two ways. 1) Subjects rated the "valence" of the episode, that is, how positively or negatively they considered the episode, before, during and after weeping. These data were analyzed in a three-way analysis of variance with contrast episode type and sex of subject as between-subject variables and temporal sequence as a within-subject variable. 2) Subjects also completed a five-item mood adjective checklist. These data were analyzed in a two-way analysis of variance (contrast episode type by sex of subject).

Episode valence. Figure 6 presents the episode valence ratings before, during and after weeping for all of the sad weeping episodes.<sup>12</sup> There was a significant effect for temporal sequence ( $F(2,64)=7.87, p. <.001$ ). Trend analysis (cf. Myers, 1972, pp. 379-403) indicated a significant linear component ( $F(1,32)=12.72, p. <.001$ ); that is, each successive rating was significantly more positive than its predecessor (see Figures 7 and 8 below for comparisons with happy weeping and feeling like weeping, respectively).

Mood adjective ratings. The mean mood adjective ratings for all of the sad weeping episodes are presented in Table 5. Subjects rated themselves as very emotional, with a mean rating of 8.3 (1--Nonemotional, 9--Emotional) and somewhat tense, with a mean rating

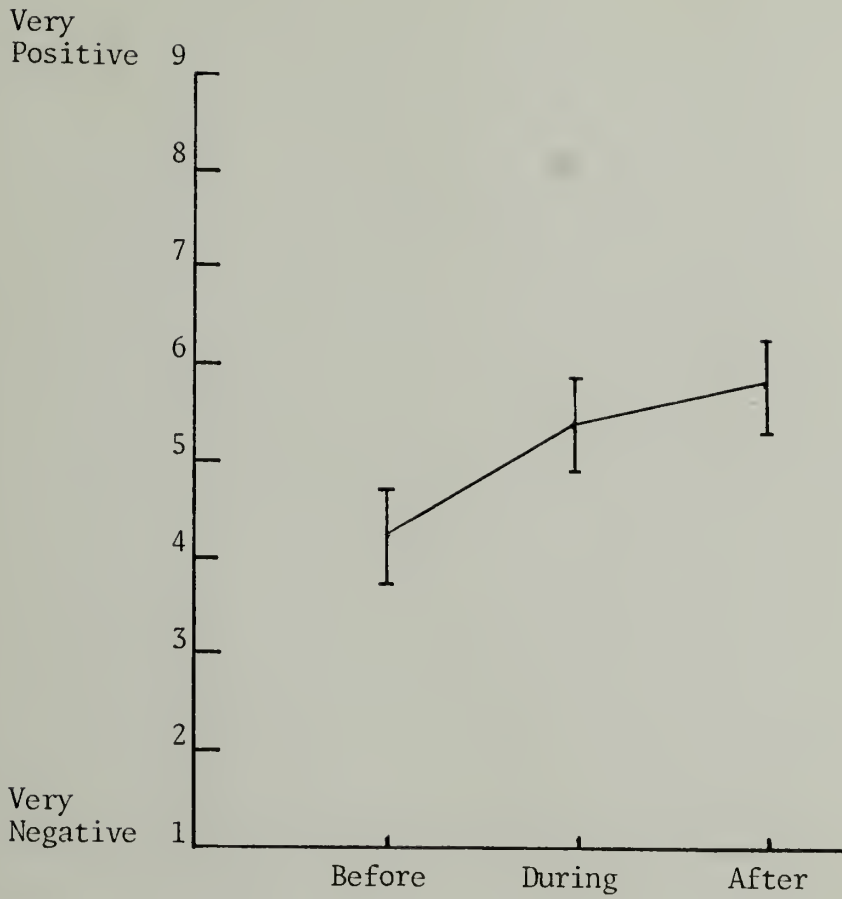


Figure 6. Mean episode valence ratings before, during and after sad weeping for all subjects (N=38).



TABLE 5

Mean Mood Adjective Ratings for All Sad Weeping Episodes  
(N=38)

<u>Adjective Pair</u>	<u>Mean Rating</u>	<u>Standard Error</u>
Nonemotional (1)--Emotional (9)	8.3	.15
Calm (1)--Tense (9)	6.7	.38
Dominant (1)--Submissive (9)	5.4	.33
Active (1)--Passive (9)	4.5	.42
Weak (1)--Strong (9)	4.3	.36

of 6.7 (1--Calm, 9--Tense) (see below for comparisons with other episode types).

#### Characterization of the act of sad weeping.

Subjects characterized their experience of sad weeping in a variety of ways. They were asked to 1) rate their sad weeping on a ten-item adjective checklist, 2) rate the intensity of their weeping on a 9 point scale, and 3) rate how relieved they felt after weeping, also on a 9 point scale. These data were analyzed in a two-way analysis of variance (contrast episode type by sex of subject). No significant effects were found for contrast episode type on any of the measures.

Adjective checklist. Table 6 presents the mean adjective ratings for the act of sad weeping for all subjects. Table 7 presents the correlation matrix for the various adjectives. On the average, subjects rated their weeping as much more constructive than destructive (6.2 versus 1.5), as somewhat uncontrollable (6.2) and not particularly manipulative (2.9). Even though subjects on the average rated their experience of weeping as more unpleasant than pleasant (3.7, with 1 being Unpleasant and 9 being Pleasant), they considered their weeping appropriate (7.4, 1--Inappropriate, 9--Appropriate), adaptive (6.9, 1--Maladaptive, 9--Adaptive) and more good than bad (7.1, 1--Bad, 9--Good) (see below for comparisons with other episodes).

Intensity of weeping/Relief after weeping. Subjects on the average rated their weeping as somewhat intense, the mean rating

TABLE 6  
 Mean Adjective Ratings for the Act of Sad Weeping  
 for All Subjects  
 (N=38)

<u>"Was your weeping...?"</u>	<u>Mean Rating</u> (1--not at all, 9--very much)	<u>Standard Error</u>
Constructive	6.2	.39
Uncontrollable	6.2	.45
Self-pitying	4.4	.45
Sympathetic	4.3	.47
Angry	4.2	.49
Pleading	3.6	.47
Manipulative	2.9	.42
Happy	2.0	.28
Meaningless	1.8	.28
Destructive	1.5	.19

<u>"Was your weeping...?"</u>	<u>Mean Rating</u>	<u>Standard Error</u>
Inappropriate (1)-- Appropriate (9)	7.4	.39
Bad (1)--Good (9)	7.1	.27
Maladaptive (1)--Adaptive (9)	6.9	.32
Unpleasant (1)--Pleasant (9)	3.7	.35

TABLE 7  
Correlations Among Adjective Ratings for the Act of Sad Weeping  
(N=38)

	<u>Constructive</u>	<u>Uncontrollable</u>	<u>Self-Pitying</u>	<u>Sympathetic</u>		
Constructive						
Uncontrollable	.03					
Self-Pitying	.22	.24				
Sympathetic	-.06	-.56***	-.18			
Angry	.08	.43**	.17	-.44**		
Pleading	.10	.27*	.26	-.09		
Manipulative	-.06	-.22	-.06	.28*		
Happy	.26	-.54***	-.23	.38**		
Meaningless	-.45**	.19	-.03	-.09		
Destructive	-.28*	.28*	.34*	-.01		
Inappropriate/ Appropriate	.29*	-.19	-.30*	.07		
Bad/Good	.51***	-.10	.02	-.08		
Maladaptive/ Adaptive	.51***	-.01	-.14	-.14		
Unpleasant/ Pleasant	.25	-.23	-.15	.19		
-----						
	<u>Angry</u>	<u>Pleading</u>	<u>Manipulative</u>	<u>Happy</u>	<u>Meaningless</u>	<u>Dest.</u>
Angry						
Pleading	.20					
Manipulative	-.06	.45**				
Happy	-.31*	-.19	.15			
Meaningless	.29*	-.02	-.13	-.21		
Destructive	-.03	.32*	.36*	-.17	.06	
Inappropriate/ Appropriate	-.02	-.27*	-.02	.06	-.36*	-.32*
Bad/Good	.05	.05	-.25	.34	-.44**	-.29*
Maladaptive/ Adaptive	-.09	-.16	-.21	.25	-.34	-.55***
Unpleasant/ Pleasant	-.27	.19	.01	.46**	-.09	-.16

TABLE 7 Continued

	<u>Inappropriate/ Appropriate</u>	<u>Bad/Good</u>	<u>Maladaptive/ Adaptive</u>	<u>Unpleasant/ Pleasant</u>
Inappropriate/ Appropriate				
Bad/Good	.35*			
Maladaptive/ Adaptive	.42**	.48***		
Unpleasant/ Pleasant	.03	.16	.20	

\*p. < .05.

\*p. < .01.

\*p. < .001.

being 5.7 (1--not at all intense, 9--very intense). And, on the average, subjects reported feeling quite relieved after weeping. The mean rating for this measure was 6.4 (1--not at all relieved, 9--very relieved).

Summary: Sad weeping.

Subjects described a variety of sad weeping episodes ranging from very complex interactions consisting of arguments to much "simpler" situations such as funerals. It should be noted, however, that "simple" and "complex" are being used here in a quantitative sense to refer to the amount of description supplied by the subject. Even the most superficially simple interaction may serve as an indexical expression (Garfinkel, 1967, pp. 4-7) for many complex layers of meanings. Indeed, many of the episodes described by subjects would seem to make no sense at all unless one assumed that they were embedded within a matrix of meaningful interactions.

It would be difficult at this time to try to identify and describe a "typical" weeping episode. It may be that there are several typical kinds of weeping. The most frequently described episodes in the present study involved one person expressing his/her frustrations and sadness to another person and situations in which the two partners in an intimate relationship were in conflict over some issue concerning the relationship. Expanding these categories to include revealing the self to another and conflict in general, respectively, would cover several of the other episodes described by subjects, leaving

the categories which describe weeping after unexpected events, saying goodbye to an intimate or friend and funerals.

The kinds of acts or events which preceded the subject's weeping seemed to break down into roughly two categories. Weeping by the subject was most often preceded by weeping by the other person who was present (and was often followed by the other person's weeping as well). The subject's weeping also often followed utterances of concern or sympathy by the other person and, in general, subjects described weeping after some positive remark or gesture by the other person (e.g., actual physical contact, a positive comment, encouraging the subject to weep or commiserating with him/her, etc.). This latter state of affairs is interesting in that it echoes Lund's (1930) suggestion that weeping is indicative of a "mixed" emotional state. That is, weeping does not usually occur in (say) the depths of depression but, rather, "when a depressing or otherwise unpleasant situation gains a redeeming feature or when tension and unpleasant stimulation are followed by pleasant or alleviating stimulation" (p. 149). It may well be the case that several of the episodes in which the other person wept before the subject might fit this pattern also, as another person's weeping could certainly serve as "alleviating stimulation" in a tense situation.

There were, of course, other kinds of events described by subjects as occurring before they wept. Aside from the above, the most frequent were the receipt of unexpected or unpleasant news and depressing or unpleasant thoughts. Given the present data, it is

impossible to determine whether these included some redeeming feature the recognition of which immediately preceded the subject's weeping.

The general consequence of weeping seemed to be a drawing of the other person's attention to the subject. Almost all of those who were described as being present when the subject wept discontinued their on-going activities and attended to the subject and his/her tears. Thus, in addition to whatever else tears represent, they do appear to have a very pronounced communicative aspect.

On the average, subjects' evaluations of the sad weeping episodes changed from somewhat negative before the act of weeping to very positive after the act of weeping, with the act of weeping itself being regarded as slightly more positive than negative. A comparison of these data with those obtained for happy weeping and feeling like weeping (see below), as well as with subjects' comments about the effects of weeping, suggests that the significant effect for temporal sequence is not merely an order effect but indicates that sad weeping does tend to bring about some positive changes in the episodes in which it occurs. The fact that subjects on the average described themselves as quite relieved after having wept also supports this interpretation.

Subjects on the average saw their weeping in the sad episodes as somewhat uncontrollable, somewhat but not exceptionally intense, for the most part constructive, and not at all destructive. On the average, subjects considered their weeping to be adaptive and appropriate to the situation.



### Categorization of happy weeping episodes.

All thirty-eight subjects interviewed for the study were asked to describe an occasion on which they wept out of happiness but only 12 were asked to describe the incident in detail (see METHODS, above). Of the total sample of 38, 7 males and 5 females could not recall a happy weeping episode. Of the 12 subjects who were interviewed in depth regarding happy weeping, 3 males and 2 females could not recall an appropriate episode. The following is based on those 7 subjects (4 females and 3 males) who described an incident of happy weeping in detail.

Types of happy weeping episodes. Table 8 presents the various types of episodes described by subjects interviewed in depth regarding happy weeping. For the most part, the episodes represent the kinds of situations in which one would expect people to weep for happiness; that is, prototypically happy occasions. Among other things, subjects reported weeping for happiness upon greeting friends or loved ones after an absence (2), after embracing the groom at a wedding, after making a marriage proposal, and receiving a surprise birthday party.

Perhaps due to the small number of subjects involved, there was little overlap among subjects' descriptions of the situations in which they wept for happiness. Two subjects, both female, described weeping for happiness upon greeting their loved one after a short absence. These episodes are only superficially similar, however, in that one involved a relatively long-standing relationship while

TABLE 8

Types of Happy Weeping Episodes  
(in-depth interviews, N=12)

<u>Type of Episode</u>	<u>Total N</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>
Returning from an absence, greeting significant other.	2	2	0
Weeping at significant other's good fortune.	1	0	1
Wedding (subject wept at another's wedding).	1	1	0
Presenting engagement ring to fiancé.	1	0	1
Sharing religious experience with others.	1	0	1
Receiving a surprise birthday party.	1	1	0
Could not remember weeping for happiness.	5	2	3
	<u>12</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>

the other involved a relationship in its initial stages. In fact, what seemed to provoke the weeping in the latter was the admission for the first time by the subject's partner that he loved her.

The episodes described in depth by subjects were not all that different from those described by the subjects who were asked to provide less detailed accounts of happy weeping. The types of episodes described by the latter are presented in Table 9.

Taking all of the episodes together, the happy weeping described by subjects in the present study may be broken down into three basic types, each more or less distinct from the others. 1) Happy weeping, as described by subjects in the present study, occurred in situations involving a period of anticipation of some discernable length followed by a climactic event. "Anticipation" here refers to the structure of the episodes and not necessarily to anything experienced by the participants involved (cf. Mills, 1967, p. 357, passim); that is, anticipation is something we may impute to the situation for descriptive purposes, it need not (and probably does not) refer to actual psychological or physiological processes (see INTRODUCTION, above, for a critique of Efran and Spangler's use of the concept of "tension"). This type of episode includes weeping upon returning from an absence, weeping after presenting one's fiance with an engagement ring, weeping after a contest or competition of some kind, weeping after "patching up" with one's girlfriend and weeping after sex. 2) Happy weeping also seemed to be associated with ceremonial occasions, e.g., weddings, graduation exercises, etc., although this

TABLE 9

Types of Happy Weeping Episodes Described by Subjects  
Not Interviewed In Depth Regarding Happy Weeping (N=26)

<u>Type of Episode</u>	<u>Total N</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>
At subject's graduation ceremony (from high school, junior college, nursing school).	3	2	1
After winning a competititon (sports event, drama competition).	3	1	2
Returning from an absence, greeting significant other/family members.	2	0	2
Wedding (subject wept at another's wedding).	2	2	0
Watching a television program or movie.	2	1	1
During a religious ceremony (dur- ing mass/during a Christian training program).	2	1	1
At sibling's graduation (from high school).	1	1	0
After receiving flowers from boyfriend.	1	1	0
After "patching-up" relationship with girlfriend.	1	0	1
When subject's father expressed his love for her.	1	1	0
Could not remember weeping for happiness.	7	3	4
	<u>26</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>12</u>

category may well be subsumed under the first, for one of the characteristics of many ceremonies is the controlled anticipation of a climax (cf. Scheff, 1979, p. 111, passim). Indeed, the two types of weeping episodes may be distinguished by the one being relatively more structured and ritualized than the other. 3) Finally, happy weeping seemed to be associated with certain religious or aesthetic experiences. Two of the three episodes of weeping in religious contexts were described as involving overwhelming feelings of religious love, etc., while the other episode, which occurred during the celebration of mass, more resembled an intense aesthetic experience.

Characteristics of the episode descriptions: Happy weeping.

The complexity of the episode descriptions for happy weeping differed dramatically from those for sad weeping. The happy episodes were much shorter and to the point, usually with only one act described as preceding or following the weeping. Happy weeping was most often described as the climax or last act of a very short sequence of interactions. The mean number of acts described by subjects for happy weeping was 2.6 (as opposed to 4.7 for the sad weeping episodes).

Curiously, all of the males described weeping for happiness in the presence of females (there was one mixed audience) and all of the females described weeping in the presence of males (again, there was one mixed audience).

### Categorization of the acts preceding happy weeping.

Table 10 presents the types of acts or events which immediately preceded or occurred simultaneously with the subject's happy weeping. In contrast to sad weeping, happy weeping seemed to be much more closely linked to preceding events or acts on the part of the other person present. The impression gained from the various descriptions of happy weeping is that the acts preceding the weeping often served to bring the situation to a head.

Happy weeping, in the episodes described by subjects in detail, always seemed to follow the expression of acceptance or intimacy on the part of the others present (in the case of the surprise birthday party, the subject reported that she began weeping when she realized that all of the people in the room were there for her).

Weeping by the other person present occurred in three of the happy weeping episodes. In two cases the weeping by the other person--happy weeping--preceded the subject's weeping and in one case it followed it. Although the sample is much too small to say this with certainty, it appears that with happy weeping as well as sad weeping, tears are contagious.

### Categorization of the consequences of happy weeping.

Table 11 presents the consequences of happy weeping as described by subjects. Like sad weeping, happy weeping seemed to draw the other person's attention to the subject. And, even though the specific acts following sad and happy weeping might be the same, an embrace, sympathetic weeping, etc., the meaning of those acts appears

TABLE 10

Events Immediately Preceding or Concomitant With Happy Weeping

<u>Type of Act or Event</u>	<u>Total N</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>
Greeting by loved one.	1	1	0
Expression of happiness/weeping by other person.	1	0	1
Kiss by other person/Exchange of intimacies ("I love you's").	1	1	0
Embrace by other person.	1	1	0
Happy weeping by other person/ Acceptance of marriage proposal.	1	0	1
Expression of shared emotion (religious feeling) by other person.	1	0	1
Surprise by others.	1	1	0
	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>

TABLE 11  
Consequences of Happy Weeping

<u>Consequence</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>
Embrace/Expression of love by other person.		
<u>Female Other</u>	0	1
<u>Male Other</u>	1	0
Subject asked if she was weeping and why ("You're not crying because you're sad are you?")--male other.	1	0
Happy weeping by other person--male other.	1	0
Kiss by other person--female other.	0	1
Sharing of similar experience by other person--female other.	0	1
Embrace by others/Subject told how nice it was that she wept.	1	0
	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>



to be different in that the acts performed by the other person following happy weeping seem to be more of a sharing of the subject's happiness (a "joining in") and not so much a response to the weeping (as in sympathy or consolation), per se.

Subjective evaluation of happy weeping episodes.

Data analysis. Because of the small number of subjects who provided complete in-depth interviews about episodes of happy weeping, it was not possible to carry out analyses any more complicated than simple t-tests on the quantitative data. T-tests were first performed to check for possible order effects; no order effects were obtained and so the data from the two orders were combined. T-tests were then performed between sad and happy weeping and between males and females.

Episode valence. Figure 7 presents the episode valence ratings before, during and after sad and happy weeping. As is apparent from the figure, subjects' ratings of the valence of the happy episode were much more positive than those for the sad episode. The ratings for the happy episode, however, did not describe a positively-inclined linear pattern as did those for the sad episode. Subjects in the happy weeping episode rated the episode as somewhat less positive after they had wept. The valence ratings for sad and happy weeping episodes were significantly different for the before and during weeping ratings ( $t(6)=4.55$ ,  $p.<.01$  and  $t(6)=2.90$ ,  $p.<.05$ , respectively) but only marginally significant for the after weeping ratings ( $t(6)=1.99$ ,  $p.<.094$ ).

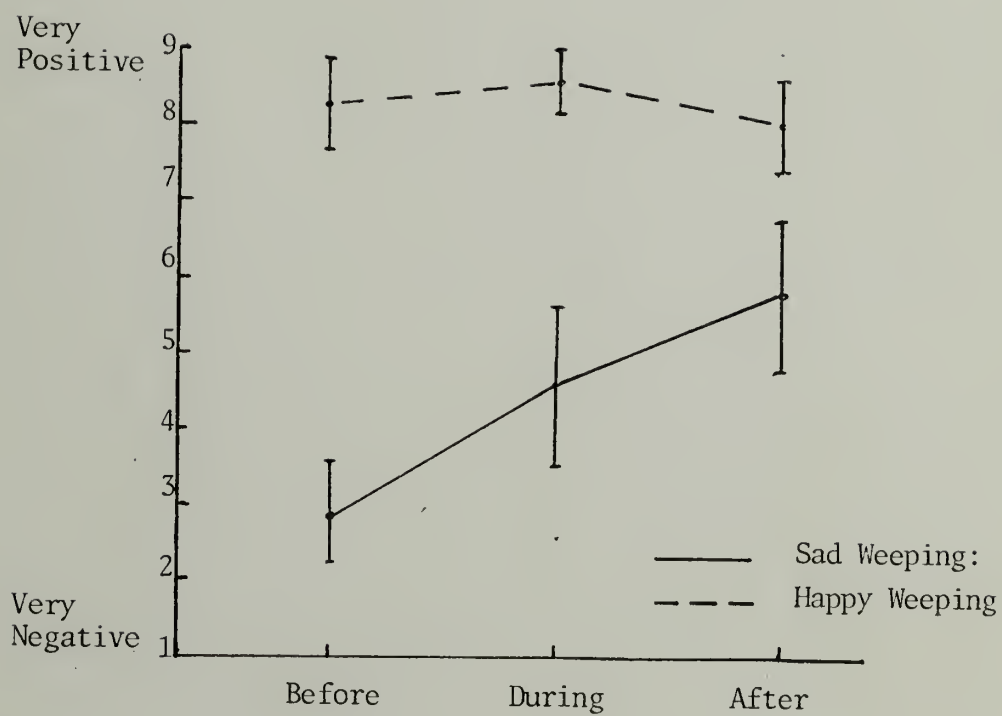


Figure 7. Mean episode valence ratings for sad and happy weeping.

Mood adjective ratings. The mean mood adjective ratings for sad versus happy weeping are presented in Table 12. Subjects rated themselves as significantly less tense in the happy weeping episodes than in the sad weeping episodes ( $t(6)=2.87$ ,  $p. < .05$ ). Subjects rated themselves as being about equally emotional in the two types of episodes. The mean rating for the sad weeping episodes was 6.3 (1--Calm, 9--Tense) and the mean rating for the happy weeping episodes was 3.7.

Characterization of the act of happy weeping.

Data analysis. Again, because of the small number of subjects who provided complete in-depth interviews about happy weeping, only t-tests were used to test the differences between quantitative measures.

Adjective checklist. Table 13 presents the mean adjective ratings for the acts of sad and happy weeping. Subjects rated their happy weeping as significantly less angry than their sad weeping ( $t(6)=3.19$ ,  $p. < .05$ ), the mean ratings being 1.0 and 5.0, respectively (1--not at all, 9--very much). Not surprisingly, subjects rated their happy weeping as significantly more happy than their sad weeping ( $t(6)=10.82$ ,  $p. < .001$ ). The mean rating for happy weeping was 8.9 while the mean rating for sad weeping was 2.0. Subjects also rated their happy weeping as somewhat less manipulative than their sad weeping--2.0 versus 4.9, respectively ( $t(6)=-3.05$ ,  $p. < .05$ ). Happy weeping was also rated as being more good than sad weeping

TABLE 12

Mean Mood Adjective Ratings for Happy Versus Sad Weeping (N=7)  
(Standard Errors are in Parentheses)

<u>Adjective Pair</u>	<u>Mean Rating</u>	
	<u>Happy Weeping</u>	<u>Sad Weeping</u>
Nonemotional (1)--Emotional (9)	8.4 (.29)	8.4 (.29)
Weak (1)--Strong (9)	6.7 (.78)	4.3 (.81)
Dominant (1)--Submissive (9)	4.7 (.75)	4.4 (.75)
Active (1)--Passive (9)	4.1 (1.03)	3.3 (.87)
Calm (1)--Tense (9) <sup>1</sup>	3.7 (.94)	6.3 (1.04)

Sad and happy weeping significantly different:

1.  $t(6)=2.87$ ,  $p. < .05$ .

TABLE 13

Mean Adjective Ratings for the Acts of Happy and Sad Weeping (N=7)  
(Standard Errors are in Parentheses)

<u>"Was your weeping...?"</u>	<u>Mean Rating</u>	
	(1--not at all, 9--very much)	
	<u>Happy Weeping</u>	<u>Sad Weeping</u>
Happy <sup>1</sup>	8.9 (.14)	2.0 (.56)
Constructive	7.0 (.79)	7.1 (.51)
Uncontrollable	5.0 (1.02)	6.3 (.71)
Sympathetic	3.3 (.89)	5.3 (1.21)
Manipulative <sup>2</sup>	2.0 (.49)	4.9 (1.24)
Self-pitying	1.7 (.71)	4.0 (1.05)
Pleading	1.3 (.29)	3.9 (1.16)
Meaningless	1.1 (.14)	1.4 (.29)
Destructive	1.0 (0.0)	1.7 (.36)
Angry <sup>3</sup>	1.0 (0.0)	5.0 (1.3)
<u>"Was your weeping...?"</u>		
Bad (1)--Good (9) <sup>4</sup>	8.7 (.29)	6.3 (.78)
Unpleasant (1)--Pleasant (9) <sup>5</sup>	8.3 (.36)	4.1 (.91)
Inappropriate (1)-- Appropriate (9)	8.3 (.36)	7.9 (.26)
Maladaptive (1)--Adaptive (9)	7.7 (.61)	6.0 (.69)

Sad and happy weeping significantly different:

1.  $t(6)=10.82$ ,  $p. < .001$ .
2.  $t(6)=-3.05$ ,  $p. < .05$ .
3.  $t(6)=-3.19$ ,  $p. < .05$ .
4.  $t(6)=-2.79$ ,  $p. < .05$ .
5.  $t(6)= 4.68$ ,  $p. < .05$ .

( $t(6)=-2.69$ ,  $p. < .05$ ). The mean rating for happy weeping was 8.7 (1--Bad, 9--Good) and 6.3 for sad weeping. Finally, happy weeping was rated as being more pleasant than sad weeping ( $t(6)=4.68$ ,  $p. < .01$ ). The mean rating for happy weeping was 8.3 (1--Unpleasant, 9--Pleasant) and the mean rating for sad weeping was 4.1.

Intensity of weeping/Relief after weeping. Subjects on the average rated their happy weeping as less intense than their sad weeping (4.6 versus 6.3, 1--not at all intense, 9--very intense), but the difference was not statistically significant. There were essentially no differences between sad and happy weeping in terms of the relief felt after weeping (6.1 versus 6.3, respectively).

Summary: Happy weeping.

Happy weeping seemed to occur in three types of situations; 1) those displaying some sort of anticipation/climax structure, such as returning home after an absence, 2) certain ceremonial occasions, such as weddings, and 3) episodes involving strong religious or aesthetic feelings, such as might be involved in confessing one's faith before others. It may well be that the second category is a subset of the first.

The happy weeping episodes, in contrast to those in which sad weeping occurred, seemed to be much more structured, with the subject's tears following a clearly-defined event--the events that preceded happy weeping appeared to have more of a stimulus character viz-a-viz the production of tears than did the events that

preceded sad weeping.

Happy weeping was similar to sad weeping in that it seemed to draw the other person's attention to the subject. The character of the other's response, however, seemed to differ for the two types of weeping. For happy weeping, the response was not so much directed toward the subject's weeping but toward his/her happiness, accomplishments, etc.

Sad and happy weeping were also similar in that both were regarded as constructive, adaptive and appropriate to the situation. Both sad and happy weeping were seen as very emotional.

As might be expected, the happy weeping episodes were seen by subjects as having a much more positive valence than the sad weeping episodes. Subjects rated themselves as less tense in the happy episodes. Subjects characterized their happy weeping as much less angry, much more happy and somewhat less manipulative than their sad weeping. Happy weeping was also seen as more pleasant and good.

#### Categorization of episodes in which subjects felt like weeping.

Asking subjects to describe a situation in which they felt like weeping but did not prove to be somewhat problematic. Compared to the other kinds of episodes subjects were asked to describe (weeping, both sad and happy, and asking a favor), feeling like weeping is relatively ill-defined. When a person only feels like weeping, there is no specific act one can pick out to have subjects focus their attention on. To be sure, all subjects who could recall an episode in which they felt like weeping (12 out of the 14 who were asked to

do so) had no trouble providing a description of such an episode. Problems arose, however, when subjects were asked to evaluate the episode in terms of the various interactions between themselves and the other person present. For example, feeling like weeping has no direct consequence in terms of a response by the other person, as does (say) weeping, unless, of course, it is accompanied by an identifiable set of facial expressions, etc. Also, feeling like weeping, unlike more overt actions, does not have an easily identifiable beginning and end. Problems like these were circumvented to some extent by taking into account the special nature of feelings and actions; namely, that certain actions may derive at least part of their meaning from the feelings that occur simultaneously with them. Feeling like weeping was considered to be a component of whatever overt act the subject was performing at the time, such as uttering an insult, etc. When inquiry was made into the microdynamics of the interaction at any point during the episode when subjects felt like weeping, both the feeling and overt act were invoked. For example, "How much would you say that telling your sister that her insult's didn't bother you while you felt like crying (weeping) helped you become the kind of person you would like to be?" Obviously, this made for some rather awkward questions, but it seemed at the time to be the only solution.

Types of felt like weeping episodes. Table 14 presents the various types of episodes in which subjects reported they felt like weeping but did not. Recall that subjects were asked to describe a



TABLE 14

## Types of Episodes in Which Subjects Felt Like Weeping

<u>Type of Episode</u>	<u>Total N</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>
Frustration, sadness or depression over life events (expressing this to the other person present).*	3	1	2
Description by the other person of sad, depressing or unpleasant experiences/Weeping by the other person after receiving unexpected, unpleasant news.	3	2	1
Receiving sad, unexpected or unpleasant news/information	1	1	0
Remembering sad events (another person present but not told of the events).	1	1	0
Saying goodbye to an intimate.	1	0	1
Conflict in relationship with intimate other (conversation or argument over issues in relationship)/Conflict in relationship with family member.	2	2	0
Frustration/confusion in discussion of marriage plans (with fiance and minister).	1	1	0
	—	—	—
	12	8	4

\*Other person involved as a third party.

"sad" situation in which they felt like weeping. All of the situations described by subjects in this category were ones in which weeping was not precluded by external factors (that is, say, situations in which weeping would be inappropriate). Thus, subjects interpreted the instructions to mean they should describe a situation where they felt like weeping but did not rather than felt like weeping but could not.

Referring back to Table 2 (sad weeping episode types), it is apparent that the situations in which subjects felt like weeping were not all that different from those in which they actually wept, with a few exceptions. In three of the episodes, subjects reported feeling like weeping while in the presence of another person who was in distress. In two of these episodes the other person was describing his/her frustration, sadness or confusion over life events. In the third episode of this kind the other person had just received some unpleasant news and had begun weeping. In these three episodes, the notion of sympathy or empathy plays an important role, something which was apparent in only one of the sad weeping episodes (i.e., "weeping occasioned by other's weeping"). It should be noted, however, that subjects regarded their sad weeping as somewhat sympathetic (see Table 5, p. 69).

Three subjects described feeling like weeping while expressing sadness or frustration to the other person present. The content of these episodes--the break-up of a relationship and emotional problems associated with university life--were similar to (in fact, overlapped)

those involved in the situations where the subjects actually wept. The remaining episode types, receiving unsettling news, conflict in relationships, saying goodbye, were also very similar to the weeping episodes subjects had described. There did seem to be some important differences between the two types of episodes (weeping versus felt like weeping), however, in terms of the meaning of weeping.

In order to illustrate how the meaning of weeping differs in the two types of situations, let us examine how the meaning of weeping is expressed in two situations involving conflict, one in which the subject wept, and one in which the subject did not. In the episode in which the subject wept, her weeping was a clear signal to her partner that his actions had become intolerable and that his perceptions of the issues involved in the immediate conflict seriously underestimated their importance to her. Thus, weeping served to re-orient the subject's partner's attention. In the episode in which weeping did not occur, weeping for the subject would have signalled to her antagonist, in this case a sister, that she had been successful in decreasing the subject's sense of self-worth. The subject perceived weeping as a sign of weakness or "giving in." Weeping in this episode could thus be considered negative from the standpoint of the subject, while weeping in the former episode could be considered in a more positive light.

The above example illustrates an interesting aspect of several of the episodes in which subjects felt like weeping but did not, e.g., the episodes involving the receipt of unpleasant news, one of

the episodes in which the other person was in distress, both of the conflict episodes, the episode involving remembering sad events and the episode involving the subject's feelings of frustration and confusion during a discussion of her upcoming wedding. In contrast to the episodes in which the subject actually wept, weeping in these episodes seemed to be regarded more ambivalently. In several of the episodes, subjects reported feeling like they wanted to weep along with not knowing what they should feel or how they should express their feeling. For example, in one of the episodes a young woman was told by her father that he had just gotten a job on the West Coast and would soon be leaving to take up residence there. The woman felt like weeping but did not know what kind of emotion she should express to her father, happiness at his good fortune, or sadness at his leaving. In another episode a young man was present when his mother received the news that her brother had just died. The young man did not feel all that upset by the news, not having known his uncle well, but was quite affected by his mother's experience (weeping, etc.), but, not as much as he felt he should be. He reported feeling like weeping but not really knowing what for. Thus, the issues involved in situations where subjects feel like weeping as opposed to those in which they actually weep often seemed less clear-cut, and the appropriate actions and emotions less well defined.

Characteristics of the episode descriptions: Feeling like weeping.

Even though the issues and meanings involved in the episodes in

which subjects felt like weeping were every bit as complex as those for the weeping episodes, the actual descriptions of the former were somewhat less complex. The descriptions of the felt like weeping episodes tended to be somewhat less focused, with more attention paid to feelings than to overt actions--this certainly may have been due to the nature of the task. As with happy weeping, the mean number of acts described by subjects for the felt like weeping episodes was smaller than for the sad weeping episodes--2.7 for felt like weeping versus 3.3 for sad weeping. The difference, however, was not statistically significant.

The other person involved in the felt like weeping episodes was described equally often as male or female.

#### Categorization of the acts preceding feeling like weeping.

Table 15 presents the types of acts or events which immediately preceded or occurred simultaneously with feeling like weeping.

As with the weeping episodes, the most frequently described act or event preceding feeling like weeping was weeping on the part of the other person present. Unlike the weeping episodes, however, in which the other person wept before the subject, the response of the subject to the other person's weeping in the felt like weeping episodes was more of a sympathetic reaction. That is, the subjects in the latter episodes were not as involved in the other person's concerns (say, as an intimate partner in conflict) when the other person wept.

TABLE 15

## Events Immediately Preceding or Concomitant with Feeling Like Weeping

<u>Type of Act or Event</u>	<u>Total N</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>
Weeping by the other person.	3	1	2
Negative remark by the other person (insult, etc.).	2	1	1
Description by the other person of sad, depressing or unpleasant experience.	1	1	0
Receipt of sad, unexpected, or un- pleasant news/information--conveyed by the other person present.	1	1	0
Active disregard of the subject by the other person (ignoring the subject, attending to others).	1	1	0
Question by the other person about an importan topic (wedding plans).	1	1	0
Positive remark directed toward subject (expression of sympathy).	1	0	1
Other person attending to subject without speaking.	1	1	0
Events not described in the subject/ other interaction: Subject began weeping while remembering sad/ depressing life event.	1	1	0
	<hr/> 12	<hr/> 8	<hr/> 4

Two subjects reported feeling like weeping after receiving a negative comment from the other person present. In one case this was a somewhat mocking comment about the subject's condition and in the other it was an insult.

Overall, the kinds of acts preceding feeling like weeping were very similar to those preceding sad weeping (compare Tables 2 and 14). The major difference between the two types of episodes seems to be that the acts preceding feeling like weeping did not have the positive quality of those preceding sad weeping--only one subject described an episode in which a positive remark was made before he felt like weeping, and two subjects, as described above, reported incidents involving insults or negative comments.

#### Subjective evaluation of felt like weeping episodes.

Data analysis. Subjects' ratings of the valence of the episodes they described before, during and after feeling like weeping were analyzed in a three-way repeated measures analysis of variance with sex of subject as the between-subject variable. The three ratings were analyzed as repeated measures. To test the difference between the valence ratings between the sad weeping and felt like weeping episodes, the type of episode was included as a second within-subject (repeated measure) variable. Subjects' ratings of their mood were analyzed in a one-way repeated measures analysis of variance with sex of subject as the between-subject variable and episode type (sad weeping versus felt like weeping) as the within-subject (repeated measure) variable.

Episode valence. Figure 8 presents the episode valence ratings before, during and after sad weeping and feeling like weeping. In sharp contrast to the sad weeping episodes, in which subjects' evaluations of the episode became progressively more positive, the valence of the episode became much more negative during the time when subjects felt like weeping. This difference, however, was not statistically significant.

Mood adjective ratings. The mean mood adjective ratings for sad weeping versus felt like weeping are presented in Table 16. Subjects rated themselves as significantly more strong in the felt like weeping episodes ( $F(1,10)=23.60$ ,  $p. < .001$ ). The mean rating for the felt like weeping episode was 5.9 (1--Weak, 9--Strong) and 3.2 for the sad weeping episode. Subjects rated themselves as significantly less emotional in the felt like weeping episode as opposed to the sad weeping episode ( $F(1,10)=24.51$ ,  $p. < .001$ ). The mean ratings being 5.2 (1--Nonemotional, 9--Emotional) and 8.2, respectively. Finally, subjects rated themselves as significantly more dominant in the felt like weeping episodes ( $F(1,10)=15.71$ ,  $p. < .01$ ). The mean ratings were 4.5 (1--Dominant, 9--Submissive) and 6.6, respectively.

Summary: Feeling like weeping.

Episodes in which subjects reported feeling like weeping appear in many respects to be very similar to those in which they actually wept. The major difference between the two types of episodes seems to be that in the former weeping was regarded somewhat ambivalently;



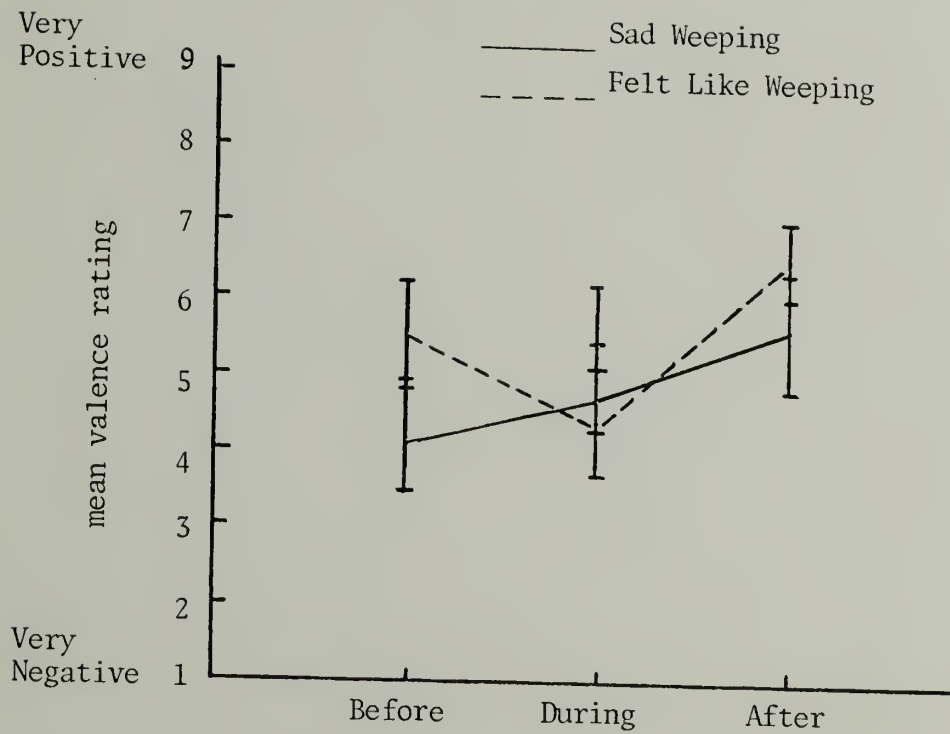


Figure 8. Mean episode valence ratings for sad weeping and feeling like weeping.

TABLE 16

Mean Mood Adjective Ratings for Feeling Like Weeping Versus Sad Weeping  
(N=12) (Standard Errors are in Parentheses)

<u>Adjective Pair</u>	<u>Mean Rating</u>	
	<u>Feeling Like Weeping</u>	<u>Sad Weeping</u>
Weak (1)--Strong (9) <sup>1</sup>	5.9 (.54)	3.2 (.40)
Active (1)--Passive (9)	5.3 (.71)	4.5 (.71)
Nonemotional (1)--Emotional (9) <sup>2</sup>	5.2 (.65)	8.2 (.32)
Calm (1)--Tense (9)	5.1 (.72)	6.8 (.66)
Dominant (1)--Submissive (9) <sup>3</sup>	4.5 (.31)	6.6 (.42)

Sad weeping and feeling like weeping significantly different:

1.  $F(1,10)=23.60$ ,  $p. < .001$ .
2.  $F(1,10)=24.51$ ,  $p. < .001$ .
3.  $F(1,10)=15.71$ ,  $p. < .01$ .

that is, subjects regarded weeping in a more negative manner or were unsure of the "proper" emotion to express in those episodes in which they did not weep. Perhaps because of this perception (although it is impossible to infer causality here), subjects evidently tried to be stronger and less submissive than they were in the episodes in which they wept. These ratings, of course, could just as well reflect subjects' post hoc evaluations of the episode, to wit, subjects rated themselves as being stronger and less submissive in the felt like weeping episodes precisely because they did not weep.

On the average, subjects considered themselves to be less emotional in the episodes in which they felt like weeping, as opposed to those in which they actually wept. This, however, could also be a case of retrospective re-evaluation.

#### Characteristics of episodes in which subjects asked for a favor.

As mentioned above, subjects were asked to describe an episode in which they asked someone for a favor not so much for the content of the episode but rather to serve as a non-emotional comparison for the other types of episodes with regard to subjective evaluation and perceived necessity, etc.

The episodes in which subjects asked another person for a favor tended to be brief, with the actual asking of the favor being the first act. The mean number of acts per episode was 2.7 (compared with 3.2 for sad weeping).

The episodes provided by the twelve subjects who were asked to

describe asking someone for a favor differed only in the object of the favor, e.g., borrowing a roommate's car, asking a friend to type a paper, etc. All but one of the episodes described by females involved a male while half of the episodes described by males involved another male and half involved a female.

None of the episodes was extraordinary in any way, and all of the episodes taken as a whole do not add that much to our knowledge of the interpersonal dynamics of favor-asking.

#### Subjective evaluation of asking a favor episodes.

Data analysis. Subjects' ratings of their mood during the episodes in which they asked for a favor were analyzed in a two-way repeated measures analysis of variance with sex of subject as the between-subject variable and episode type (sad weeping versus asking a favor) as the within-subject (repeated measure) variable.

Mood adjective ratings. The mean mood adjective ratings for sad weeping versus asking a favor are presented in Table 17. As expected, subjects considered themselves to be much less emotional in the situations in which they asked for a favor. Specifically, subjects rated themselves as significantly less tense in the asking a favor episodes as opposed to the sad weeping episodes ( $F(1,10)=39.31, p. < .001$ ). The mean rating for the former was 3.4 (1--Calm, 9--Tense) and for the latter 7.3. Subjects also rated themselves as being significantly less emotional ( $F(1,10)=34.45, p. < .001$ ). The mean rating on this measure was 4.6 for the asking a favor episode (1--Nonemotional, 9--Emotional) and 8.1 for the sad weeping

TABLE 17

Mean Mood Adjective Ratings for Asking a Favor Versus Sad Weeping (n=12)  
 (Standard Errors are in Parentheses)

<u>Adjective Pair</u>	<u>Mean Rating</u>	
	<u>Asking a Favor</u>	<u>Sad Weeping</u>
Weak (1)--Strong (9)	5.8 (.77)	4.6 (.58)
Nonemotional (1)--Emotional (9) <sup>1</sup>	4.6 (.73)	8.1 (.26)
Dominant (1)--Submissive (9)	3.9 (.69)	5.3 (.64)
Active (1)--Passive (9)	3.5 (.76)	6.7 (.80)
Calm (1)--Tense (9) <sup>2</sup>	3.4 (.82)	7.3 (.57)

Sad weeping and asking a favor significantly different:

1.  $F(1,10)=34.45$ ,  $p. < .001$ .
2.  $F(1,10)=39.31$ ,  $p. < .001$ .

episode. In addition, subjects considered themselves to be more active in the asking a favor episodes, with a mean rating of 4.6 (1--Active, 9--Passive) as opposed to 6.7 for sad weeping, but the difference was not statistically significant.

Summary: Asking a favor.

The episodes in which subjects asked for a favor differed only as to the object of the favor, and these differences tended to be slight. As expected, subjects rated these episodes as significantly less emotional than the sad weeping episodes.

Sex differences in the episodes.

Overview. In this section, male and female differences within each type of the four episodes described above are presented. On the whole, males and females did not differ all that much in terms of the kinds of episodes they described for sad or happy weeping, feeling like weeping or asking a favor. Males and females did differ somewhat in the characteristics of their episode descriptions, in the specifics of the episodes (acts preceding weeping, etc.) and in their evaluations of the episodes and the act of weeping.

Sad weeping. Inspection of the types of episodes described by subjects (see Table 1, p. ) does not immediately reveal any striking sex differences. Females did tend to describe more episodes involving interpersonal relationships while many of the males' descriptions focused on other kinds of issues. Within the first category (frustration, sadness, etc.), all but one of the females

described interpersonal kinds of problems (worry or lack of time spent with significant others, family conflict, wedding plans, suicide of an acquaintance, etc.), while all but one of the males described non-interpersonal problems (receiving a low test score, contracting hepatitis, death of the family dog, etc.). Fewer males described situations involving interpersonal conflict (second category) than did females. More males than females described weeping in ritualized types of situations, such as funerals and leave-taking. The one person whose weeping seemed to be directly occasioned by another's weeping was a male.

Turning now to the characteristics of the episode descriptions, the differences between males and females are more apparent. Specifically, females tended to describe much richer and more detailed accounts than did males, providing more descriptions of what was actually said and done in precise terms rather than vague impressions.

Males and females differed significantly in the number of acts they described within an episode of sad weeping ( $t(36)=2.78$ ,  $p. < .01$ ). The mean number of acts described by females was 4.3 and the mean number of acts described by males was 2.8. Males and females also differed in terms of the sex of the other person who was present when they wept. Females described episodes involving males and females equally often. Males, however, described episodes involving a female more often than episodes involving another male (13 versus 5, respectively). This difference, however, was not statistically significant ( $X^2=3.56$ ,  $.10 p. < .05$ ).

Males and females differed in the kinds of acts they described as preceding their weeping (see Table 3, p.61 ). Male weeping more often followed weeping by the other person and physical contact with the other person than did female weeping (6 versus 3, and 2 versus 0, respectively). Female weeping, on the other hand, more often followed a comment or question about the relationship between the subject and other person (3 versus 0) or occurred while the other person was actively attending to the subject (4 versus 1). Overall, weeping by the males seemed to follow very concrete, highly salient events (weeping, embracing) whereas weeping for the females seemed to follow more subtle events (attention by the other person, disregard by the other, etc.).

Referring to Table 4 (p.65 ), the most notable sex difference in terms of the consequences of weeping is that no male was encouraged to continue weeping, whereas four of the females were.

In terms of subjective evaluation of the sad weeping episodes, males and females did not differ in their valence ratings of the episodes before, during and after weeping.<sup>1</sup> In terms of mood, males regarded themselves as somewhat more passive than did the females, 5.3 versus 3.7, respectively (1--Active, 9--Passive), although the difference did not reach conventional levels of statistical significance ( $F(1,32)=3.98$ ,  $p. <.055$ ).

Females rated their sad weeping as significantly more angry than did males ( $F(1,32)=4.37$ ,  $p. <.05$ ). The mean rating for females was 5.1 (1--not at all, 9--very much) and the mean rating for males was 3.2. Females also rated their sad weeping as significantly more



self-pitying than did males ( $F(1,32)=4.67, p.< .05$ ). The mean rating for females was 5.4 and the mean rating for males was 3.4.

Males and females did not differ in terms of the intensity of their weeping or the relief felt after weeping.

Happy weeping. Males and females did not differ appreciably in the kinds of happy weeping episodes they described (see Table 9, p. ), the kinds of events that preceded their happy weeping (see Table 10, p. ), or the consequences of their happy weeping (see Table 11, p. ). In addition, there were no significant differences between males and females in terms of their subjective evaluation of the happy weeping episodes or in their characterization of the act of happy weeping.

Feeling like weeping. As with happy weeping, there were few differences between males and females for the felt like weeping episodes. Males and females described essentially the same kinds of episodes and the episodes seemed to possess similar kinds of characteristics. There were also no sex differences in the kinds of events that preceded feeling like weeping.

There were no differences between males and females in terms of the various episode valence ratings. With regard to mood, males rated themselves as more passive than females ( $F(1,10)=5.98, p.< .05$ ). The mean rating for males was 5.8 (1--Active, 9--Passive) and the mean rating for females was 5.1.

Asking a favor. There were no differences between males and females in their descriptions of asking a favor. Females described

asking another female for a favor more often than a male (5 versus 1, respectively), while males asked a male or female equally often. This difference, however, was not statistically significant.

There were no sex differences in the mood ratings for the episodes in which subjects asked for a favor.

Summary: Sex differences. Males and females differed slightly in the kinds of sad weeping episodes they described and in the characteristics of those episodes. Females described episodes involving interpersonal issues (e.g., intimacy, friendship, etc.) more often than did males. Males often described situations involving non-interpersonal issues (e.g., receiving low test scores, etc.). Sad weeping for the males more often followed very concrete kinds of events (e.g., weeping by another person, etc.), while sad weeping for the females followed more subtle (often verbal) events. Upon beginning to weep, no male was encouraged to continue, whereas four of the females were.

Females described their sad weeping episodes in much greater detail than did males and described more acts per episode than did males. Males more often reported weeping in the presence of a female while females reported weeping equally often in the presence of a male or female.

Females rated their sad weeping as being more angry and self-pitying than did males. Males considered themselves to be more passive than did the females in the sad weeping episodes.

Perceptions of the Necessity of Weeping and Other Acts

Overview.

In this section, subjects' perceptions of the necessity of sad and happy weeping, feeling like weeping and asking a favor are presented. For each act, subjects' perceptions of the various ways in which the act was entailed within the episode are presented along with the index of relative necessity expressed by the entailments. Recall that relative necessity is the difference between the amount of prefigurative and practical necessity exerted on an act, as perceived by the subject (relative necessity equals practical necessity minus prefigurative necessity--see METHODS, above); that is, the extent to which subjects saw the act, say, weeping, as being "prefigured" by the situation--and thus their weeping as reactive--or the result of their own intentional activity--and thus proactive. For purposes of comparison, only the results for the specific "target" acts of interest (sad weeping versus happy weeping, etc.) are presented.

As mentioned above, the act of asking a favor was included in the study to serve as a measure of the validity of subjects' perceptions of the necessity of the other kinds of acts they described. Accordingly, subjects' perceptions of the necessity of asking a favor versus sad weeping are presented first, followed by subjects' perceptions of sad weeping overall (all sad weeping episodes combined), sad versus happy weeping, and sad weeping versus feeling like weeping.

Data analysis.

Subjects' perceptions of the entailment of the various acts they described and the index of relative necessity expressed by those entailments were analyzed in a two step process. 1) In comparing any two target acts (except sad and happy weeping--see below), the data were analyzed in a two-way repeated measures analysis of variance with sex of subject as the between-subject variable and type of act as the within subject variable. 2) The data for all of the sad weeping episodes combined were analyzed in a two-way analysis of variance with type of contrast episode and sex of subject as between-subject variables. An additional analysis was performed on these latter data. In order to determine how relative necessity may have changed over the course of the sad weeping episodes the indices of relative necessity for sad weeping and the acts immediately preceding and following sad weeping were analyzed in a two-way repeated measures analysis of variance with sex of subject as the between-subject variable and the three indices as repeated measures. This analysis was performed on the data from the eighteen subjects who described episodes which included acts before and after sad weeping.

Perceived necessity: Sad weeping versus asking a favor.

Asking a favor (out of convenience), almost by definition, is a voluntary act, and should have been regarded by subjects as expressing more practical than prefigurative necessity. This was in fact the case. The acts of sad weeping and asking a favor were significantly different in terms of relative necessity ( $F(1,10)=25.99, p. < .001$ ).

the mean relative necessity index for asking a favor was .7 (-8 indicates maximum prefigurative necessity, +8 maximum practical necessity), while the index for sad weeping was -1.5.

Table 18 presents the mean entailment ratings for sad weeping versus asking a favor. Each type of entailment within the episode is presented along with the particular item used to assess subjects' intuitive appraisal of the strength of that entailment.

Asking a favor and sad weeping were significantly different in terms of the act to consequence and life-script to act entailments ( $F(1,10)=123.43$ ,  $p.<.001$  and  $F(1,10)=8.72$ ,  $p.<.05$ , respectively). As might be expected, the relationship between the act and its consequence was much stronger for asking a favor than for sad weeping. The mean rating for asking a favor was 7.8 (1--not at all, 9--very much) and the mean rating for sad weeping was 1.8. As might be expected, sad weeping, on the other hand, was seen by subjects as being more closely related to their life-script than was asking a favor. The mean rating for sad weeping was 7.7 and the mean rating for asking a favor was 5.9. It is likely that this means that subjects regarded sad weeping as much more important than asking a favor.

Perceived necessity of sad weeping: All episodes combined.

Overall, the act of sad weeping was characterized as expressing relatively more prefigurative than practical necessity. That is, sad weeping, in the episodes described by subjects, appeared to be reactive, albeit weakly. The mean relative necessity index for all of the sad weeping episodes combined was -.9; the mean rating for the

TABLE 18

Mean Entailment Ratings (1--Not at all, 9--Very much), Sad Weeping Versus Asking a Favor (N=12). (Standard Errors are in Parentheses)

<u>Entailment</u>	<u>Mean Rating</u>	
	<u>Sad Weeping</u>	<u>Asking a Favor</u>
<u>Life-script to act:</u> "How much would you say that (weeping/asking a favor) in the situation you described represents or closely reflects who you are, that is, the kind of person you see yourself to be?" 1.	7.7(.28)	5.9(.59)
<u>Episode to act:</u> "How much would you say that the situation seemed to require that you (weep/ask a favor)?"	7.3(.69)	5.6(.81)
<u>Valence of consequence:</u> "How much were you pleased with what the other person did after you (began weeping/asked for the favor)?"	6.7(.66)	7.3(.88)
<u>Consequence to life-script:</u> "How much would you say that (weeping/asking a favor) in the situation helped you become the kind of person you would like to be?"	5.7(.82)	5.0(.78)
<u>Relationship to act:</u> "How much would you say that (weeping/asking a favor) in the situation you described represents or closely reflects the kind of relationship you would like to have with the other person?"	5.5(.92)	7.0(.43)

TABLE 18 Continued

<u>Consequence to relationship:</u> "How much would you say that (weeping/asking a favor) in the situation helped you bring about the kind of relationship you would like to have with the other person?"	5.4(.98)	5.8(.79)
<u>Antecedent to act:</u> "How much would you say that what the other person did before you (began weeping/asked for the favor) seemed to require that you do it?"	5.0(.89)	4.4(.70)
<u>Act to consequence:</u> "How much would you say that you (wept/asked a favor) in order to bring about a particular response by the other person?" <sup>2</sup>	1.8(.46)	7.8(.39)

1. Significant effect for type of act:  $F(1,10)=8.72$ ,  $p. < .05$ .
2. Significant effect for type of act:  $F(1,10)=123.43$ ,  $p. < .001$ .

entailments expressing practical necessity was 5.7 (1--not at all, 9--very much) while the mean rating for the entailments expressing prefigurative necessity was 6.6.

Figure 9 presents the mean relative necessity indices for sad weeping and the acts immediately preceding and following sad weeping for the eighteen subjects with complete data for each of the acts. The index of relative necessity became somewhat more negative, expressing greater prefigurative necessity, over the course of the episodes, but the difference was not statistically significant.

Table 19 presents the mean entailment ratings for all of the sad weeping episodes combined. Overall, the act of sad weeping was characterized by a relatively strong life-script to act entailment, with a mean rating of 7.6 (1--not at all, 9--very much) and a relatively weak act to consequence entailment, with a mean of 3.4. All of the other entailment ratings were moderately strong (5.6 to 6.8).

#### Perceived necessity: Sad weeping versus happy weeping.

Because of the small number of subjects who provided descriptions of happy weeping, comparisons between sad and happy weeping could only be performed by individual t-tests. These results should thus be interpreted with some caution.

Happy weeping was perceived by subjects as being somewhat less reactive (prefigurative) than sad weeping, but the difference was not statistically significant. The mean relative necessity index for happy weeping was -.1 while the mean for sad weeping was -.9.



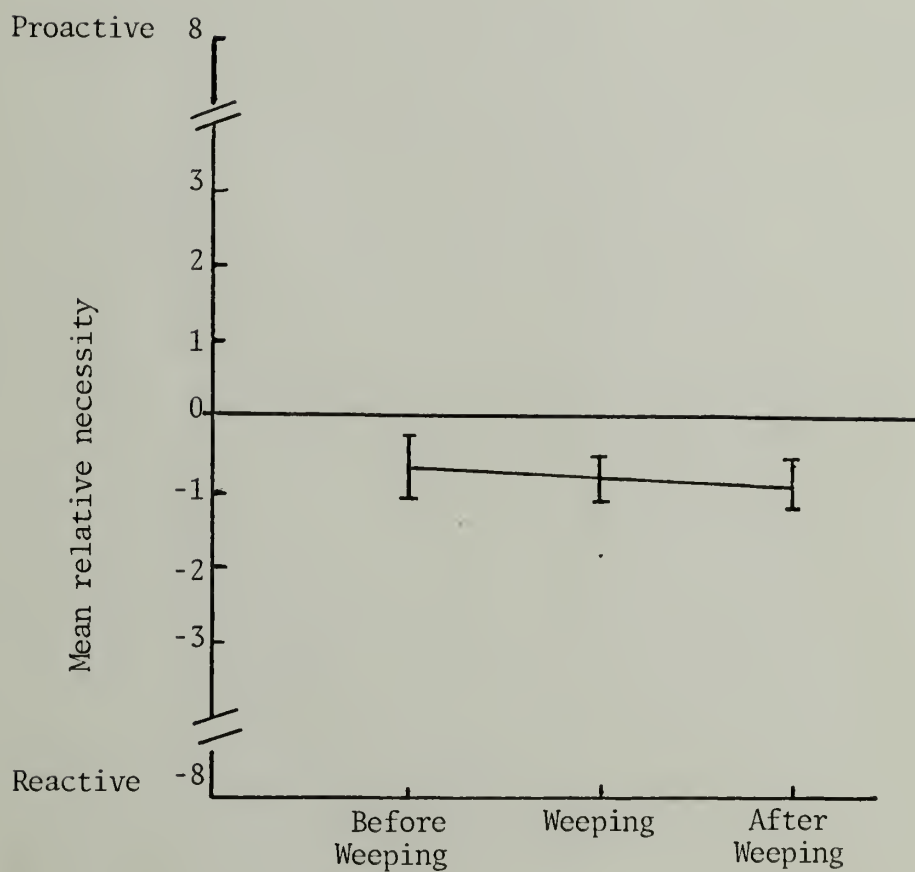


Figure 9. Mean relative necessity indices for sad weeping and the acts immediately preceding and following sad weeping for the 18 subjects who provided descriptions of all three acts.

TABLE 19

Mean Entailment Ratings for all Sad Weeping Episodes (N=38)

<u>Entailment</u>	<u>Mean Rating</u>	<u>Standard Error</u>
Life-script to act	7.6	.22
Episode to act	6.8	.43
Consequence to life-script	6.6	.35
Valence of consequence	6.5	.41
Relationship to act	6.3	.38
Consequence to relationship	6.1	.43
Antecedent to act	5.6	.47
Act to consequence	3.4	.40

Table 20 presents the mean entailment ratings for sad versus happy weeping. There was a marginally significant difference between the two kinds of weeping in terms of the valence of the consequence ( $t(6)=2.41$ ,  $p. < .052$ ). Subjects were somewhat more pleased with what the other person did after they wept for happiness than for sadness (8.3 versus 5.4, respectively).

It is surprising that subjects perceived the antecedent to act entailment to be rather weak for happy weeping. From subjects' verbal descriptions of the episodes (see above), it appeared that the antecedent was quite strongly related to the act of happy weeping.

Perceived necessity: Sad weeping versus feeling like weeping.

Subjects perceived feeling like weeping to be reactive, somewhat less so, however, than sad weeping. The mean relative necessity index for feeling like weeping was  $-.3$  and the mean index for sad weeping was  $-.6$ . This difference, however, was not statistically significant.

Table 21 presents the mean entailment ratings for sad weeping versus feeling like weeping. There were no significant differences between the two types of acts although subjects perceived the episode to act entailment to be somewhat stronger for sad weeping than for feeling like weeping (7.4 versus 5.7, respectively).

Perceived necessity: Sex differences.

There were no significant effects for sex of subject for relative necessity or entailment for the act of asking a favor.

TABLE 20

Mean Entailment Ratings, Happy Weeping Versus Sad Weeping (N=7)  
(Standard Errors are in Parentheses)

<u>Entailment</u>	<u>Mean Rating</u>	
	<u>Happy Weeping</u>	<u>Sad Weeping</u>
Valence of consequence <sup>1</sup>	8.3 (.42)	5.4 (1.19)
Life-script to act	7.4 (.53)	7.4 (.48)
Relationship to act	7.1 (.59)	7.0 (.22)
Consequence to relationship	6.3 (1.06)	6.1 (.73)
Episode to act	4.6 (1.17)	5.6 (.92)
Antecedent to act	4.4 (1.23)	7.0 (.85)
Act to consequence	2.6 (.78)	4.6 (.89)

1. Marginally significant effect for type of act:

$t(6)=2.41$ ,  $p. < .052$ .

TABLE 21

Mean Entailment Ratings, Feeling Like Weeping Versus Sad Weeping (n=12)  
 (Standard Errors are in Parentheses)

<u>Entailment</u>	<u>Mean Rating</u>	
	<u>Feeling Like Weeping</u>	<u>Sad Weeping</u>
Life-script to act	7.4 (.39)	7.7 (.37)
Consequence to life-script	6.8 (.43)	6.9 (.45)
Consequence to relationship	6.6 (.58)	6.8 (.67)
Relationship to act	6.4 (.58)	6.0 (.65)
Valence of consequence	6.1 (.79)	6.6 (.82)
Antecedent to act	5.9 (.74)	5.7 (.84)
Episode to act	5.7 (.82)	7.4 (.77)
Act to consequence	5.1 (.84)	4.0 (.73)

When all of the sad weeping episodes were combined, there was a significant difference between males and females for the act to consequence entailment ( $F(1,32)=4.68$ ,  $p. < .05$ ). Females perceived the entailment to be stronger than did the males. The mean rating for females was 4.2 (1--not at all, 9--very much) while the mean rating for males was 2.6.

There were no significant sex differences for relative necessity or entailment within the happy weeping episodes.

In comparing sad weeping and feeling like weeping, females, regardless of the act involved, perceived a stronger act to consequence entailment than did males ( $F(1,10)=5.06$ ,  $p. < .01$ ). The mean rating for the females was 5.1 (1--not at all, 9--very much) and the mean rating for the males was 2.7. Males and females did not differ in terms of relative necessity.

#### Perceived necessity: Summary.

Sad weeping, relative to a completely voluntary act (asking a favor), was perceived by subjects to be prefigured by the logic of the situation; that is, subjects saw their sad weeping as primarily reactive. Sad weeping differed from asking a favor in that subjects considered the act to consequence entailment to be stronger for the latter and the life-script to act entailment to be stronger for the former. In the fact, the most extreme entailment ratings for all of the sad weeping episodes combined were the life-script to act

entailment, which was quite high, and the act to consequence entailment, which was low. This suggests that the sad weeping situations involved issues of some importance to subjects and that subjects did not perceive their weeping as an attempt to obtain a particular response from the other person.

It is interesting to note that the life-script to act entailment was quite similar for happy and sad weeping and feeling like weeping (compare Tables 19, 20 and 21). This suggests that episodes involving any of these responses are perceived as being equally important.

The act to consequence entailment was different for males and females. On the average, the females perceived their sad weeping more as a means to provoke a reaction from the other person than did the males.

### Summary of the Results

The major points of interest with regard to the present results are as follows:

- 1) At least in terms of the episodes described by subjects in the present study, there does not seem to be a "typical" sad weeping episode. Subjects described weeping for sadness in a variety of episodes. The most frequently described episodes involved expressing frustration, sadness or depression over life events to another person, conflict in intimate relationships, receiving sad or depressing news and saying goodbye to a friend or intimate.

2) Sad weeping was most often preceded by weeping by the other person present or by a positive remark directed toward the subject by the other person.

3) The consequence of sad weeping almost always involved drawing the other person's attention to the subject. Sad weeping appears to have a very strong communicative aspect.

4) The episodes in which happy weeping occurred seemed to be of three types, 1) episodes involving anticipation followed by a climax, 2) ceremonial occasions and 3) episodes involving strong religious or aesthetic feelings.

5) Episodes in which subjects wept out of sadness differed from those in which they felt like weeping but did not in terms of the meaning of the weeping for the subject. Weeping was considered more ambivalently in those episodes in which subjects did not weep.

6) Perhaps as a consequence of not having wept (or as a cause-- it is impossible to determine the relationship given the present data), subjects considered themselves to be stronger and less emotional in episodes in which they felt like weeping but did not.

7) Subjects perceived sad weeping to be relatively reactive with regard to the demands of the situation. Sad weeping differed significantly from a voluntary act (asking a favor) in this respect.

8) Subjects' perceptions of the necessity of their actions did not differ appreciably among sad and happy weeping or feeling like weeping. All were seen as relatively reactive, with sad weeping being the most reactive.



9) Males and females did not differ all that much in terms of the kinds of episodes they described for sad and happy weeping or feeling like weeping. With regard to sad weeping, females did tend to describe more episodes involving interpersonal relations than did males. Females regarded their sad weeping as being more angry and self-pitying than did males.

10) Males and females did not differ in their perception of the overall necessity of their sad weeping. They did differ somewhat in the extent to which they saw their weeping as an attempt to draw out a response by the other person who was present when they wept, with females seeing their weeping as more instrumental than did males.

## CHAPTER IV

### DISCUSSION

#### On the Generality of the Present Results

Before discussing the results of the present study in detail, consideration must be given to the question of the representativeness of the sample of subjects interviewed for the study and hence to the generality of the results. Although we need not belabor the point since the study was designed to be exploratory and not parametric, a case can be made for the contention that the sample of people who were interviewed for the study is biased for one important reason. Specifically, it is almost certain that a strong self-selection bias was operating among potential subjects.

Recall that subjects were recruited from undergraduate psychology classes. At the time of recruitment potential subjects were given a more or less complete representation of what they would be asked to do in the study; i.e., they were told that they would be asked to describe in detail an incident in which they wept in the presence of another person. The recruitment procedures thus eliminated non-weepers from volunteering for the study.<sup>13</sup> This, of course, is not all that serious since the study was not aimed at ascertaining the "true" proportion of weepers in the population, etc. However, it is likely that people who were sensitive about their weeping or who regarded weeping negatively or ambivalently, did not volunteer for the study. Thus, the sample of subjects who did volunteer for the study is skewed

in the direction of those who are relatively comfortable with their weeping.<sup>14</sup> To be sure, not all of the subjects interviewed for the study considered weeping to be an unequivocally good thing. As the results (especially Table 6, p. ) indicate, however, weeping was for the most part regarded very positively. This situation does not really impugn the validity of the study, however, for it may be said that such a circumstance is a sort of occupational hazard common to all investigations into the sensitive and meaningful areas of human life. At present, there seems to be no way of getting around problems of this sort (perhaps there should not be). Given the embryonic state of research into social weeping, we shall have to be content with what we have got. It should be kept in mind, however, that the present results are based on a sample of individuals who were willing to talk about what in the Western world seems to be a rather private topic.

#### What is Weeping?

Social weeping, as defined in the present study, occurs in many different kinds of situations. Insofar as could be determined here, there does not seem to be a "typical" weeping episode for either sad or happy weeping. This applies both to the kinds of episodes in which weeping occurs and the structure of the episodes; that is, all of the weeping episodes, although different in kind, did not seem to share some underlying structure in the sense that each exhibited (say) a period of anticipation, followed by a precipitating stimulus, followed by weeping, etc. Many of the episodes, especially those involving

conflict, however, did seem to share a common function. In addition, the structure of the meanings imposed in the weeping episodes by those who wept seemed to be quite similar across episodes.

Social weeping is purposeful.

Contrary to Koestler's (1967) contention, sad weeping (at least) does not necessarily occur in situations "in which nothing purposeful can be done, which (do) not beget action" (p. 274). In fact, just the opposite appears to be the case; weeping, as reported by the subjects in the present study, was quite functional (and hence, purposeful), in the sense of bringing about desired or desirable ends. We must be careful to distinguish here, however, between weeping in order to bring about a desired end and weeping that serves a purpose (cf. Lyons, 1980, chp. 12). If the weeping episodes collected here have anything in common it is that in many of them, the subject's weeping served to bring about some change in the interpersonal order of the situation. This change was almost always beneficial to the subject (weeper) with regard to his/her interaction with the other person present. However, subjects did not weep in order to bring this about. Whatever else it might do, weeping interrupts the flow of dyadic interaction and ushers in a new focus and frame for interaction, e.g., weeping may change an episode from one involving conflict to one involving succorance (all of this brought about by the appearance of a few drops of salty water). Another way of putting this is to say that weeping recontextualizes the acts performed in the episode. Consider the following example:

In one of the episodes described by a female subject, she and her boyfriend were sitting next to each other at a dormitory party. The subject's boyfriend was attending to others at the party and consequently was ignoring her. The subject became increasingly frustrated and annoyed with his behavior and after a few minutes left the party. A short time later, her boyfriend also left the party and met her in the hall as she was about to leave the building. He was apparently unaware that his actions had been bothering her and was quite surprised to find her upset. The subject at this time began weeping. After she began weeping her boyfriend remarked, "I didn't know I was upsetting you this much." The subject's weeping moved him to recontextualize his actions at the party as unfriendly to her. Their interaction then evolved into a discussion of whether or not they should stay together as a couple.

As the above example hopefully illustrates, one of the functions of weeping seems to be that of a recontextualizer (if you will), par excellence. In contrast to the findings of Efran and Spangler (1969), weeping, for the subjects in the present study, did not seem to signal that the subject had "given up work on an issue" or that the issue is no longer important. Paradoxically, in situations involving conflict, subjects seemed to confront the issue head-on by appearing to give into it, that is, by weeping. In those situations involving conflict this forced the other person to consider the subject and his/her needs and demands in a dramatic fashion. Efran and Spangler regard weeping merely as a signal of some subjective process (they never say for

whom it functions as a signal). The results of the present study suggest, however, that weeping is much more than just a signal and that it should not be disassociated from the on-going patterns of interaction between the weeper and the other(s) present.

Happy weeping, as described by subjects in the present study, seems to work somewhat differently than sad weeping, and may be closer to Koestler's conception and that of others who posit a cathartic function for weeping (cf. Scheff, 1979). There are, however, some troubling conceptual problems with the notion of catharsis with regard to weeping (see INTRODUCTION, above, for a discussion of the notion of "tension-release"). This issue is discussed more fully below.

Happy weeping, as described by the subjects in the present study, seems to be bound-up closely with the notion of acceptance. In many of the happy weeping episodes an underlying theme of group acceptance appeared to be present; that is, many of the episodes seemed to involve either integrating the subject into his or her old group or integrating the subject into a new group (even when the group consisted of only one other member). In fact, integration, reintegration and acceptance were explicit themes (and the purpose) of many of the episodes (e.g., those involving marriage, returning home, confessing one's faith, etc.). It may be that happy weeping serves as a signal that the individual recognizes that he or she has been accepted into the group (or back into the group). Happy weeping may thus indicate to others that the social order is as they conceived it to be. This

is quite similar to the function assigned to weeping by Piddington (1963) in his review of ritual weeping among traditional peoples. Although Piddington never labels the episodes he describes as being happy per se, many are, in fact, similar to those described by subjects in the present study (e.g., returning home, meeting long lost relatives, etc.).

If the happy weeping episodes reflect the theme of acceptance and a strengthening of group ties, the sad weeping episodes could be said to reflect the opposite, namely rejection and the severing of group ties. It may well be that sad weeping in many instances is an attempt to maintain bands of attachment, that is, weeping occurs when attachments are in danger of being broken. This notion has, of course, been explored more fully by Bowlby (1969) in his work with children.

#### When do we weep?

Some support was found in the present study for Bindra's (1972) and Lund's (1930) notion that sad weeping occurs when an otherwise negative situation gains more positive value. Many of the events described by subjects as immediately preceding or concomitant with their weeping could be construed as quite positive. These include positive remarks by the other person present regarding the subject and his/her condition, e.g., expressions of sympathy or concern, the active attention of the other person, physical contact, e.g., embraces, and remarks encouraging the subject to weep. It is interesting to note that even in those situations involving conflict between the

subject and the other person, weeping seemed more often to follow a positive than negative remark or action. This might mean that weeping during conflict only occurs when some kind of message has been passed between the participants to the effect that it is "okay" for one of them to weep. That is, positive remarks or gestures may be a "signal" to the potential weeper that he/she will not be criticised for weeping or that his/her weeping will not be incorporated into the discourse of conflict. "Signal" is used here in a metaphorical sense; it should not be inferred that the "sender" of the signal actually intends to convey to the weeper that time has been called in their argument and that weeping is now sanctioned. One of the most important and salient signals that weeping is sanctioned is, of course, weeping by the other person. In the present study weeping by the other person preceded the subject's weeping more often than any other kind of event.

We can, of course, think of many situations in which weeping during conflict becomes another source of conflict, a piece of ammunition in one of the combatants' arsenal of argument (e.g., "Everytime we begin to argue, you start crying"). Nevertheless, there do seem to be episodes in which the person who weeps brings the conflict to an at least temporary end, but not without it seems the help of the other person.

One of the most important and often neglected aspects of face-to-face interaction that also received too little attention in the present study was the non-verbal or gestural component of the interactions. Although the procedures used in the study prevented gathering data



of this sort, the non-verbal aspects of the episodes described by subjects were probably as important as the more verbal aspects, especially with regard to determining when during the episode the subject wept. We may hypothesize that, just as there seemed to be certain utterances that often preceded weeping, weeping was also often preceded by non-verbal gestures that may have signalled that weeping would be accepted. In several of the episodes, subjects described the other person as simply actively attending to them. There is no way of knowing for certain, of course, but it is probable that this "active attention" consisted of various non-verbal cues or gestures of a positive nature. This is one area future research on weeping should investigate in detail.

#### Weeping and catharsis.

As mentioned above, some of the happy weeping episodes seemed to fit the pattern of cathartic events; that is, the episodes consisted of a period of anticipation followed by a climactic event which seemed to precipitate the weeping. It is worth pointing out again that describing these episodes as anticipatory or cathartic refers to the apparent structure of the episodes and not to some supposed intrapsychic-cum-biological process occurring within the person (cf. Scheff, 1979).

On the average, subjects reported feeling relieved after weeping in the sad episodes and considered the episodes to be more positive than before they wept. These findings might suggest that subjects experienced a catharsis upon weeping, but they could also indicate

that subjects found the situation improved after weeping; that is, as a result of their having wept, subjects' interactions with the other person were more positive. In view of the obvious effects of weeping in terms of engaging the other person on a new level of interaction, the latter interpretation may be more plausible.

Whatever else catharsis means with regard to weeping (e.g., a feeling of releasing pent-up feelings, "getting it all out," etc.), it is apparent from the present results that weeping as catharsis is always embedded within meaningful social action, and that by being so embedded, it takes on new meanings over and above those associated with catharsis. Consider the following example:

One of the sad weeping episodes described by a male subject seemed at first to be a classic instance of cathartic weeping. A few days before the episode he described, the subject had narrowly escaped death in a sky-diving accident. After the accident he had been unable to express his feelings about the incident to anyone, and had shown few outward signs of distress. However, a few days later, when he was describing the incident to a female friend, he began weeping. He reported that the weeping made him feel better and seemed to relieve some tension he felt after the accident. What is interesting about his weeping in this situation is that he reported that what made him begin weeping was the realization that if he had been killed he never would have been able to get to know his friend better. His weeping was incorporated into the interaction in terms of his relationship with the other person, and reflected very strongly his view of the

relationship and what he would have liked it to be.

It is apparent, from the present results, that weeping, except perhaps in the most solitary situations (and probably not even then), is never simply cathartic and nothing more. People always seem to be doing some interpersonal "work" by weeping. In view of the fact that there seem to be some very troublesome problems with the way we conceptualize catharsis and tension-release, perhaps it might be fruitful to explore the notion of catharsis as a feature of subjects' accounting procedures (cf. Mills, 1967) with regard to weeping and to investigate the functions of such a conception (see below for a related discussion of subjects' perceptions of the necessity of their weeping). This would shift the focus of our attention away from catharsis as a quasi-physiological process to catharsis considered as one of the ways in which people make sense out of their emotional lives.

#### Why do we weep? Weeping versus feeling like weeping.

Not too surprisingly, situations in which subjects felt like weeping did not differ that much from situations in which they actually wept. Situations in which subjects felt like weeping seemed to be differentiated from those in which they wept by the subject's attitude toward weeping in the situation. In those situations in which they felt like weeping but did not, subjects seemed to take a more ambivalent or negative view of weeping. This negative or ambivalent attitude toward weeping seemed to take two forms. Subjects

were unsure of the appropriateness of weeping in the situation in the sense that, from their reports, the situation offered them few cues as to what kind of response was expected of them at all; and, in some of the situations, subjects perceived that their weeping would have had quite negative or undesirable effects in terms of their interactions with the other person present.

That people tend to refrain from weeping in these kinds of situations is, of course, unsurprising. What is interesting is that, at the same time that subjects articulate that it is desirable or necessary to refrain from weeping in some situations, weeping for the most part is considered uncontrollable (see Table 6, p. 71). Thus, at least as far as the results from the present study go, people seem to know that weeping is in some sense controllable but nevertheless perceive and report it to be uncontrollable.

This situation, however, may not be as paradoxical as it first appears, for what subjects may be perceiving as uncontrollable is not weeping itself, but rather, feeling like weeping, that is, the demand to weep placed on the individual by the situation. Both Koestler (1967) and Plessner (1970) call attention to the aspect of surrender inherent in people's reports of their weeping, that is, the decision or feeling of "giving in" to the impulse to weep (however that may be defined). It may be that in some situations (those with a very strong demand), it is easier to give in to weeping than in others (the demand to weep, expressed in the episode to act entailment, was somewhat stronger in the weeping episodes subjects described than in

the felt like weeping episodes). In those situations in which people feel like but do not weep, we would expect them to consider themselves stronger and less submissive than in the situations in which they do weep. This was in fact the case in the present study.

### The Necessity of Weeping

In the present study, subjects perceived their weeping to be predominantly reactive and uncontrollable. This is unremarkable and accords well with our common-sense understanding of weeping. However, it was also apparent from an examination of the episodes subjects described that their weeping often brought about some desired or desirable end, that is, weeping seemed to serve a purpose, to accomplish some interpersonal work. To complicate matters further, subjects reported that, for the most part, they did not weep in order to bring about a particular response by the other person present (see subjects' ratings of the act to consequence entailment, Table 19, p. 118). How might these findings be reconciled?

In many of the episodes subjects described in the present study, weeping seemed to have the effect of eliciting succorance from whoever was present when the subject wept. We may suppose that if weeping was perceived as proactive--done for a purpose--it would not have the interpersonal effects that it does. That is, weeping is effective in eliciting succorance precisely because it is perceived as involuntary and uncontrollable. Weeping seems to draw its power from the fact that it is seen as something a person cannot help doing in some

situations (that we do not weep in all sad or moving situations is important too, for it means that weeping only occurs in those situations where it is really called for, where no one can be blamed for weeping). It is doubtful whether a person would offer the kind of succorance elicited by weeping if that person believed that the weeper was consciously trying to bring forth that response. There are, of course, situations where this is the case, but even here, as when the child weeps in order to keep his/her parents from going out for the evening, it is difficult to resist its appeal. This may be due to a certain residue of uncontrollability that adheres to the act, even when we know it is feigned.

As pointed out above, it is important to keep in mind the distinction between doing something for a purpose and serving a purpose (incidentally) by doing something (cf. Lyons, 1980). Weeping, as reported by the subjects in the present study, may serve a purpose, but it is not usually done in order to serve that purpose (at least from the subject's point of view). The question of whether or not weeping is involuntary or uncontrollable, moreover, is difficult to answer because our notion of whether an act is voluntary or not seems to be bound up closely with questions of the purposiveness of the act and the extent to which we are responsible for performing the act. Involuntary acts are not supposed to be purposive (performed in order to attain some desired goal), thus, we should not be held responsible for them. As Averill (cf. 1980a) has demonstrated, however, the distinctions among these notions begin to break down when we study emotional

phenomena. For, in his analysis, emotions often function, on an individual and societal level, to allow for purposeful action for which responsibility is denied. It is interesting to note that weeping seems to have a function similar to that Averill (1979) identifies for anger in that it allows individuals to accomplish certain ends without being held responsible for them (because the actions that accomplish those ends are seen as being involuntary and uncontrollable).

### Sex Differences in Weeping

Few sex differences of any consequence were observed in the present study. It is true that female subjects regarded their weeping as more angry and self-pitying than did male subjects, and saw their weeping as serving to elicit a response from the other person somewhat more than did males, but these differences are indeed rather paltry when compared with what, stereotypically, the differences "should" have been. Why were so few sex differences found in the present study? There are two ways to answer this question, one addresses the question of sex differences directly, and the other evades it.

First of all, it is quite possible that, apart from differences in frequency and slight differences in subjective evaluation of the act, males and females do not differ with regard to weeping. In other words, at the level of analysis employed by the present study, that is, the description of actual episodes of weeping, male and female weeping is pretty much the same. This leaves open, of course, the question of whether, given a different sample of episodes or a different set of

evaluation tasks, other sex idfferences might emerge. We know that men and women differ in frequency of weeping. However, there is no real reason to expect that when women and men weep, they differ in any significant manner.<sup>15</sup>

The second reason why males and females did not differ that much in the present study involves the method of selecting subjects for the study and the population from which the subjects were obtained.

As pointed out above, there is a very strong possibility that people who were unwilling to talk about weeping simply did not volunteer for the study. Those who did volunteer were first of all people who weep with at least some frequency, and second, were not reluctant to discuss their weeping. Most of the subjects in the study regarded their weeping at least somewhat positively, and, for most of the subjects, the episode described for the study was one of many they could have talked about. It may be, then, that the recruitment procedures selected for males and females who were not all that different in their ideas about weeping.

It is also likely that among college students in general, attitudes toward weeping among males are quite similar, with the males' attitude toward weeping becoming more positive in the last few years. When subjects in the present study were given a chance to informally discuss this issue, many reported that the attitude toward weeping among their fellow students was quite positive (even so, most subjects regarded their view of weeping to be somewhat more positive than that of their fellow students). Curiously, the males in the present study



considered weeping to be somewhat more positive than did the females, perhaps reflecting that attitudes toward weeping are changing with men being rewarded for weeping while women are still being penalized (e.g., by being labeled "hysterical," etc.).

This is, of course, a very complicated area and deserves further investigation. If the results of the pilot study mentioned above (see Footnote 6) are to be believed, however, sex differences in weeping may be more in the eye of the beholder than in the eyes of the beheld.

#### Toward a Theory of Social Weeping

The present study has hopefully demonstrated that weeping is a complex social activity that cannot be fully understood outside of the social context within which it occurs and divorced from the perceptions of the social actors involved. Weeping is not merely a reflex-like response to pain or unpleasant stimulation but a meaningful social activity. Moreover, weeping seems to have important social functions in terms of coordinating interpersonal interaction in certain types of situations. Sad weeping, in many situations, especially those involving conflict, is a powerful elicitor of succorance or sympathy that often serves to reorient the interaction between the weeper and others present. Happy weeping seems to serve more as a signal of sorts that the weeper recognizes that he or she has been accepted by the social group.

Of course, given the aim and scope of the present study, these are

assertions that have been described and not proven. The approach taken by the present study assumed that a certain view of the social world was more or less true, namely, that social actors impose meaning on the world and act in accordance with the meanings they impose, producing identifiable and more or less durable patterns of social interaction. This picture of the world has not been verified by the present results, of course; it is difficult to see how such a model (or any model at the same level of abstraction) could be so verified. However, the results of the present study lend support to this model in that, by following the model, certain aspects of the social world have been made intelligible, both to the experimenter and, in many cases, to the subjects involved in the study as well. Perhaps this is the most one can ask of a scientific model of the world.

#### Future directions.

Weeping has been described as having certain features and functions within episodes of dyadic interaction. Further, weeping seems to simultaneously exhibit many different meanings for those involved in weeping and attending to those who weep. It is reasonable to ask, "How does this complex bit of interaction come about; how do people learn social weeping?" These are questions, of course, that must be addressed in developmental studies of weeping, particularly studies of children who are just entering the social world outside of the family. However, in order to correctly frame questions of this sort, there are a prior set of questions that must be answered. These

questions concern the broader social functions of weeping, namely, how are the dyadic social functions of weeping related to other aspects of social reality, how are the perceptions we have of our weeping woven into the fabric of our emotional lives and our conceptions of ourselves as emotional beings? In short, what are the cultural meanings of weeping, and how do they support or help us to construct our experience of weeping in everyday life? To attempt to answer these questions, even tentatively, is beyond the scope of the present study. It is hoped, however, that the results reported here will contribute in some small way toward solving the puzzle of weeping.

## FOOTNOTES

1. The term weeping, rather than the more familiar crying, is used throughout the present discussion. Although it is becoming somewhat anachronistic in everyday usage, weeping is actually the more precise term. Weeping includes the appearance of tears as well as various vocalizations whereas crying refers to any of a number of vocalizations.

2. Even though Bindra uses the term weeping in his discussion, he used the more colloquial crying in the questions he put to subjects.

3. Even though Efran and Spangler's study is concerned exclusively with humans, they insist on using a rather cumbersome mechanistic terminology in discussing their results. This leads them to refer to their subjects as "organisms," possessing weeping "mechanisms," etc. There is, of course, nothing intrinsically wrong with doing this. However, it may be argued that the introduction of such language into psychology is confusing at best and tends to be scientistic rather than scientific.

4. In one of the pilot studies undertaken in preparation for the present study, 36 subjects were asked (in a one-shot questionnaire administered to a number of students simultaneously) to describe as completely as they could the last time they wept. Subjects were asked to include in their descriptions what made them weep, the emotions they experienced before, during and after weeping, what changes took place in the situation as a result of their weeping, etc. The information obtained from these rather vague questions was little more than trivial. The majority of subjects provided very superficial descriptions of the situations and interactions involved in weeping. For example, when subjects were asked what made them weep, most responded with an answer something like, "Because I was sad." This pilot study made it abundantly clear that in order to gather any meaningful information about weeping it would be necessary to conduct in-depth structured interviews.

One of the few interesting findings of the study described above was that the majority of subjects (72.2%) reported weeping in the presence of at least one other person. A one-way chi-square test indicated that the effect was significant ( $\chi^2=7.12$ ,  $p. < .05$ ).

5. It is interesting to note that several anthropologists have commented on the ritual aspects of weeping in other cultures but never in their own. Mauss (1921/1969) and Radcliff-Brown (1948), for instance, described the ritualistic aspects of weeping among Australian aborigines and the Adaman Islanders, respectively. A summary of their research may be found in Piddington (1963).

6. For example, 73.7% of the females reported that their weeping episode occurred less than 6 months prior to their participation in the study. The majority of males (75.0%), on the other hand, reported that their episode occurred more than 6 months before the study. A one-way chi-square test indicated that this difference was significant ( $\chi^2=8.28$ ,  $p. < .01$ ). Interestingly, when subjects were asked to describe being in the presence of another person who wept, that person was described more often as a female by both males and females. A male was described by 11.8% of the subjects and a female by 88.2% of the subjects. A one-way chi-square test indicated that this difference was significant ( $\chi^2=19.88$ ,  $p. < .001$ .)

7. Barnett Pearce suggested that, because of the exploratory nature of the present study, subjects should be called "informants." While this would provide a more accurate picture of the role of those who participated in the study, the more traditional terminology is retained in order to avoid confusion.

8. Subjects were first asked to complete Spence and Helmreich's (1978) Personal Attributes Questionnaire, a measure of sex-role or gender orientation. Because of scoring problems, however, this scale was not used in the final analysis of the data.

9. In order to obtain representative accounts of weeping and not merely those of great personal significance, subjects were asked to think of episodes that occurred no more than 6 months prior to the interview session.

The term crying was used in all interactions with subjects. Crying was defined for subjects as "the shedding of tears, getting watery eyes, sobbing," etc.

10. Pilot work indicated that subjects often have a difficult time moving up the hierarchy of contextualizations to give their weeping a name in a free-response format. Curiously, few subjects seem to experience difficulty in doing this for any of the other acts they may describe.

11. Because of the statistical procedures involved, it was not possible to use all of the 38 sad weeping episodes when comparisons between episodes were made. To be more precise, the assumption of non-independence of repeated measures would have been violated by including all of the episodes since only one-third of the observations would have come from the same set of subjects.

12. The direction of scoring on all of the rating scales has been transposed from the original for purposes of presentation.

13. Data collection for the study spanned two academic semesters (Fall 1980 and Spring 1981). During the last few weeks of the first semester several people (4 males and 1 female) volunteered for the study but when interviewed asserted that they could not recall an occasion on which they wept. At this time recruitment was carried out by means of a written advertisement and sign-up sheet posted in the lobby of the Psychology Department. These individuals apparently volunteered for the study without reading very closely what they would be asked to do. It is actually not unusual for such things to happen at the end of a semester as students are attempting to complete course requirements and obtain extra grade points.

14. It was also obvious that several subjects volunteered for the study in order to learn something about themselves or to obtain help in sorting out their interpersonal relationships. The interview procedures used in the study were not all that different from certain types of therapeutic interventions (especially those involved in ascertaining subject's judgments of entailment strength). Indeed, it was difficult at times to convince some subjects (and the experimenter) that the interview was not a therapy session. Therapists take note: A quick way to get to the heart of the important issues in a client's interpersonal life is to ask him/her to describe the last time he/she wept in the presence of another person.

15. Jim Averill pointed out to me that when men weep they may be described as "feminine," suggesting a basic similarity between men and women when they actually weep.

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APPENDICES

Interview Protocols and Rating Scales



APPENDIX A

General Instructions for All Interviews



S# \_\_\_\_\_

### The Everyday Experience of Crying

The purpose of this study is to try, with your help, to get some information on the kinds of everyday social interactions people engage in when they cry or weep. During the interview I'm going to ask you to describe two situations. I'll ask you to describe a situation involving sadness where you cried in the presence of another person and I'll ask you to describe a somewhat different situation. I'll explain this more fully in just a moment.

Let me just say before we begin that there are no right or wrong answers to any of the questions that I'll ask you; I'm only interested in how you see things and what you have to say.

APPENDIX B  
Episode Description Protocols  
for Each Type of Episode

S# \_\_\_\_\_

## Weeping Episode

(sad)

1. Please describe, as completely as you can, a situation involving sadness where you cried in the presence of a person with whom you have or had a friendly or intimate relationship (e.g., boyfriend, girlfriend, parent, sister, brother, etc.). For the purposes of this study, crying is defined as the shedding of tears, getting watery eyes, sobbing, etc. I'd like you to think of a situation that occurred no more than 6 months ago if possible. Try to describe the situation as a whole, that is, how it began, how it ended, how one event led to the next, and so on.
  
2. Please describe, as completely as you can, the other person who was present.
  
3. Please describe, as completely as you can, the relationship that you have or had with this person.

S# \_\_\_\_\_

## Weeping Episode

(happy)

1. Please describe, as completely as you can, a situation involving happiness where you cried in the presence of a person with whom you have or had a friendly or intimate relationship (e.g., boyfriend, girlfriend, parent, sister, brother, etc.). For the purposes of this study, crying is defined as the shedding of tears, getting watery eyes, sobbing, etc. I'd like you to try to think of a situation that occurred no more than 6 months ago if possible. Try to describe the situation as a whole, that is, how it began, how it ended, how one event led to the next, and so on.
  
2. Please describe, as completely as you can, the other person who was present.
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
3. Please describe, as completely as you can, the relationship that you have or had with this person.

S# \_\_\_\_\_

## Felt Like Weeping Episode

1. Please describe, as completely as you can, a situation involving sadness where you felt like crying but did not in the presence of a person with whom you have or had a friendly or intimate relationship (e.g., boyfriend, girlfriend, parent, sister, brother, etc.). I'd like you to try to think of a situation that occurred no more than 6 months ago if possible. Try to describe the situation as a whole, that is, how it began, how it ended, how one event led to the next, and so on.
2. Please describe, as completely as you can, the other person who was present.
3. Please describe, as completely as you can, the relationship that you have or had with this person.

S# \_\_\_\_\_

## Asking a Favor

1. Please describe, as completely as you can, a situation where you asked for a favor from a person with whom you have or had a friendly or intimate relationship (e.g., boyfriend, girlfriend, parent, sister, brother, etc.). Try to think of a situation involving something you could have done yourself but asked the other person to do because it was convenient for you. I'd like you to try to think of a situation that occurred no more than 6 months ago. Try to describe the situation as a whole, that is, how it began, how it ended, how one event led to the next and so on.
  
2. Please describe, as completely as possible, the other person who was present.
  
3. Please describe, as completely as possible, the relationship that you have or had with this person.

## APPENDIX C

## Act Entailment Rating Scales

Note: All scales were transposed for purposes of analysis and presentation.

S# \_\_\_\_\_

## Characterization of Acts

1. Subject's description of Act# \_\_\_\_\_.
  
2. (ALL EXCEPT WEEPING) If you were going to give a name or describe in one or two words what you said or did, what would that name or description be? (Was it an insult, a plea for help, a compliment, an angry remark, etc.?)
  
3. How much would you say that the situation seemed to require that you (Subject's act) ? (episode to act entailment)
 

Very much   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Not at all
  
4. How much would you say that what the other person did before you (subject's act) seemed to require that you do it? (antecedent to act),
 

Very much   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Not at all
  
5. Please describe what the other person did when you (subject's act). How did he/she react?
  
6. How much were you pleased with what he/she did? (valence of consequence)
 

Very much   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Not at all



7. How much would you say that you (subject's act) in order to bring about a particular response by the other person? (act to consequence)

Very much    1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9    Not at all

8. How much would you say that doing (subject's act) in the situation you described represents or closely reflects what kind of relationship you would like to have with the other person? (relationship to act)

Very much    1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9    Not at all

9. How much would you say that doing (subject's act) in the situation you described helped you bring about the kind of relationship you would like to have with the other person? (consequence to relationship)

Very much    1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9    Not at all

10. How much would you say that doing (subject's act) in the situation you described represents or closely reflects who you are, that is, the kind of person you see yourself to be? (life-script to act)

Very much    1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9    Not at all

11. How much would you say that doing (subject's act) in the situation you described helped you become the kind of person you would like to be? (consequence to relationship)

Very much    1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9    Not at all

## APPENDIX D

Adjective Rating Scales for Subjective Evaluation of  
Episodes, Characterization of Target Acts, Etc.

Note: All scales were transposed for purposes of  
analysis and presentation.

S# \_\_\_\_\_

## Further Description of Episodes

- A. Weeping episode/Felt like weeping episode
- B. Weeping episode only
- C. All episodes

## A. Weeping/Felt Like Weeping Episodes

1. How positively or negatively would you rate your experience of the situation up to but not including the point at which you cried/felt like crying?

Very positive    1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9    Very negative

2. How positively or negatively would you rate your experience of the situation during the time that you cried/felt like crying?

Very positive    1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9    Very negative

3. How positively or negatively would you rate your experience of the situation after you cried/no longer felt like crying?

Very positive    1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9    Very negative

4. Why?

5. (WEEPING ONLY) How relieved did you feel after you cried?

Very relieved    1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9    Not at all relieved

6. (WEEPING ONLY) Why did you feel relieved/not feel relieved?

## B. Weeping Episode

- A. Please rate your crying in the situation on the following adjectives:

Was your drying...

- |                     |           |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |            |
|---------------------|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 1. Angry?           | Very much | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Not at all |
| 2. Sympathetic?     | Very much | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Not at all |
| 3. Constructive?    | Very much | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Not at all |
| 4. Self-pitying?    | Very much | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Not at all |
| 5. Happy?           | Very much | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Not at all |
| 6. Pleading?        | Very much | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Not at all |
| 7. Manipulative?    | Very much | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Not at all |
| 8. Meaningless?     | Very much | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Not at all |
| 9. Destructive?     | Very much | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Not at all |
| 10. Uncontrollable? | Very much | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Not at all |

- B. Now, I'd like you to evaluate or rate your act of crying on the following pairs of adjectives. These adjectives refer to the quality of your experience and not to the intensity.

- |                   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |             |
|-------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------------|
| 11. Inappropriate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Appropriate |
| 12. Adaptive      | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Maladaptive |
| 13. Bad           | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Good        |
| 14. Pleasant      | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Unpleasant  |

- C. How would you rate the intensity of your crying in the situation (15)?

Very intense    1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Not at all intense

## C. All Episodes

A. On the following pairs of adjectives I'd like you to rate yourself (your mood) in the situation you described.

- |               |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |              |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|--------------|
| 1. Tense      | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Calm         |
| 2. Strong     | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Weak         |
| 3. Passive    | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Active       |
| 4. Emotional  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Nonemotional |
| 5. Submissive | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Dominant     |

B. (ALL EXCEPT HAPPY WEEPING) Please describe, as completely as you can, a situation involving happiness where you cried. This situation doesn't necessarily have to involve another person. Try to think of a situation that occurred no more than 6 months ago if possible.

