Sampling Inner Experience in Disturbed Affect

Russell T. Hurlburt

University of Nevada, Las Vegas Las Vegas, Nevada

Springer Science+Business Media, LLC

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

```
Hurlburt, Russell T.
  Sampling inner experience in disturbed affect / Russell T.
Hurlburt.
     р.
          cm. -- (Emotions, personality, and psychotherapy)
  Includes bibliographical references and index.
   1. Depression, Mental--Psychological aspects--Case studies.
2. Borderline personality disorder--Psychological aspects--Case
studies. 3. Anxiety--Psychological aspects--Case studies.
 4. Bulimia--Psychological aspects--Case studies. 5. Introspection-
 -Case studies. 6. Content (Psychology) I. Title. II. Title:
Inner experience. III. Series.
RC454.4.H87 1993
                                                            93-10777
616.85'27--dc20
                                                                CIP
```

Cover art by James B. Krizman

ISBN 978-1-4899-1224-4 ISBN 978-1-4899-1222-0 (eBook) DOI 10.1007/978-1-4899-1222-0

© Springer Science+Business Media New York 1993 Originally published by Plenum Press, New York in 1993. Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 1993

All rights reserved

No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, microfilming, recording, or otherwise, without written permission from the Publisher

"Ashley Greene" was a 42-year-old married mother of three children who worked as an operating-room nurse. She volunteered to participate in the study after hearing it described in a hospital colloquium. She met the DSM-III-R criteria for Bulimia, being an episodic binge eater and purger; purging was usually triggered by feelings of physical or psychological fullness. Ashley would not vomit for perhaps a few days, and then would vomit daily, sometimes several times per day, for perhaps a week, followed by another few days of no vomiting, etc.

Ashley sampled for nine days, during which time 38 samples were adequately discussed. This time period was one of rather strong emotional turmoil for Ashley, and thus the samples reported below may or may not be typical for her. Ashley's inner experience, as we will see below, was constantly characterized by multiple simultaneous thoughts and feelings—sometimes as many as 10 or 30 at a time. Furthermore, we found it necessary with Ashley (and to a somewhat lesser extent with other bulimic subjects but not with any of our other subjects) to distinguish between "Experienced awareness" and "Sensed awareness." In Experienced awareness, Ashley was directly aware of a particular ongoing thought (or feeling) and its contents; by contrast, in Sensed awareness, Ashley knew that a thought (or feeling) was ongoing at the moment of the beep, and knew what the content of that thought was, but the thought (or feeling) itself was outside of awareness. That is, in Sensed awareness, the content of awareness was not the thought itself but was instead the knowledge that the thought was ongoing. We will return to this concept in a separate section below. Thereafter, we will describe the following salient characteristics of her inner experience: Multiple Experienced Unsymbolized Thinkings; Multiple Sensed Unsymbolized Thinkings; Multiple Experienced Feelings which were felt to be either in Ashley's body or her head (or which had no bodily location); Multiple Sensed Feelings (with the same location possibilities); and both Clear and Indeterminate Images. We note that there were 3 samples (of 38) which included Inner Speech as one aspect of inner experience; in each of those cases, the multiple processes listed above were also apparently simultaneously occurring.

MULTIPLICITY IN EXPERIENCE

Unlike some other subjects for whom only one or perhaps a few salient characteristics were experienced as occurring at each beep, Ashley consistently reported that many simultaneous thoughts and/or feelings were a feature of *each* sample, as many as 30 or more discrete thoughts and feelings in simultaneous awareness at a single beeped moment. There was *never* a beep where her experience had only one ongoing train of thought, etc.; much more common were beeps where Ashley reported 10 or 20 different thoughts and 5 or 10 separate feelings all occurring simultaneously.

For example, at Sample #19, Ashley was talking to another nurse about a diagnostic procedure that Ashley had administered to a patient. She was saying aloud, "One of his responses was quicker." These words were not "coming out" fluently, and it seemed as if the ideas she was trying to express (about using clinical judgment in diagnosis, using the results of the whole diagnostic procedure to make decisions about whether that particular response was unusual) were not yet sufficiently verbal to be expressed in words. At the same time that Ashley was saying this, she was rocking her left hand back and forth in imitation of what the patient had done during the procedure. She was simultaneously thinking in awareness what seemed to be about 15 nonverbal thoughts, each of which was a separate Unsymbolized Thinking. These thoughts might be represented (rather inadequately because of their nonverbal nature) in words as follows: just try and explain it to her (the other nurse); don't try and explain it because she might think I hadn't administered the procedure in accordance with the established procedures; I had a reason for what I did (for the way the procedure was administered); Ashley, you're OK-you've just lost the reason you did it

for the moment; I've got to get back to checking the patient in the next room; etc.

At the same time there were five separate, simultaneous Feelings all present to Ashley's experience: feeling bad, self-doubt, ambivalence, frustration, and time pressure. These were Experienced Feelings, not merely Sensed (a distinction we will make clearer below), and seemed to be mostly in or around her head, all churning up together in a way that seemed as if she "couldn't get through" the feelings. It seemed as if she had "to get these feelings to settle" before she could get the words to come out.

Thus, at this beep Ashley was talking aloud and simultaneously thinking 15 different Unsymbolized Thoughts and experiencing 5 separate feelings. This was *not* an unusually complicated beep for Ashley, but instead rather typically represents the experienced multiplicity of each of her momentary awarenesses during the sampling period.

EXPERIENCED VS. SENSED AWARENESS

Ashley described her thoughts and feelings as existing in her awareness in two different ways, which we will call "Experienced" and "Sensed" (Ashley herself had no term for this differentiation; in fact, until she participated in this sampling study, she had no clear awareness that such a differentiation existed for her). An Experienced thought or feeling is one which is directly and explicitly a part of awareness; thus all the types of thoughts we have described in the previous book (e.g., Inner Speech, Unsymbolized Thinking, etc.) and until now in this book are Experienced thoughts. A Sensed thought or feeling is one where the *knowledge of the ongoing existence* of the thought or feeling is present to awareness, but the thought or feeling itself is outside awareness, even though it is known to be ongoing.

Ashley used the metaphor of an aquarium to describe this aspect of her inner experience. Thoughts and feelings were "fish" in her awareness "aquarium." Many fish could be swimming around simultaneously in the aquarium (this is her metaphor for Multiplicity in Experience); each of these directly observed fish were one of Ashley's simultaneous Experienced awarenesses. However, some of the fish in the aquarium were "under the rocks with only their tails exposed (that is, with only their "tails" in Ashley's awareness at the moment of the beep). These were the Sensed thoughts or feelings: the "tail" that was visible from under the rock was the knowledge present in awareness that the particular thought or feeling was ongoing. The fish itself was the thought or feeling that was known to be known in immediate awareness to be occurring outside of awareness (but not experienced in awareness directly).

We should note that while we have described the Experienced/Sensed distinction as an either/or dichotomy, Ashley experienced thoughts and feelings at intermediate points between Experiencing and Sensing. Metaphorically, it was possible for fish to be "partially under a rock," "almost entirely under a rock," or "just going under a rock," etc.

MULTIPLE (EXPERIENCED) UNSYMBOLIZED THOUGHTS

Almost all (at least 31 [82%] of 38) of Ashley's samples included Unsymbolized Thinking, the process where thinking is experienced to occur without words, images, or other symbols, and is simply known to be ongoing. Approximately two-thirds (21) of these samples included Multiple (Experienced) Unsymbolized Thoughts, where Ashley's awareness was divided between 10 to 30 separate (but usually related) simultaneous Unsymbolized Thought processes, and where these thoughts were directly apprehended in awareness (rather than just Sensed to be ongoing; see below).

We should emphasize that the phenomena that we are now calling "(Experienced)" Unsymbolized Thoughts or "(Experienced)" Feelings are simply called Unsymbolized Thoughts or Feelings for our nonbulimic subjects, since it is only with our bulimics that we have needed to make that distinction. To emphasize that connection, and yet still to allow us to contrast Experienced with Sensed phenomena, we place the word "Experienced" in parenthesis in the title of this section.

We have given one example of Multiple (Experienced) Unsymbolized Thinking above, the diagnostic procedure sample (#19) described in the section on Multiplicity in Experience. Another example was at Sample #15, where Ashley was sitting in a tavern talking with friends. At the moment of the beep, her friend Jill was saying to a third friend, "I can tell you something about how to do that," that is, how to arrange a meeting of doctors in the hospital. At the moment of this sample, Ashley was aware of about 20 Unsymbolized Thoughts which were all occurring simultaneously in her awareness. It is impossible to translate these thoughts accurately into words, since they are not verbal, but some of them approximated: 'Jill is helping Alicia (a mutual friend)'; 'Jill didn't do what she said she would do'; 'Am I crazy?'; 'Did I hear her right?'; 'Is it my fault?'; and 'Jerry heard her the way I did.' There were

perhaps 10 other Unsymbolized thoughts present simultaneously in awareness and all on the same theme, but Ashley found it impossible to remember them long enough to write them down after the beep. None of these thoughts were verbal at the time of the beep, but each was nonetheless there in awareness, with an energy seemingly attached to it that made it "swim around" in awareness.

Also present at the moment of the beep was a group of Feelings, the strongest of which was a Feeling of inadequacy. This inadequacy seemed to be felt diffusely spread throughout Ashley's body, although Ashley was not absolutely sure of that. The Feeling was described to be "yucky, slimy, and hurting." This Feeling of inadequacy was "so strong as to be almost a thought"; that is, a nonverbal thought 'Ashley is inadequate' was almost Sensed to be present along with the other Experienced thoughts at this beep. Anxiety and irritation were also Feelings Sensed to be present at this beep, but they were not as strong or as explicitly felt as was the feeling of inadequacy. Rather, they were simply Feelings Sensed to be present at the dim edge of awareness, available to be made explicit if Ashley so chose.

MULTIPLE SENSED UNSYMBOLIZED THOUGHTS

Nine (24%) of Ashley's samples included multiple thoughts which were Sensed to be ongoing, rather than Experienced directly in awareness. That is, at these beeps Ashley was aware of many thought processes, each existing outside of her awareness. Thus she was aware at the moment of the beep that the thoughts existed, rather than being directly aware of the thoughts themselves.

For example, at Sample #12 Ashley was sitting in a tavern talking with friends. At the moment of the beep, her friend Jill was saying, "I think he (Alan) got told" not to go to Newport Beach, a nearby resort. Ashley was hearing Jill say this, and also was aware that she was thinking perhaps 10 or 20 simultaneous nonverbal thoughts, all of which related to Alan. If put into words, some of these thoughts might be: 'Alan is not making his own choices'; 'Alan is choosing to let others make his choices'; 'Judy (Alan's wife) is making Alan's choices'; etc. These thoughts were all Sensed to be present, as if they were being thought just at the edge of awareness rather than in awareness itself. Ashley could not completely describe this sensing except to say that all the thoughts were somehow known to be present, and although none of them were explicitly in awareness at the moment of the beep, any of them could be made explicit and elaborated if she so chose. Ashley said that there was also present at the moment of the beep a hazy image of Judy and their friend Jennifer telling Alan not to go to Newport Beach. Ashley could not say definitively that this image was clearly present at the moment of the beep, but she again had a "sense" that the image was present. She described this image as seeming to exist about a foot in front of her, and it seemed to be an accurate representation of the two women telling Alan not to go to Newport Beach. Although she could not be sure of the visual details of the image at the moment of the beep, she sensed that a visual image was present, and could create upon questioning an image which seemed to represent the image which had been sensed to be present at the moment of the beep. However, she could not confidently give an explicit description of the image as it had actually existed. Thus this seems to be an example of what we are calling Indeterminate Inner Visual Experience, although it might also be more correctly called Sensed Visual Experience.

Ashley was also aware of Sensing Feelings at the moment of the beep. Irritation, anger, tolerance, and a feeling that she shouldn't have the irritated and angry feelings were all Sensed to be separately present. These Feelings were not being felt in awareness at the moment of the beep; rather, only the Sense that those Feelings were ongoing was present as a part of awareness. She had a vague sense that these Feelings were present bodily; for example, irritation was felt somewhat in her shoulders, but she was not at all confident of that aspect of her description. It was as if these were all separate Feeling processes, present just at the dim edge of awareness, and each could be explicitly felt if she so chose.

MULTIPLE (EXPERIENCED) FEELINGS

Ashley reported Feelings as ongoing parts of awareness at nearly every sample (35 [92%] of 38; the 3 samples where Feelings were not reported were, I believe, due to my failure to inquire about emotions during the interviews rather than Feelings not having been present). Just as with the thinking processes described above, Ashley's Feelings could be either directly Experienced in awareness (28 [74%] of her 38 samples) or Sensed to be ongoing outside of awareness (14 [37%] of her samples). As was the case in the thinking processes, both Experienced and Sensed Feelings were occasionally reported as occurring at the same moment. Feelings were always reported multiply, usually 3 to 7 different Feelings, such as: "irritated, angry, tolerant, and self-critical;" "curious, interested, enjoying myself, amazed, and envious;" "anxious, inadequate, and irritated;" "bored, uneasy, sad, and depressed;" "tense, indecisive, angry, bitter, resistant, in pain, and grieving." Sometimes these Feelings were reported to be mixed together, but more often they were experienced as separate Feelings ongoing simultaneously.

While Feelings were thus an important part of Ashley's experience, and while she could easily differentiate them so that each of the Feelings in the above lists were known to be distinct, she found it very difficult to describe how Feelings were present to her. Sometimes Feelings seemed to be located somewhere in her body (18 samples); at other times they seemed to be located inside or near her head (8 samples); or they seemed to be neither in her body nor her head (14 samples). She was rarely confident of the experiential details of Feelings (location, sensory characteristics such as pressure or warmth, etc.); this was in marked contrast to the fact that she was always extremely confident in reporting the existence of and distinctions between Feelings themselves (for example, anger but not jealousy, anxiety but not tension, etc.). Her reports of the experiential perception of Feelings were almost always marked by indecision, hesitation, qualification, and contradiction. For example, she might say, "I feel them (anger, frustration, hatred, and indignation) in my body—in my chest mostly, but I have a hard time recollecting my body. I believe it was all over my body, but I'm not sure." Even with the practice of 9 days of repeated interview questioning, Ashley was rarely able to give confident descriptions of the physical concomitants of her Feelings, remaining for the most part indecisive regarding them (while at the same time extremely clear about the kind of Feeling which was ongoing). When she was confident of physical referents, Feelings were located in the region within and just outside her head, in her chest, on the surface of her skin, and in her knees.

The examples which we have given in previous sections have all included descriptions of ongoing Feelings. We give now an additional example which includes one of Ashley's strongest Feelings, the so-called "slug" Feeling. At Sample #22 Ashley was thinking about her friends Walter and his wife Kim and a conversation she and they had had a few days earlier. Earlier that same day she had talked with her husband Winston about that conversation, and was still thinking about it. At the moment of the beep she heard Kim's voice saying, "He's (Walter is) mine." Kim had said these same words twice, once several months earlier in a telephone conversation with Ashley, and once several days earlier while riding in a car. The present experience was complex: she clearly heard Kim's voice, which was apparently identical to the way it had sounded in the car. This voice was experienced as being inside Ashley's head, a clear recollection of what her friend had said earlier. At the same time, however, Ashley experienced herself as *being* back in the car hearing Kim say those words. This phenomenon was not easy to describe, but Ashley was confident that she directly experienced herself as being in the car hearing Kim say those words. Furthermore, in a phenomenon which seemed simultaneous, Ashley also *Sensed* that she was sitting on her bed hearing Kim say those words over the telephone. It seemed that Kim's voice stayed the same, while Ashley herself seemed to change locations.

There also seemed to be a hint of an image of the inside of the car, viewed from the perspective of where Ashley had actually sat the night of the conversation she was thinking about. Ashley thought she was seeing this image at the moment of the beep, as if it were a quick flash or maybe a hint of a quick flash; she could not be sure of the details; this is another example of Indeterminate Inner Visual Experience. Furthermore, there seemed to be an Indeterminate image of Ashley sitting on her bed talking on the telephone, but this image was even less confidently described than the image of inside the car.

There were, simultaneously, also Multiple (Experienced) Unsymbolized Thoughts (again rendered rather inadequately in words): Remembering what Winston had said. 'I've lost something'; 'Everything is going on at once'; 'I don't care what Kim had meant—it was how I felt that was important'; 'I could only interpret what Kim had said in the same way I always had done'; 'Now I have "slugs" again—I hadn't had them with Walter'; 'The slugs came where I least expected them'; 'I've been bad'; 'I've been inappropriate and therefore I have the slugs.' All these thoughts were nonverbal but present to Ashley's awareness at the moment of the beep. It did seem, although Ashley was not sure, that the words, "appropriate," "slugs," and "Walter" were somehow present as words, flashing in and out of awareness very quickly at the moment of the beep.

Feelings were also present in Ashley's awareness at this beep, all Experienced directly in awareness. Grief, a feeling that "all her experiences were bullshit," anger, pain, self-pity, disgust and the "slug" Feeling were all part of Ashley's awareness at the moment of the beep. These Feelings were experienced as being in her body; all except the slug Feeling seemed to be mixed together and yet separate: her knees were weak, her hands were shaking, and she was aware of her stomach. The slug Feeling was a strange yet familiar quivering Feeling in the skin of her arms and hands.

This slug Feeling deserves some additional description. It was described by Ashley as being the worst possible feeling. While she consis-

tently used the words "slugs" and "slimy" to describe this feeling, it developed that the slimy wetness connoted by these words was metaphorical, and what Ashley was directly experiencing was a bodily *avoidance*, an experiential tendency for the skin to withdraw, as if to withdraw from a slimy slug. It was as if her skin quivered in an attempt to avoid a slimy, dirty presence (which was not itself experienced). Thus there is nothing experientially slimy about the slug Feeling; rather, there is a very strong experienced avoidance.

Ashley said that all these Feelings were in awareness simultaneously, and that she was more *aware* of the anger and the slug Feeling than of the others. And yet, surprisingly, it seemed that the grief and pain were more *pervasive* than the other Feelings.

MULTIPLE SENSED FEELINGS

Just as Unsymbolized Thoughts were both Experienced in awareness and Sensed to be ongoing outside of awareness, Feelings were also both Experienced and Sensed. In 14 samples (37%), Ashley knew, as a feature of awareness, that multiple Feelings were present for her even though those Feelings themselves were not being directly experienced at the moment of the beep. She would typically refer to these experiences as "feelings under the rocks," or "tails" of feelings, her metaphor for the direct awareness of their existence rather than the awareness of the Feelings themselves. Sample #12 was one example of Multiple Sensed Feelings (described above in the section on Multiple Sensed Unsymbolized Thoughts). There, Ashley knew that irritation, anger, tolerance, and a feeling that she shouldn't have those irritated and angry feelings were all ongoing processes, and she Sensed that they were somehow present in her body, but at the moment of the beep she was not directly aware of these feelings themselves; she was just aware of a Sense that these Feelings were ongoing. Furthermore, irritation, anger, tolerance, and the "shouldn't-have" feeling were Sensed separately, not mixed together into one feeling which had those four attributes.

Sample #15, described above in the section on Multiple (Experienced) Unsymbolized Thoughts, also contained examples of Multiple Sensed Feelings: anxiety and irritation were known to be present at the edge of awareness, but not actually present to awareness itself. Sample #15 is also an example of Experienced and Sensed Feelings occurring simultaneously.

As with Multiple Unsymbolized Thoughts, this Experiencing/

Sensing phenomenon was not a dichotomy; Feelings could be more or less "out from under the rocks"—more or less directly Experienced.

INDETERMINATE INNER VISUAL EXPERIENCE

In more than half of Ashley's samples (24 [63%] of 38), she described visual images as being part of the experience at the moment of the beep. Most of these reported images (19 of 24) were described with hesitation and uncertainty, as if Ashley were not sure whether an image was actually present in her awareness at the moment of the beep. Visual details could not generally be described for this kind of experience; for example, if the reported image were of a particular person, Ashley could not say whether the person was seen from the side or full face, or whether the image was in color and if so, what colors, etc. She sometimes described the images as being quick or fleeting, but we were never sure whether this was actually a characteristic of the images themselves or simply an explanation of why they were so hard to describe. We are calling this phenomenon Indeterminate Inner Visual Experience.

We have given two examples of Indeterminate Inner Visual Experience above, Samples #12 (described in the section on Multiple Sensed Unsymbolized Thought and discussed further in the section on Multiple Sensed Feelings) and #22 (described in the section on Multiple [Experienced] Feelings), and will amplify the visual aspects of these samples here. Sample #12 involved thinking about whether Alan was making his own choices. Ashley thought she had an image of Alan's wife and another woman telling him not to go to the Newport Beach resort. She thought the image was clear, and could confidently say it seemed to exist about a foot in front of her (which was true of all her images), but she could not provide any further details. Was Alan in the middle or to the right or left of the two women? From what perspective was the view of the three people? She couldn't say. This lack of perceptual detail leads us to infer that the phenomenon was Indeterminate.

Sample #22 involved a replay of a conversation which took place in the car and also earlier on the telephone. Ashley said she saw an image of her view (from the back seat of the car) on the night of the conversation, but she couldn't give any visual details of that view; we therefore concluded it was an Indeterminate Inner Visual Experience. Furthermore, there seemed to be an even more Indeterminate Inner Visual Experience of Ashley herself sitting on the bed talking on the telephone, but Ashley was even less confident in describing that image.

Sometimes, these Indeterminate Inner Visual Experiences occurred

in sequence. For example, at Sample #13 Ashley was sitting in a tavern listening to her friend Alicia tell a story about when her father, who had had both his legs amputated, had taken some money across the border into Mexico. As Alicia told this story, Ashley created a series of visual scenes, all of which included Alicia's father. These scenes were relatively (but not perfectly) clear, judged to be Indeterminate Inner Visual Experiences at the clear end of the continuum; each scene passed rapidly from one to the next, each lasting only a second or so. The passing from one scene to the next was felt to be a smooth transition, and the scenes seemed to change faster than could be simulated with the real visual projection of a movie. The scene present at the moment of the beep was of an old man with no legs sitting in a chair. Ashley provided some additional descriptive details, but she was not sure that these details belonged to the inner scene present at the moment of the beep. Perhaps they were part of a scene which occurred seconds before or after the one in question, or perhaps they were added in the process of attempting to recall what was occurring at the moment of the beep. The details were that the old man was dressed in a suit, and his girlfriend was also hazily present in the scene, a voluptuous, earthy-appearing woman. Ashley was not sure, for example, in which direction the old man was looking. or whether the girlfriend was to the right or left of the old man.

Ashley attempted to describe the sequence of Indeterminate Inner Visual Experiences that occurred surrounding this beep, although she was not at all confident that she could give them in the correct sequence or that she was not omitting any. The scenes were experienced to occur so quickly that a complete description would have been impossible. The kind of scenes which were present close to the time of this beep were: Alicia's father by himself in the house; Alicia's father with his girlfriend in the house; Alicia's father with his girlfriend and the money in the house; Alicia's father driving the car; Alicia's father driving the car with the money; Alicia's father in the back seat while his girlfriend drove the car; Alicia's father in the back seat with the money while his girlfriend drove the car; etc. Each visual experience was relatively clear, and Ashley also experienced a sense of choice with respect to these scenes, as if there were many other Sensed images which could have been seen for a second or more, and Ashley was choosing which ones were being made explicit in this sequence.

There were also Multiple Sensed Feelings at the time of this beep; Ashley did not explicitly feel them but was aware of their presence. She said she had felt at least some of these Feelings explicitly just a moment before the present beep, and these Feelings were experienced as lingering: there was a sense that the feelings had been present. The Feelings themselves were curiosity, interest, enjoyment, amazement, a Feeling of how healthy Alicia's relationship with her father is, and envy. Ashley's impression was that these feelings were in her body, but she did not have any direct bodily experience of them.

IMAGES

On 6 occasions (16%), Ashley experienced Images at the moment of the beep about which she could give visual details. About half of these involved a series of quick flashes of Images, all related but each different from the others. In these experiences, Ashley *could* give confident descriptions of the visual details.

For example, at Sample #18, Ashley was talking with her friend Karen about their mutual friend Janet. They had been discussing Janet's clothing and how everything went together. Ashley had just been describing Janet's shoes, which had miniature artificial fruit on them. At the moment of the beep, Karen was asking "Were her (Janet's) earrings fruit too?" and Ashley was experiencing a sequence of Images, each of which followed the other in rapid succession: Janet's shoes; the whole Janet; Janet's face with fruit earrings. At the moment of the beep, the focus seemed to be on the fruit-bananas and red strawberries, etc. Janet's face in the Image was not clear, but the earrings themselves were guite detailed and clear. The Image seemed to exist about a foot in front of Ashley, at eye level, as had her other Image experiences. There were no other thoughts that Ashley could identify as present in her awareness, except perhaps an almost worded "No," but Ashley was not sure about this. The Feeling of amusement was present as an Experienced Feeling (her whole body and head felt light), and also perhaps some discomfort and relief, but Ashley was not sure about these last two Feelings.

It might be observed that this was a relatively simple, uncomplicated inner experience for Ashley, at least in contrast to the multiple thoughts and feelings which were her norm. It was generally true that if a sample included a visual Image, there were fewer thoughts and feelings occurring at the same time, and that the more clear the Image, the fewer the other elements of inner experience. There are other possible interpretations, so we should not be too confident about this observation.

EXPERIENCE DURING THE URGE TO VOMIT

Ashley was a relatively frequent purger, vomiting perhaps daily for a period of a week, followed by several days without throwing up. I

asked her to sample at times when she thought that vomiting was relatively likely, and she complied on the last day of her sampling period.

Vomiting for Ashley was most frequent in the late afternoon or early evening, and was usually preceded by a feeling which Ashley described as "fullness." The following three samples occurred during such a time, in fact, when the urge to vomit was extremely strong. Ashley said that she had never had an urge to throw up which was this strong and which was not followed by actually vomiting.

The first of these was Sample #35, which occurred at 7:45 P.M. while Ashley was watching a rerun of Masterpiece Theater on television, in which a man was talking about a scar. She was hearing the man talk, but was mainly paying attention to a "funnel" of thoughts which had to do with throwing up, in particular with having a choice as to whether to throw up or not. These Multiple (Experienced) Unsymbolized Thoughts were all nonverbal except for a sense that she may have been saying the word "choice" silently to herself, although she wasn't sure of this or that it was in fact in awareness at all. There were perhaps 20 thoughts, all apparently simultaneous, each demanding its own share of Ashley's attention. If put into words, the thoughts were: 'I have a choice whether to do this'; 'You have a choice'; 'Should I eat a hot dog?'; 'Will I eat one or two hot dogs?'; 'I should hurry up and do this before [husband] Winston comes home'; 'I know I won't throw up if I eat one hot dog but I will if I eat two'; 'It wouldn't matter if Winston came homehe'd just sit there and wouldn't know or care'; 'Winston wouldn't say or do anything'; 'Whenever I express anger I lose something'; 'I didn't get to play with Kim Friday night'; 'See what happens when I express anger!'; 'Don't throw up because you will fuck your throat up more'; 'If you have a choice, don't throw up'; and 'Throwing up wouldn't be a good idea now.' These thoughts were all simultaneously being experienced in awareness, each separately being thought and understood.

Also part of this moment were two "tails," that is, two Sensed Unsymbolized Thoughts which had been the explicit focus of attention a moment before. One of these had been about Ashley's husband Winston and her anger toward him. That thought process had now moved from the center of attention, but was still Sensed to be ongoing. If Ashley had so chosen, she felt she could have again focused her attention on this thought and resumed it exactly where she had left off. The other thought process which had been explicit but now was present just as a "tail" was about the pain in the throat and the possibility that her vomiting had caused it or made it worse. Ashley was aware at the moment of the beep that this train of thought was present just outside of awareness.

Also perhaps present to awareness was an Indeterminate Inner Visual Experience of a hot dog. This image, if present as an image at all, was so dim that Ashley was not sure that it was being seen at the moment of the beep. The image was clearly there when Ashley later described the moment, but she could not be sure whether the image seen at the time of reporting was actually present at the time of the beep.

Feelings were a strong characteristic of this moment. There was a strong awareness of Feeling driven to throw up, as well as Feelings of being alone, lonely, and empty. These Feelings were a part of awareness at the moment of the beep, but Ashley was not able to describe how she felt them. It was also a fact that her throat hurt, but she had just a Sense of that pain's existence rather than an explicit awareness at the moment of the beep.

All these thoughts, "tails" of thoughts, and feelings were present simultaneously to Ashley's awareness in a way which she described as a "funnel." This whirlwind of thoughts and feelings were all directed toward a single thing: throwing up.

The next sample (#36) occurred a few minutes after Sample #35 (she had not thrown up even though the urge had been very strong), and Ashley had gone into her bedroom to "brood" (lay on her bed and think about what was going on with her). At the moment of the beep she was thinking about the "games" she plays with other people, and was saying to herself in Inner Speech, "What games I play!" These words were said with a bemused feeling and inflection, but it was as if the words were being spoken into a tape machine—she was speaking the words to herself, but not hearing herself speak them.

These inner-spoken words did not occupy the center of Ashley's attention; instead, most of her attention was divided between many individual, simultaneous, Multiple (Experienced) Unsymbolized Thoughts. If these thoughts were translated into words, they might resemble the following (but again it should be noted that these thoughts did not have the linear form of verbal thoughts, thus a verbal rendering is in many ways inadequate): "How lonely I am"; "How much I would like to be held or touched"; "How often I would like to be held or touched"; "I wouldn't let Winston touch me"; "I'm making Winston like my father"; "What I want most from Winston I won't allow"; "I allow sex as long as there's no affection"; "I allow affection as long as there's no sex"; "How outrageous I am at work—bawdy"; "How I imply at work that I'm sexy at home"; "How I project an image of earthy sensuality"; "How I know I'm lying when I do that"; "I know I want to be touched"; and "I know I won't let myself be touched."

There was also perhaps an Indeterminate Inner Visual Experience; if it was present, it was quite dim or hazy, but Ashley was not sure. It seemed to be an image of Jack, a fellow worker, and included a knowl-

edge of a few recent interchanges with him where Ashley had jokingly told him that he was "cranky because he hadn't been getting any" (sex) at home. Part of this interchange had been Ashley's awareness of her untrue implication that *she* had been sexually satisfied.

Also present in Ashley's awareness were Multiple Experienced Feelings: lonely, depressed, abandoned, hypocritical, sensing her own mystery, curiosity, and emptiness. These Feelings were all present in awareness, not merely sensed, but Ashley could not describe how their presence was known to her.

The third sample in this sequence (#37) occurred a few minutes later. Ashley was replaying in her mind a conversation she had had with me two days earlier. She remembered herself saying after the previous sampling discussion, "This week has been like throwing up without throwing up." This replay involved a clear Image, seen as if from an elevated perspective about fifteen feet away, and Ashley felt as if she were actually there in the scene saying the words. The scene as viewed from the external perspective was quite clear, with me being seen more clearly than Ashley herself: both of us could be seen in profile, me from the right and Ashley from the left, and seemed to be an accurate reconstruction of the scene as it had actually taken place. While the Image was clearly seen and the Feelings experienced, the focus of Ashley's attention was on the words themselves, which were experienced as being said by Ashley in her own voice with normal inflection, just as if she were saying them aloud although no sound or lip motion was experienced. Ashley was replaying this conversation over and over, repeatedly inner speaking her own words and hearing my response, concentrating most of her attention on the words that both of us spoke and the intonation and feeling which they carried; she was trying to "get it," that is, trying to fix in her mind her understanding of the whole of the conversation. In order to "get" the whole, it seemed she had to replay its parts over and over.

There were other thoughts coexisting with this repetition of our conversation, all nonverbal Multiple (Experienced) Unsymbolized Thoughts apparently present simultaneously to awareness. If put into words, these thoughts might be: "I haven't thrown up yet"; "I'm kind of amazed that I haven't thrown up"; "Wondering whether the sampling process has altered that"; "Wondering whether simply writing down the beeps would do the same thing as also talking about them"; "It's been an hour and a half since I put the beeper on when I had an incredible urge to throw up and I haven't"; and "About the impact of the throw-up stuff on Dr. Hurlburt—not wanting him to be involved but happy he was."

There were also several Sensed Thoughts present at this beep, pro-

cesses close to the dim edge of awareness: a sense that she would throw up if she took the beeper off; a sense that she didn't want me to get too deeply involved with her vomiting; and a sense that she wasn't hungry.

There were also Feelings Experienced in awareness: anxiety, curiosity, and appreciation. Ashley was also a bit satisfied, proud and pleased that she had not thrown up for an hour and a half, and that the drive had lessened. There was also an "under the rock" Sensed worry about the ramifications of talking about these beeps with me.

Ashley did not vomit this day; this was the first time in Ashley's recollection that she had such a strong urge to vomit and didn't do so.

DISCUSSION

We have seen in our other subjects occasional examples of multiple simultaneous thoughts and feelings, but not nearly to the extent that Ashley reported. We questioned Ashley thoroughly on this phenomenon over the nine sampling days, and she was confident and unshakable: these thoughts and feelings *were* perceived to be simultaneous. She allowed for the possibility that they actually were rapidly sequential, but was adamant that that was *not* how they were experienced. We will see that some of our other bulimic subjects also have multiple simultaneous thoughts, more so than our other subjects but not so many as Ashley.

The distinction between Experienced and Sensed Awareness was also one about which Ashley was confident and unswerving. Yes, thoughts did continue to exist for her even when she was aware of only a small part of the particular thought. No, it was not merely that she came back to a similar thought later on; it was the *same* thought which had been waiting, as if frozen, to be continued. Some of our other bulimic subjects have reported a similar phenomenon, but not with the clarity of Ashley's experience. Christine (Chapter 9) referred, for example, to the "string" of a thought which was present in awareness while the thought itself was outside of awareness; this was a similar metaphor to Ashley's "tails" of thoughts. But the references by the other subject were not as frequent or as confident as Ashley's.

We might note that Ashley was the oldest of our bulimic subjects; what effect age has on the patterns of inner experience in general and of bulimics in particular is not known.