

Linguistic Synchrony Predicts the Immediate and Lasting Impact of Text-Based Emotional Support



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Abstract

Emotional support is critical to well-being, but the factors that determine whether support attempts succeed or fail are incompletely understood. Using data from more than 1 million support interactions enacted within an online environment, we showed that emotional-support attempts are more effective when there is synchrony in the behavior of support providers and recipients reflective of shared psychological understanding. Benefits of synchrony in language used and semantic content conveyed were apparent in immediate measures of support impact (recipient ratings of support effectiveness and expressions of gratitude), as well as delayed measures of lasting change in the emotional impact of stressful life situations (recipient ratings of emotional recovery made at a 1-hr delay). These findings identify linguistic synchrony as a process underlying successful emotional support and provide direction for future work investigating support processes enacted via linguistic behaviors.

Keywords

social interaction, emotional control, emotions, open data

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When confronted with distressing experiences, we often reach out to other people for support in managing our emotions. Unfortunately, it can be difficult to provide such support effectively, and the processes that promote emotional-support efficacy are incompletely understood (Gleason, Iida, Shrout, & Bolger, 2008; Goldsmith, 2004).

Prior work has described effective support in terms of multifaceted constructs such as the responsiveness and sensitivity of the support provider (Goldsmith, 2004; Reis & Gable, 2015). In the present study, we sought to provide mechanistic insight into emotional-support exchanges by leveraging computational analysis of text-based social interactions. Drawing from prior theorizing, we reasoned that emotional support would be more impactful when support providers and recipients show coordination in their linguistic behavior reflecting shared psychological understanding (Gallois, Ogay, & Giles, 2005; Ireland et al., 2011; Reis & Gable, 2015). In particular, we hypothesized that synchrony in words used and semantic meaning conveyed can influence how emotional-support attempts are initially received and whether they evoke durable change in emotion.

To test this hypothesis, we analyzed instances of emotional support that occurred within an online social network (Morris, Schueller, & Picard, 2015). Within this network, users anonymously posted descriptions of stressful life experiences and received supportive responses from other users. We considered several outcomes of emotional support, including recipients' ratings of support effectiveness, expressions of gratitude (thank-you notes), and ratings of lasting emotional recovery. With these data, we asked two key questions: (a) Does recipient-provider synchrony in textual content, linguistic style, kinds of emotions expressed, and latent meaning conveyed predict these support outcomes, and (b) how do synchrony effects compare with those of another fundamental property of emotional support—the positivity of emotional-support language?

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Method

Participants and design

Participants in this study were users of an online application, called Koko (previously Panoply), that facilitates text-based emotional-support interactions within an anonymous social network (Morris et al., 2015). We analyzed data from every user who interacted with this application between June 1, 2016, and June 20, 2017; a total of 169,376 unique users posted about 361,139 unique stressful situations and received 1,161,360 messages of support in response. Users could learn about this application in a variety of ways (e.g., online advertisements, news articles, referrals from social media applications, and word of mouth) and interface with it through several social media channels (e.g., Facebook Messenger, Twitter, Telegram Messenger, Kik Messenger, and a standalone iPhone application). Because the application is anonymous, we did not collect demographic information such as age or gender. However, users of these kinds of social media channels tend to be younger than the general population (Pew Research Center, 2018). This data set was originally collected for internal evaluation and improvement of the application. Analysis of this pre-existing data set was deemed exempt from review by the University of Pennsylvania Institutional Review Board.

Across different channels for entry, the experience of interacting with the application included the same core elements: initial onboarding, training in how to use the application, anonymously posting about life stressors to solicit emotional support from other users, and composing and sending supportive messages in response to the posts of others (see the Supplemental Material available online). After completing onboarding and training, users were invited to write their first stressor post. Specifically, they were asked to describe a life experience that is a current source of stress and were further prompted to describe their negative thoughts about this experience (see Fig. 1). After submitting this stressor post, users began to receive supportive messages, typically from three or four other users starting a few minutes after posting (median delay from post to a response was 6.2 min, interquartile range [IQR] = 3.8–16.1 min). Users providing support were given minimal training in how to provide supportive responses and were asked to give a more positive take on the situation described in the post. After submitting their first stressor post, users were able to (a) read descriptions of stressful experiences posted by other users, (b) compose and send supportive responses to these posts, and (c) submit additional stressor posts describing other stressful experiences in their lives. As is typical for counts of ecological behaviors, individual

differences in the volume of platform behaviors per user could be well described with negative binomial distributions, for both stressor posts (location parameter $\mu = 1.1$ posts, dispersion parameter $\theta = 1.9$) and support responses (location parameter $\mu = 2.3$ responses, dispersion parameter $\theta = 13.9$). Immediately after receiving a support response, users were asked to rate the response's effectiveness and were given the option of sending a brief thank-you message (length: *Mdn* = 11 words, IQR = 5–20 words). After a delay of at least 30 min after support receipt, users were additionally asked to provide a rating about how they currently felt about the stressful life experience they posted about.

Measures and analyses

Predictor variables. We derived predictor variables from the similarity between recipients' stressor posts (i.e., the description of the stressful life experience combined with the additional description of the user's negative thoughts about the experience) and providers' supportive responses (i.e., the texts sent in reply to the posts that aimed to provide emotional support). Similarity computations and all subsequent analyses were performed in the R programming environment (Version 3.4.0; R Core Team, 2017). Our selection of predictor variables was informed by a model positing that synchrony in textual content, style words, emotion words, and latent semantic content reflects a support provider who is able to use language from the recipient's post, reference relevant actors or objects of the post using the appropriate function words, reference or re-express emotional states expressed by the recipient, and in a broader sense, speak to the semantic content conveyed by the recipient (i.e., semantic content that is not reflected in function words or emotion words).

We defined surface-level textual similarity as the opposite of the Levenshtein distance, which is the minimum number of single-character deletions, insertions, or substitutions required to change one text into another (Levenshtein, 1966). The greater the Levenshtein distance, the more different two documents are in terms of the text they use.

We defined synchrony in linguistic style (typically called *language style matching*) as similar use of the function words from the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count dictionary: negations, quantifiers, conjunctions, adverbs, auxiliary verbs, prepositions, articles, personal pronouns, and impersonal pronouns (Ireland et al., 2011; Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002; Pennebaker, Booth, & Francis, 2007). Following previous research, we defined synchrony in linguistic style using formulas of the following form:

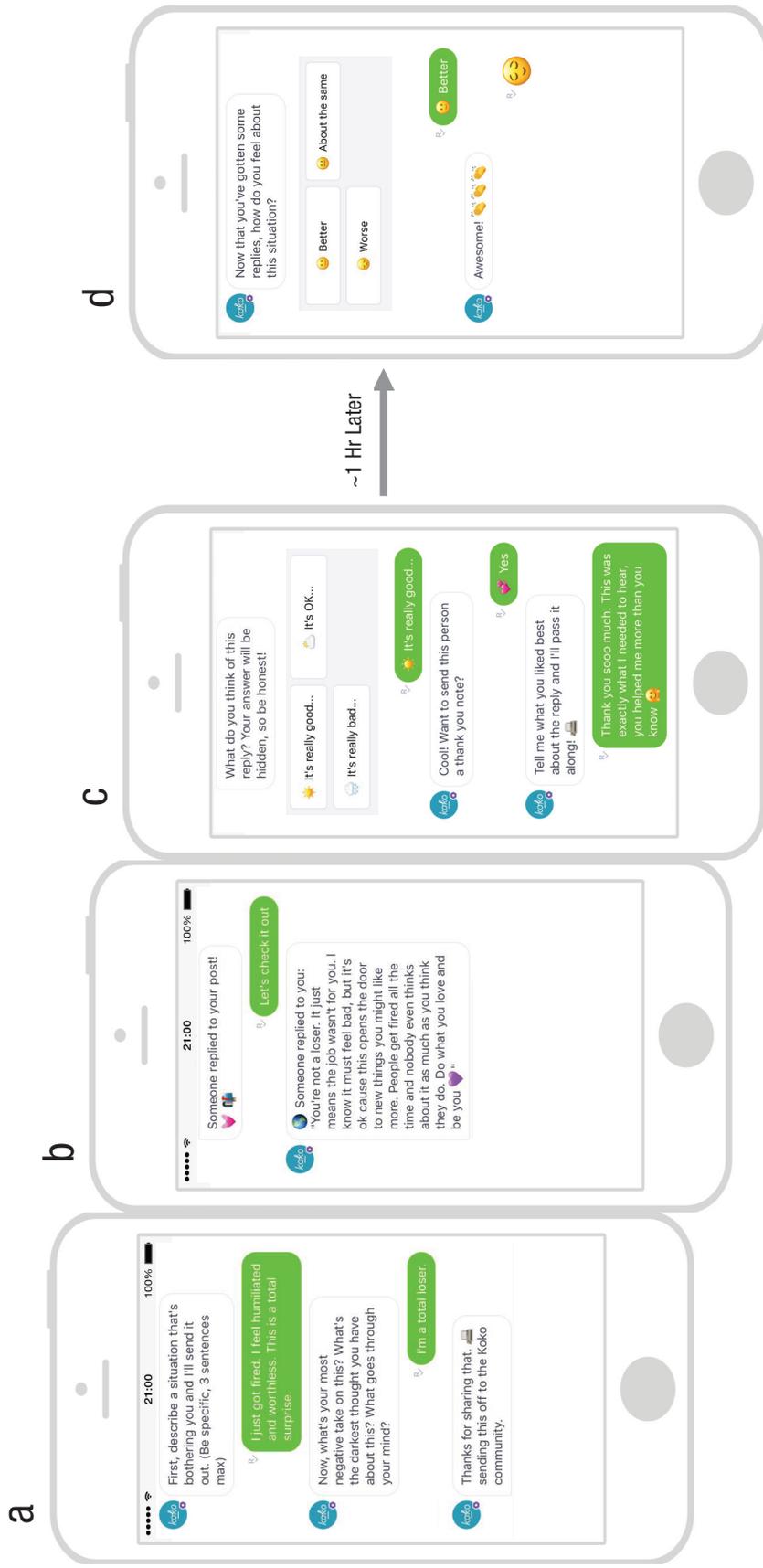


Fig. 1. An example exchange between two users of the Koko app. As in this example, (a) a recipient posts thoughts and feelings surrounding a stressful life situation, (b) a response from another user provides emotional support, and (c) the recipient is asked to provide an immediate rating of support effectiveness and given an opportunity to send a thank-you note. After a delay of at least 30 min and typically about 1 hr, (d) the support recipient rates his or her current feelings about the situation mentioned in the post.

$$\text{synchrony}_{\text{preps}} = 1 - \left[\frac{(|\text{preps}_{\text{post}} - \text{preps}_{\text{response}}|)}{(\text{preps}_{\text{post}} + \text{preps}_{\text{response}} + 0.0001)} \right].$$

In this formula, $\text{preps}_{\text{post}}$ is the percentage of prepositions used by the support recipient in the stressor post, and $\text{preps}_{\text{response}}$ is the percentage of prepositions used by the support provider within the supportive response. In the denominator, 0.0001 was added to prevent empty sets. The nine scores for each function-word category were averaged to yield a composite score bounded by 0 and 1; a higher number represents greater synchrony in linguistic style (i.e., similarity in use of function words) across a recipient's stressor post and a provider's supportive response. Prior work has shown that language style matching can predict social outcomes, such as relationship initiation and group cohesion (Gonzales, Hancock, & Pennebaker, 2010; Ireland et al., 2011).

We also considered synchrony in the texts' overall emotional character (i.e., the specific kinds of emotions expressed). We defined the texts' emotional character using a lexicon-based algorithm that estimates expression of eight categories of emotion—joy, trust, fear, surprise, sadness, disgust, anger, and anticipation—as well as overall positive and negative valence, across 14,182 English words (Mohammad & Turney, 2013). We used this lexicon because it provides a broader assessment of emotional character than other commonly used sentiment analysis tools (i.e., it includes more categories of emotion and a larger lexicon than alternatives), and it has been shown to perform well in capturing the emotional content of social media texts (Ribeiro, Araújo, Gonçalves, Gonçalves, & Benevenuto, 2016). We defined synchrony in emotional character in a manner analogous to that used for linguistic style synchrony (Ireland et al., 2011; Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002), the only difference being that the computation was made on the basis of categories of emotion words (Mohammad & Turney, 2013) rather than categories of function words. That is, we used formulas with the following form:

$$\text{synchrony}_{\text{fear}} = 1 - \left[\frac{(|\text{fear}_{\text{post}} - \text{fear}_{\text{response}}|)}{(\text{fear}_{\text{post}} + \text{preps}_{\text{response}} + 0.0001)} \right].$$

Here, $\text{fear}_{\text{post}}$ is the percentage of words associated with the fear category used by the recipient in the stressor post, and $\text{fear}_{\text{response}}$ is the percentage of words associated with the fear category used by the provider in the supportive response. As with synchrony in function-word use, the eight synchrony scores for each

category of emotion were averaged to yield a composite score bounded by 0 and 1; a higher number represents greater synchrony in emotional character (although not necessarily in the specific words used) across a recipient's stressor post and a provider's supportive response. We also used the same lexicon to estimate the overall valence—defined as the score for positive sentiment minus the score for negative sentiment—of stressor posts, supportive responses, and thank-you notes.

Finally, we considered similarity in latent semantic content—that is, similarity in the kinds of underlying topics that are addressed in the stressor posts and support responses, despite potential differences in the words and phrases used. To do this, we used latent semantic analysis (LSA; Landauer, 2007), which provides an algorithmic estimate of document similarity via a two-step procedure. In the first step, a large set of words (here, more than 2 billion English words used in online writing) was reduced to a lower rank set of latent semantic vectors on the basis of word co-occurrence across a large set of documents (here, a corpus of online documents). In the next step, latent semantic similarity was estimated by computing the cosine similarity between the latent semantic vectors expressed across two texts (here, a stressor post and its corresponding support response). The cosine similarity measured the angle between these two semantic vectors, capturing the idea that texts that are similar in meaning should exist close to each other within a multidimensional semantic space. In summary, this technique represents the meaning of a particular English word as reflecting the contexts in which the word tends to appear and further represents the meaning of a particular document as reflecting the meanings of all the words it contains. In this sense, the basic idea behind LSA is that documents that use similar kinds of words at similar frequencies are semantically related. Prior work supports the validity of latent semantic similarity as a measure of semantic relatedness; for example, LSA can predict human ratings of semantic relatedness, approach human levels of accuracy in assessing essay content, and achieve a passing grade on a college multiple-choice test after being trained on a relevant textbook (for a review, see Landauer, 2007). For a discussion of how this method is sensitive to the presence of grammatical negations, and for examples of post-response pairs that were estimated to be low, medium, and high in latent semantic similarity, see the Supplemental Material.

Outcome variables. Outcome variables were based on the ratings and behavioral responses made by support recipients (see Fig. 1). Three of these variables were collected immediately after receipt of a support response:

immediate ratings of support effectiveness (“What do you think of this reply? Your answer will be hidden, so be honest!” $-1 = \textit{it's really bad}$, $0 = \textit{it's okay}$, $+1 = \textit{it's really good}$), whether the support recipient decided to send a thank-you note to the support provider ($0 = \textit{did not send}$, $1 = \textit{did send}$), and the expressed valence of the thank-you note (valence: $M = 1.27$, $SD = 2.41$). The fourth outcome variable of interest was ratings of stressor-specific emotional change collected after a delay. Stressor-specific emotional-change ratings were sent 30 min (median time elapsed from original post to rating emotional recovery was 63 min, $IQR = 40 \text{ min} - 8 \text{ hr}$) after the user began to receive supportive responses (“Now that you’ve gotten some replies, how do you feel about your situation?” $-1 = \textit{worse}$, $0 = \textit{about the same}$, $+1 = \textit{better}$). When computing synchrony for the purpose of predicting these delayed ratings, we calculated the average degree of synchrony for all the support responses sent for a given post—the average degree of synchrony in messages directed to that post (for a description of variability in post volume, see the Supplemental Material).

Modeling. To minimize overfitting in our primary analyses, we randomly split the data into an exploratory sample of 33,875 participants (20% of the full data set) for initial visualization and model building, and a confirmatory sample of 135,501 participants (80% of the full data set) to evaluate the fit of regularized regression models and thereby support statistical inference. Specifically, we fitted generalized additive models to estimate relationships between synchrony and recipient ratings and behavioral responses (Wood, 2017). In this framework, an outcome variable (e.g., ratings of support effectiveness) varies as an unknown smooth function of a predictor variable (e.g., semantic similarity of stressor posts and support responses), and this function was represented using regression splines (i.e., piecewise polynomial fits connected by knots). Model form and smoothness were not user specified, as when selecting a linear, quadratic, or n -degree polynomial fit in regression, but rather estimated from the data via a fitting procedure in which an optimal smoothness was selected by penalized-likelihood metrics that approximate out-of-sample predictive accuracy (Wood, 2017). This procedure yielded a regularized estimate of the population-level relationship with credibility intervals reflecting differences in form that this function could plausibly take in light of the observed data. It also yielded an overall p value reflecting compatibility of the data with a null model (i.e., a flat line). We set the k parameter (upper limit on effective degrees of freedom) for all smooth functions to 8, allowing the estimated functions a high but not extreme degree of flexibility (Wood, 2017). Because different measures of synchrony were weakly or moderately correlated, models included all four kinds of

synchrony as simultaneous predictors; that is, effects of a given kind of synchrony were estimated after adjusting for effects of the other kinds of synchrony. For models predicting stressor-specific emotional-recovery ratings, we computed similarity for each response with its corresponding post and then averaged these similarity values to yield a single number reflecting the average degree of synchrony in the support responses received for a particular stressor post.

Results

In an initial step, we used text-analysis methods to provide insight into the content of the posts describing thoughts about life stressors and responses providing emotional support. Using a lexicon-based algorithm to estimate emotional expression (Mohammad & Turney, 2013), we found that posts describing stressors were negative in valence and expressed mostly sadness, anticipation, fear, and anger categories of emotion consistent with instructions to describe thoughts and feelings surrounding a stressful experience. Responses providing emotional support were more positive in valence and expressed more joy and trust categories of emotion, consistent with instructions to provide a more positive and supportive take on the experience (see Fig. S1 in the Supplemental Material). To shed light on similarities and differences in word use between stressor posts and support responses, we visualized word use across stressor posts and support responses (see Figs. S2 and S3 in the Supplemental Material). These visualizations suggested that posts and responses were similar in generally referencing social relationships and psychological states but differed in specific use of certain function words (e.g., pronouns), emotion words, and words referencing specific social relationships.

Our primary research question was whether synchrony between stressor posts and supportive responses was related to the effectiveness of emotional support. We first considered synchrony in the actual textual characters used. We defined this as the opposite of the Levenshtein distance—the number of single-character edits needed to transform one text into another. We asked whether surface-level textual synchrony predicted immediate ratings of support effectiveness, whether the recipient sent an expression of gratitude (thank-you note), and the valence of language used within expressions of gratitude. Across these three outcomes, support responses that were highly asynchronous (showed very little overlap in text used) or highly synchronous (repeated much of the stressor post in a manner close to verbatim) with their corresponding stressor post were less impactful than those showing a moderate degree of surface-level textual similarity (see Fig. 2).

We next considered synchrony in linguistic style, defined as similar use of function words such as pronouns and adverbs (Ireland et al., 2011), and synchrony in emotional content, defined as similar use of words from different emotion categories such as fear and sadness (Mohammad & Turney, 2013). For both linguistic style synchrony and emotional content synchrony, support responses showing greater synchrony were rated as more effective, were more likely to elicit an expression of gratitude, and elicited more positive language within gratitude expressions. However, these relationships showed clear nonlinearity

in a manner suggesting diminishing additional benefits of high (vs. moderate) synchrony in linguistic style (see Fig. 2).

We next turned to post-response synchrony in latent semantic content, defined using LSA (Landauer, 2007). In contrast to linguistic style synchrony and emotional content synchrony, latent semantic synchrony robustly predicted immediate support outcomes with a form suggesting an exponential relationship, indicating that synchrony in semantic meaning was an especially powerful source of emotional-support efficacy relative to the other kinds of synchrony that we examined.

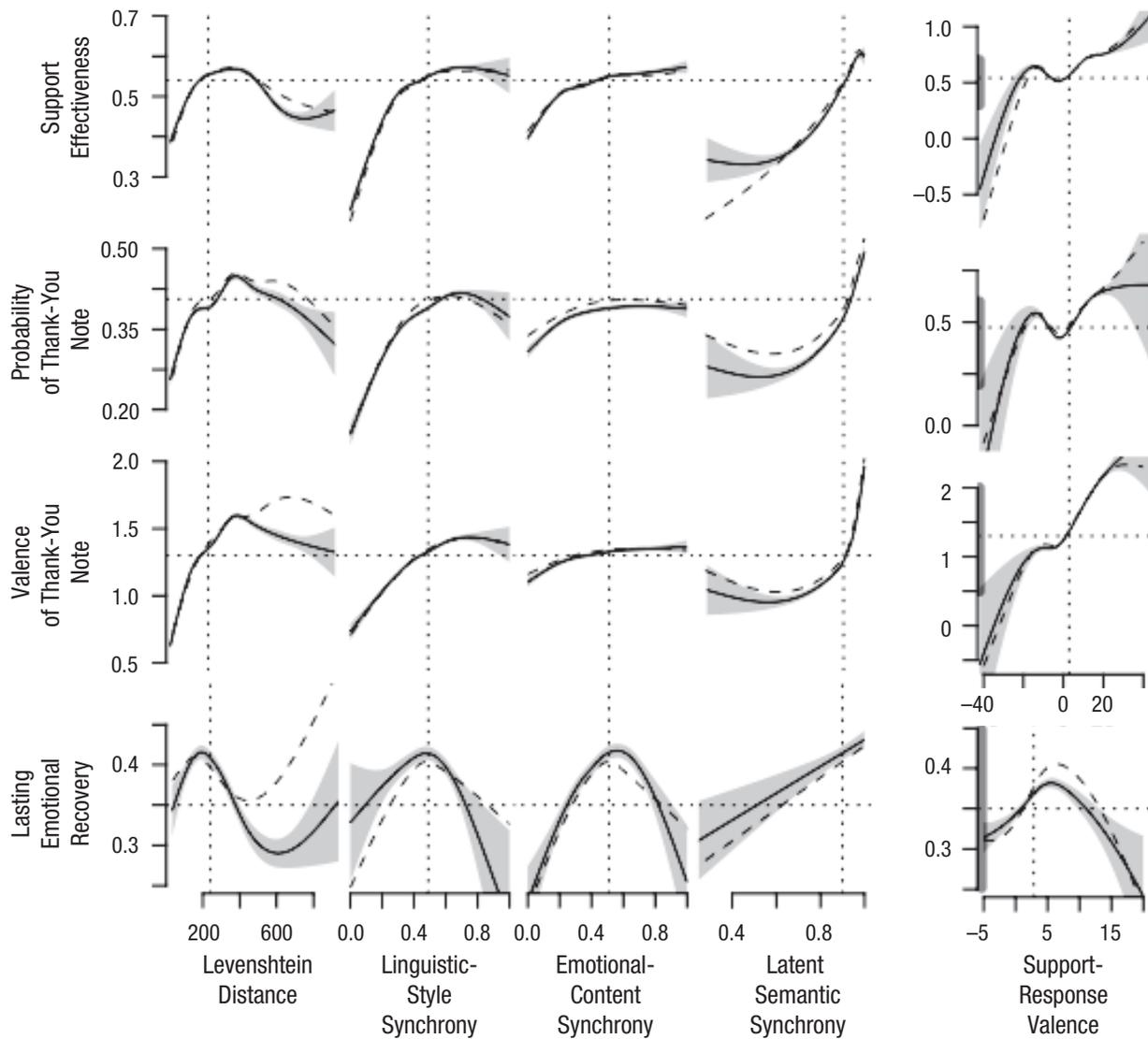


Fig. 2. Functions relating textual, linguistic-style, emotional-content, and latent semantic synchrony, as well as overall support-response valence, to immediate ratings of emotional-support effectiveness, whether a thank-you note was sent, the valence of thank-you-note language, and lasting emotional recovery. Solid curves (with 95% credible intervals) reflect models fit to a confirmatory subsample (80% of the data), all of which were significant ($p < 10^{-8}$); dashed curves reflect models fit to an exploratory subsample (20% of the data); dotted horizontal and vertical lines indicate the mean of each variable.

Having identified a role for synchrony in predicting immediate support outcomes, we next asked whether support synchrony was related to emotional recovery across a longer timescale. Within the application, recipients rated whether they felt better, the same, or worse about the stressor they described about 1 hr after receiving supportive responses ($Mdn = 63$ min, $IQR = 40$ min–8 hr). As shown in the bottom row of Figure 2, these ratings of lasting recovery were related to each metric of synchrony. In particular, latent semantic synchrony showed a clear positive relationship with lasting emotional recovery, suggesting that support that was attuned to the meaning of the language used by recipients was ultimately more impactful. However, although synchronous linguistic style and emotional content predicted higher immediate ratings of effectiveness, non-monotonic relationships with these delayed ratings suggested that moderate (rather than high or low) synchrony on these dimensions was more optimal for evoking lasting emotional change. Further, these effects were unchanged when we additionally controlled for any smooth effect of time to rating (see the Supplemental Material).

Finally, we contrasted support synchrony with another fundamental property of emotional support—the overall valence of emotional-support language. As shown in Figure 2 (rightmost column), there were large differences in the outcomes seen for highly negative versus neutral support responses and smaller differences between neutral and highly positive support responses. When we gauged predictive effects of support synchrony versus valence, two findings stood out. First, effects of synchrony were somewhat smaller than effects of valence for immediate support outcomes (i.e., effectiveness ratings and thank-you notes). Second, synchrony and valence were different in their implications for lasting emotional recovery. Latent semantic synchrony linearly predicted higher lasting recovery, but support valence showed a nonmonotonic relationship; specifically, lasting recovery was seen most for support with moderately (but not extremely) positive language.

Discussion

Overall, these results suggest that emotional support is more effective when there is synchrony in the behavior of support providers and recipients, especially synchrony reflective of shared understanding. For textual content, linguistic style, and emotional content, a moderate degree of synchrony predicted beneficial outcomes. For latent semantic content, higher than average levels of synchrony predicted greater immediate and lasting impact of emotional support.

These findings have implications for theories of the processes that underlie successful regulation of emotion within social interactions (Goldsmith, 2004; Reis & Gable, 2015; Zaki & Williams, 2013). First, they suggest that support is most effective when it speaks to the meaning of what is communicated by people seeking help. Second, they suggest that support is more effective when supportive language is neither overly convergent nor overly discrepant with the language used by people seeking help. Support that was highly synchronous with the recipient's narrative in linguistic style and emotional content was initially well received but ultimately less effective in changing emotion, suggesting that providers can oversynchronize along these dimensions. This is consistent with the notion that synchrony in function words reflects a kind of active conversational engagement but suggests that an excessive degree of this engagement may be suboptimal for emotional support (Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002). Overall, these data suggest that similarity in style, emotional content, and semantic content indexes distinct psychological processes that together scaffold effective support. We propose, in light of these data, that effective emotional support derives from a shared understanding that is apparent in linguistic behavior and that may emerge from recipient characteristics such as expressiveness, provider characteristics such as empathic ability, and recipient-provider effects such as similarity in life history or personality (Cavallo, Zee, & Higgins, 2016; Gallois et al., 2005; Goldsmith, 2004).

In parallel, our results speak to a changing media landscape in which support increasingly unfolds online. Some data suggest that computer-mediated support can help people overcome challenges associated with seeking and providing support face to face (Pentina & Zhang, 2017). However, most online spaces are not designed to promote well-being, and some evidence suggests that they can be actively harmful (Verduyn, Ybarra, Résibois, Jonides, & Kross, 2017). Future work could evaluate how synchronous and nonsynchronous elements of social interactions (e.g., offering new perspective or strong but helpful criticism) work together to promote well-being and social understanding, examining implications for the design of online environments. Further, future work could improve on the single-item measures of emotion that we used here (for which internal consistency is undefined) by using multi-item measures and could also ask about serial-position effects within a stream of emotional-support responses.

When people around us are struggling, we often do what we can to help them manage their emotions. However, attempts to provide such help can fail to have their intended impact. We suggest that linguistic synchrony

predicts emotional-support efficacy, especially synchrony that reflects a shared understanding of the meaning conveyed within a social exchange. We hope that future studies will expand on our approach to further unpack the mechanisms that underlie the ability to collectively navigate life's emotional challenges.

Action Editor

Ian H. Gotlib served as action editor for this article.

Author Contributions

R. R. Morris created the Koko application and oversaw data collection. B. P. Doré conceived the study questions, conducted analyses, and drafted the manuscript. Both authors approved the final manuscript for submission.

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Declaration of Conflicting Interests

R. R. Morris is the cofounder of Koko, a for-profit enterprise that provides mental health and safety services to large social networks. The Koko peer-support service was used to conduct the research described in this article. B. P. Doré declared that there were no conflicts of interest with respect to his authorship or the publication of this article.

Supplemental Material

Additional supporting information can be found at <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/suppl/10.1177/0956797618779971>

Open Practices



All data have been made publicly available via the Open Science Framework and can be accessed at <https://osf.io/g59s2/>. Materials for this study have not been made publicly available, and the design and analysis plans were not preregistered. The complete Open Practices Disclosure for this article can be found at <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/suppl/10.1177/0956797618779971>. This article has received the badge for Open Data. More information about the Open Practices badges can be found at <http://www.psychologicalscience.org/publications/badges>.

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