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## BRIEF REPORT

# I thought that I heard you laughing: Contextual facial expressions modulate the perception of authentic laughter and crying

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It is well established that categorising the emotional content of facial expressions may differ depending on contextual information. Whether this malleability is observed in the auditory domain and in genuine emotion expressions is poorly explored. We examined the perception of authentic laughter and crying in the context of happy, neutral and sad facial expressions. Participants rated the vocalisations on separate unipolar scales of happiness and sadness and on arousal. Although they were instructed to focus exclusively on the vocalisations, consistent context effects were found: For both laughter and crying, emotion judgements were shifted towards the information expressed by the face. These modulations were independent of response latencies and were larger for more emotionally ambiguous vocalisations. No effects of context were found for arousal ratings. These findings suggest that the automatic encoding of contextual information during emotion perception generalises across modalities, to purely non-verbal vocalisations, and is not confined to acted expressions.

*Keywords:* Context; Cross-modal biases; Emotion perception; Non-verbal vocalisations.

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Nadine Lavan and César F. Lima have made equal contributions to the work.

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In the emotion literature, emotional expressions are usually presented in isolation, and discrete emotional states can be reliably perceived. In social interactions, however, humans encounter a wide range of signals from different modalities at the same time, such as facial, body, vocal and situational cues. How the different sources of information are combined for social perception has long been investigated (e.g., Noller, 1985), but recently, a renewed interest in this topic has been motivated by the debates on the neural bases of multisensory integration and on roles of context and ambiguity during the processing of basic emotions (e.g., Barrett, Mesquita, & Gendron, 2011; de Gelder & Van den Stock, 2012; Hassin, Aviezer, & Bentin, 2013). A body of research shows that emotion categorisations of facial expressions is altered by information from the context in which they are embedded, including body postures (Aviezer et al., 2008), speech prosody (i.e., emotionally inflected speech; de Gelder & Vroomen, 2000; Paulmann & Pell, 2010) and non-verbal vocalisations (Sherman, Sweeny, Grabowecy, & Suzuki, 2012). These effects can be observed when participants are instructed to ignore the contextual cues and under increased cognitive load, suggesting that face-context relationships are automatically perceived (Aviezer, Bentin, Dudarev, & Hassin, 2011). Central to the understanding of these findings are the questions of whether they (1) reflect multisensory integration at an early perceptual stage and (2) can be observed for emotional signals beyond acted facial expressions, which informed the majority of previous work.

Context-related modulations of emotion perception have been investigated behaviourally by comparing categorisation accuracy and reaction times for emotionally congruent versus incongruent stimulus pairs. Manipulated expressions are frequently used to increase the ambiguity of the stimuli (e.g., through the creation of morphed continua; de Gelder & Vroomen, 2000), while participants typically perform forced-choice categorisation tasks, deciding whether a face is, e.g., angry or fearful. The finding that the proportion of responses for a given category is biased towards the context in which the expression occurs has

been taken as evidence for perceptual integration, i.e., sensory input from different modalities is combined into a unified percept (Barrett et al., 2011; de Gelder & Van den Stock, 2012; Wieser & Brosch, 2012). However, further evidence is needed to exclude the alternative hypothesis that these biases partly originate at a later response-selection stage: In forced-choice tasks, the emotions conveyed by the context and the response options overlap, such that incongruent pairings result in competition/conflict between the *correct* and *context* response categories. Participants are required to choose between mutually exclusive categories and may therefore tend to use the context response because they are unsure about the target, and not necessarily because the context modulated perceptual processes (for discussions on this issue, see Hietanen, Leppeanen, Illi, & Surakka, 2004; Vroomen, Driver, & de Gelder, 2001).

Our knowledge on whether and how contextual information affects the processing of basic emotional expressions beyond the visual domain is fragmentary. There is evidence that categorisations of semantically neutral sentences produced in a fearful or a happy tone of voice vary depending on concurrent facial (de Gelder & Vroomen, 2000) and body expressions (Van de Stock, Righart, & de Gelder, 2007). Yet, in addition to speech prosody, auditory emotions include non-verbal vocalisations, such as laughter and crying, which are far less well understood. Non-verbal vocalisations are the most phylogenetically continuous of all expressive channels and differ from speech prosody in other important ways: They are not constrained by articulatory movements related to speech production and involve distinct production mechanisms, resulting in distinct acoustic properties (Scott, Sauter, & McGettigan, 2010). Laughter and crying are deeply grounded in human biology—they emerge early in development, do not require auditory experience (Scheiner, Hammerschmidt, Juergens, & Zwirner, 2006) and are cross-culturally recognised (Sauter, Eisner, Ekman, & Scott, 2010). Importantly, apart from rare exceptions (e.g., Aviezer, Trope, & Todorov, 2012), the literature on context effects is based on acted displays for which actors pose expressions without

feeling the corresponding emotions. While this type of expressions is informative, a growing number of studies highlights the importance of investigating more naturalistic, genuine emotional expressions. For instance, posed and genuine laughter are perceptually and acoustically distinct (Bryant & Aktipis, 2014), and they engage different neurocognitive systems (McGettigan et al., 2013). Whether previously described context effects generalise to genuine non-verbal vocalisations remain an open question. Showing that contextual information is integrated into the processing of such basic expressions would provide unique evidence for the argument that context encoding may be an in-built feature of emotion perception (Aviezer et al., 2012; Barrett et al., 2011).

In the current study, we examined for the first time whether the perception of genuine laughter and crying is modulated by simultaneously presented facial expressions. To tease apart integration from response selection processes, we used two strategies. First, the competition/conflict between response options was minimised by using separate unipolar rating scales for each emotion category. Participants were thereby given the option to freely provide lower ratings (including the option of no emotion at all; Frank & Stennett, 2001) in cases when they perceived the target emotion as being less clear/intense, instead of being forced to choose between a correct and a context response option. Crucially, neither the auditory nor the facial stimuli were altered to artificially inflate their ambiguity (i.e., no morphing techniques were used, e.g., de Gelder & Vroomen, 2000; and no visual or auditory noise was added, e.g., Collignon et al., 2008). Second, and in addition to the emotion judgements, participants judged vocalisations for a general affective feature, arousal, where different levels of potential competition/conflict are also present (high-arousal auditory targets paired with high-arousal facial expressions versus auditory targets paired with low-arousal neutral faces) but cross-modal biases may be less pronounced. It was hypothesised that context may be more important for emotion perception than for arousal inferences, on the basis of evidence from facial expression perception showing that context is more frequently

remembered when participants categorise specific emotions than when they just judge the affective significance of the stimuli (Barrett & Kensinger, 2010).

Laughter and crying were paired with happy, neutral or sad facial expressions, resulting in three audio-visual conditions that formed a gradient of congruency. The vocalisations were judged regarding how much they expressed two emotions, happiness and sadness, and in terms of the more general affective feature of arousal. A dissociation between emotion and arousal judgements was predicted: For emotion judgements, we predicted that ratings on the target emotion would be highest for congruent pairings (laughter paired with a happy face and crying with a sad face), intermediate for neutral pairings (laughter/crying with a neutral face) and lowest for incongruent pairings (laughter paired with a sad face and crying with a happy face). For arousal judgements, no context modulations were expected between congruent (i.e., high-arousal vocalisation and face) and neutral pairings (i.e., high-arousal vocalisation and low-arousal face) despite the difference in the degree of congruence. If previous evidence on morphed facial expressions (de Gelder & Vroomen, 2000) extends to a more naturalistic variability in ambiguity, the magnitude of context-related modulations should be larger for more ambiguous vocalisations.

## METHODS

### Participants

Thirty-eight healthy participants aged between 18 and 45 years (28 female;  $M_{\text{age}} = 22.15$  years,  $SD = 5.49$ ) were recruited via the Royal Holloway Experiment Management System. They had normal or corrected-to-normal vision, normal hearing and were tested in individual sessions lasting around 1 hour. Ethical approval was obtained from the Departmental Ethics Committee at the Department of Psychology, Royal Holloway, University of London.

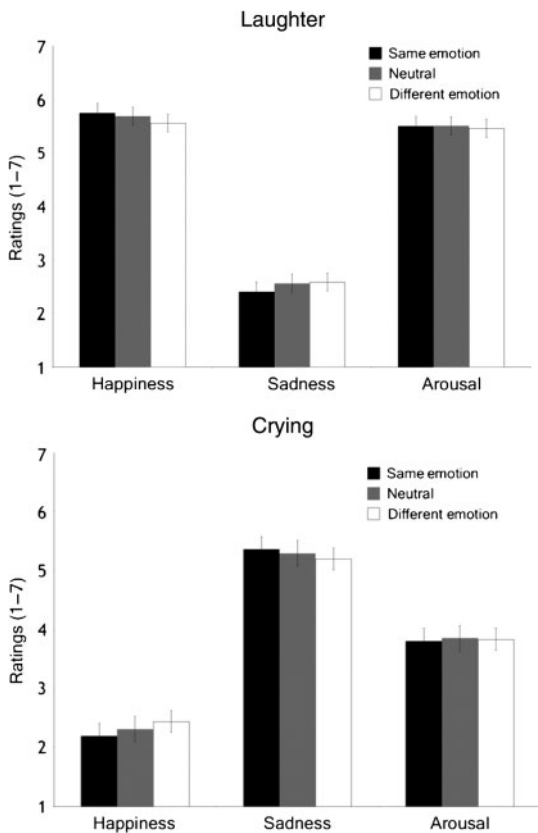
## Materials and methods

Genuine amusement laughter and crying stimuli, produced by five adults (three females) were recorded in a sound-proof anechoic chamber at University College London (Lima et al., *in preparation*). Laughter was elicited as described in McGettigan et al. (2013)—speakers were shown video clips, which they identified beforehand as being amusing. For crying, they recalled upsetting events and/or initially posed crying to encourage a transition into genuine crying associated with genuine felt sadness. The speakers reported genuine feelings of amusement and sadness during and after recording the corresponding expressions. In a series of behavioural experiments, it was shown that participants reliably rate genuine laughter and crying as more authentic than their posed counterparts (Lima et al., *in preparation*; McGettigan et al., 2013). All vocalisations were extracted from the recordings and normalised for root-mean-square (RMS) amplitude using Praat (<http://www.praat.org/>).

We ran two pilot studies on a larger set of auditory stimuli (56 crying and 60 laughter tokens) prior to the main experiment. In one of these studies ( $N = 13$ ), we collected arousal and valence ratings (7-point scale), and in the other one ( $N = 8$ ), emotional categorisation ratings (7-point scale, *Is this crying or laughter?* with 1 = *crying* and 7 = *laughter*). None of the participants of the pilot studies took part in the main experiment. The final set of auditory stimuli included 30 laughs and 30 crying sounds. The two emotions were matched for duration (laughter:  $M = 2520$  ms,  $SD = 0.24$ ; crying:  $M = 2640$  ms,  $SD = 0.35$ ;  $F[1,29] = 1.871$ ,  $p = .182$ ) and for the number of stimuli from each speaker (six per speaker per vocalisation). The best possible match for arousal was ensured, although laughter was still rated significantly higher on this feature than crying (laughter:  $M = 4.84$ ,  $SD = 0.77$ ; crying:  $M = 3.68$ ,  $SD = 0.48$ ;  $F[1,29] = 49.782$ ,  $p < .001$ ). A range of emotional ambiguity was included based on the 7-point categorisation ratings (laughter:  $M = 5.85$ ,  $SD = 0.86$ , range = 4.12–6.88; crying:  $M = 2.2$ ,  $SD = 0.69$ , range = 1.31–3.94). The visual stimuli were

static images of happy, sad and neutral facial expressions (30 per emotion) selected from the Karolinska Directed Emotional Faces (Lundqvist, Flykt, & Öhman, 1998). Happy and sad faces were matched for category recognisability (happy faces:  $M = 93.53\%$  correct,  $SD = 5.39$ ; sad faces:  $M = 90.77\%$ ,  $SD = 5.28$ ;  $F[1,29] = 1.99$ ,  $p = .169$ ) and arousal (happy faces:  $M = 3.53$ ,  $SD = 0.44$  on a scale from 1–9; sad faces:  $M = 3.49$ ,  $SD = 0.43$ ;  $F[1,29] = 0.111$ ,  $p = .741$ ). Neutral faces had lower overall recognisability ( $M = 82.68\%$ ,  $SD = 5.14$ ; compared to happy faces:  $F[1,29] = 35.249$ ,  $p < .001$ ; compared to sad faces:  $F[1,29] = 19.262$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and arousal ( $M = 1.55$ ,  $SD = 0.27$ ; compared to happy faces:  $F[1,29] = 306.14$ ,  $p < .001$ ; compared to sad faces:  $F[1,29] = 393.25$ ,  $p < .001$ ). In a follow-up study ( $N = 10$ ), we observed that laughter and crying are rated similarly when paired with neutral faces and with a checkerboard, suggesting that neutral faces are indeed perceived as a neutral pairing (happy scale: laughter:  $F[1,29] = 0.223$ ,  $p = .64$ ; crying:  $F[1,29] < 0.001$ ,  $p = .986$ ; sad scale: laughter:  $F[1,29] = 0.366$ ,  $p = .55$ ; crying:  $F[1,29] = 0.77$ ,  $p = .783$ ; arousal scale: laughter:  $F[1,29] = 0.438$ ,  $p = .518$ ; crying:  $F[1,29] = 1.732$ ,  $p = .199$ ).

The auditory stimuli were presented via headphones, in MATLAB (Mathworks, Inc., Natick, MA) using the Psychophysics Toolbox extension (<http://psychtoolbox.org/>). For all trials included in the main experiment, a vocalisation was paired with a picture of a face of the same sex in three conditions: Same emotion in both domains (congruent), neutral face, different emotions in both domains (incongruent). Audio-visual combinations were randomised and repeated once in each of the three blocks of the experiment (order of blocks randomised across participants): (1) *How happy is this person?*, (2) *How sad is this person?* and (3) and *How aroused is the person?*. Participants used 7-point Likert scales to respond, from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*), using a key press. Note that happiness and sadness were rated separately on unipolar scales in which lower ratings indicated absence of those emotions. We thus avoided the limitations of forced-choice formats in which participants are always forced to select one of the



**Figure 1.** Average ratings (1 = not at all; 7 = extremely) for laughter and crying as a function of judgement type and context condition. Error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals.

manipulated categories (Frank & Stennett, 2001). For arousal, 1 was defined as *The person is drowsy or sleepy* and 7 as *The person is feeling very alert and energetic*. The face was visible for the duration of the sound. All the analyses reported and discussed here are based on instances in which participants were instructed to focus their attention on the vocalisations only; however, to ensure that they perceived the faces as well, “distractor” trials were included in which participants were asked to evaluate the face and not the vocalisation. A coloured frame appeared around the face 1.5 seconds after the trial onset, so participants were required to attend to both the visual and auditory modality from the outset of each trial: With the cue of the frame, participants were instructed to

exclusively judge the vocalisation when the frame was red (experimental trials), and the face when the frame was blue (distractor trials). Distractor trials were not analysed and were independent from the experimental trials. Additionally, response latencies were recorded, measuring the delay from the appearance of the rating scale that coincided with the offset of the sounds until the button press. The experiment included 540 trials in total, comprising 60 laughter/crying stimuli  $\times$  3 context conditions  $\times$  3 judgements, plus 30 distractor trials per block. Participants were instructed to respond as quickly as possible, and completed a short practice session.

## RESULTS

The average ratings provided for laughter and crying are depicted in Figure 1, as a function of judgement type (happiness, sadness and arousal) and context condition (same emotion, neutral and different emotion). As expected, ratings were higher for laughter on the happy scale and for crying on the sad scale. A 3 (context: same emotion, neutral and different emotion)  $\times$  3 (judgement type: happiness, sadness and arousal)  $\times$  2 (vocalisation: laughter and crying) repeated-measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on the raw ratings. For ease of interpretation, the directionality of context effects was made consistent across happiness and sadness judgements by inverting sadness ratings for the laughter stimuli (8 minus each rating) and inverting happiness ratings for the crying stimuli. The expected pattern of ratings for laughter was *same emotion* > *neutral* > *different emotion* on the happiness scale and *same emotion* < *neutral* < *different emotion* on the sadness scale, and inverting sadness ratings allowed us to make the direction of the expected effects similar across scales as *same emotion* > *neutral* > *different emotion*. Context had a large effect on the ratings ( $F[2,74] = 14.15$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .28$ ), which was similarly significant for laughter and crying (interaction context  $\times$  vocalisation *ns*,  $F[2,74] = 0.32$ ,  $p = .72$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .01$ , but depended on the judgement

type, as predicted (interaction context  $\times$  judgement type,  $F[4,148] = 4.714$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .11$ ; main effect of judgement type,  $F[2,74] = 35.397$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .49$ ; interaction judgement type  $\times$  vocalisation,  $F[2,74] = 36.62$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .5$ ; interaction context  $\times$  judgement type  $\times$  vocalisation *ns*,  $F[4,148] = 1.157$ ,  $p = .33$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .03$ ). Planned contrasts were computed using a Bonferroni-corrected significance level of  $p = .008$  (six comparisons). For the emotion-specific judgements, happy and sad, a linear trend contrast confirmed the predicted pattern of same emotion  $>$  neutral  $>$  different emotion,  $F[1,37] = 21.435$ ,  $p < .001$  (same emotion  $>$  neutral,  $F[1,37] = 15.185$ ,  $p < .001$ ; neutral  $>$  different emotion,  $F[1,37] = 7.108$ ,  $p = .011$ ). For the arousal judgements, the ratings did not significantly differ across context conditions: Same emotion (i.e., high arousal)  $>$  neutral (i.e., low arousal),  $F[1,37] = 0.748$ ,  $p = .39$  (different emotion  $>$  neutral,  $F[1,37] = 1.267$ ,  $p = .27$ ; same vs. different emotions,  $F[1,37] = 0.031$ ,  $p = .86$ ). Additionally, the fact that the three-way interaction was not significant indicates that cross-modal biases had a similar magnitude when participants were judging the vocalisations directly on the relevant target emotion (i.e., happy scale for laughter and sad scale for crying) and when they were judging the vocalisations on a different target emotion (i.e., sad scale for laughter and happy scale for crying).

To directly compare the magnitude of the context effects for emotion-specific and arousal judgements, an additional repeated-measures ANOVA was conducted on the difference between same emotion and neutral pairings for emotion-specific (averaged across laughter and crying for the two emotion scales) and arousal judgements (averaged across laughter and crying).<sup>1</sup> As expected, context had a significantly larger effect for emotion-specific judgements ( $M = 0.107$ ; 95% CI [0.051, 0.163]) as compared to the general affective judgement of arousal ( $M = -0.028$ ; 95% CI [-0.09, 0.035]),  $F[1,37] =$

10.703,  $p = .002$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .22$ ). Thus, contextual facial expressions biased ratings more when the goal was to perceive emotions than when the goal was to make a dimensional arousal judgement.

To examine the possible links between ratings and differences in response latencies, a 3 (context: same emotion, neutral and different emotion)  $\times$  3 (judgement type: happiness, sadness and arousal)  $\times$  2 (vocalisation: laughter and crying) repeated measures ANOVA was conducted. On average, participants took 807 ms to respond (95% CI [731, 882]) after the offset of the sound. Responses were quicker for laughter (759 ms; 95% CI [688, 829]) than crying (855 ms, 95% CI [772, 937]); main effect of vocalisation,  $F[1,37] = 52.062$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .61$ , but did not differ across judgement type and context conditions, indicating that context-related modulations of the ratings cannot be explained by differences in latencies (main effect of judgement type,  $F[2,74] = 2.705$ ,  $p = .07$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .07$ ; main effect of context,  $F[2,74] = 1.181$ ,  $p = .31$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .04$ ; interaction judgement type  $\times$  context,  $F[4,148] = 1.398$ ,  $p = .238$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .04$ ; interaction judgement type  $\times$  vocalisation,  $F[2,74] = 0.022$ ,  $p = .98$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .00$ ; interaction context  $\times$  vocalisation,  $F[2,74] = 0.134$ ,  $p = .875$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .00$ ; interaction judgement type  $\times$  context  $\times$  vocalisation,  $F[4,148] = 1.134$ ,  $p = .343$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .03$ ).

We also predicted that context effects on happiness and sadness judgements would be larger for ambiguous vocalisations, i.e., vocalisations rated farther from the extremes of the scale *Is this crying or laughter?* used in a pilot study. A regression analysis was computed, with perceived ambiguity as a predictor and the magnitude of the context effect as the dependent variable (i.e., ratings for emotionally congruent pairs—ratings for incongruent pairs). The quadratic association was significant,  $R^2 = .18$ ,  $F[2, 57] = 6.07$ ,  $p = .004$ , showing that biases were larger for vocalisations rated closer to the scale mid-point (more ambiguous), and smaller for the sounds rated closer to the scale extremes (less ambiguous; see Figure 2).

<sup>1</sup> Pairings of different emotions were not included in this analysis because they may not be directly comparable across emotion and arousal judgements – even though the expressed emotion differs between target and context (e.g., laughter paired with sad face), this may not cause incongruence in the case of arousal, as they both have high arousal.

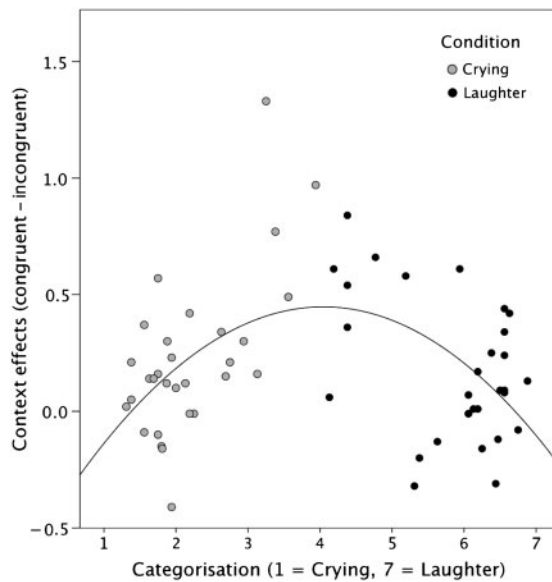


Figure 2. Magnitude of context effects (ratings for emotionally congruent pairs—ratings for incongruent pairs) as a function of laughter and crying ambiguity.

## DISCUSSION

This study forms a novel demonstration of the automatic encoding of context during the perception of genuine emotional expressions in the auditory domain. Our results show that facial expressions significantly shift emotion judgements of authentic laughter and crying, even when participants are instructed to focus exclusively on the vocalisations. Previous research, predominantly using forced-choice tasks and acted stimuli, has reported consistent context effects for (mostly negative) facial emotions, but knowledge on whether these effects extend to different types of auditory expressions was relatively limited (but see, e.g., Collignon et al., 2008; de Gelder & Vroomen, 2000). We expand on the existing literature by showing that contextual information is integrated during the perception of evolutionarily ancient and naturalistic auditory expressions. Additionally, while forced-choice tasks may promote response biases due to competition/conflict between the correct and context response categories, this was

minimised in the current study by using a rating task, in which participants could freely indicate the degree to which emotions were expressed in the stimuli (including *not at all*). Context effects in the ratings were independent of response latencies, which further suggests that competition/conflict at a response selection stage was indeed minimised, and that our task was probably tapping mostly into integration processes: Studies using forced-choice tasks typically find slower responses for incongruent pairings (e.g., de Gelder & Vroomen, 2000), which is likely to reflect increased task demands due to conflict.

The context effects were selective to the perception of emotion categories (happiness and sadness) and did not extend to the general affect judgement of arousal. If context were encoded during arousal judgements, ratings would have been higher for pairings that were congruent in arousal (e.g., laughter paired with happy face) than for neutral pairings (e.g., high-arousal laughter paired with a neutral face), as observed in the case of emotion-specific judgements. According to pilot



data, crying stimuli were lower in arousal than laughter stimuli. However, this difference, if anything, would predict larger context effects for laughter compared to crying (because the distance in arousal between laughter and neutral faces would be larger), and we found no context-related modulations of arousal ratings for either vocalisation. Directly comparing the size of the context effect for emotion-specific judgements and arousal judgements provided further evidence for the selective encoding of context. This result supports the argument that context may be particularly important for making inferences about specific emotional states. While isolated expressions may provide sufficient information to infer a general arousal state, the integration of contextual information may be routinely required to optimise the understanding of the specific emotional states (Barrett & Kensinger, 2010). Previous evidence for this comes from a memory task in the visual domain (*ibid.*), which we extend here to the auditory domain and to an emotion perception task.

In line with the emotion-specific findings, context effects were larger for more ambiguous vocalisations, indicating that participants integrated more contextual information when the cues to the target emotion were less clear. De Gelder and colleagues (de Gelder & Vroomen, 2000; Van de Stock et al., 2007) showed analogous effects for stimuli morphed from fear to happiness, and Collignon and colleagues (2008) found that adding white noise to their stimuli increased the impact of context. We demonstrate that such modulations occur in unmodified non-verbal vocalisations. The similarities in the production mechanisms and acoustic profile may explain why even naturalistic laughter and crying afford a range of ambiguity: In contrast to other emotional vocalisations, which are based on a small number of bursts, both laughter and crying are characterised by a succession of high-pitched vocalic bursts that can last for several seconds as a result of spasms of the abdominal and intercostal muscles (Lloyd, 1938).

The findings of the current study are based on dynamic auditory stimuli paired with static facial expressions taken from an independent stimulus

set. While we acknowledge that this aspect of the design constrains the ecological validity of the pairs (e.g., Noller, 1985), it results from the technical challenge of synchronising the auditory bursts (characteristic of laughter and crying) with the corresponding dynamic visual information so that incongruent pairs do not appear less realistic than congruent ones. Using dynamic visual information would additionally be difficult for the neutral condition, which is an informative baseline measure for the interpretation of the direction of (in)congruency effects. Nevertheless, future studies using more ecological multimodal materials will certainly contribute to a better understanding of cross-modal interactions. Other interesting areas of further investigation include examining whether context effects in vocalisations show other features of automaticity, such as exerting an influence even under condition of cognitive load (Aviezer et al., 2011), and whether the pattern of results is modulated as a function of the stimulus onset asynchrony, i.e., whether presenting the auditory and visual stimuli at different onset times (e.g., presenting the faces before the vocalisations) would lead to context effects distinct from the ones obtained here with simultaneous presentation. This matters, considering for instance the findings of prosody-face interactions showing differentiated electrophysiological responses for facial expressions, depending on the duration of previous exposure to emotional prosody, 200 ms or 400 ms (Paulmann & Pell, 2010).

In sum, we showed that contextual information (facial expressions) is automatically encoded and integrated into the perception of basic emotions in genuine auditory expressions: Laughter and crying. These findings suggest that even primitive and authentic auditory emotional expressions may be inherently ambiguous to a certain extent, and that the available contextual cues are routinely used for inferences about emotional states.

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