

1.9 AFTERWORD

What Is an Emotion?

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AQ: Please check and insert the double quote or delete the end quote.

[B]odily changes follow directly the perception of the exciting fact, and that our feeling of the same changes as they occur IS the emotion.

—WILLIAM JAMES (1890/1950)

EMOTIONS VS. FEELINGS (AND OTHER RESPONSES)

For William James, feelings were the defining feature of an emotion. While his writings remain influential, Damasio and Damasio join with a number of the other authors **of the Question 1 sections in this volume** in arguing that James planted the seed for a long-lasting, troubling issue in affective sciences (for a detailed analysis, see LeDoux, 2015). For the Damasios, James's failure to distinguish between emotions and feelings "created a confusion of the two phenomena that has haunted the field to our day. Emotions and feelings were already muddled concepts but at the authoritative hand of James they became hopelessly so." Likewise, Lang and Bradley consider feelings to be a folk-psychological notion, and Adolphs argues that conflating "feelings" with "emotions" is "one of the most serious obstacles" to a science of emotion.

Lang and Bradley highlight the importance of going beyond feelings and measuring other responses, including systematic changes in peripheral physiology (e.g., cortisol, heart rate), **action tendencies** (e.g., freezing, facial expressions), and **cognition** (e.g., vigilance). But, just as feelings should not be conflated with emotions, Adolphs, Lang, and Bradley warn us not to conflate emotions with these response channels. As Adolphs summarizes, "The evidence for the emotion is not the emotion itself" (see also Kagan's response to Question 2; Berridge, Levenson, and Johnstone's responses to Question 4; and Adolphs, 2017a, b; Kagan, 2010c; Quigley & Barrett, 2014).¹

Emotions vs. Cognition

Should emotions be distinguished from cognition (see Question 8, this volume)? That is a point of disagreement amongst our authors. As Damasio and Damasio note, James drew a crucial distinction between them; cognitive processes were said

to have a relative "purity" compared to emotional processes involving the body. Damasio and Damasio appear to agree with James' argument, while acknowledging that feelings can also encompass thoughts and memories. Adolphs tells us that emotions interact with cognition, but are distinct from perception, attention, and memory. Berridge notes that defining emotion as "intrinsically affective" helps to distinguish it from processes, such as cognitive appraisals of value, that may relate to an emotion, but are distinct from the emotion itself. Rolls and Friston et al. emphasize the intimate connections linking the two phenomena, with Rolls suggesting that "cognitive processing (whether conscious or not) is important in many emotions. . . . Indeed, emotions normally consist of cognitive processing that analyzes the stimulus, and then determines its reinforcing valence." Barrett goes a step further: "Are emotions, cognitions and perceptions separate phenomena caused by separate processes? No. Instances of emotion are constructed by domain-general systems in the brain and body." Clore adopts a similar position, noting that "the sharp distinction between cognition and emotion has probably outlived its usefulness. . . . Both arise from largely common processes, and imaging data indicate that they depend on overlapping neural systems."

Emotions Are Valenced and Vary in Intensity

All of our authors seem to embrace a dimensional account of emotions, with valence conceptualized as the core dimension. As Damasio and Damasio note, "Affective phenomena are . . . good, bad, or somewhere in between, but they are never indifferent." In contrast with the first edition of this volume, none of the present contributors explicitly advocates a discrete or basic emotions approach (but see Panksepp's response to Question 5 and Keltner and colleagues' response to Question 10).

For many, this valence dimension is superimposed on an orthogonal intensity or arousal dimension. Adolphs reminds us that linear increases in intensity or arousal can lead to nonlinear transitions in behavior (e.g., freezing in response to distal threat vs. fighting in response to imminent threat; see also Blanchard and Pearson's response to Question 7). Lang and Bradley conceptualize valence and arousal in terms of two dissociable systems: an appetitive motivation system that promotes approach and positive affect; and a defensive motivation system that promotes behavioral inhibition, avoidance, and negative

affect. Rolls and Clore describe similar models, with Clore noting that “Positive value is marked by pleasure and approach inclinations, negative value by displeasure and avoidance inclinations.” Clore emphasizes that the pleasantness or unpleasantness of emotional states is at the core of their functional usefulness. Friston et al. stake out a different position, arguing that positive affect arises from decreases in free energy (or resolution of surprise), whereas negative affect arises from increases in free energy (or uncertainty). Berridge cautions us that valence is a “minimal necessary condition” for defining an emotional experience, but is not sufficient for capturing the complexity of emotions that emerge in particular situations (e.g., anger vs. fear). He also reminds us that the debate over the dimensional structure of affect has persisted for over a century without a definitive resolution.

Emotions Are Functional and Motivationally Potent

Most of the contributors advocate a functional account of emotions, which Adolphs articulates perhaps most clearly: emotions are internal, functional states that provide causal explanations for behavior, feelings, and cognition—they should therefore be delineated by “*what they do*” rather than by how they are “*constituted or implemented*” (see also Adolphs, 2017a, b). Rolls offers another comprehensive description, highlighting the role of emotions in arousing autonomic responses, biasing cognition, and motivating action, as well as communication and social bonding (see Questions 8–10, this volume). Clore posits that emotional states should be distinguished by *what they are about*, emphasizing that “the function of emotional reactions is to inform the organism of the value of events in the world, their urgency and their importance.” In doing so, emotions incentivize future action (preparation, planning, choice, and coping) given the individual’s best prediction of costs and benefits.

Damasio and Damasio tell us that William James “was well aware of the . . . fact that . . . [feelings] were not happening under voluntary control” and go on to argue that “feelings compel their experiencers to take appropriate measures. . . [they] capture attention and seize the moment.” A number of the other contributors emphasize that emotions are motivationally urgent and non-deliberative (see also Ekman & Cordaro, 2011). To Clore, Rolls, Adolphs, and Lang and Bradley, emotions have an essential evaluative component that informs future action based on

prior experiences. According to Damasio and Damasio, events are classified as good or bad, harmful or helpful quickly, even automatically. In doing so, they often trigger action tendencies and activity in the autonomic nervous system that prepare the body for adaptive action. Damasio and Damasio consider action sequences to be “the essence of the emotions.” Along similar lines, Adolphs highlights the prepotency of emotions in their control of behavior, noting that they require “additional regulatory mechanisms to override their expression.”

Friston et al. and Barrett concur that a fundamental function of emotions is to enable the organism to optimally interact with the environment equipped with predictions from prior experience, but they embrace a constructivist approach (Barrett, 2015, 2017a, b). Rather than considering emotions “reactions” to sensory inputs, emotions are regarded as events constructed by the brain to “make meaning of (incoming) sensations.” In Barrett’s “Conceptual Act Theory” (CAT), the brain’s primary job is to generate a model of the world given sensory input—anticipating it and adjusting to it accordingly. This model-generation uses stored knowledge organized as concepts. An emotion is thus constructed when the conceptual representations employed by the predictive brain contain emotion knowledge; thus, there can be as many emotional states as an individual has conceptual knowledge for it (reminiscent of James, 1894/1994). Similarly, Friston and colleagues argue that by utilizing stored conceptual knowledge, the brain generates top-down predictions (i.e., beliefs), and an estimate of their precision. Emotional experiences are the precision of (or confidence in) the best hypothesis of how our bodies should respond given the current situation. In other words, emotions are second-order attributes—the *precision over a belief*—and “emotional processing” is the updating of the precision of the consequences of one’s actions. Those beliefs are updated based on *prediction errors (or surprise)*—which our (motoric and autonomic) actions in the world should minimize. A key difference between the Friston et al. and the Barrett proposals is that when an incoming sensory input does not match the prediction, the result in CAT is arousal (which can take the form of surprise, fear, curiosity, etc.—depending on the individual’s conceptualization of it); rather than surprise, as would be postulated by Friston et al. and other predictive coding theories.

Emotions Are Behaviorally Flexible

Emotions may be prepotent, but Adolphs and several other contributors highlight two ways in which emotions differ from reflexes: their behavioral flexibility and their temporal persistence. With regard to the flexibility, Adolphs describes emotions as intermediate between reflexes—rigid, inflexible, and stereotyped—and reasoned, intentional states and behavior (e.g., purchasing a new home, writing a novel or dissertation). Specifically, emotional responses are relatively decoupled from the emotion-evoking stimulus, because they incorporate contextual information. Relatedly, Clore argues that “specific emotions do not dictate specific behaviors. Indeed, a great advantage of emotions is that they provide mental way stations between stimuli and responses that allow for flexibility in response.” Friston et al. and Clore emphasize that emotions are exquisitely sensitive to context. As Clore notes, “emotions are most readily categorized in terms of the situations they concern, rather than in terms of responses, which depend on the context in which they occur” (see Question 7, this volume). Along these lines, Rolls suggests that emotions, unlike reflexes or habits, “include representations of goals . . . and are independent of the actions made to obtain the goals.” Damasio and Damasio and Lang and Bradley seem to hold similar views. Adolphs makes the point that this intermediate level of behavioral flexibility—between that of reflexes and intentional states—is a central feature of emotion and provides important clues about the *content* of emotions. For instance, they may be pertinent to challenges too complex for reflexes to solve, or they may be especially relevant in motivationally or behaviorally ambiguous situations.

Several contributors highlight the persistence of emotional states, which outlast the

emotion-evoking stimulus. Adolphs argues that “unlike reflexes, they [emotions] are relatively decoupled from stimuli . . . they persist.” Clore reminds us that emotion is a dynamic process that unfolds over time. Barrett suggests that feelings, or what she terms “core affect,” are “slower to change than actual sensations in the body.” Rolls emphasizes a functional explanation for the persistence of emotions, arguing that “by enduring for minutes or longer after a reinforcing stimulus has occurred, [emotions] . . . help to produce persistent and continuing motivation and direction of behavior, to help achieve a goal.”

Emotions and Consciousness

Finally, do emotions require consciousness (see Question 12)? **Our** authors who explicitly addressed this issue stated that it does not. Adolphs proposes that, like vision or memory scientists, affective scientists should not require conscious experience to be a prerequisite for their phenomenon of interest. Likewise, Clore and Rolls postulate that consciousness of an emotional state is not obligatory and it will only occur only if consciousness is advantageous for the organism, in terms of predicting upcoming changes in the world (Clore) or correcting errors of reasoning (Rolls). Adolphs tells us that, while emotions are not isomorphic with feelings and, in fact, can be studied without reference to conscious experience, the conscious experience of emotion is real and important. As such, understanding how emotional states emerge into consciousness to give rise to feelings will be a critical direction for future work, and a prerequisite for fully understanding the nature of emotion.

SECOND EDITION

THE NATURE OF EMOTION

Fundamental Questions

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OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

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Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America.

© Oxford University Press 2018

First Edition published in 1994
Second Edition published in 2018

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
To Come
ISBN 978-0-19-061257-3

1 3 5 7 9 8 6 4 2

Printed by Sheridan Books, Inc., United States of America

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. For example, the International Society of Research on Emotion (ISRE); Society for Affective Science (SAS); and Social & Affective Neuroscience Society (SANS).

2. *Cognition and Emotion; Cognitive, Affective, & Behavioral Neuroscience; Emotion; Emotion Review; IEEE Transactions on Affective Computing; Motivation and Emotion; and Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience.*

CHAPTER 1.1

1. All the transcriptions of James's words are drawn from Volume II of *The Principles of Psychology*, in the Dover Edition, 1950. Italicized passages are as published by James.

CHAPTER 1.5

1. Davidson, D., personal communication, April 16, 1978.

2. Personal communication, November 1, 2014.

CHAPTER 1.9

1. Ekman and Davidson made a similar point in the first edition of this volume: "Is there a sine qua non for emotion? The answer at this time must be No. The investigator must use multiple methods to study emotion, including, wherever possible, measures of behavior, subjective experience, and physiology" (p. 414).

CHAPTER 3.3

1. Anatomically, the amygdala is poised to assemble a broad spectrum of emotional reactions via projections to the brain regions that proximally mediate many of the behavioral (e.g., passive and active avoidance), peripheral physiological (e.g., cardiovascular and neuroendocrine activity), and cognitive (e.g., vigilance) features of momentary negative affect (Shackman et al., 2016; Fox & Shackman, in press).

2. Although these findings highlight the contributions of the amygdala to trait-like differences in threat reactivity, it is by no means the only relevant region. Mechanistic and imaging work highlights the important contributions of a distributed circuit encompassing the anterior hippocampus, anterior insula/orbitofrontal cortex, and periaqueductal gray (PAG) (Fox & Kalin, 2014; Fox, Oler, Shackman, et al., 2015; Fox, Oler, Tromp, Fudge, & Kalin, 2015; Fox et al., 2010; Fox, Shelton, Oakes, Davidson, & Kalin, 2008; Kalin, Shelton, & Davidson, 2007; Oler et al., 2010; Shackman et al., 2013). Like the amygdala, activity in each of these regions predicts trait-like individual differences in stressor reactivity.

3. Relations between temperament and resting-state brain activity are not limited to the amygdala—dispositionally negative monkeys, children, and adults also show greater resting-state activity in the electroencephalogram (EEG) over the right compared to the left prefrontal cortex (PFC) (Oler et al., 2016; Wacker, Chavanon, & Stemmler, 2010). Like the negative phenotype, individual differences in resting prefrontal EEG asymmetry emerge early in life and are relatively stable over time, reliable, heritable, and predictive of the intensity of emotional reactions to aversive stimuli (Fox, Henderson, Marshall, Nichols, & Ghera, 2005; Smit, Posthuma, Boomsma, & De Geus, 2007; Towers & Allen, 2009; Wheeler, Davidson, & Tomarken, 1993). Like the dispositional-negativity phenotype, resting prefrontal EEG asymmetry: (a) prospectively predicts the first onset of mood disorders (Nusslock et al., 2011), (b) is exaggerated in patients with anxiety and mood disorders (Thibodeau, Jorgensen, & Kim, 2006; Nusslock et al., 2018), and is normalized by anxiolytic drugs (Oler et al., 2016). Furthermore, direct neurofeedback manipulations of prefrontal EEG attenuate negative affect elicited by subsequent exposure to aversive stimuli (Allen, Harmon-Jones, & Cavender, 2001). With the pharmacological evidence, this suggests that the neural mechanisms responsible for generating this electrophysiological marker causally

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contribute to trait-like individual differences in threat reactivity. Recent efforts to pinpoint the source of the scalp-recorded EEG asymmetry have highlighted the importance of the dorsolateral prefrontal cortex (dlPFC; Shackman, McMenamin, Maxwell, Greischar, & Davidson, 2009), consistent with this region's well-established role in regulating momentary affect (Buhle et al., 2014).

4. Individual differences in BST activity may reflect altered communication with the orbitofrontal cortex (OFC). Large-scale imaging studies in monkeys ($n = 592$) demonstrate that threat-related metabolic activity in the OFC is heritable and predictive of trait-like differences in dispositional negativity (Fox, Oler, Shackman, et al., 2015). Moreover, selective OFC lesions are associated with decreased passive avoidance of uncertain threat and reduced BST activity in monkeys (Fox et al., 2010; Kalin et al., 2007), paralleling the consequences of naturally occurring OFC insults for BST activity in humans (Motzkin et al., 2015).

5. Deficient filtering of threat-related information from fronto-parietal working memory circuits, leading to elevated rumination over the past and increased worry about the future, may also contribute to context-independent negative affect (Stout, Shackman, Johnson, & Larson, 2014; Stout, Shackman, & Larson, 2013; Stout, Shackman, Pedersen, Miskovich, & Larson, 2017).

CHAPTER 5.3

1. Our friend and colleague, Dr. Jaak Pansepp (June 5, 1943–April 18, 2017), passed away just before this volume was published.

CHAPTER 5.9

1. This position is reminiscent of Lazarus' suggestion that "Emotion and cognition are each so complex and their mechanisms are spread so widely over the central and peripheral nervous system that, in my opinion, it is difficult to argue convincingly for separate systems as though there were a special brain organ for each" (Lazarus, 1991, p. 357).

CHAPTER 6.3

1. Note that in this essay I will not discuss the first portion of Wakefield's definition related to cultural factors. Those interested are referred to (Lutz & White, 1986; Markus & Kitayama, 1991)

CHAPTER 7.4

1. President George W. Bush, war, 2001 Remarks to State Department Employees. URL: <http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Evildoers>.

2. <http://www.businessinsider.com/ted-cruz-defunding-obamacare-nazi-germany-filibuster-2013-9>.

3. Thanks to Ben Converse for this formalization.

CHAPTER 8.1

1. The terms "threat-related" or "threat-relevant" encompass a broad range of stimuli, including clear and immediate dangers (e.g., cues paired with shock), novel situations or individuals, uncertain or diffuse dangers (e.g., darkness), aversive stimuli (e.g., unpleasant images or films), and angry and fearful facial expressions. Angry faces signal a direct threat to the observer and prompt the mobilization of defensive responses, as indexed by potentiation of the startle reflex (Dunning et al., 2010; Hess, Sabourin, & Kleck, 2007; Springer et al., 2007), facilitation of avoidance-related movements (Marsh, Ambady, & Kleck, 2005), and increased fear ratings (Dimberg, 1988). In contrast, fearful faces signal the presence, but not the source of potential threat, and promote heightened vigilance in the absence of defensive mobilization. That is, static images of fearful faces do not amplify the startle reflex (Grillon & Charney, 2011; Springer et al., 2007) or autonomic measures (Dunsmoor, Mitroff, & LaBar, 2009). But they can increase subjective feelings of anxiety (Blairy, Herrera, & Hess, 1999) and are perceived as more threatening and arousing than neutral or happy faces (Grillon & Charney, 2011; Wieser & Keil, 2014).

CHAPTER 10.1

1. It is worth noting that Darwin (1872) stated that these opposing forms sometimes may not serve any function.

2. Calculated by using 20 facial action coding units, bilaterally where applicable, each of which may contract independently at five different levels of intensity.

3. An immediate physical utility distinguishes itself from the more distant social utility. Expression forms selected for social utility could also be considered "evolutionary" and functionally "ego-centric." However, purely symbolic associated forms for social utility need not have any physical consequences.

CHAPTER 12.4

1. Surprise may also be considered to contain the fundamental property of unexpectedness that characterizes fear.

CHAPTER 12.5

1. Such as 2-alternative forced choice (2AFC) stimulus identification procedures: In 2AFC, the participant is asked to indicate a particular property of the stimulus in trials of "invisible" stimulus presentation (even if they claim they did not see the stimulus and thus are guessing)—for example, observers may report on whether a face was upright or upside down; or whether a facial expression was happy vs. fearful. This is in contrast with methods relying on subjective reports, such as when a participant is asked to

say “yes” or “no” to whether they saw a face. Different individuals have different response biases (e.g., different propensities to indicate that a stimulus is present given a particular sensory experience). Therefore, subjective measures may be confounded by response biases and are typically regarded as less conservative than 2AFC procedures (Wiens, 2006).

2. Note that the magnitude of amygdalar activation does not appear to be reliably modulated by conscious access to an emotional stimulus (Costafreda, Brammer, David, & Fu, 2008).

3. Replications cited include those of investigators adopting important procedural variations, such as alterations in the specific awareness manipulation method (including the original backward masking method, as well as interocular suppression and crowding), and the type of neutral target to be rated (originally a Chinese ideograph, and now, in several studies, a neutral face).

4. Note that awareness may not be required when cognitive control is not triggered implicitly but rather *explicitly* (Kunde et al., 2012), such as in the case of slowing down following a stop signal (van Gaal, Lamme, Fahrenfort, & Ridderinkhof, 2011), or switching a task set following a cue (Lau & Passingham, 2007).

5. Indeed, symptoms of degenerative disease to the LPFC are obvious if the patient has a job requiring mental flexibility and decision making, but not if s/he has a routinized job or lifestyle (Knight & D’Esposito, 2003).

CHAPTER 13.2

1. Here we use the term *emotion* as a catch-all. There are, of course, many affective states, which range from mood, to arousal, to true emotions. There is every reason to believe that all of these influence rationality and preferences in some way. We use the expression “emotion” in this brief essay as an exemplar for understanding how affective states in general influence decision-making.

2. Of course, if humans do become intransitive in some emotional states, then we need to be more creative in trying to understand the structure of their behavior. Under conditions in which a decision-maker is intransitive, a simple study of preferences will prove unsupportable mathematically. The economist David Laibson’s famous dual-process beta-delta model (Laibson, 1997) is one example of a structural model for dealing meaningfully with intransitive behavior.

3. GARP stands for the “Generalized Axiom of Revealed Preference,” developed by Hendrik Houthakker as a mathematical specification for what is probably the most common definition of full transitivity. For a more detailed explanation of this approach to transitivity, see Chapter 3, pp. 52–70, in Glimcher, 2010.

4. For simplicity, we completely neglect here the fact that apples and oranges, when bundled together in groups, may cause nonlinear utility interactions. This is a hugely important point taught to first-year economics students and called “substitution.” In the references to which we point, this is developed in some detail. But in order to convey the most basic concepts, we neglect it here.

5. For an economist, this is an important distinction because significant differences in the shape of the preference function in the gain and loss domain can imply a specific form of intransitivity, an important point, which we again neglect for simplicity.

6. As pointed out first by Kahneman and Tversky (1979), people in some situations behave according to distorted rather than objectively given probabilities, which we can capture by replacing p in the *DEU* equation with a probability weighting function $w(p)$.

CHAPTER 15

1. Naturally, emotion researchers must remain mindful of measurement reliability in choosing between different within- vs. between-subjects designs (cf. Bradford, Starr, Shackman, & Curtin, 2015; Cannon, Cao, Mathalon, Gee, & NAPLS Consortium, 2018; Fox et al., 2012; Hedge, Powell, & Sumner, *in press*; Herting, Gautam, Chen, Mezher, & Vetter, *in press*).

2. From a clinical perspective, categorical approaches to diagnosing emotional disorders pose several critical barriers to discovering the nature and origins of psychopathology: rampant co-morbidity, low symptom specificity (e.g., insomnia), marked symptom heterogeneity, and poor reliability (Chmielewski, Clark, Bagby, & Watson, 2015; Clark, Cuthbert, Lewis-Fernandez, Narrow, & Reed, 2017; Fried, 2015, 2017; Fried & Nesse, 2015; Galatzer-Levy & Bryant, 2013; Goldstein-Piekarski, Williams, & Humphreys, 2016; Hasin et al., 2015; Kessler, Chiu, Demler, & Walters, 2005; Kotov et al., 2017; Krueger et al., *in press*; Olbert, Gala, & Tupler, 2014; Regier et al., 2013; Watson & Stasik, 2014). Addressing these problems requires a different kind of approach—one focused on narrower sets of transdiagnostic symptoms (e.g., anxiety, anhedonia)—as with the Hierarchical Taxonomy of Psychopathology (HiTOP) and Research Domain Criteria (RDoC) approaches (Clark et al., 2017; Kotov et al., 2017; Krueger et al., *in press*; Zald & Lahey, 2017). This ‘symptoms-not-syndromes’ dimensional approach (Fried, 2015) would also more naturally align with animal models (Fox & Kalin, 2014; Fox & Shackman, *in press*; Oler, Fox, Shackman, & Kalin, 2016). **There is compelling evidence that traditional categorical approaches to diagnosing emotional disorders present several significant barriers to understanding the underlying mechanisms, including substantial**

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symptom heterogeneity, frequent co-morbidity, and low inter-rater reliability (i.e., uncertain 'ground truth') (Fried, 2017; Galatzer-Levy & Bryant, 2013; Hasin et al., 2015; Regier et al., 2013). The adoption of narrower dimensional phenotypes is likely to provide useful (Kotov et al., 2017; Krueger et al., in press).

3. *Aggression* can be split on functional and neurobiological grounds into systems involved in defensive, offensive (predatory), and conspecific aggression, with the latter including maternal aggression and resource competition (food, mates, and territory/shelter) (Adams, 2006; Berkowitz,

1993; Nelson & Trainor, 2007). Naturally, researchers must remain mindful of measurement reliability in choosing between different experimental designs (e.g., within- vs. between-subjects); e.g., Bradford, Starr, Shackman, & Curtin, 2015; Cannon et al., 2018; Hedge, Powell, & Sumner, in press; Herting et al., in press; Larson et al., 2000; Shackman et al., 2017).

4. See also <https://www.nimh.nih.gov/research-priorities/rdoc/constructs/potential-threat-anxiety.shtml>; <https://www.nimh.nih.gov/research-priorities/rdoc/negative-valence-systems-workshop-proceedings.shtml>.

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