

Curriculum Vitae

Samuel J. Gershman

PERSONAL DETAILS

Samuel J. Gershman
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EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

Professor	2021-
Associate Professor	2019-2021
Assistant Professor	2015-2019
Department of Psychology and Center for Brain Science, Harvard University	
Postdoctoral fellow	2013-2015
Department of Brain and Cognitive Sciences, MIT (advisors: Joshua Tenenbaum & Nancy Kanwisher)	
Research assistant, NYU	2007-2008

EDUCATION

BA	Neuroscience and Behavior	2003-2007
	Columbia University	
PhD	Psychology and Neuroscience	2008-2013
	Princeton University	
	(advisors: Kenneth Norman & Yael Niv)	

FELLOWSHIPS and AWARDS

2024	Schmidt Sciences Polymath Award
2023	Election to the Society of Experimental Psychology
2021	Walter Channing Cabot Fellowship
2020	Janet Taylor Spence Award for Transformative Early Career Contributions from the American Psychological Society
2020	Cognitive Neuroscience Society Young Investigator Award
2018	Bjorkman-Strominger-Wiley prize for collaboration from the Harvard Molecular and Cellular Biology Department (joint with Nao Uchida)
2018	Alfred P. Sloan Research Fellowship
2015	Clever Systems Early Career Investigator Award from the APA
2014	Glushko Dissertation Award from the Cognitive Science Society

2013	MIT Intelligence Initiative Postdoctoral Fellowship
2012	International Conference for Machine Learning travel award
2010	NSF graduate research fellowship
2009	NIPS travel award
2009	NIMH Quantitative and Computational Neuroscience training fellowship
2009	Swartz COSYNE travel fellowship
2008	Walker McKinney '50 Life Sciences Fellowship
2006	Summer University Research Fellowship, Columbia University

PUBLICATIONS

1. Irie, K., Yau, M., & Gershman, S.J. (in press). Blending complementary memory systems in hybrid quadratic-linear transformers. *Advances in Neural Information Processing Systems*, 38.
2. Martinez, J.E., Krasner, R.H., Rosero, L., Gershman, S.J., & Cikara, M. (in press). Social group discovery, structure, and stereotype updating. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*.
3. Fan, H., Callaway, F., & Gershman, S.J. (in press). Uncertainty-driven exploration during planning. *Decision*.
4. Xiang, Y., Gershman, S.J., & Gerstenberg, T. (in press). A signaling theory of self-handicapping. *Cognition*.
5. Hamou, N., Gershman, S.J., & Reddy, G. (in press). Reconciling time and prediction error theories of associative learning. *Nature Communications*.
6. Tsividis, P.A., Loula, J., Burga, J., Foss, N., Campero, A., Pouncy, T., Gershman, S.J., & Tenenbaum, J.B. (in press). Human-level reinforcement learning through theory-based modeling, exploration, and planning. *Philosophical Transactions A*.
7. Battleday, R.M., & Gershman, S.J. (in press). Artificial intelligence for science: the easy and hard problems. *Philosophical Transactions A*.
8. Bari, B.A., Krystal, A.D., Pizzagalli, D.A., & Gershman, S.J. (in press). Computationally-informed insights into anhedonia and treatment by κ -opioid receptor antagonism. *Biological Psychiatry: Cognitive Neuroscience and Neuroimaging*.
9. Liu, S., Kikumoto, A., Badre, D., & Gershman, S.J. (2025). Neural and behavioral signatures of policy compression in cognitive control. *Cerebral Cortex*, 35, bhaf223.
10. Masset, P., & Gershman, S.J. (2025). Reinforcement learning with dopamine: a convergence of natural and artificial intelligence. In S. Cragg & M. Walton (eds). *The Handbook of Dopamine*. Elsevier.
11. Gershman, S.J., Bill, J., & Drugowitsch, J. (2025). Hierarchical vector analysis of visual motion perception. *Annual Review of Vision Science*, 11, 411-422.
12. Prat-Carrabin, A., & Gershman, S.J. (2025). Bayesian estimation yields anti-Weber variability. *PNAS Nexus*, 4, pgaf275.

13. Gershman, S.J. (2025). Bridging computation and representation in associative learning. *Computational Brain and Behavior*, 8, 377-391.
14. Liu, S., & Gershman, S.J. (2025). Action subsampling supports policy compression in large action spaces. *PLOS Computational Biology*, 21, e1013444.
15. Lai, L., Huang, A.Z., & Gershman, S.J. (2025). Action chunking as conditional policy compression. *Cognition*, 264, 106201.
16. Y., Dorst, K., & Gershman, S.J. (2025). On the robustness and provenance of the gambler's fallacy. *Psychological Science*, 36, 451-464.
17. Qu, A.J., Tai, L-H., Hall, C.D., Tu, E.M., Eckstein, M.K., Mischanchuk, K., Lin, W.C., Chase, J.B., MacAskill, A.F., Collins, A.G.E., Gershman, S.J., & Wilbrecht, L. (2025). Nucleus accumbens dopamine release reflects Bayesian inference during instrumental learning. *PLOS Computational Biology*, 21, e1013226.
18. Ahmed, Z., Tenenbaum, J.B., Bates, C.J., & Gershman, S.J. (2025). Synthesizing world models for bilevel planning. *Transactions on Machine Learning Research*.
19. Qian, L., Burrell, M., Hennig, J.A., Matias, S., Murthy, V.N., Gershman, S.J., & Uchida, N. (2025). The role of prospective contingency in the control of behavior and dopamine signals during associative learning. *Nature Neuroscience*, 28, 1280-1292.
20. Jaroszewski, A.C., Millner, A.J., Gershman, S.J., Franz, P.J., Bentley, K.H., Kleiman, E.M., & Nock, M.K. (2025). Past suicide attempt is associated with a weaker decision-making bias to actively escape from suicide-related stimuli. *Journal of Psychopathology and Clinical Science*, 28, 1280-1292.
21. Liu, S., Lai, L., Gershman, S.J., & Bari, B.A. (2025). Time and memory costs jointly determine a speed-accuracy trade-off and set-size effects. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 154, 1611-1627.
22. Gershman, S.J., Fiete, I., & Irie, K. (2025). Key-value memory in the brain. *Neuron*, 113, 1694-1707.
23. Hall-McMaster, S., Tomov, M., Gershman, S.J., & Schuck, N.W. (2025). Neural evidence that humans reuse strategies to solve new tasks. *PLOS Biology*, 23, e3003174.
24. Gershman, S.J., & Lak, A. (2025). Policy complexity suppresses dopamine responses. *Journal of Neuroscience*, 45, e1756242024.
25. Han, S., Pari, J., Gershman, S.J., & Agrawal, P. (2025). General reasoning requires learning to reason from the get-go. *Proceedings of the 42nd International Conference on Machine Learning*.
26. Liu, S., Gershman, S.J., & Bari, B. (2025). Quantifying the cost of context sensitivity in decision making. *Proceedings of the 47th Annual Cognitive Science Society*.

27. Ying, L., Truong, R., Tenenbaum, J.B., & Gershman, S.J. (2025). Adaptive social learning using theory of mind. *Proceedings of the 47th Annual Cognitive Science Society*.
28. Xiang, Y., & Gershman, S.J. (2025). Modeling intrinsic motivation as reflective planning. *Proceedings of the 47th Annual Cognitive Science Society*.
29. Xiang, Y., Bigelow, E., Gerstenberg, T., Ullman, T., & Gershman, S.J. (2025). Language models assign responsibility based on actual rather than counterfactual contributions. *Proceedings of the 47th Annual Cognitive Science Society*.
30. Bari, B.A., & Gershman, S.J. (2025). The value of non-instrumental information in anxiety: insights from a resource-rational model of planning. *Computational Psychiatry*, 9, 63-75.
31. Fry, B.R., Russell, N., Fex, V., Mo, B., Pence, N., Beatty, J.A., Manfredsson, F.P., Toth, B.A., Burgess, C.R., Gershman, S.J., & Johnson, A.W. (2025). Devaluing memories of reward: A case for dopamine. *Communications Biology*, 8, 161.
32. Binz et al. (2025). How should the advent of large language models affect the practice of science? *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science*, 122, e2401227121.
33. Kumar, T., Bordelon, B., Pehlevan, C., Murthy, V.N., & Gershman, S.J. (2025). Do mice grok? glimpses of hidden progress during overtraining in sensory cortex. *International Conference on Learning Representations 13*.
34. Xiang, Y., Landy, J., Cushman, F.A., Velez, N., & Gershman, S.J. (2025). People reward others based on their willingness to exert effort. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 116, 104699.
35. Sosa, F., Gershman, S.J., & Ullman, T. (2025). Blending simulation and abstraction for physical reasoning. *Cognition*, 254, 105995.
36. Nguyen, T., Bezdek, M., Gershman, S.J., Bobick, A.F., Braver, T., & Zacks, J.M. (2024). Modeling human activity comprehension at human scale: Prediction, segmentation, and categorization. *PNAS Nexus*, 3, 459.
37. Carvalho, W., Tomov, M.S., de Cothi, W., Barry, C., & Gershman, S.J. (2024). Predictive representations: building blocks of intelligence. *Neural Computation*, 36, 2225-2298.
38. Coppersmith, D.D.L., Jaroszewski, A.C., Gershman, S.J., Cha, C.B., Millner, A.J., Fortgang, R.G., Kleiman, E.M., & Nock, M.K. (2024). Do people know how suicidal they will be? Understanding suicidal prospection. *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior*, 54, 750-761.
39. Lu, Q., Nguyen, T.T., Zhang, Q., Hasson, U., Griffiths, T.L., Zacks, J.M., Gershman, S.J., & Norman, K.A. (2024). Reconciling shared versus context-specific information in a neural network model of latent causes. *Scientific Reports*, 14, 16782.

40. Orchinik, R., Dubey, R., Gershman, S.J., Powell, D., Bhui, R. (2024). Learning from and about scientists: Consensus messaging shapes perceptions of climate change and climate scientists. *PNAS Nexus*, 3, 485.
41. Chen, A.M., Palacci, A., Velez, N., Hawkins, R., & Gershman, S.J. (2024). A hierarchical Bayesian approach to adaptive teaching. *Cognitive Science*, 48, e13477.
42. Gershman, S.J. (2024). Habituation as optimal filtering. *iScience*, 27, 110523.
43. Gershman, S.J., Assad, J.A., Datta, S.R., Linderman, S.W., Sabatini, B.L., Uchida, N., & Wilbrecht, L. (2024). Explaining dopamine through prediction errors and beyond. *Nature Neuroscience*, 27, 1645-1655.
44. Lai, L., & Gershman, S.J. (2024). Human decision making balances reward maximization and policy compression. *PLOS Computational Biology*, 20, e1012057.
45. Bari, B.A., & Gershman, S.J. (2024). Resource-rational psychopathology. *Behavioral Neuroscience*, 138, 221-234.
46. Gershman, S.J. (2024). What have we learned about artificial intelligence from studying the brain? *Biological Cybernetics*, 118, 1-5.
47. Schurr, R., Reznik, D., Hillman, H., Bhui, R., & Gershman, S.J. (2024). Dynamic computational phenotyping of human cognition. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 8, 917-931.
48. Allen, K., Brändle, F., ... Schulz, E. (in press) Using games to understand the mind. *Nature Human Behaviour*.
49. Zhao, J., Radke, J., Chen, F.S., Sachdeva, S., Gershman, S.J., & Luo, Y. (2024). How do we reinforce climate action? *Sustainability Science*, 19, 1503-1517.
50. Geerts, J.P., Gershman, S.J., Burgess, N., & Stachenfeld, K.L. (2024). A probabilistic successor representation for context-dependent prediction. *Psychological Review*, 131, 578-597.
51. Beukers, A.O., Collin, S.H.P., Kempner, R.P., Franklin, N.T., Gershman, S.J., & Norman, K.A. (2024). Blocked training facilitates learning of multiple schemas. *Communications Psychology*, 2, 28.
52. Xiang, Y., Velez, N., & Gershman, S.J. (2024). Optimizing competence in the service of collaboration. *Cognitive Psychology*, 150, 101653.
53. Kumar, T., Bordelon, B., Gershman, S.J., & Pehlevan, C. (2024). Grokking as the transition from lazy to rich training dynamics. *International Conference on Learning Representations* 12.
54. Bates, C.J., Alvarez, G., & Gershman, S.J. (2024). Scaling models of visual working memory to natural images. *Communications Psychology*, 2, 3.
55. Hennig, J., Romeiro Pinto, S.A., Yamaguchi, T., Linderman, S.W., Uchida, N., & Gershman, S.J. (2023). Emergence of belief-like representations through reinforcement learning. *PLOS Computational Biology*, 19, e1011067.

56. Li, Y., Wang, Y., Boger, T., Smith, K., Gershman, S.J., & Ullman, T.D. (2023). An approximate representation of objects underlies physical reasoning. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 152, 3074-3086.
57. Brändle, F., Stocks, L.J., Tenenbaum, J.B., Gershman, S.J., & Schulz, E. (2023). Intrinsic exploration as empowerment in a richly structured online game. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 7, 1481-1489.
58. Gershman, S.J., & Cikara, M. (2023). Structure learning principles of stereotype change. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review*, 30, 1273-1293.
59. Xiang, Y., Velez, N., & Gershman, S.J. (2023). Collaborative decision making is grounded in representations of other people's competence and effort. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 152, 1565-1579.
60. Xiang, Y., Landy, J., Cushman, F.A., Velez, N., & Gershman, S.J. (2023). Actual and counterfactual effort contribute to responsibility attributions in collaborative tasks. *Cognition*, 241, 105609.
61. Velez, N., Chen, A.M., Burke, T., Cushman, F.A., & Gershman, S.J. (2023). Teachers recruit mentalizing regions to represent learners' beliefs. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 120, e2215015120.
62. Gershman, S.J., & Burke, T. (2023). Mental control of uncertainty. *Cognitive, Affective, and Behavioral Neuroscience*, 23, 465-475.
63. Jakob, A., & Gershman, S.J. (2023). Rate-distortion theory of neural coding and its implications for working memory. *eLife*, 12, e79450.
64. Fan, H., Gershman, S.J., & Phelps, E.A. (2023). Trait somatic anxiety is associated with reduced directed exploration and underestimation of uncertainty. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 7, 102-113.
65. Fan, H., Burke, T., Sambrano, D., Dial, E., Phelps, E.A., & Gershman, S.J. (2023). Pupil size encodes uncertainty during exploration. *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*, 35, 1508-1520.
66. Bari, B.A., & Gershman, S.J. (2023). Undermatching is a consequence of policy compression. *Journal of Neuroscience*, 43, 447-457.
67. Gershman, S.J., & Ullman, T.D. (2023). Causal implicatures from correlational statements. *PLOS One*, 18, e0286067.
68. Gershman, S.J. (2023). The rational analysis of memory. In M. Kahana & A. Wagner, Eds, *Oxford Handbook of Human Memory*. Oxford University Press.
69. Tomov, M.S., Tsividis, P.A., Pouncy, T., Tenenbaum, J.B., & Gershman, S.J. (2023). The neural architecture of theory-based reinforcement learning. *Neuron*, 111, 1331-1344.
70. Biderman, N., Gershman, S.J., Shohamy, D. (2023). The role of memory in counterfactual valuation. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 152, 1754-1767.

71. Gershman, S.J. (2023). The molecular memory code and synaptic plasticity: a synthesis. *BioSystems*, 224, 104825.
72. Orchinik, R., Dubey, R., Gershman, S.J., Powell, D., Bhui, R. (2023). Learning about scientists from climate consensus messaging. *Proceedings of the 45th Annual Cognitive Science Society*.
73. Binz, M., Gershman, S.J., Schulz, E., & Endres, D. (2022). Heuristics from bounded meta-learned inference. *Psychological Review*, 129, 1042-1077.
74. McNamee, D., Stachenfeld, K.L., Botvinick, M.M., Gershman, S.J. (2022). Compositional sequence generation in the entorhinal-hippocampal system. *Entropy*, 24, 1791.
75. Pouncy, T., & Gershman, S.J. (2022). Inductive biases in theory-based reinforcement learning. *Cognitive Psychology*, 138, 101509.
76. Alexander, W.H., & Gershman, S.J. (2022). Representation learning with reward prediction errors. *Neurons, Behavior, Data Analysis, and Theory*.
77. Bill, J., Gershman, S.J., & Drugowitsch, J. (2022). Visual motion perception as online hierarchical inference. *Nature Communications*, 13, 7403.
78. Mikhael, J.G., & Gershman, S.J. (2022). Impulsivity and risk-seeking as Bayesian inference under dopaminergic control. *Neuropsychopharmacology*, 47, 465-476.
79. Bates, C.J., & Gershman, S.J. (2022). Coding strategies in memory for 3D objects: the influence of task uncertainty. *Proceedings of the 44th Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society*, 1077-1087.
80. Mikhael, J.G., Kim, H.R., Uchida, N., & Gershman, S.J. (2022). The role of state uncertainty in the dynamics of dopamine. *Current Biology*, 32, 1077-1087.
81. Le, T.A., Collins, K.M., Hewitt, L., Ellis, L., Siddharth, N., Gershman, S.J., & Tenenbaum, J.B. (2022). Hybrid memoised wake-sleep: approximate inference at the discrete-continuous interface. *10th International Conference on Learning Representations*.
82. Wu, C.M., Schulz, E., & Gershman, S.J. (2021). Inference and search on graph-structured spaces. *Computational Brain and Behavior*, 4, 125-147.
83. Gershman, S.J. (2021). Just looking: the innocent eye in neuroscience. *Neuron*, 109, 2220-2223.
84. Gershman, S.J. (2021). *What Makes Us Smart: The Computational Logic of Human Cognition*. Princeton University Press. Princeton: NJ.
85. McNamee, D., Stachenfeld, K.L., Botvinick, M.M., Gershman, S.J. (2021). Flexible modulation of sequence generation in the entorhinal-hippocampal system. *Nature Neuroscience*, 24, 851-862.
86. Sosa, F.A., Ullman, T., Tenenbaum, J.B., Gershman, S.J., & Gerstenberg, T. (2021). Moral dynamics: grounding moral judgment in intuitive theories. *Cognition*, 217, 104890.
87. Bhattasali, N.X., Tomov, M.S., & Gershman, S.J. (2021). CCNLab: A benchmarking framework for computational cognitive neuroscience. *35th Conference on Neural Information Processing Systems (NeurIPS 2021) Track on Datasets and Benchmarks*.

88. Dorfman, H.M., Tomov, M., Cheung, B., Clarke, D., Gershman, S.J., & Hughes, B.L. (2021). Causal inference gates corticostriatal learning. *Journal of Neuroscience*, 41, 6892-6904.
89. Lai, L., & Gershman, S.J. (2021). Policy compression: an information bottleneck in action selection. *Psychology of Learning and Motivation*, 74, 195-232.
90. Tomov, M., Schulz, E., & Gershman, S.J. (2021). Multi-task reinforcement learning in humans. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 5, 764-773.
91. Xiang, Y., Graeber, T., Enke, B., & Gershman, S.J. (2021). Confidence and central tendency in perceptual judgment. *Attention, Perception, & Psychophysics*, 83, 3024-3034.
92. Gershman, S.J., Guitart-Masip, M., & Cavanagh, J.F. (2021). Neural signatures of arbitration between Pavlovian and instrumental action selection. *PLOS Computational Biology*, 17, e1008553.
93. Gershman, S.J., & Lai, L. (2021). The reward-complexity trade-off in schizophrenia. *Computational Psychiatry*, 5, 38-53.
94. Dasgupta, I., & Gershman, S.J. (2021). Memory as a computational resource. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 25, 240-251.
95. Bhui, R., Lai, L., & Gershman, S.J. (2021). Resource-rational decision making. *Current Opinion in Behavioral Sciences*, 41, 15-21.
96. Mikhael, J.G., Lai, L., & Gershman, S.J. (2021). Rational inattention and tonic dopamine. *PLOS Computational Biology*, 17, e1008659.
97. Yang, S., Bill, J., Drugowitsch, J., & Gershman, S.J. (2021). Human visual motion perception shows hallmarks of Bayesian structural inference. *Scientific Reports*, 11, 3714.
98. Gershman, S.J., Balbi, P.E.M., Gallistel, C.R., & Gunawardena, J. (2021). Reconsidering the evidence for learning in single cells. *eLife*, 10, e61907.
99. Pouncy, T., Tsividis, P., & Gershman, S.J. (2021). What is the model in model-based planning? *Cognitive Science*, 45, e12928.
100. Gershman, S.J. (2020). Origin of perseveration in the trade-off between reward and complexity. *Cognition*, 204, 104394.
101. Dasgupta, I., Guo, D., Gershman, S.J., Goodman, N.D. (2020). Analyzing machine-learned representations: A natural language case study. *Cognitive Science*, e12925.
102. Bill, J. Pailian, H., Gershman, S.J., & Drugowitsch, J. (2020). Hierarchical structure is employed by humans during visual motion perception. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 117, 24581-24589.
103. Kim, H.R., Malik, A.N., Mikhael, J.G., Bech, P., Tsutsui-Kimura, I., Sun, F., Zhang, Y., Li, Y., Watabe-Uchida, M., Gershman, S.J., & Uchida, N. (2020). A unified framework for dopamine signals across timescales. *Cell*, 183, 1600-1616.
104. Cohen, A.O., Nussenbaum, K., Dorfman, H.M., Gershman, S.J., & Hartley, C.A. (2020). The rational use of causal inference to guide reinforcement learning changes with age. *NPJ Science of Learning*, 5, 16.
105. Bhui, R., & Gershman, S.J. (2020). Paradoxical effects of persuasive messages. *Decision*, 7, 239-258.
106. Gershman, S.J. & Cikara, M. (2020). Social structure learning. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 29, 460-466.

107. Goldwater, M.B., Gershman, S.J., Moul, C., Ludowici, C., Burton, A., Killer, B., Kuhnert, R-L., Ridgway, K. (2020). Children's understanding of habitual behaviour. *Developmental Science*, 23, e12951.
108. Schulz, E., Quiroga, F., & Gershman, S.J. (2020). Communicating compositional patterns. *Open Mind*, 4, 25-39.
109. Baumann, C., Singmann, H., Gershman, S.J., & von Helversen, B. (2020). A linear threshold model for optimal stopping behavior. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 117, 12750-12755.
110. Tomov, M., Truong, V., Hundia, R., & Gershman, S.J. (2020). Dissociable neural correlates of uncertainty underlie different exploration strategies. *Nature Communications*, 11, 2371.
111. Gershman, S.J., & Olveczky, B.P. (2020). The neurobiology of deep reinforcement learning. *Current Biology*, 30, R617-R634.
112. Sanders, H., Wilson, M.A., Gershman, S.J. (2020). Hippocampal remapping as hidden state inference. *eLife*, 9, e51140.
113. Lau, T., Gershman, S.J., & Cikara, M. (2020). Social structure learning in human anterior insula. *eLife*, e53162.
114. Gershman, S.J. & Bhui, R. (2020). Rationally inattentive intertemporal choice. *Nature Communications*, 11, 3365.
115. Tomov, M., Yagati, S., Kumar, A., Yang, W., & Gershman, S.J. (2020). Discovery of hierarchical representations for efficient planning. *PLOS Computational Biology*, 16, e1007594.
116. Dasgupta, I., Schulz, E., Tenenbaum, J.B. & Gershman, S.J. (2020). A theory of learning to infer. *Psychological Review*, 127, 412-441.
117. Franklin, N.T., Norman, K.A., Ranganath, C., Zacks, J.M., & Gershman, S.J. (2020). Structured event memory: a neuro-symbolic model of event cognition. *Psychological Review*, 127, 327-361.
118. Schulz, E., Franklin, N.T. & Gershman, S.J. (2020). Finding structure in multi-armed bandits. *Cognitive Psychology*, 119, 101261.
119. Dorfman, H.M., & Gershman, S.J. (2019). Controllability governs the balance between Pavlovian and instrumental action selection. *Nature Communications*, 10, 5826.
120. Stalnaker, T., Howard, J., Takahashi, Y., Gershman, S.J., Kahnt, T., & Schoenbaum, G. (2019). Dopamine neuron ensembles signal the content of sensory prediction errors. *eLife*, e49315.
121. Gershman, S.J. (2019). What does the free energy principle tell us about the brain? *Neurons, Behavior, Data Analysis, and Theory*.
122. Gershman, S.J. & Uchida, N. (2019). Believing in dopamine. *Nature Reviews Neuroscience*, 20, 703-714.
123. Gershman, S.J. (2019). The generative adversarial brain. *Frontiers in Artificial Intelligence*, 2, 18.
124. Schulz, E., Bhui, R., Love, B.C., Brier, B., Todd, M.T., & Gershman, S.J. (2019). Structured, uncertainty-driven exploration in real-world consumer choice. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 116, 13903-13908.
125. Gershman, S.J. (2019). Uncertainty and exploration. *Decision*, 6, 277-286.

126. Mikhael, J.G. & Gershman, S.J. (2019). Adapting the flow of time with dopamine. *Journal of Neurophysiology*, 121, 1748-1760.
127. Kurdi, B., Gershman, S.J., & Banaji, M.R. (2019). Model-free and model-based learning processes in the updating of explicit and implicit evaluations. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 116, 6035-6044.
128. Cushman, F., & Gershman, S.J. (2019). Editor's introduction: computational approaches to social cognition. *Topics in Cognitive Science*, 11, 281-298.
129. Dorfman, H.M., Bhui, R., Hughes, B.L., & Gershman, S.J. (2019). Causal inference about good and bad outcomes. *Psychological Science*, 30, 516-525.
130. Gershman, S.J. (2019). How to never be wrong. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review*, 26, 13-28.
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133. Millner, A.J., den Ouden, H.E.M., Gershman, S.J., Glenn, C.R., Kearns, J., Bornstein, A.M., Marx, B.P., Keane, T.M., & Nock, M.K. (2019). Suicidal thoughts and behaviors are associated with an increased decision-making bias for active responses to escape aversive states. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 128, 106-118.
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