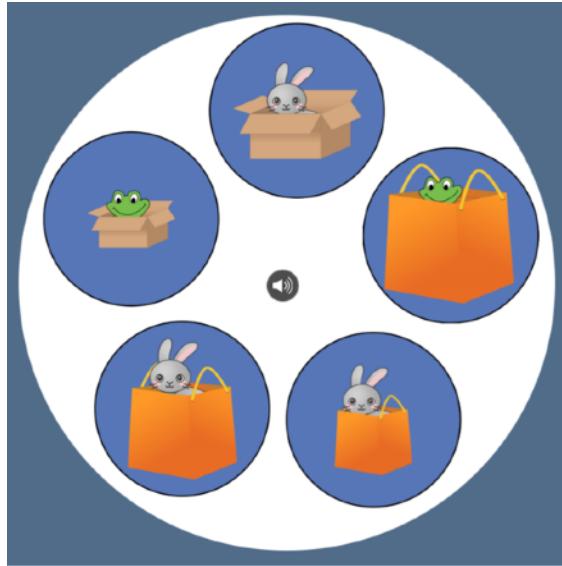


# Semantics, Pragmatics, and Context in Grounded Human Language Understanding



Roger Levy

Computational Psycholinguistics Laboratory (CPL)  
Dept. of Brain & Cognitive Sciences  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

ViGIL 4.0  
10 June 2021

# Collaborators

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***Helena Aparicio***



***Curtis Chen***



***Elizabeth Coppock***



***Jennifer Hu***



***Michael Henry Tessler***



***Polina Tsvilodub***



***Noga Zaslavsky***

# The challenge of language understanding

# The challenge of language understanding

- How do humans communicate so well with language?

# The challenge of language understanding

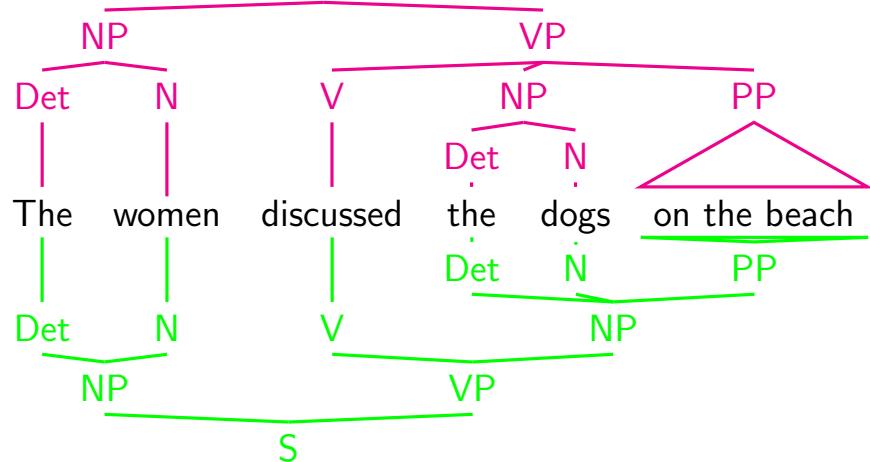
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# The challenge of language understanding

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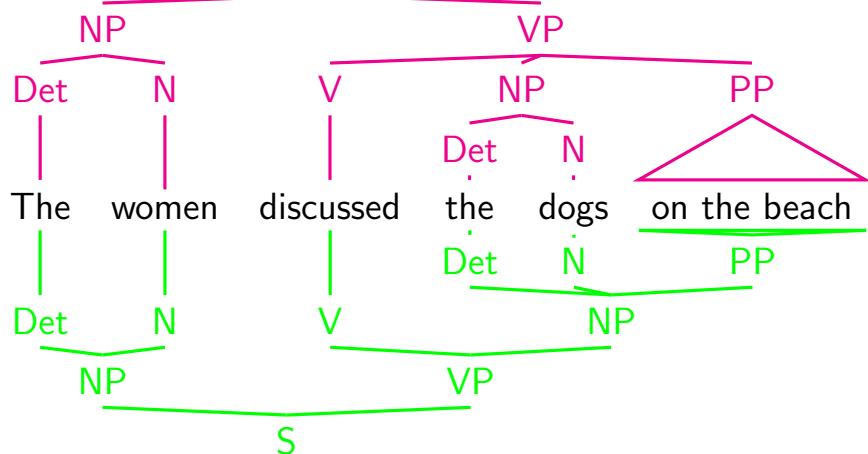
## Ambiguity



# The challenge of language understanding

- How do humans communicate so well with language?

## Ambiguity



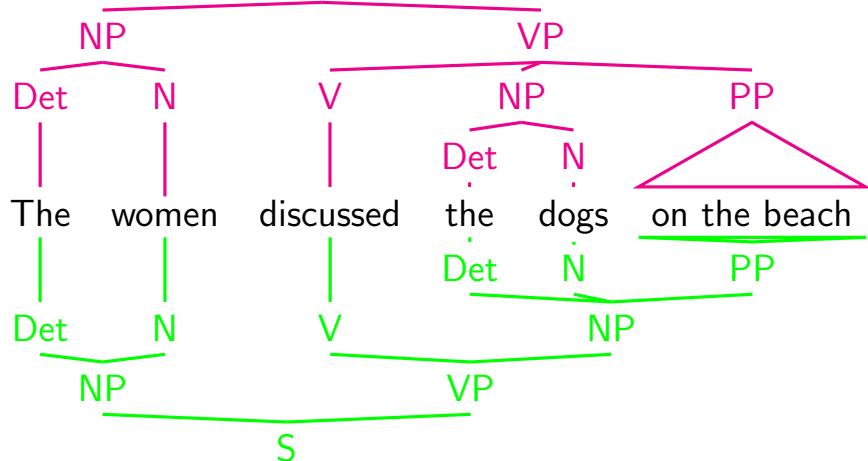
## Environmental noise



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## Environmental noise



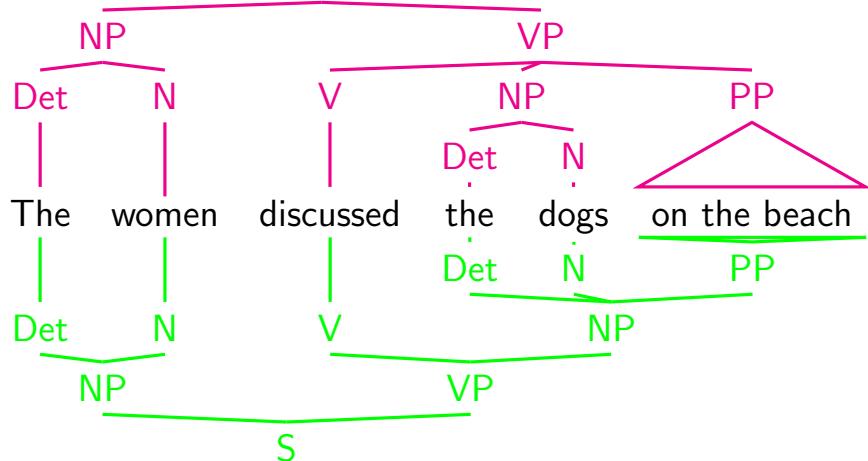
## Memory Limitations



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## Environmental noise



## Memory Limitations



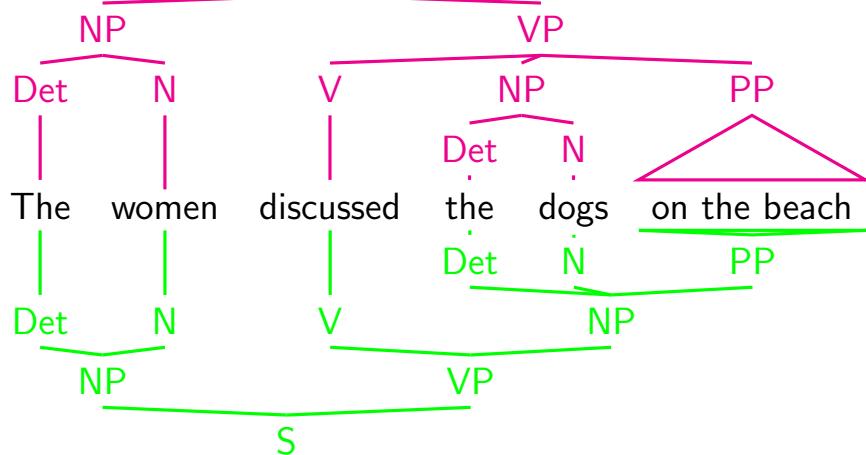
## Incomplete knowledge of one's interlocutors



# The challenge of language understanding

- How do humans communicate so well with language?

## Ambiguity



## Environmental noise



## Memory Limitations



## Incomplete knowledge of one's interlocutors



- And how can we get machines to do the same?

# Amazing things humans do with language

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*The brightly milted porcupine daxed a dinner party-ready nest out of temble.*

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—Chomsky, 1957

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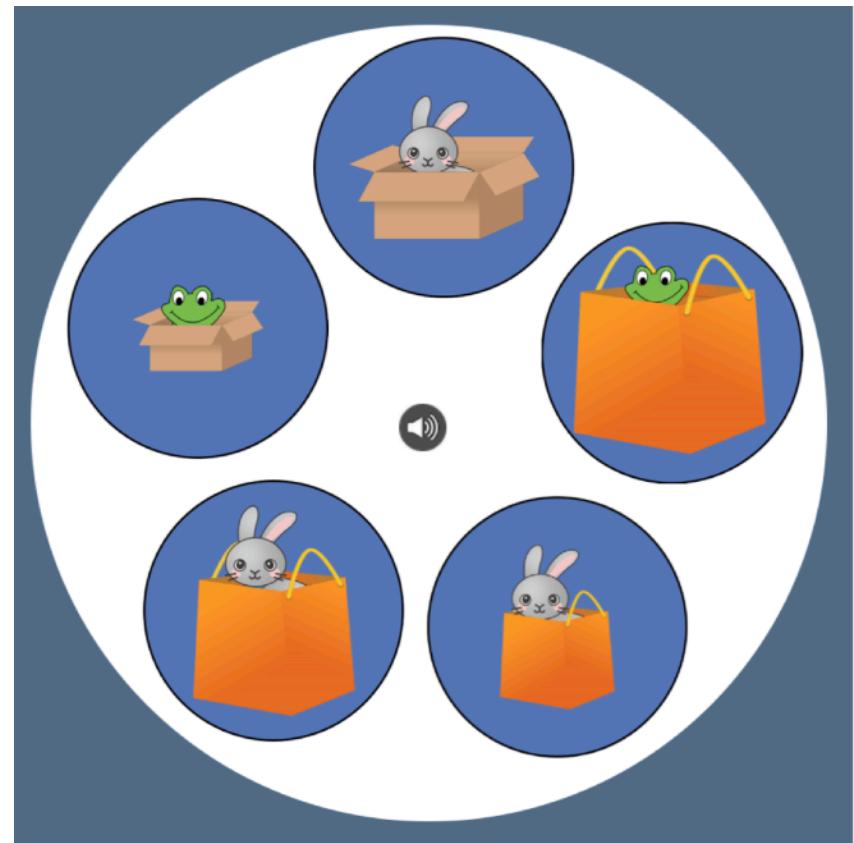
*The teacher spoon-fed me the example.*

*Science is a glacier.*

— Lai, Curran, & Menn, 2009

# Amazing things humans do with language

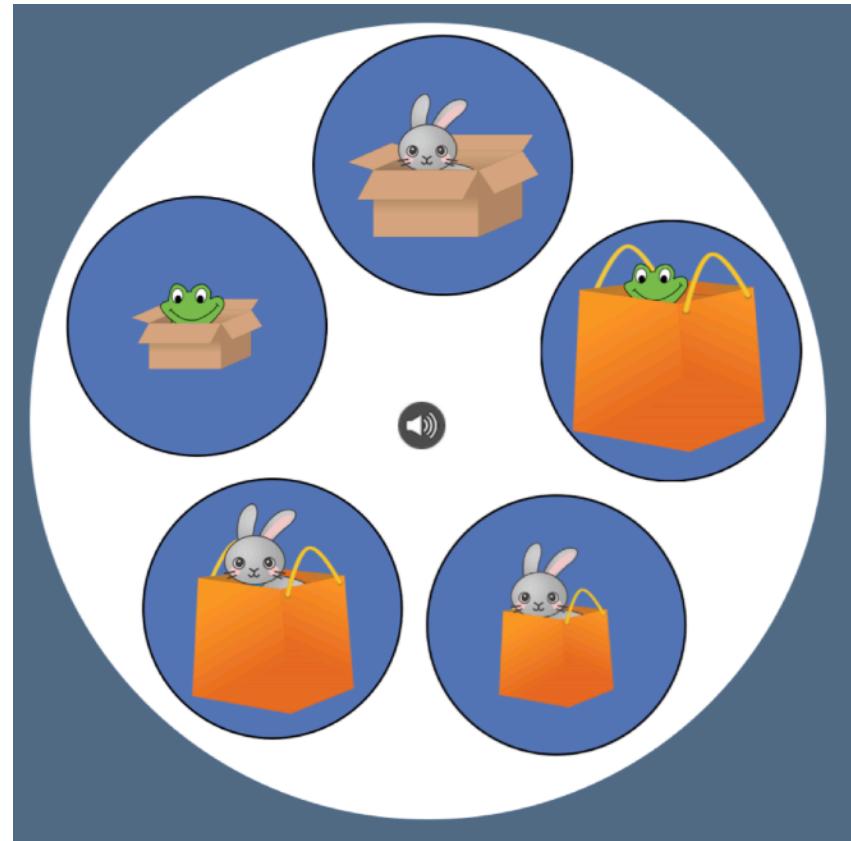
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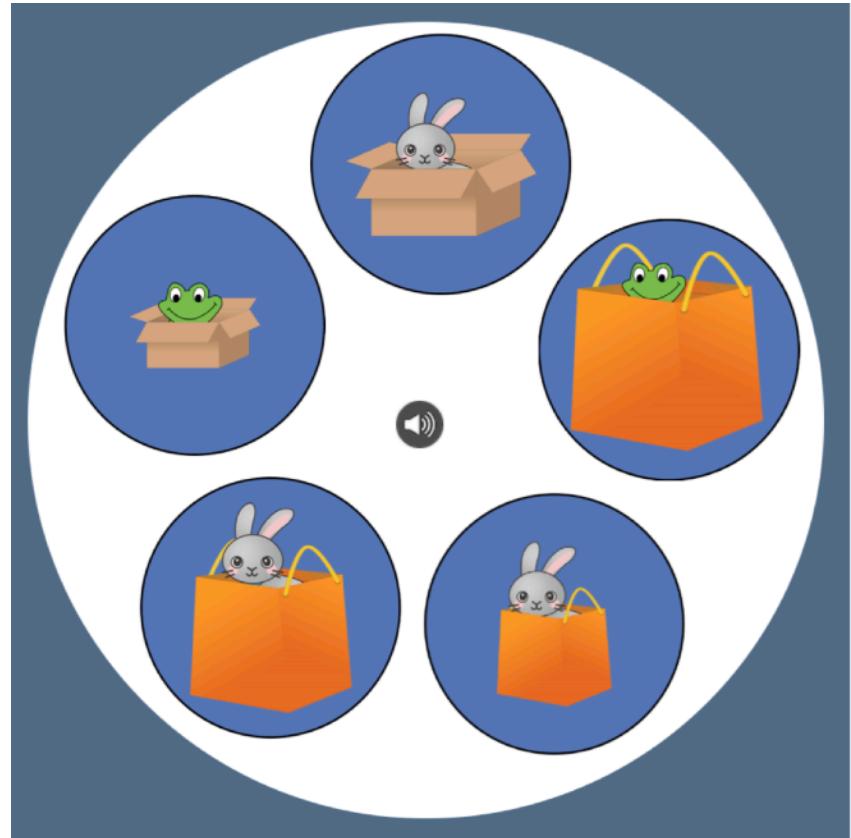
Point to the frog on the left.



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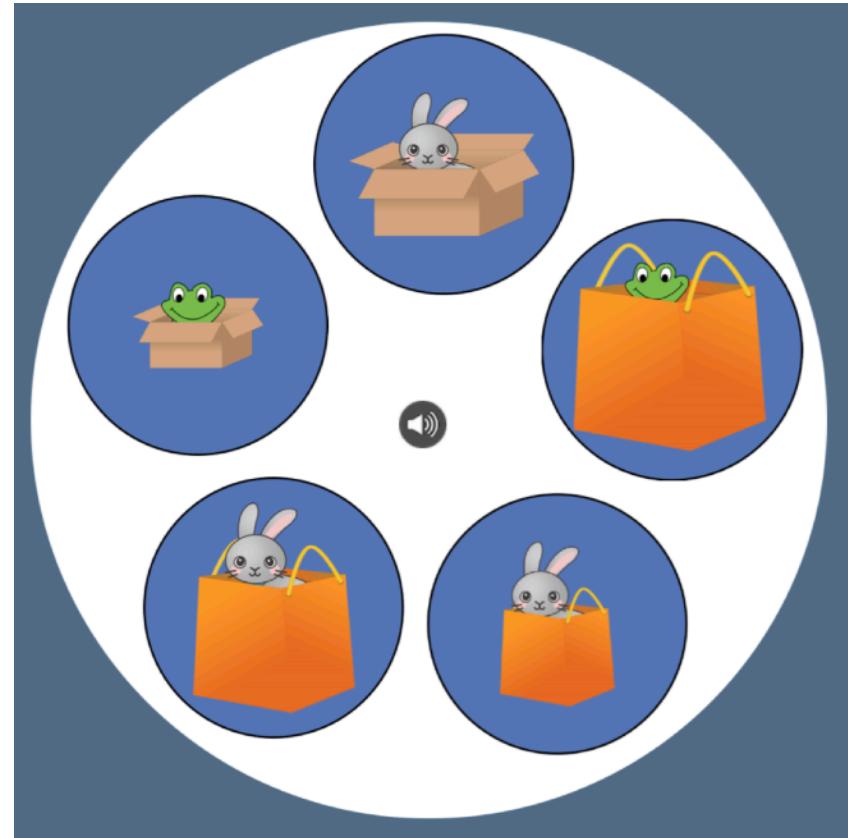


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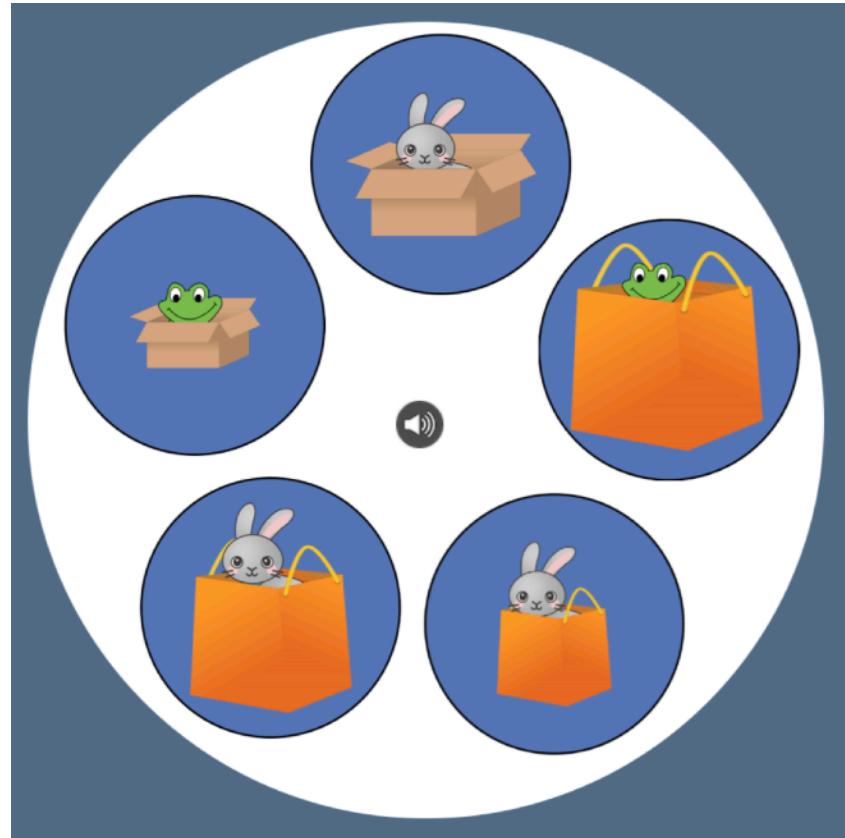
Point to the rabbit.



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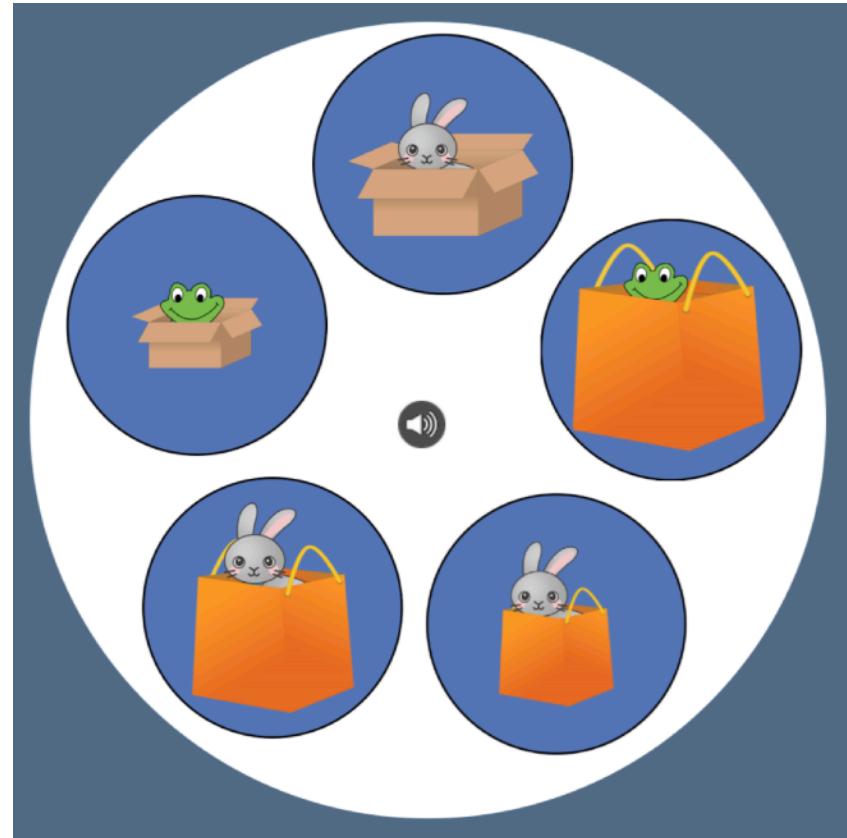
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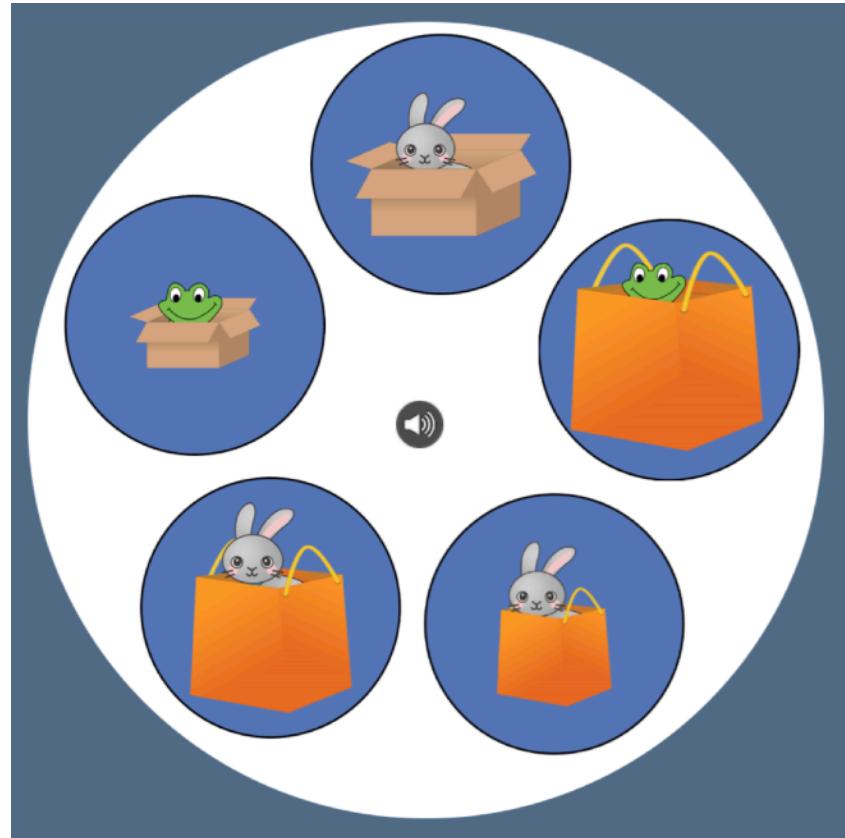
Point to the box.



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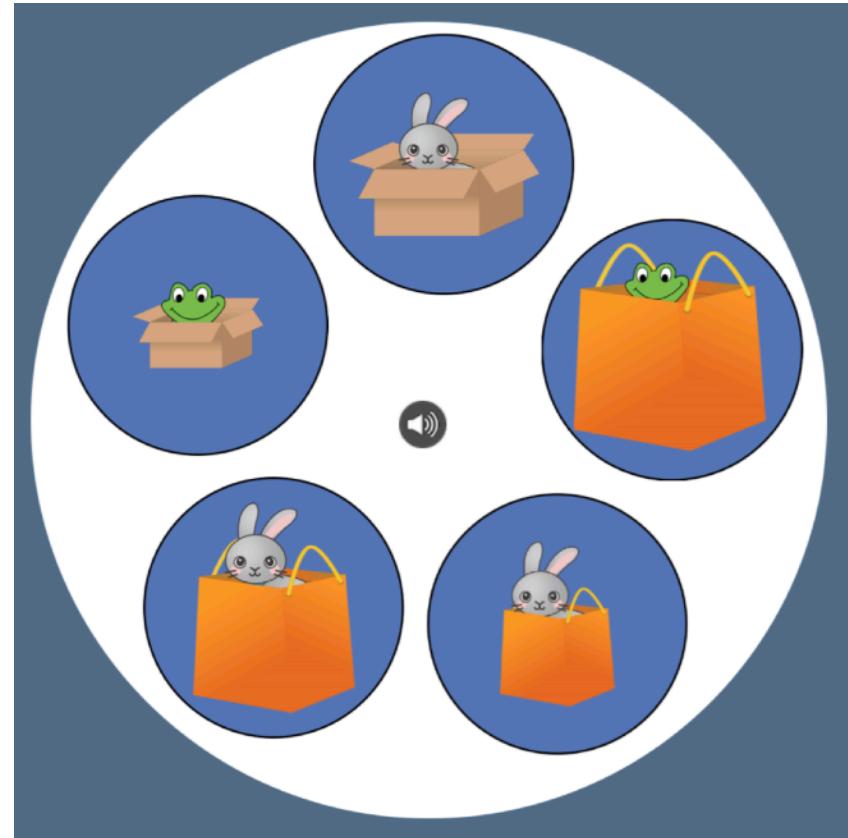


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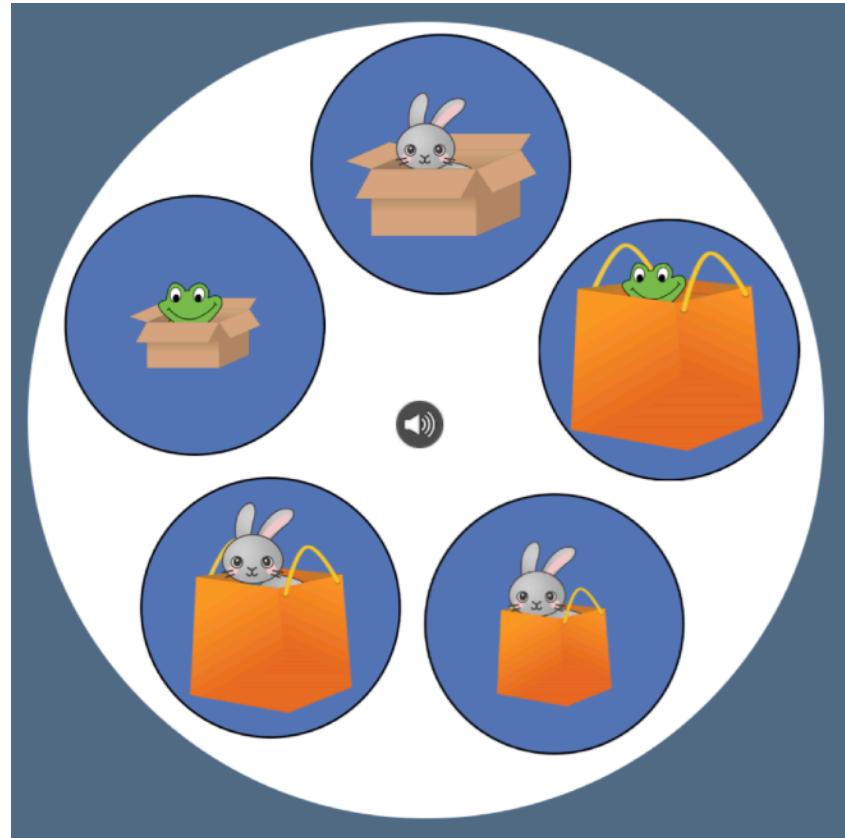
Is the rabbit in the box?



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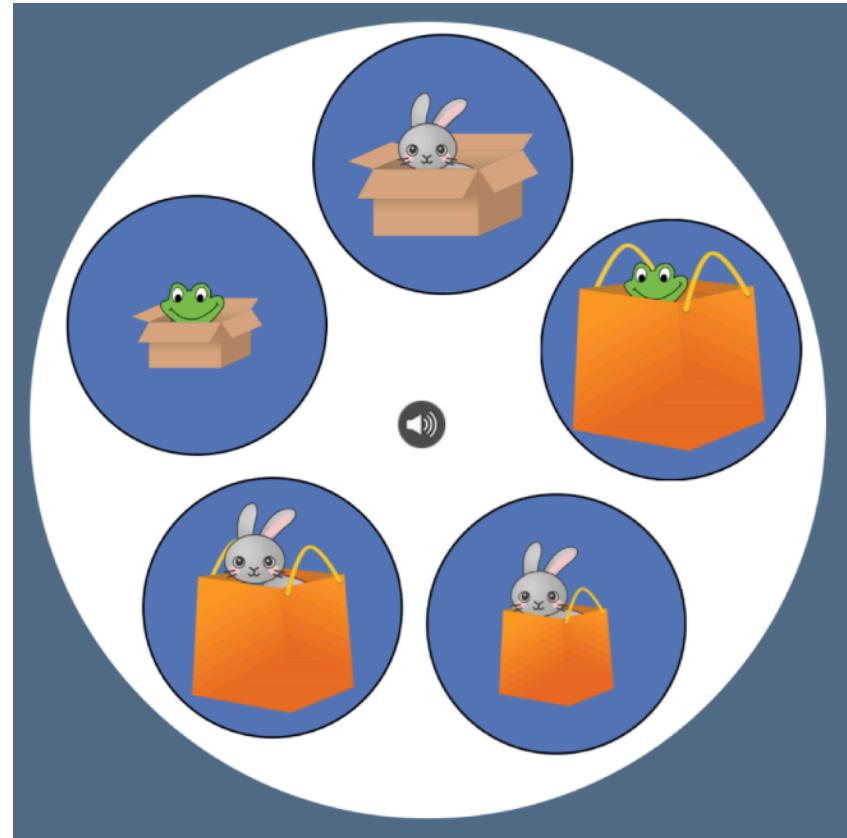
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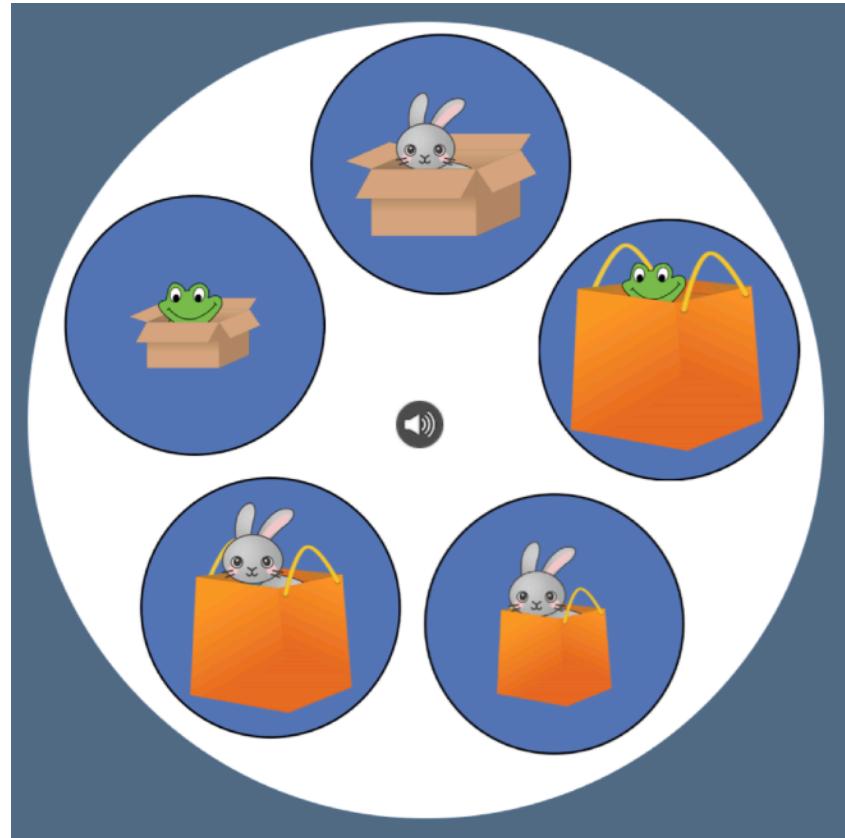
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# Vignettes

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- Unknown words and pragmatic inference
- The nature of semantic scales and comparatives
- Syntax & inferring comparison classes for semantic scales
- Putting it all together: Complex descriptions and pragmatic inference in context

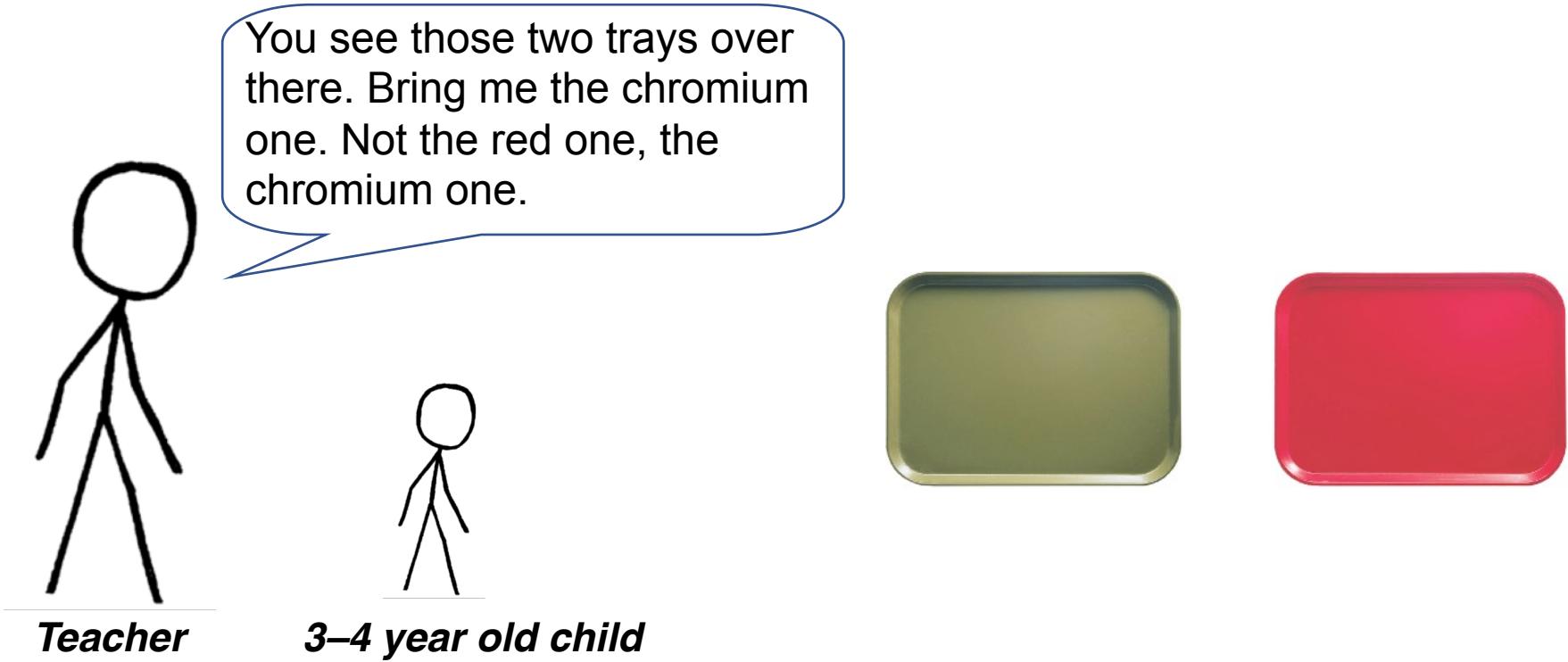
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# Unknown words and pragmatic inference

- Carey & Bartlett (1978) "fast mapping"



- Even after a single exposure, there is some learning (a better representation for the color olive and/or that "chromium" names a color) that persists a week later!

# Unspoken alternatives in pragmatic inference

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# Unspoken alternatives in pragmatic inference

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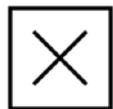
Bob says “hat”



# Unspoken alternatives in pragmatic inference

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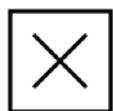
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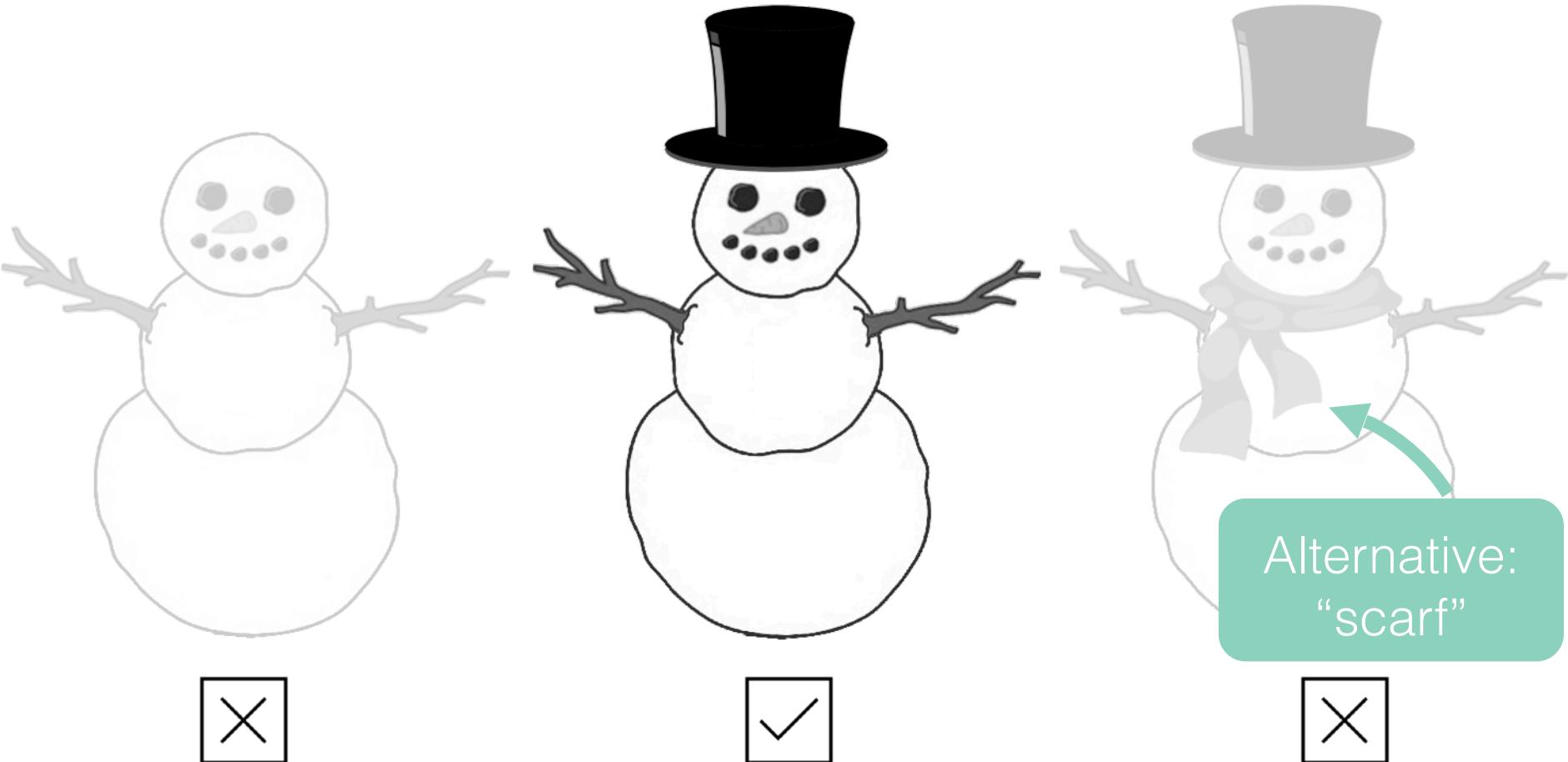
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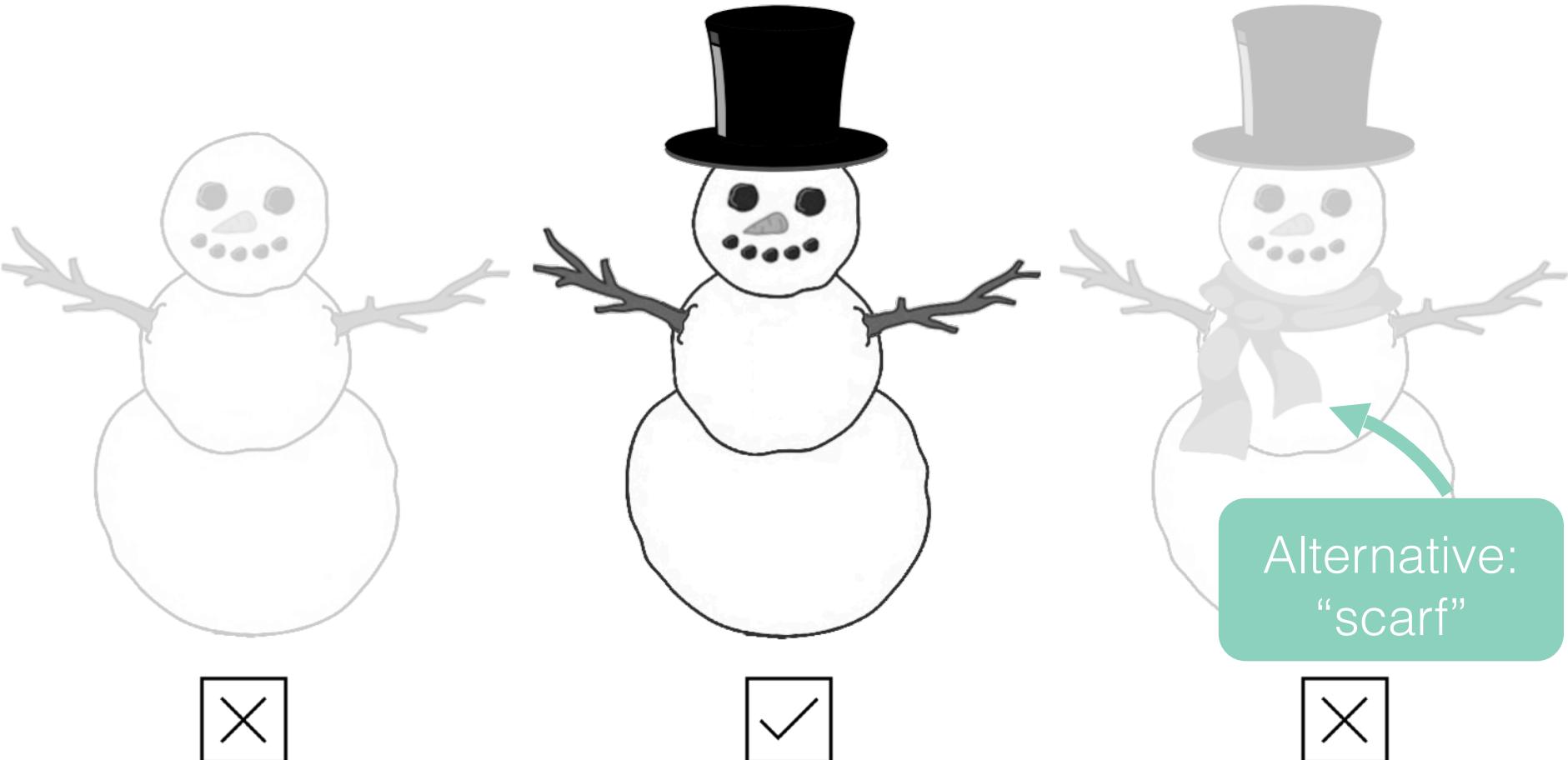
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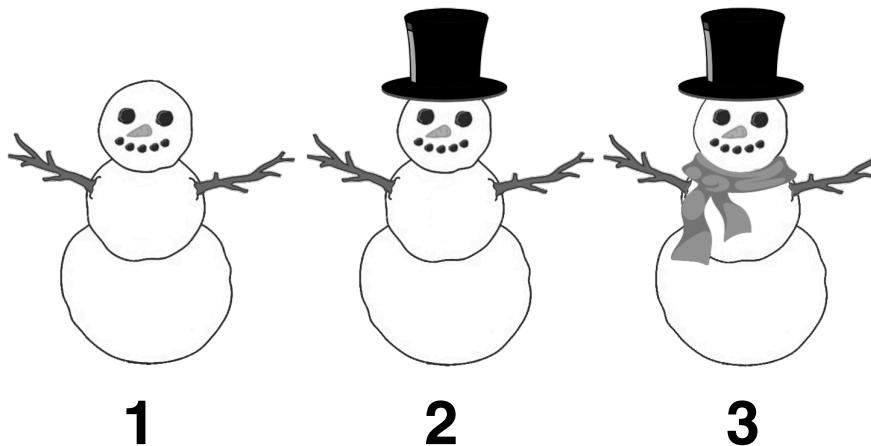
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**Scalar implicature (SI)**

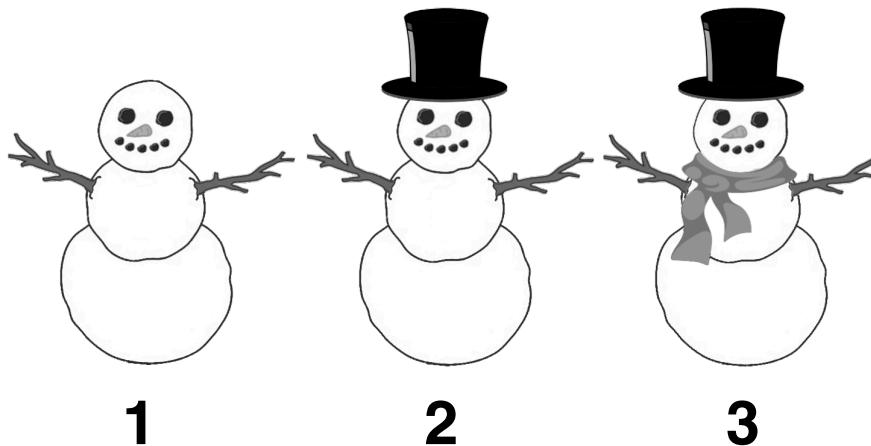
# Scalar implicature: traditional account

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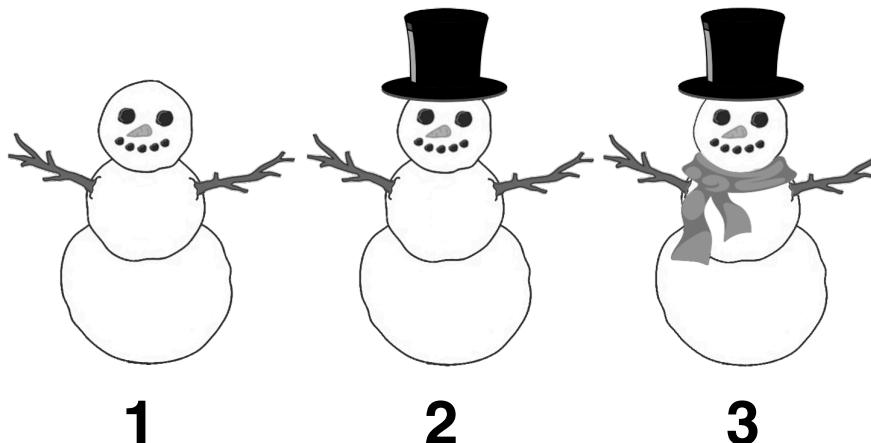
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- Bob said *hat* – either snowman 2 or 3 could be possible

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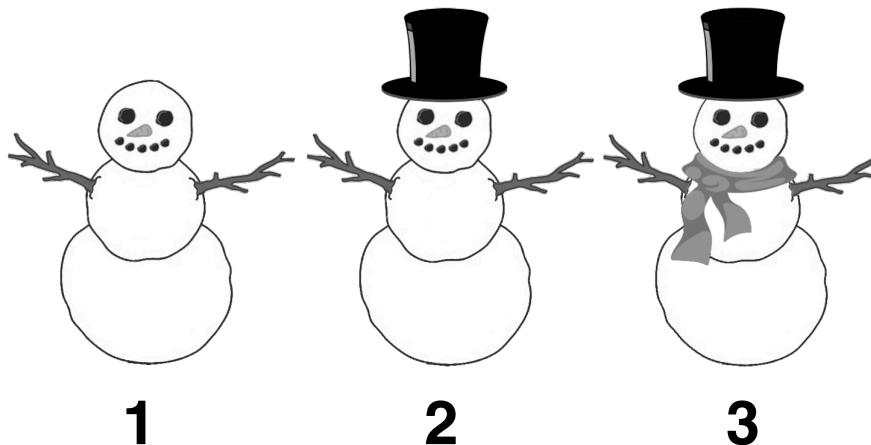
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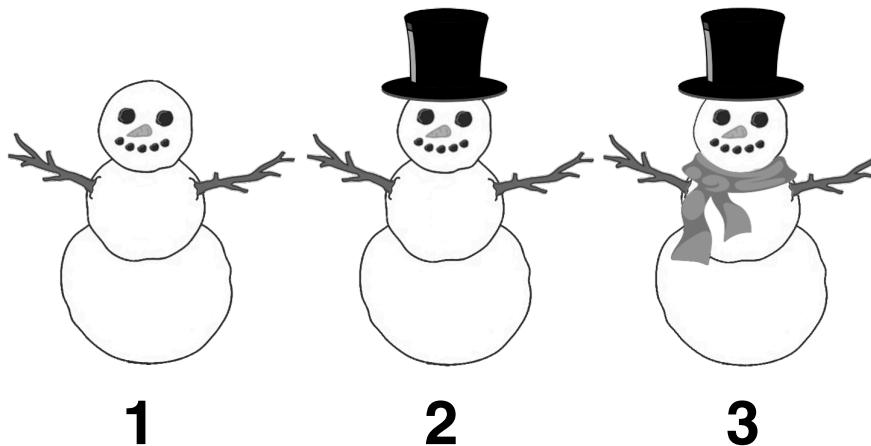
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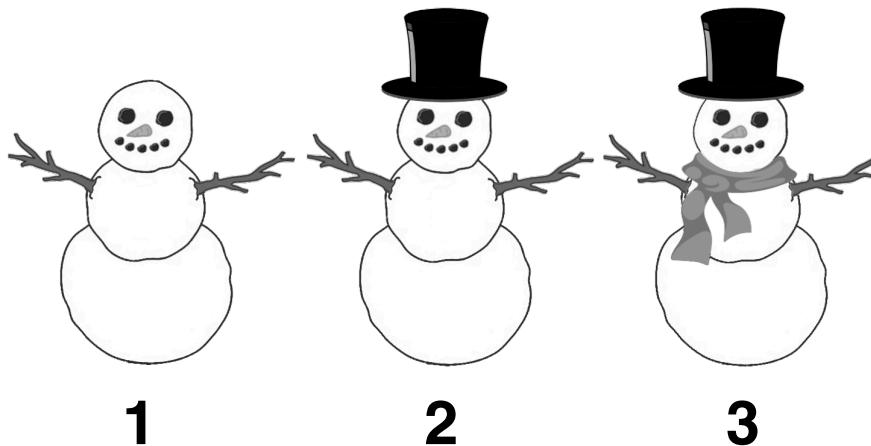
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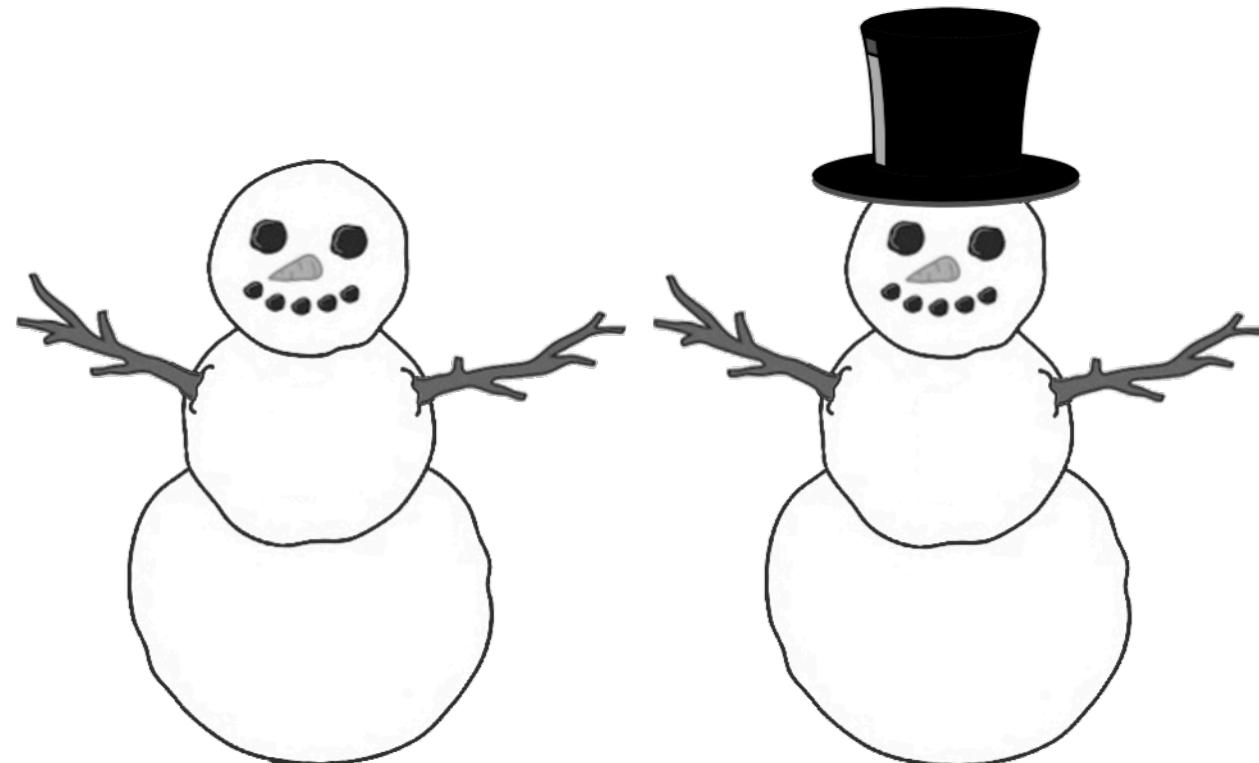


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# Can unknown words drive scalar inference?

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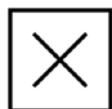
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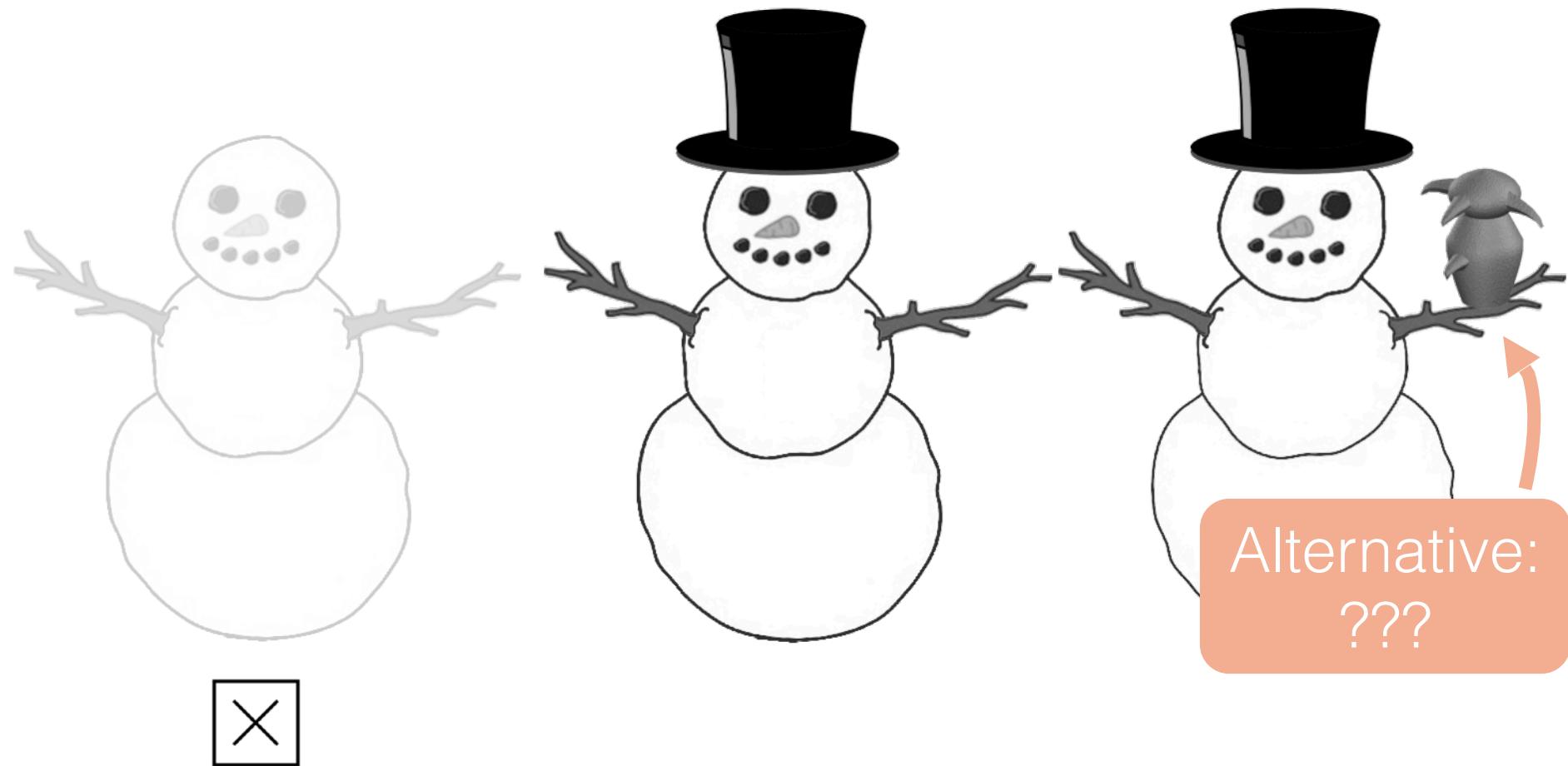
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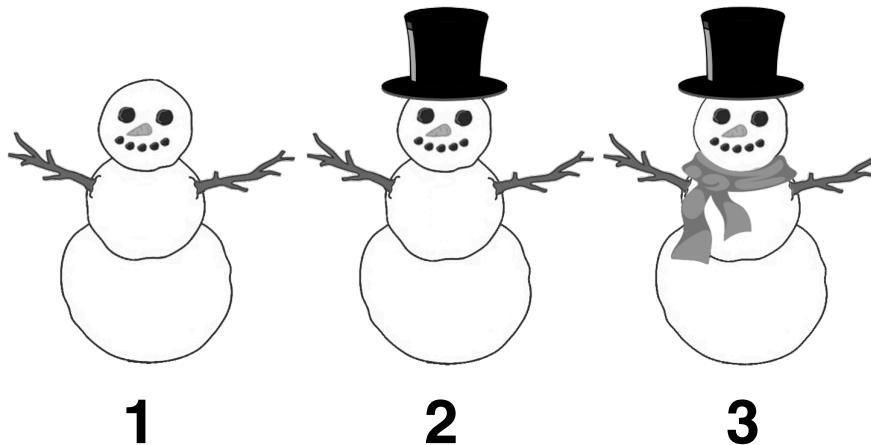
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# Does the traditional account go through?

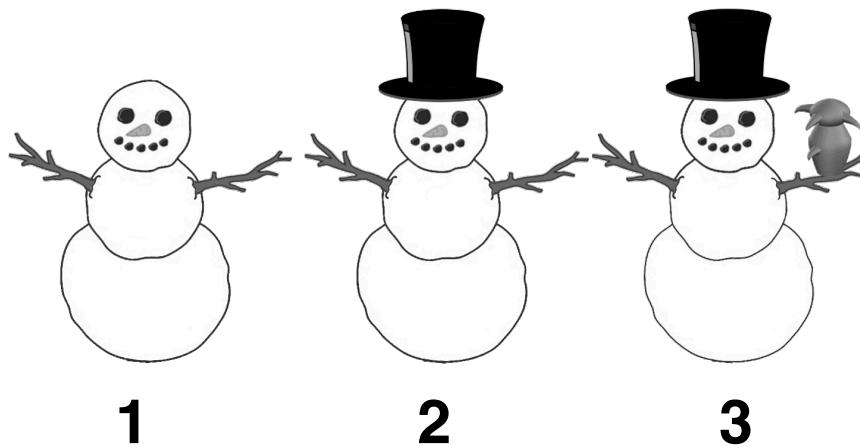
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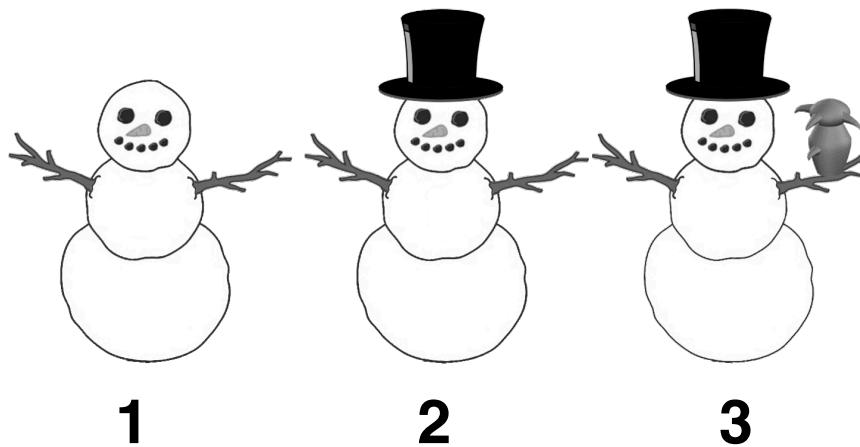
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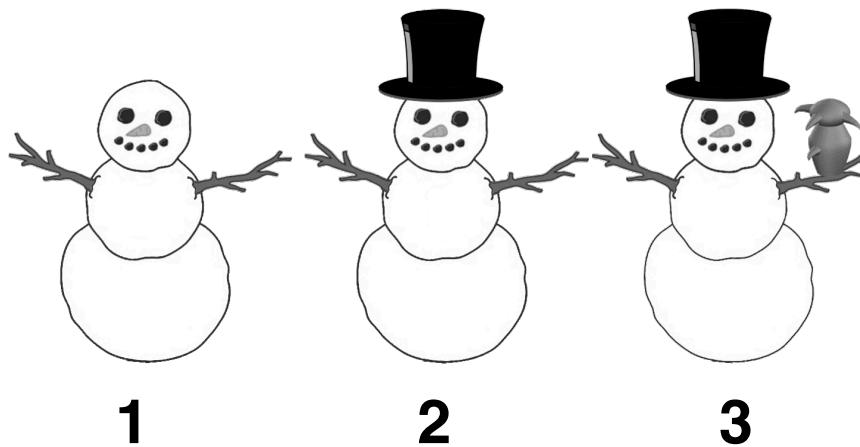
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# Potential accounts

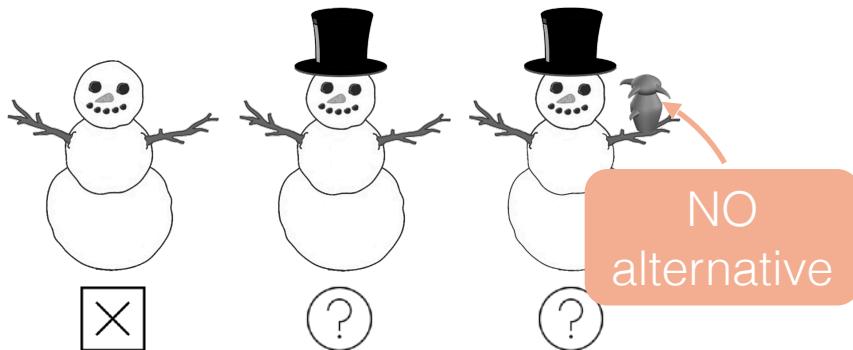


# Potential accounts

If the label for a certain feature is **not in common ground**, then it might not enter the computations underlying Sl.

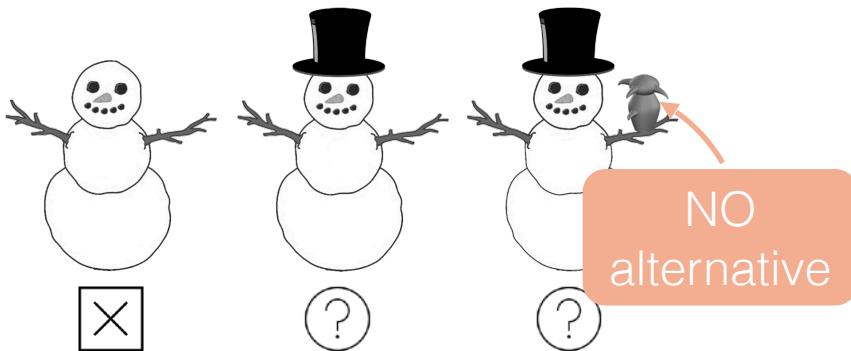
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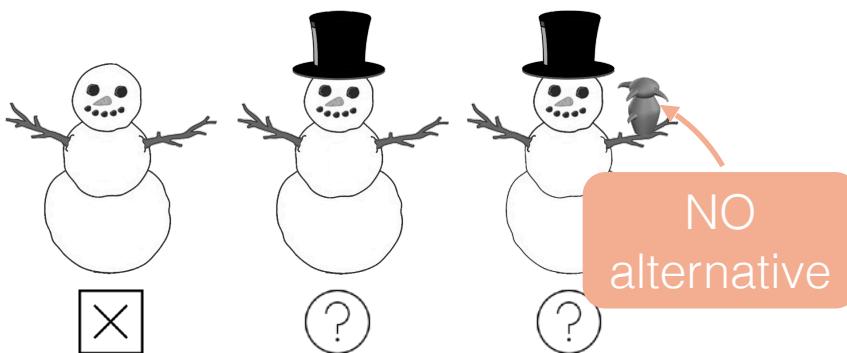
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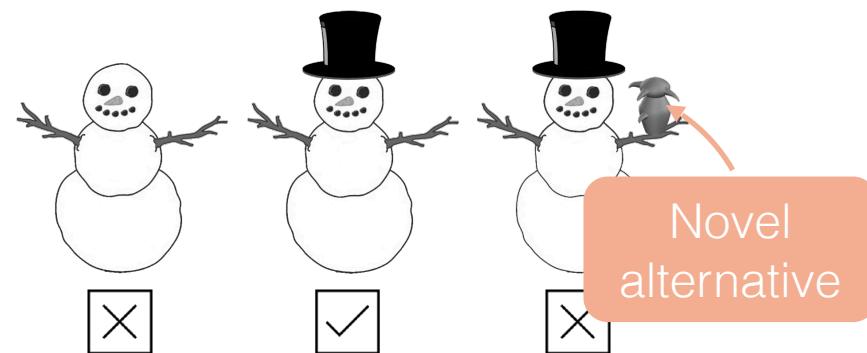
If speakers generate and use **new lexical entries** from one exposure, then nonce objects may drive SI like familiar objects.

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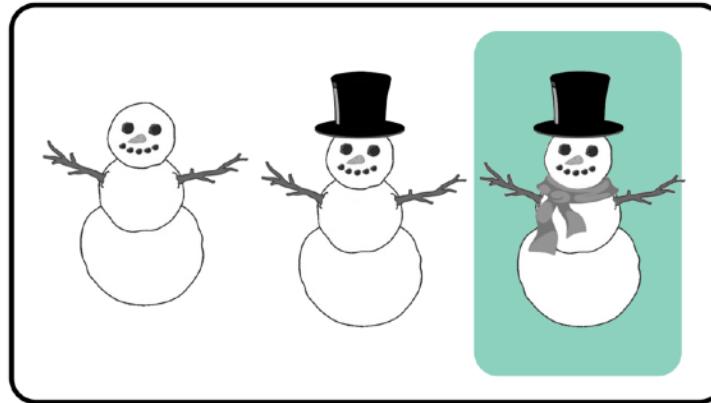




# **Do nonce objects drive scalar implicature?**

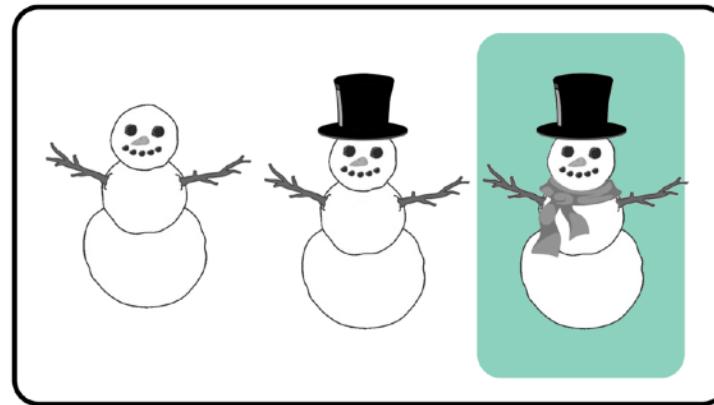
# Do nonce objects drive scalar implicature?

**Condition 1:**  
Familiar feature

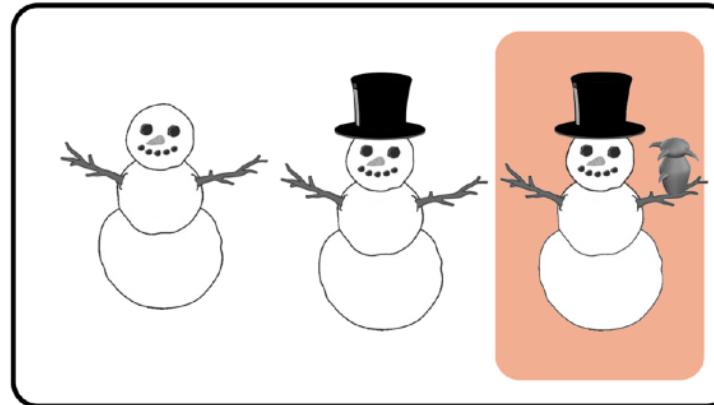


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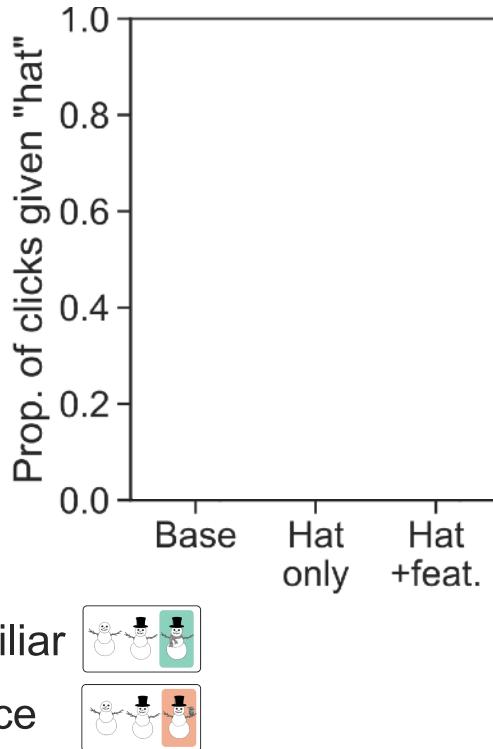
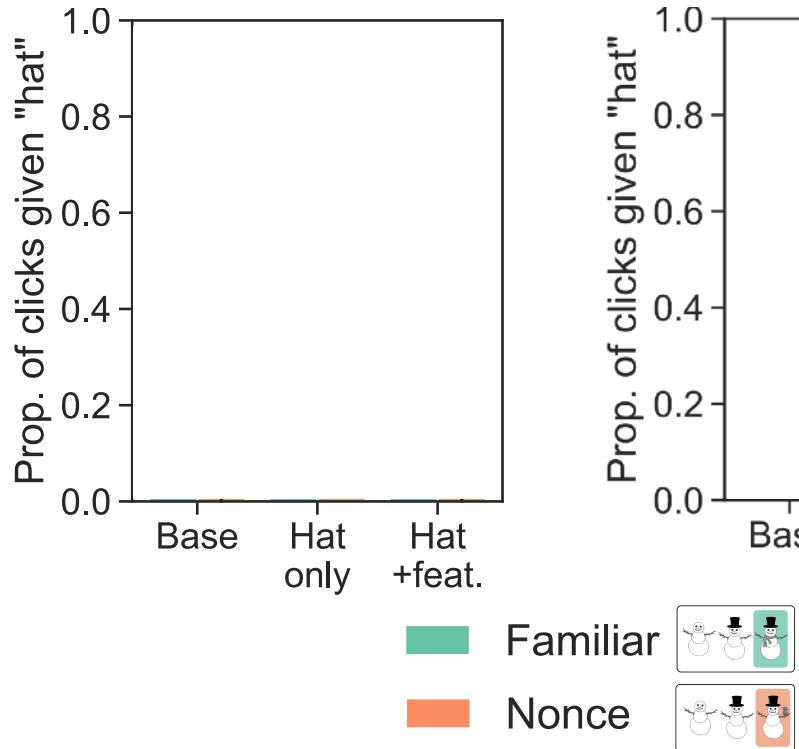


**Condition 2:**  
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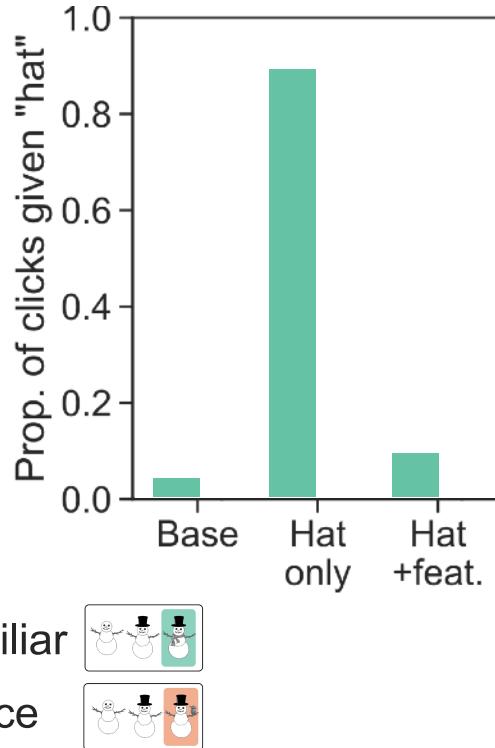
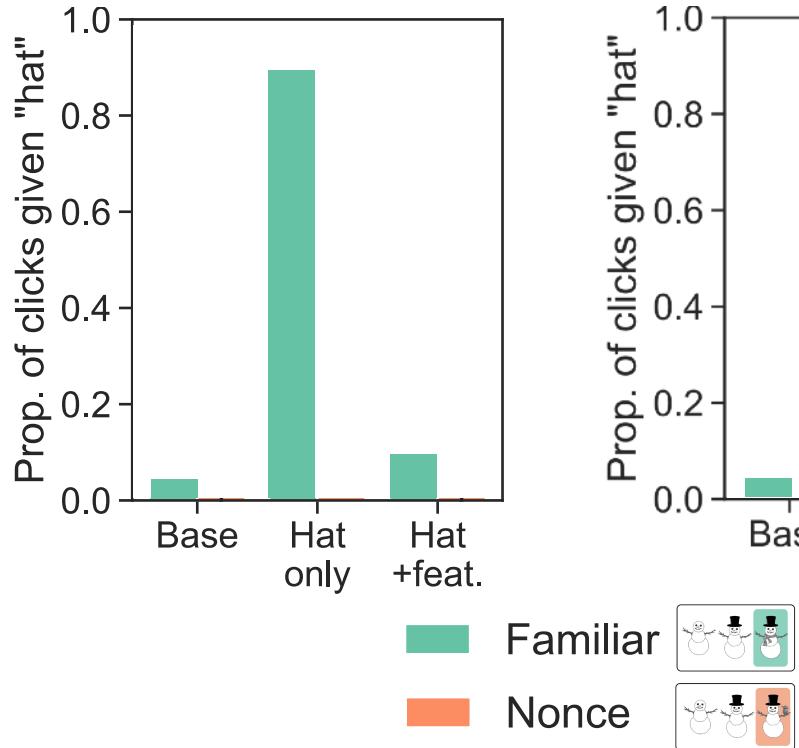


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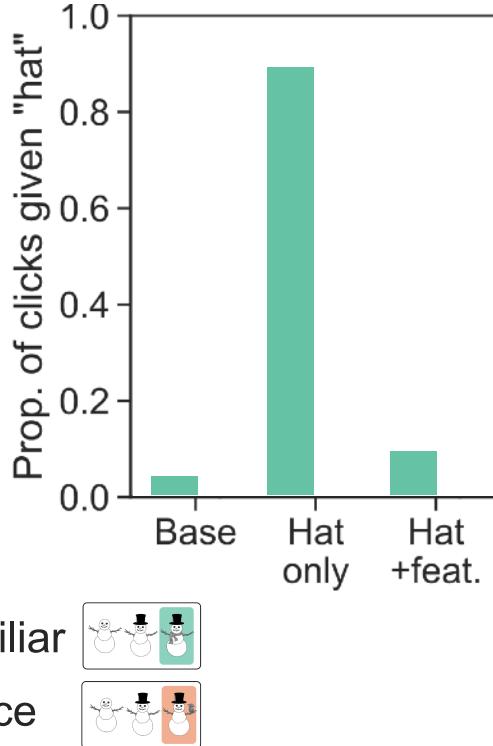
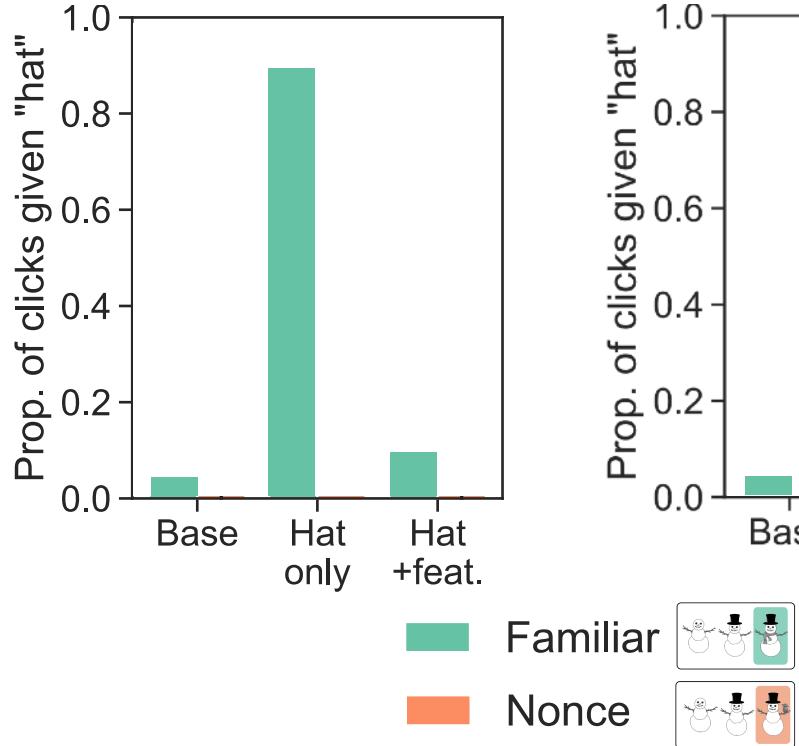
# Do nonce objects drive SI?



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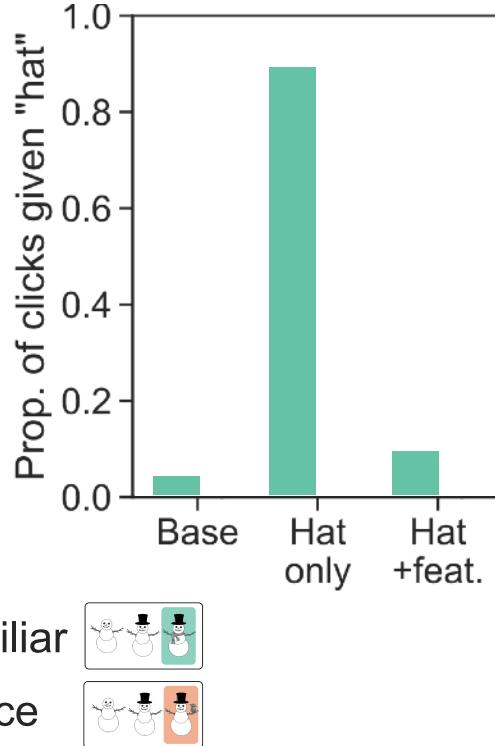
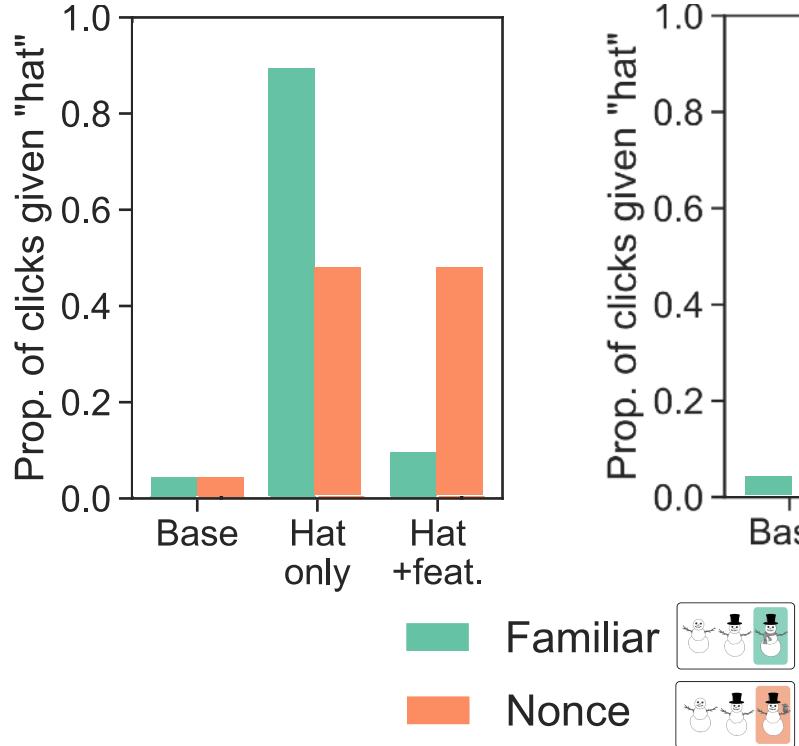
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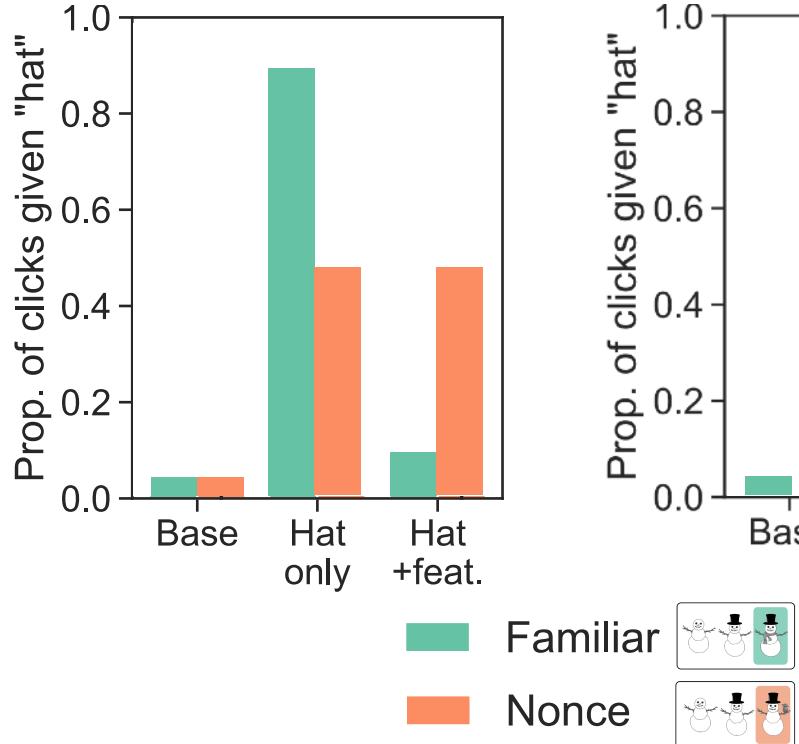
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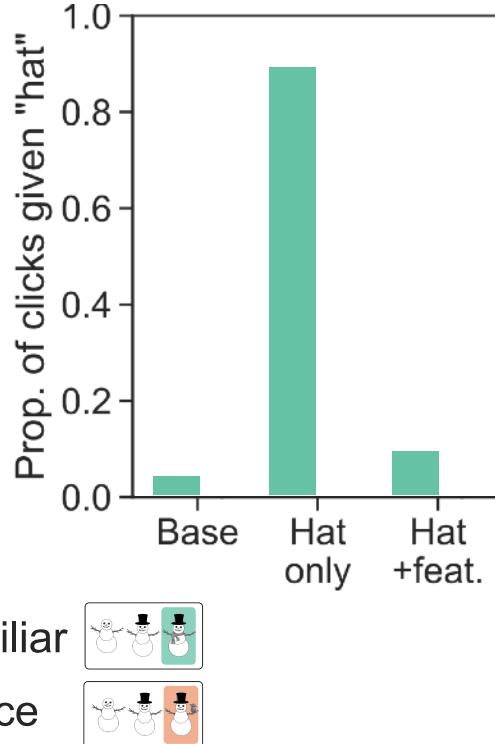
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## Hypothesis 2

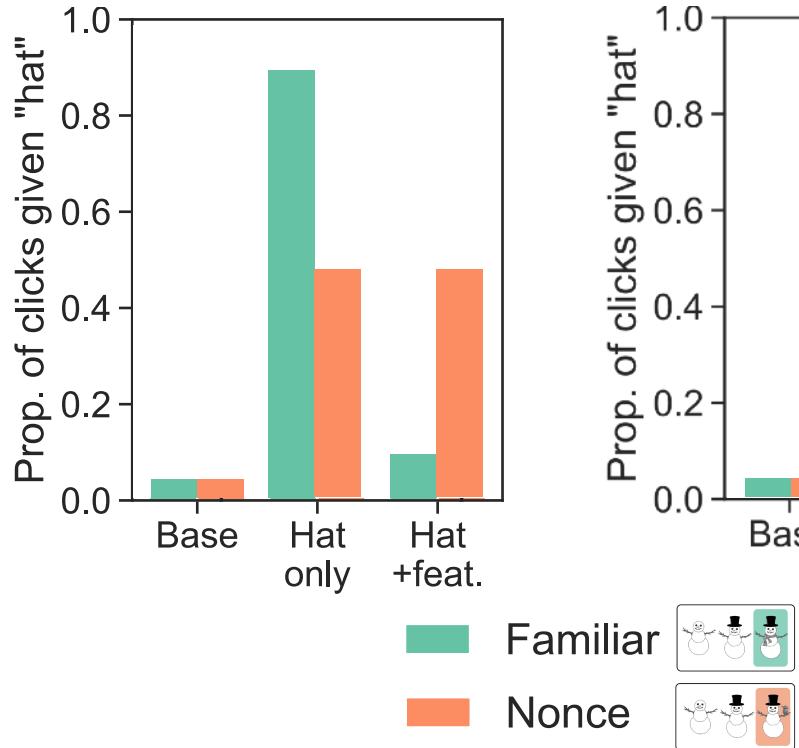
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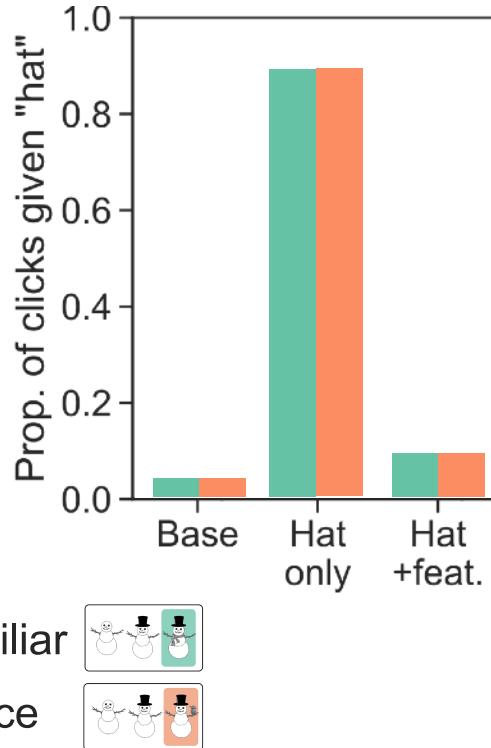
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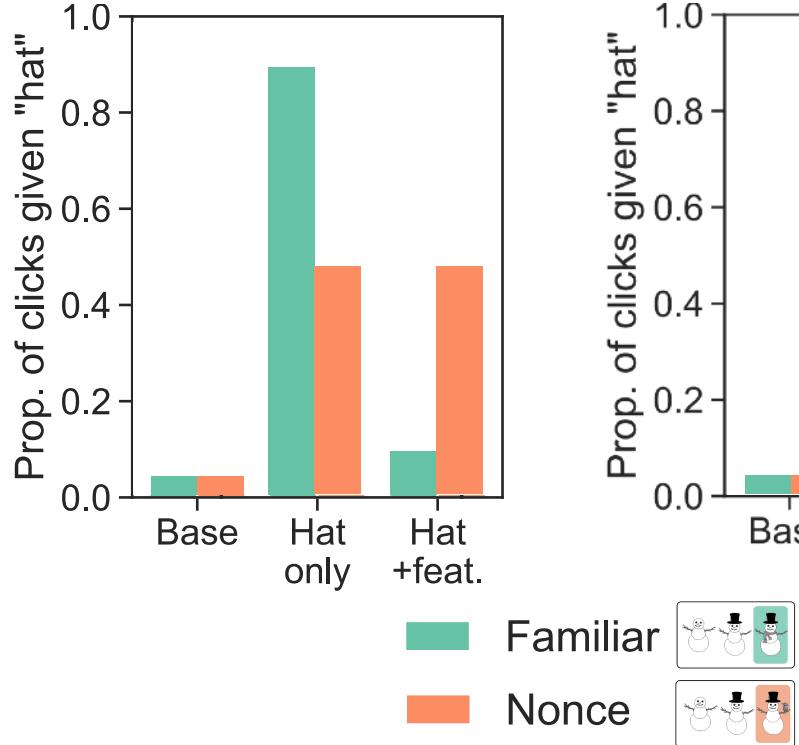
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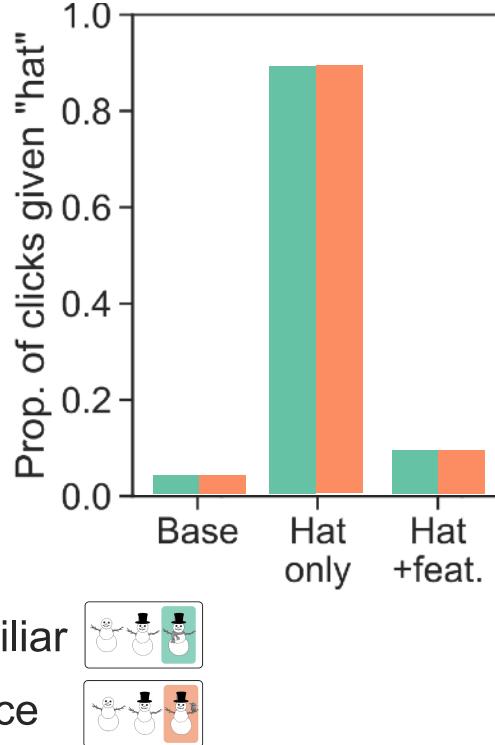
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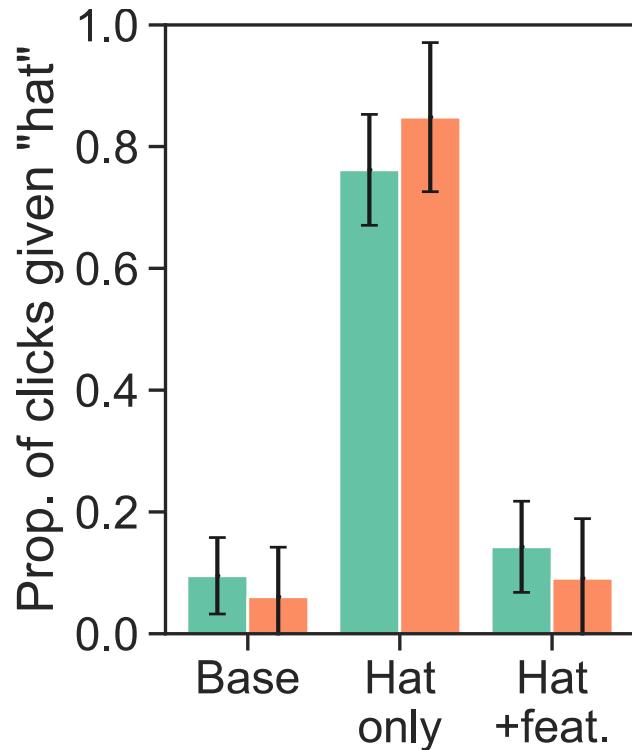


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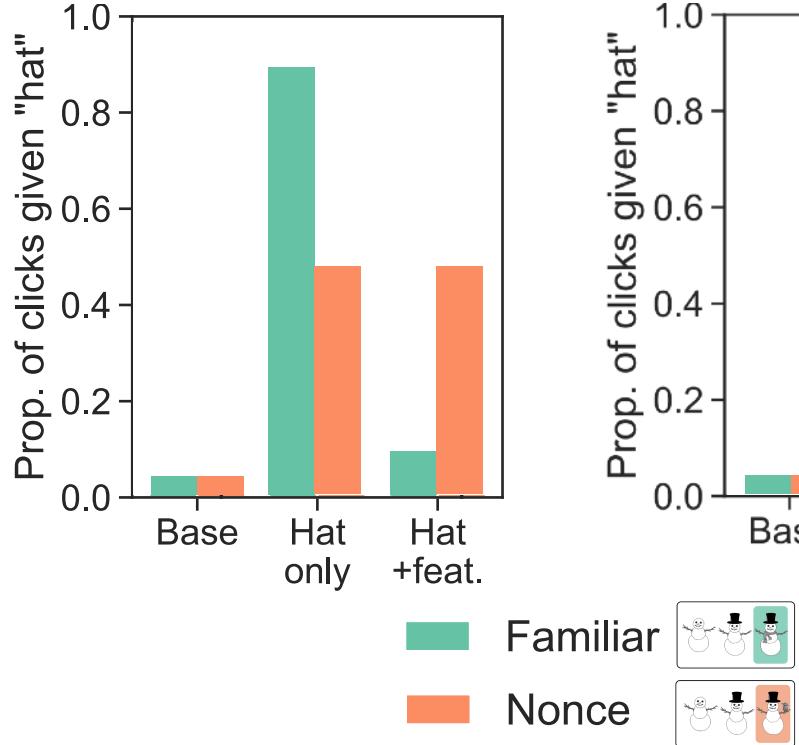
## Results



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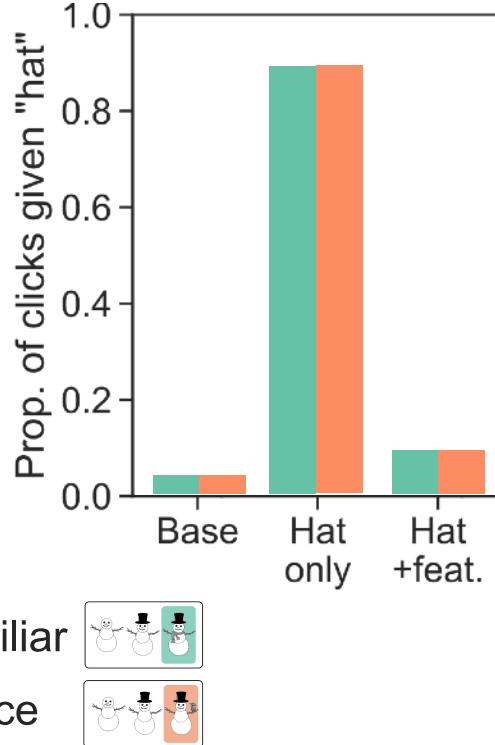
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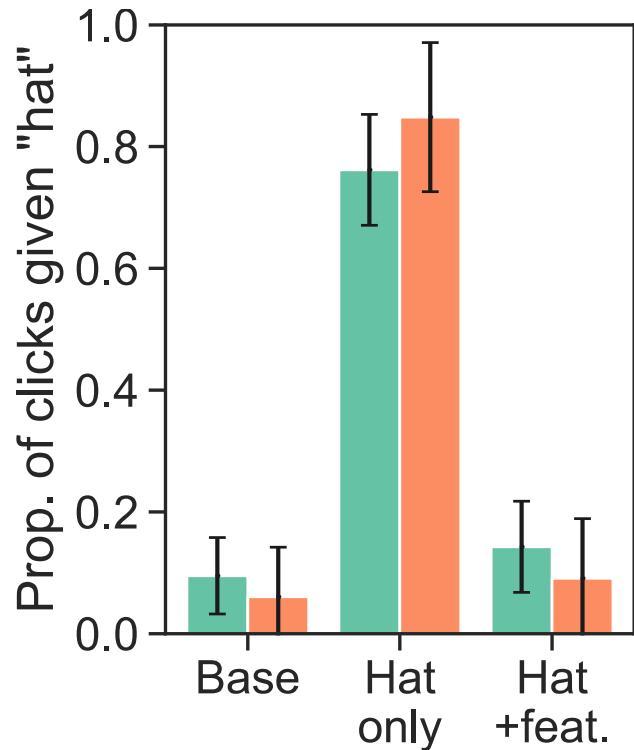


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## Results



# Vignettes

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- Syntax & inferring comparison classes for semantic scales
- Putting it all together: Complex descriptions and pragmatic inference in context

# Degree semantics for scalar adjectives

---

*Mary is tall*

# Degree semantics for scalar adjectives

---

- The meaning of a scalar adjective like *big* or *tall* does two things:

*Mary is tall*

# Degree semantics for scalar adjectives

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**Mary**

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*Mary is tall*



**Mary**

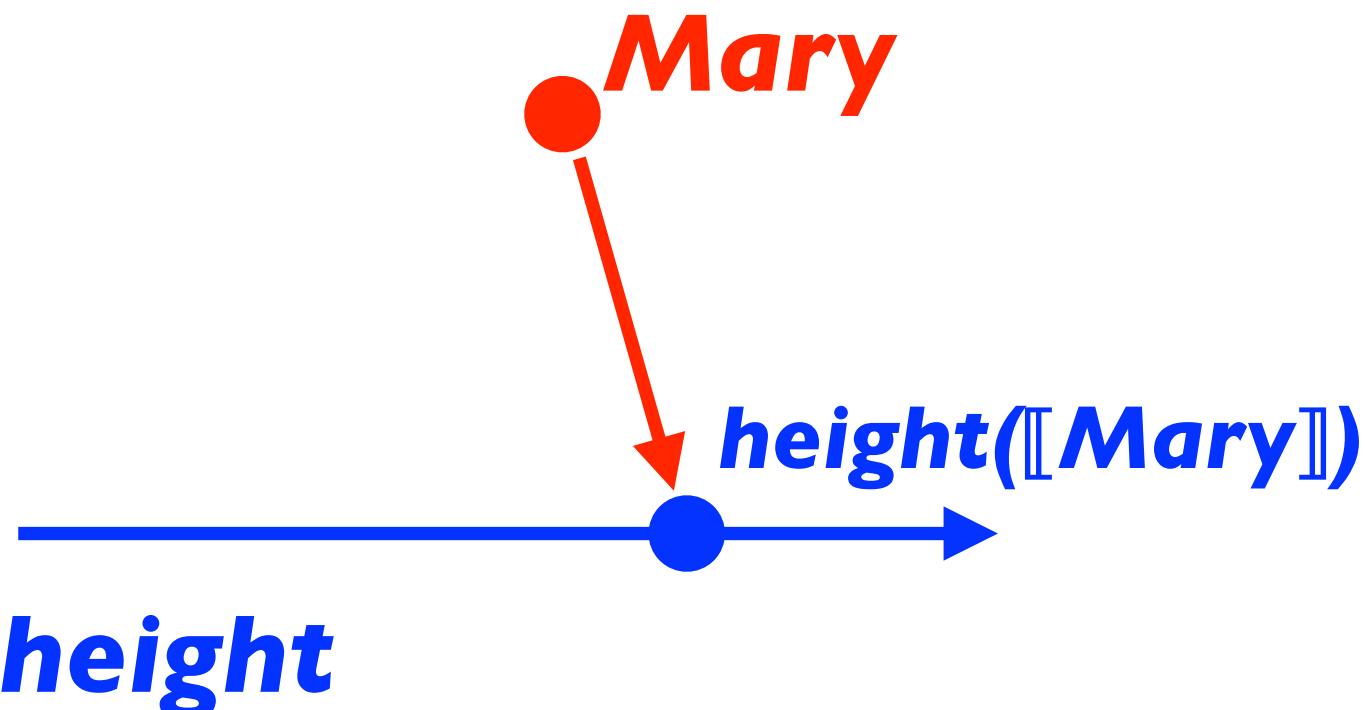


**height**

# Degree semantics for scalar adjectives

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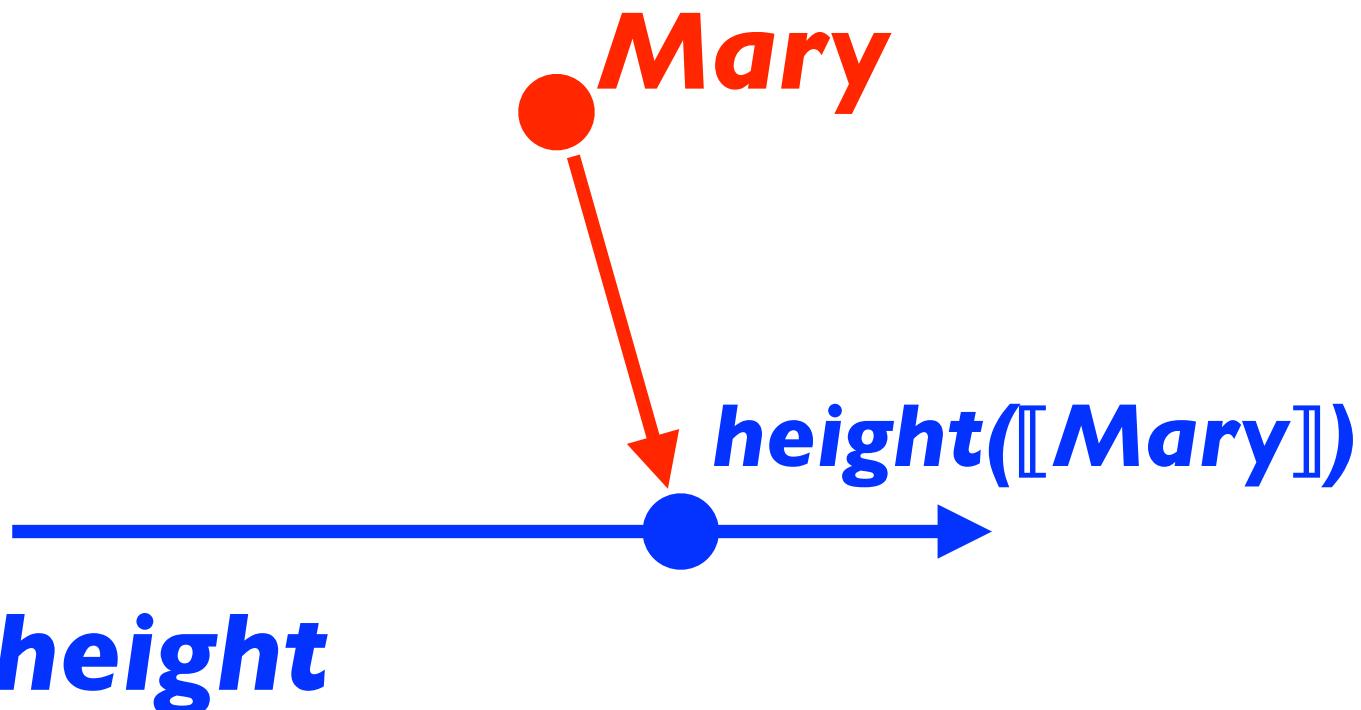
*Mary is tall*



# Degree semantics for scalar adjectives

- The meaning of a scalar adjective like *big* or *tall* does two things:
  1. Projects a referent onto some **value** on a **scale**
  2. Predicates that that **value** is greater than some **threshold  $\theta$**

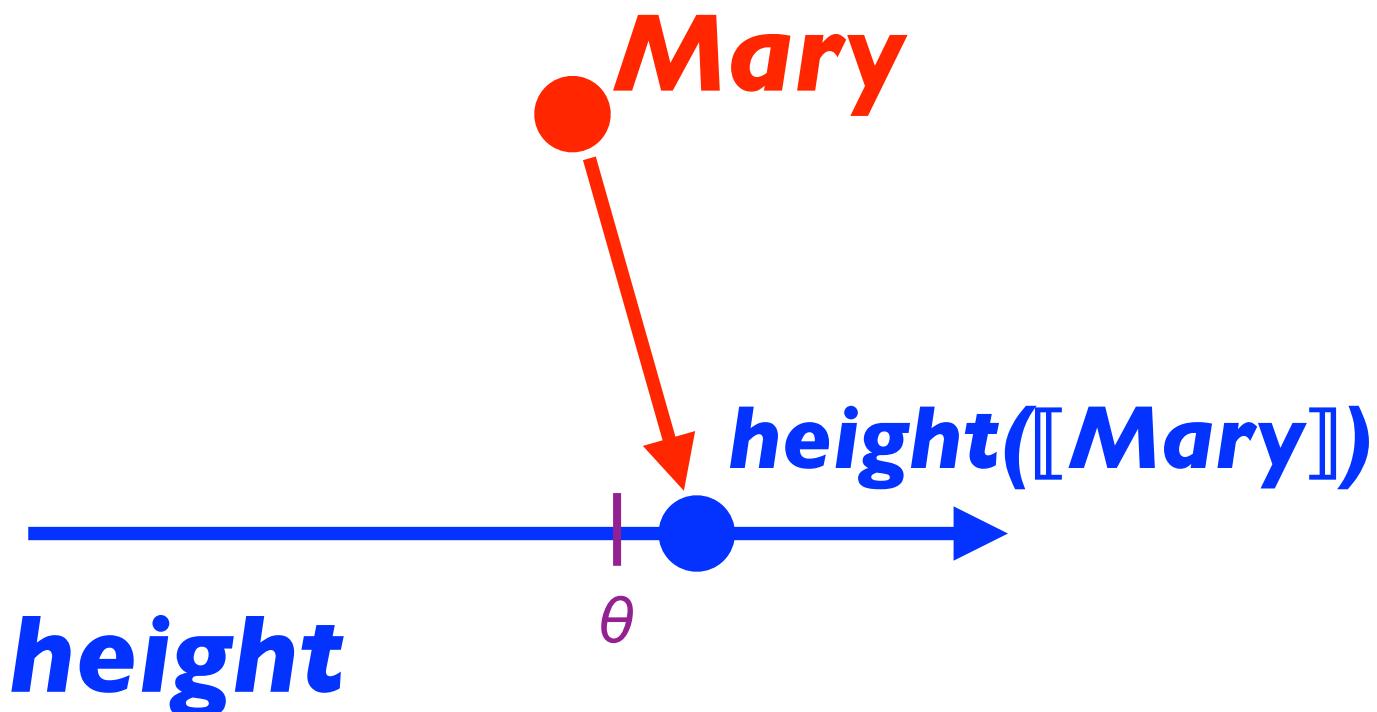
*Mary is tall*



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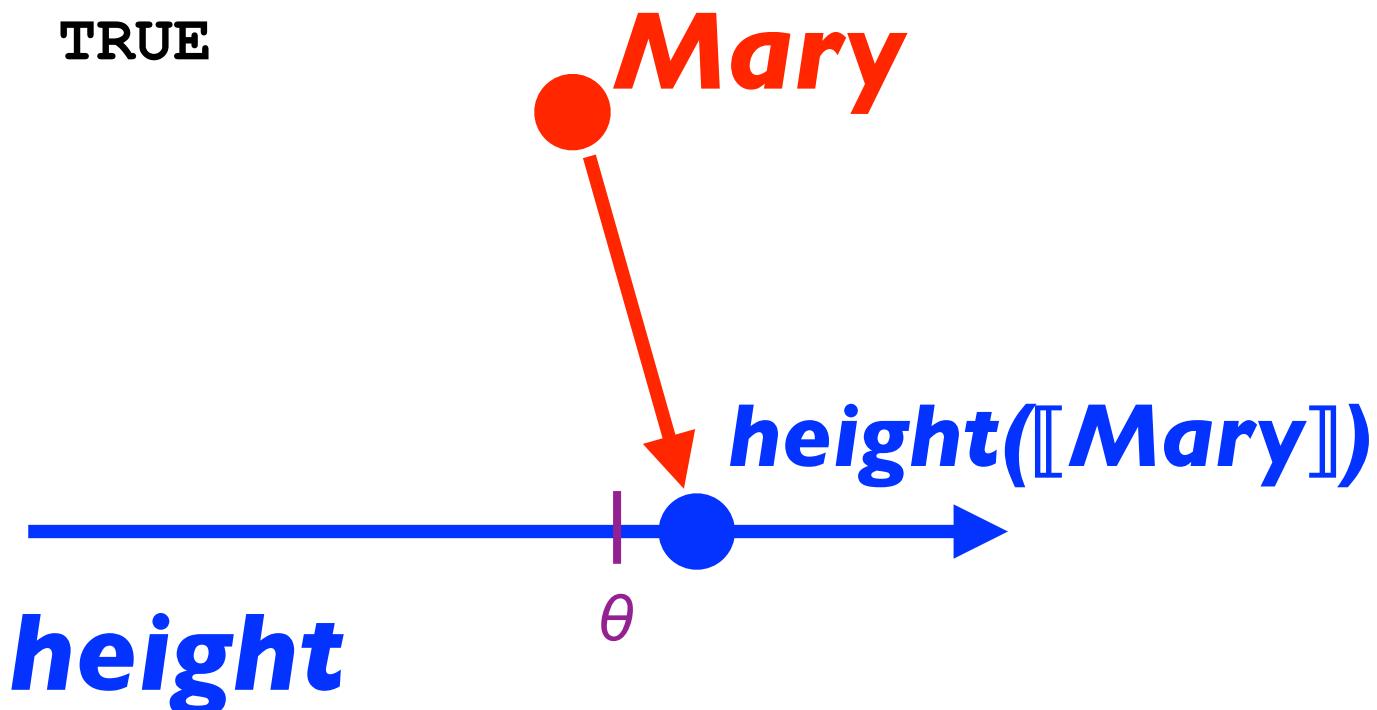
*Mary is tall*



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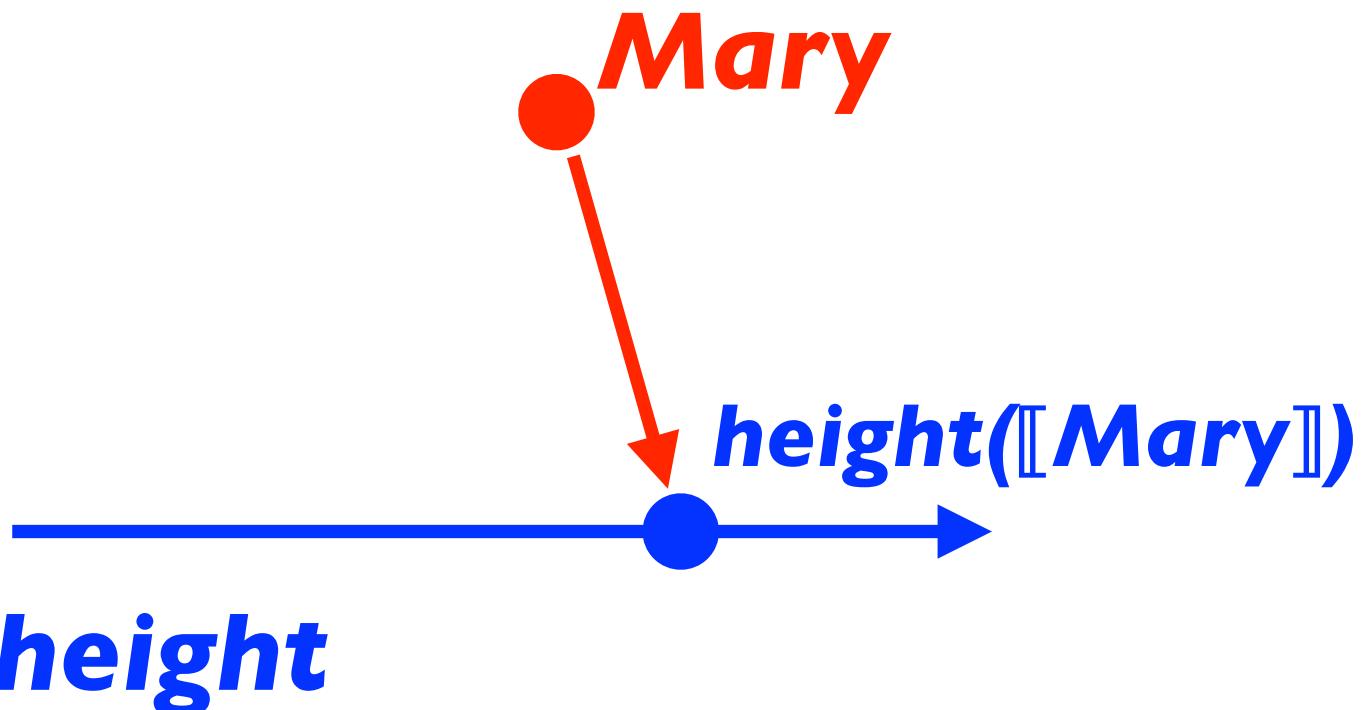
*Mary is tall*    TRUE



# Degree semantics for scalar adjectives

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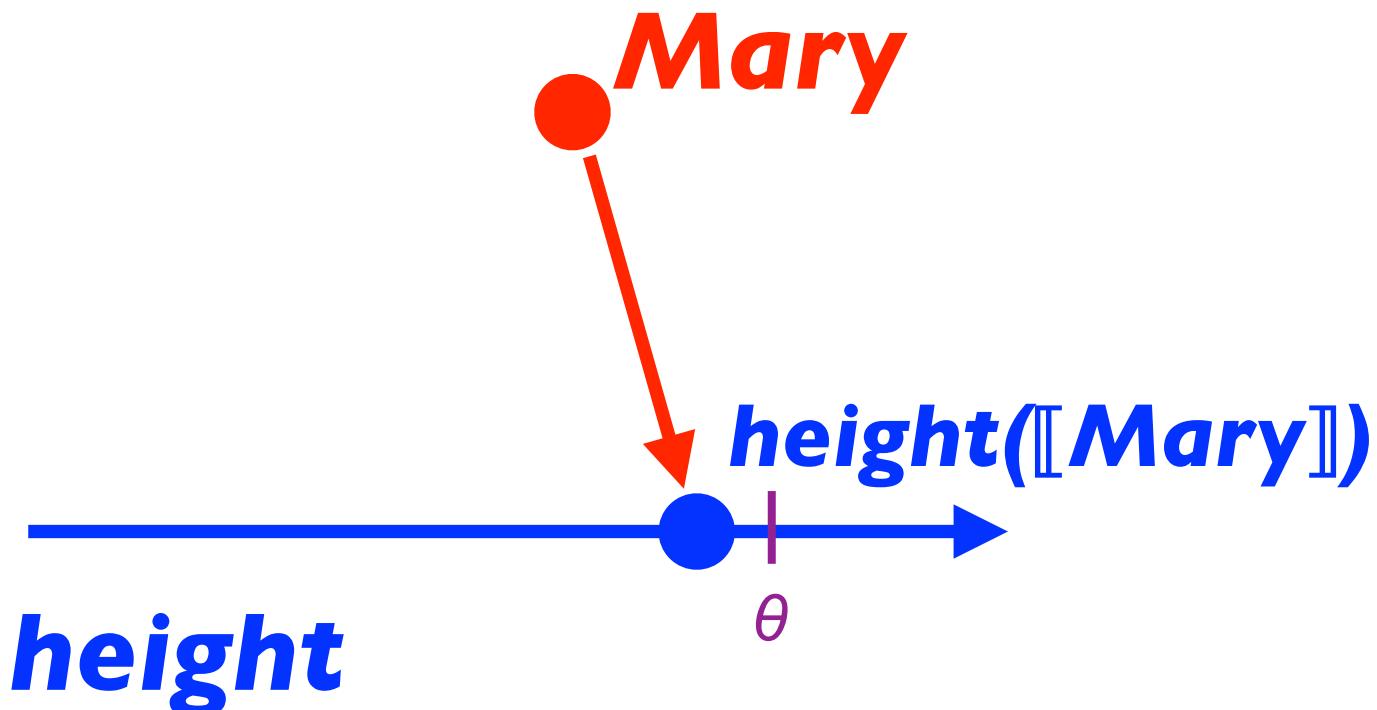
*Mary is tall*



# Degree semantics for scalar adjectives

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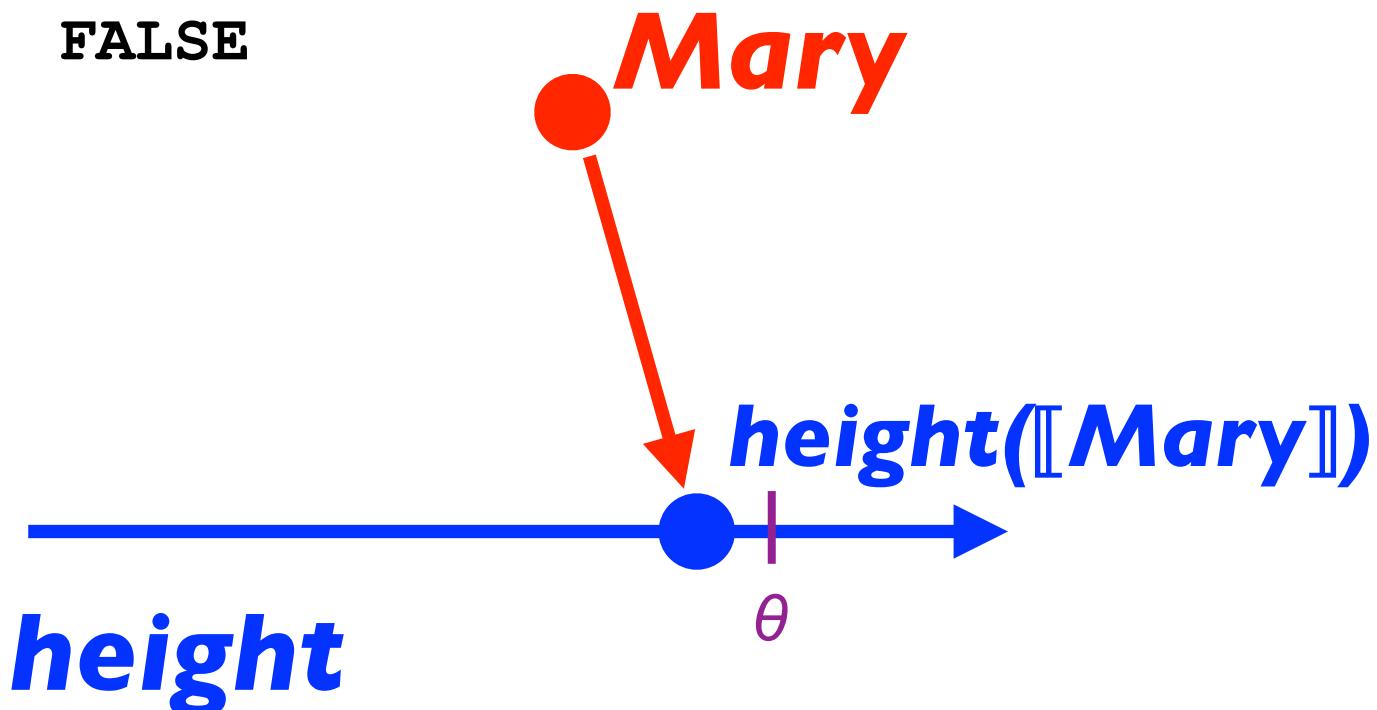
*Mary is tall*



# Degree semantics for scalar adjectives

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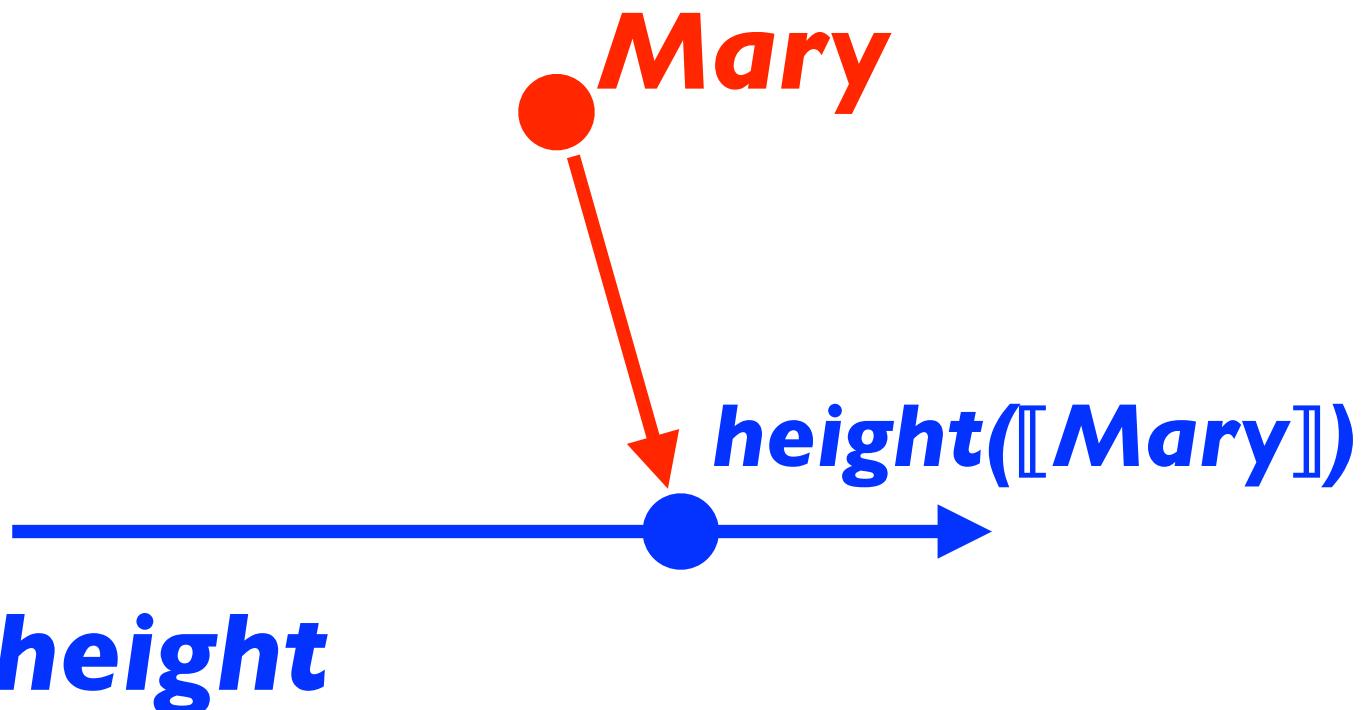
*Mary is tall* FALSE



# Degree semantics for scalar adjectives

- The meaning of a scalar adjective like *big* or *tall* does two things:
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*Mary is tall*



# Degree semantics for scalar adjectives

---

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*Mary is tall*

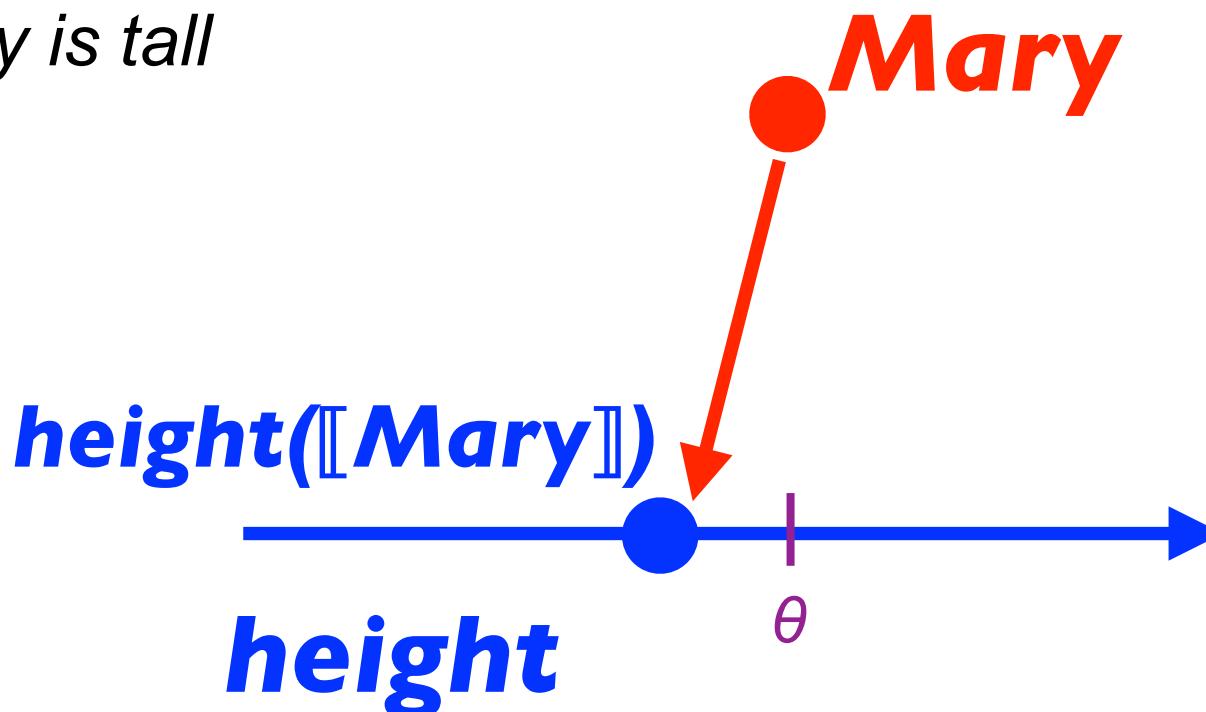


**height**

# Degree semantics for scalar adjectives

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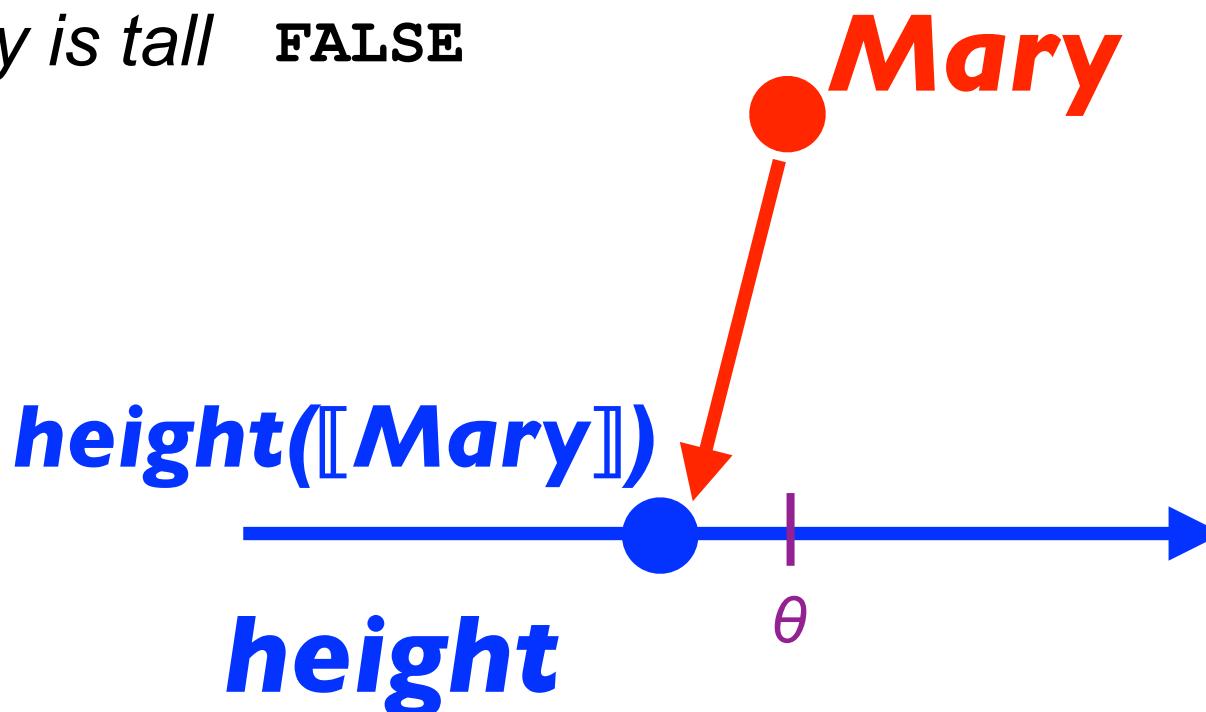
*Mary is tall*



# Degree semantics for scalar adjectives

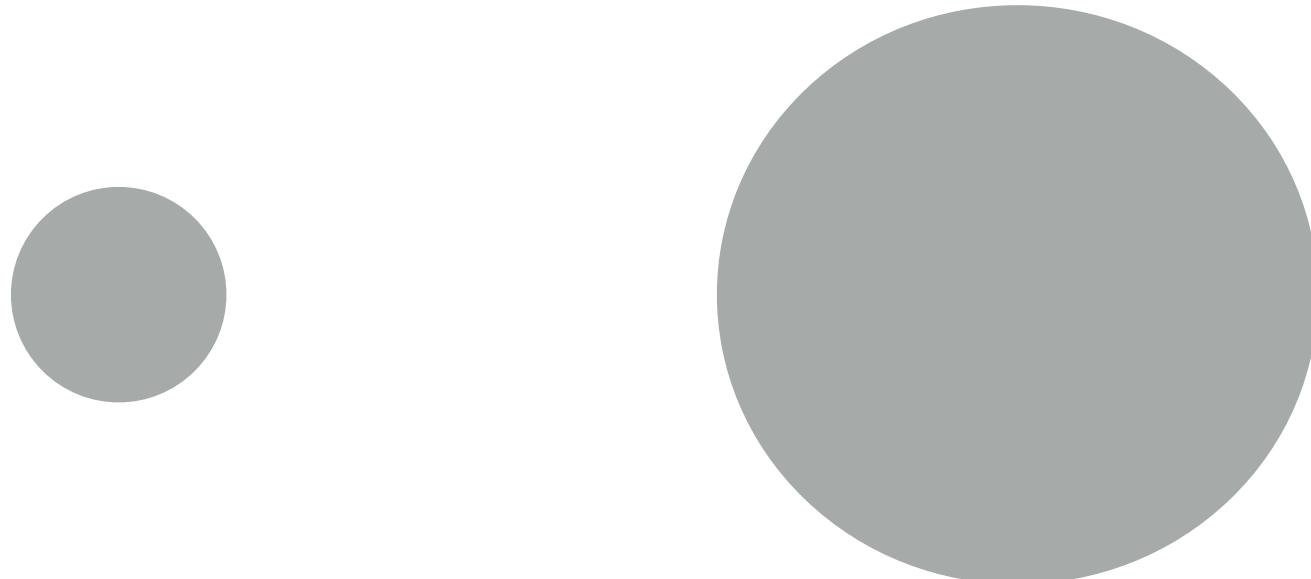
- The meaning of a scalar adjective like *big* or *tall* does two things:
  1. Projects a referent onto some **value** on a **scale**
  2. Predicates that that **value** is greater than some **threshold  $\theta$**

*Mary is tall* FALSE



# Degree semantics also underlie comparatives

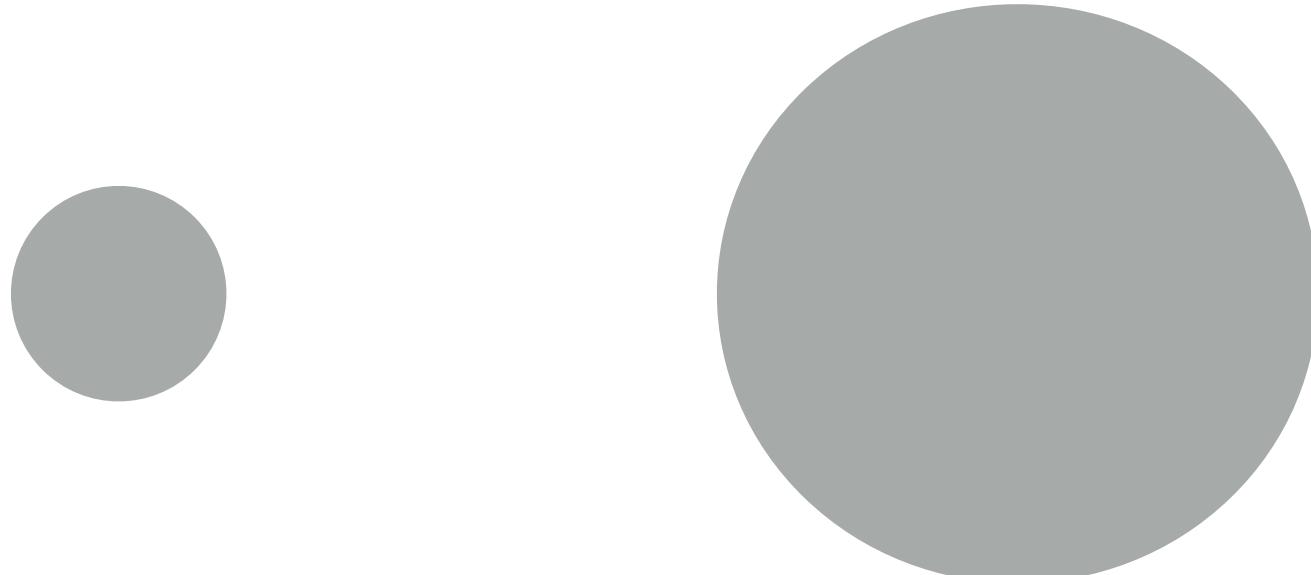
---



# Degree semantics also underlie comparatives

---

**The left circle is **bigger** than  
the right circle.**

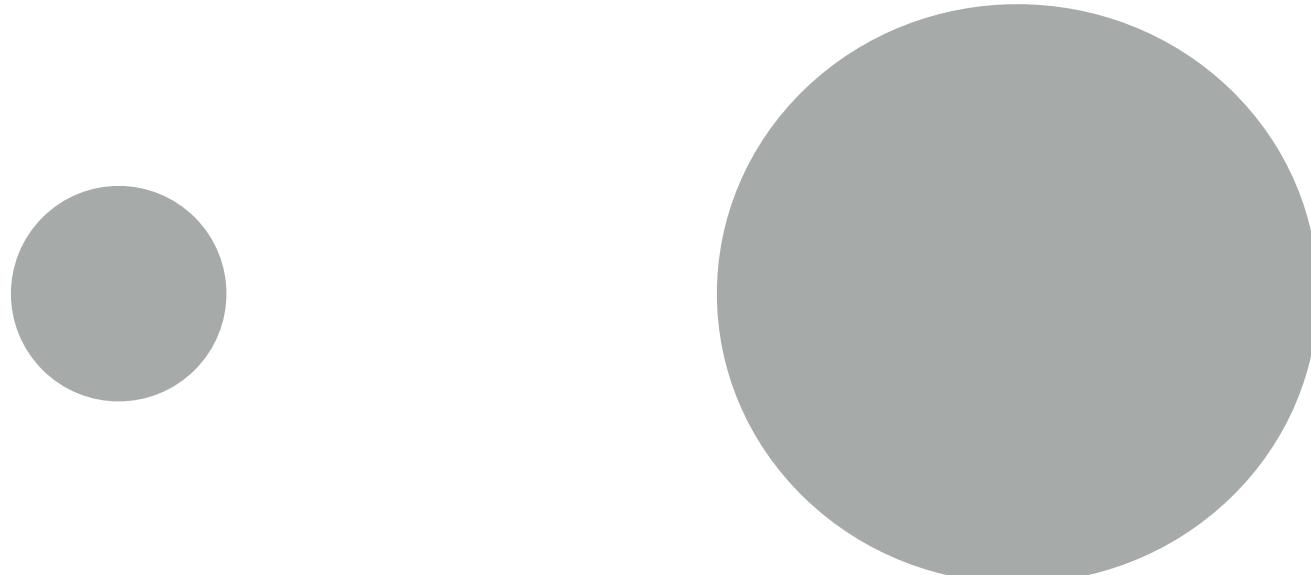


Degree semantics also underlie comparatives

---

The left circle is **bigger** than  
the right circle.

Point to the **bigger** circle.

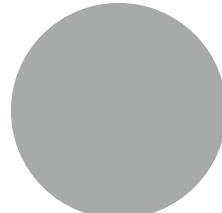


Degree semantics also underlie comparatives

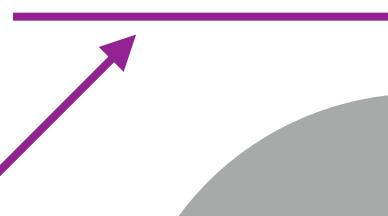
---

The left circle is **bigger** than the right circle.

Point to the **bigger** circle.

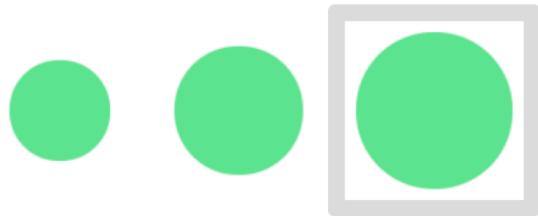


*What  
exactly  
does this  
mean?!?*



# Two theories of the comparative

---



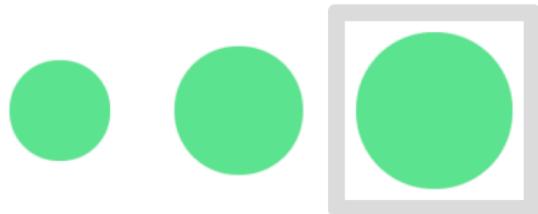
*the biggest circle*

*the bigger circle*

1. "bigger" requires that there are two **referents** in the context of the comparison class

# Two theories of the comparative

---



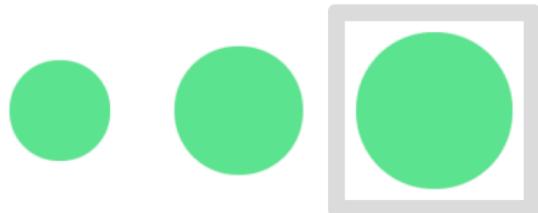
*the biggest circle* 😊

*the bigger circle*

1. "bigger" requires that there are two **referents** in the context of the comparison class

# Two theories of the comparative

---



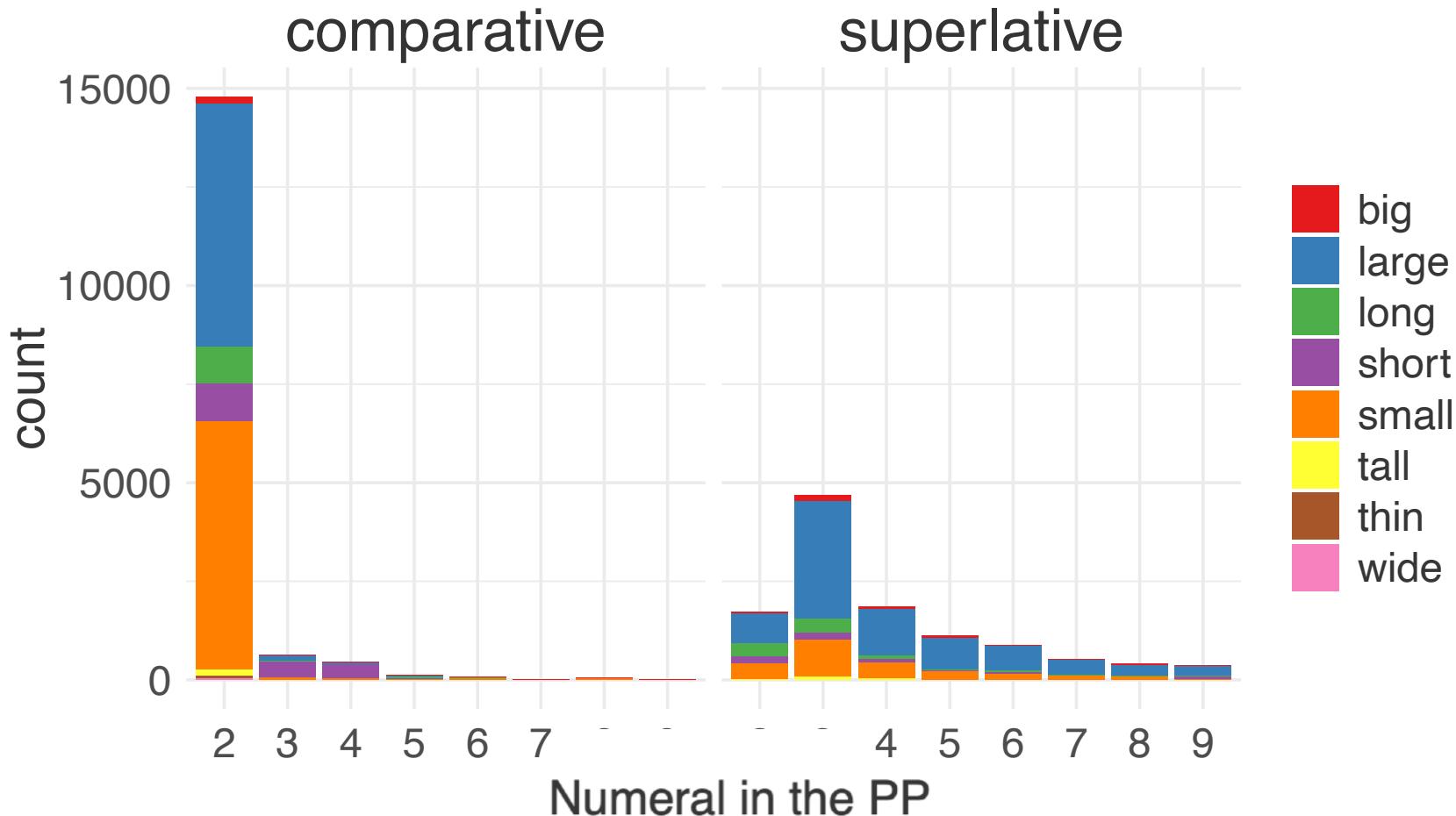
*the biggest circle* 😊

*the bigger circle* 😕

1. "bigger" requires that there are two **referents** in the context of the comparison class

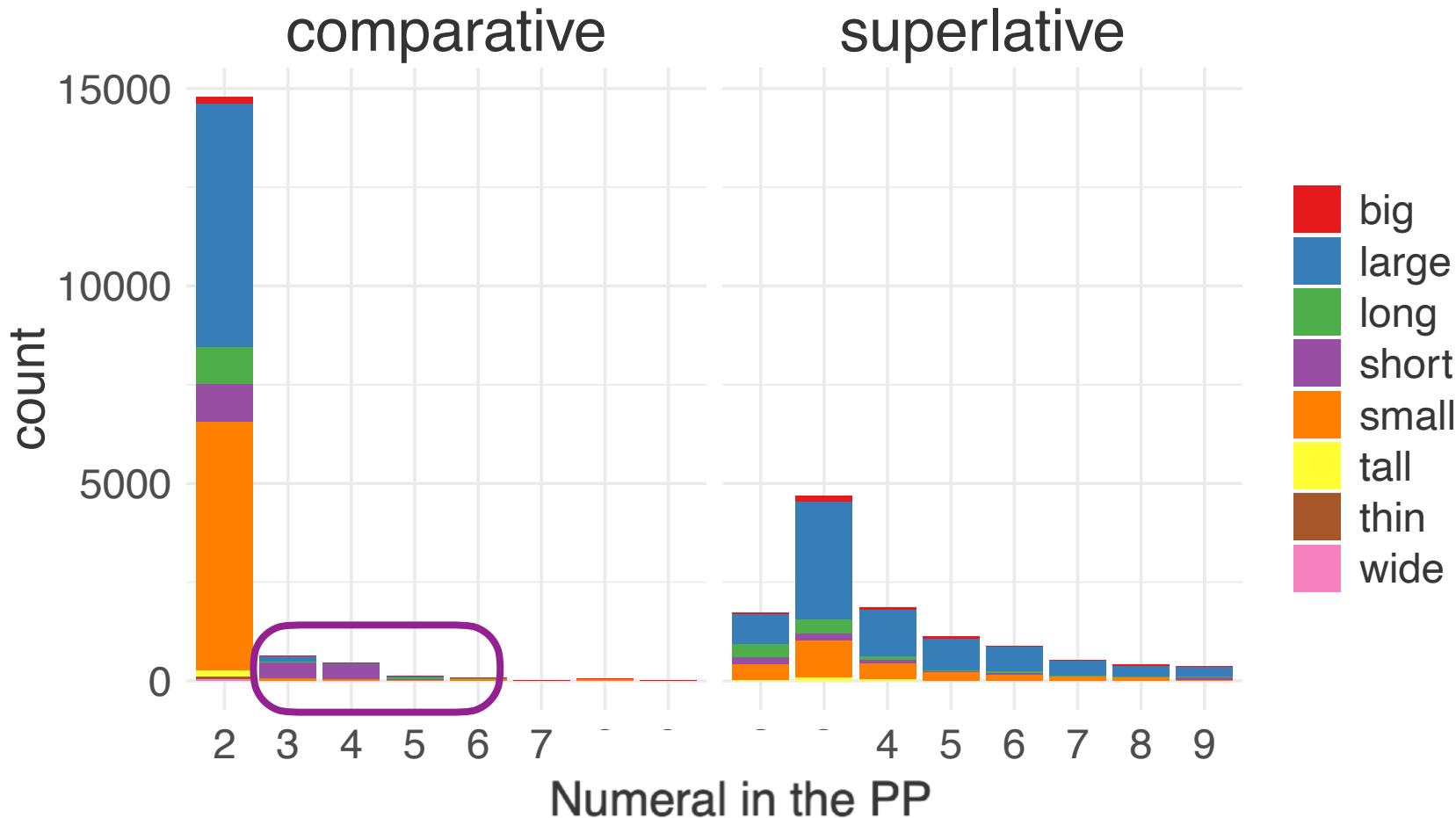
# Corpus data

the [Adj] of [Num]



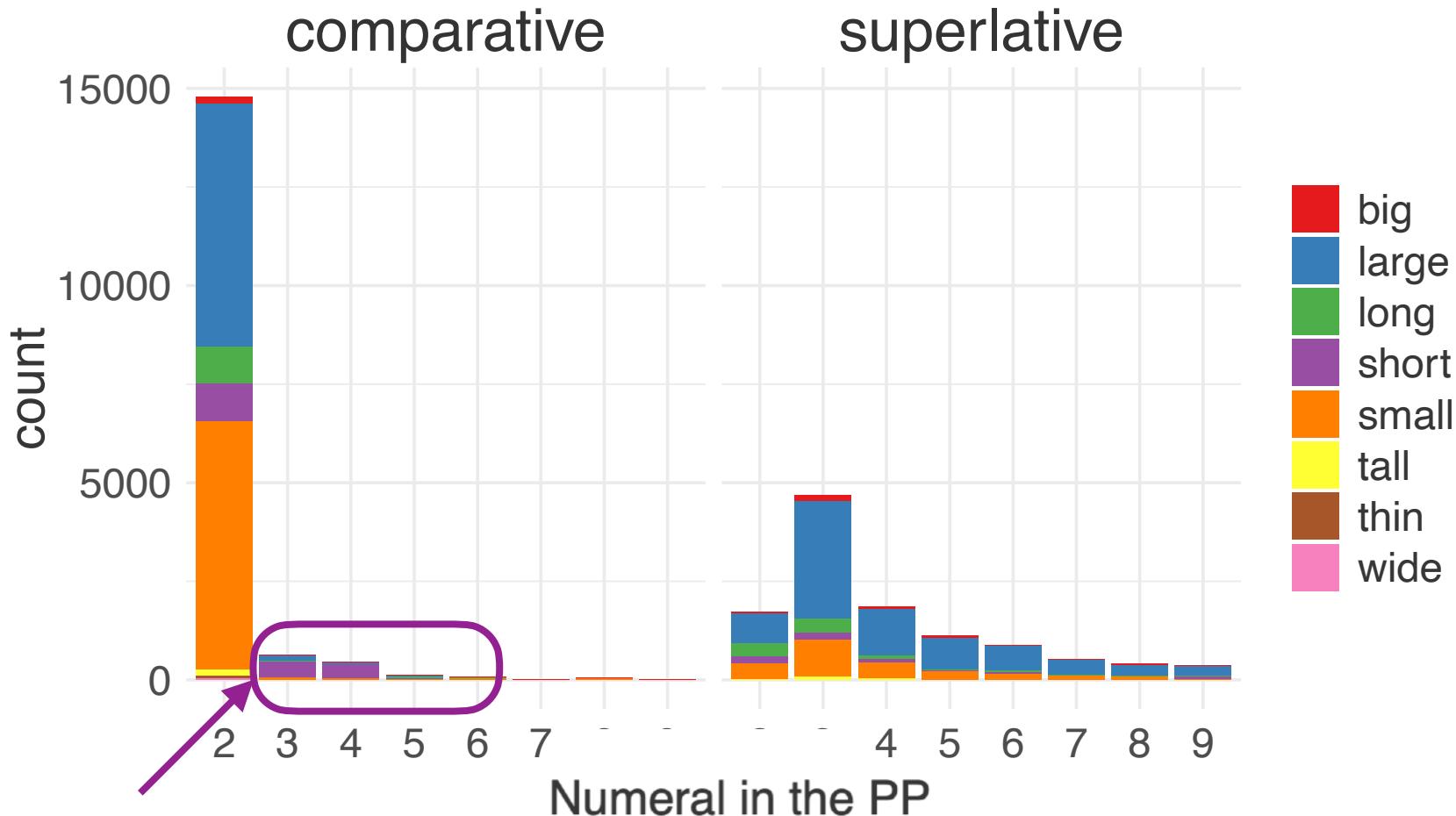
# Corpus data

the [Adj] of [Num]



# Corpus data

## the [Adj] of [Num]



people *do* sometimes use  
"the Adj-er of three"!

# A revealing example from the wild

Fitness > Workouts > Arm Exercises

## Is It Better to Work the Back With Biceps or Triceps?

By [Sara Lindberg](#) | Updated April 29, 2019

 Reviewed by [Andra Picincu, CN, CPT](#)



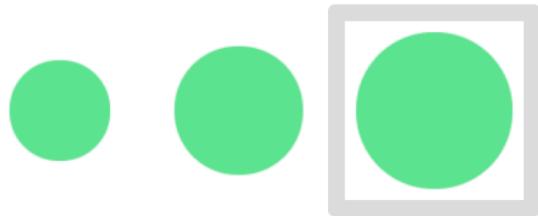
Working the pulling muscles of the back and biceps together helps prevent overtraining and eliminates the need to train arms on their own day.

*Another muscle group to consider pairing your back workout with is the triceps. "Back and triceps workouts are a great way to ensure that you get indirect workload on the biceps, but get the direct work on the triceps while still working on **the bigger of the three muscles** — the back," explains Carneiro.*

<https://www.livestrong.com/article/550451-is-it-better-to-work-the-back-with-biceps-or-triceps/>

# Two theories of the comparative

---

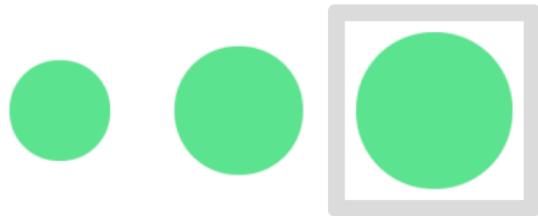


*the biggest circle* 😊

*the bigger circle* 😞

# Two theories of the comparative

---



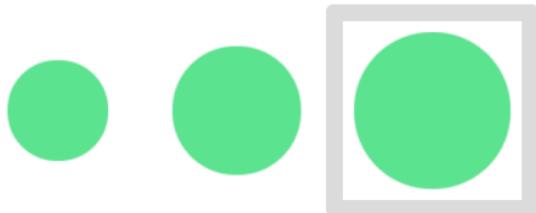
*the biggest circle* 😊

*the bigger circle* 😕

1. "bigger" requires that there are two *referents* in the context of the comparison class

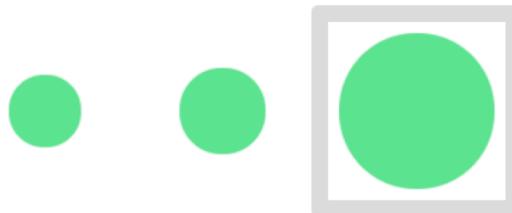
# Two theories of the comparative

---



*the biggest circle* 😊

*the bigger circle* 😕



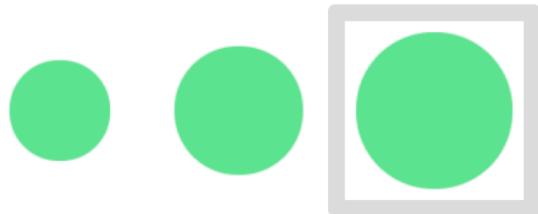
*the biggest circle*

*the bigger circle*

1. "bigger" requires that there are two *referents* in the context of the comparison class

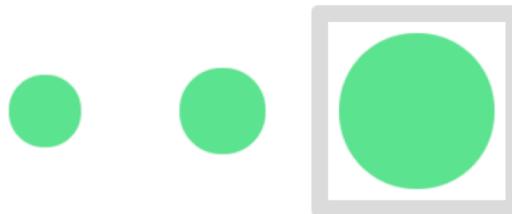
# Two theories of the comparative

---



*the biggest circle* 😊

*the bigger circle* 😕



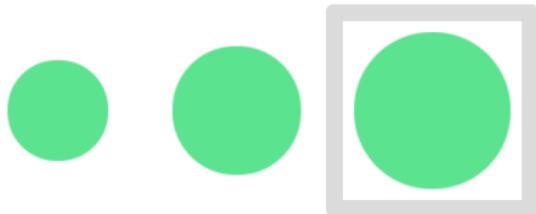
*the biggest circle* 😊

*the bigger circle*

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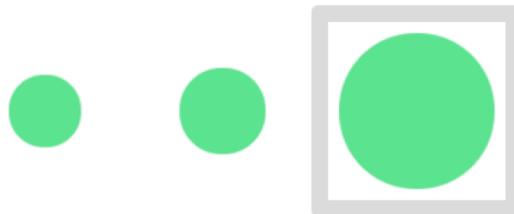
# Two theories of the comparative

---



*the biggest circle* 😊

*the bigger circle* 😕



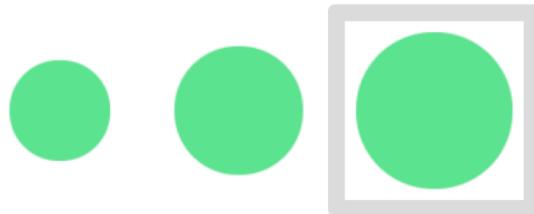
*the biggest circle* 😊

*the bigger circle* 🤔

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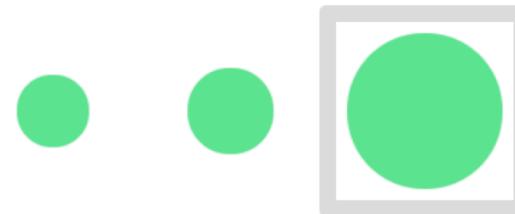
# Two theories of the comparative

---



*the biggest circle* 😊

*the bigger circle* 😕

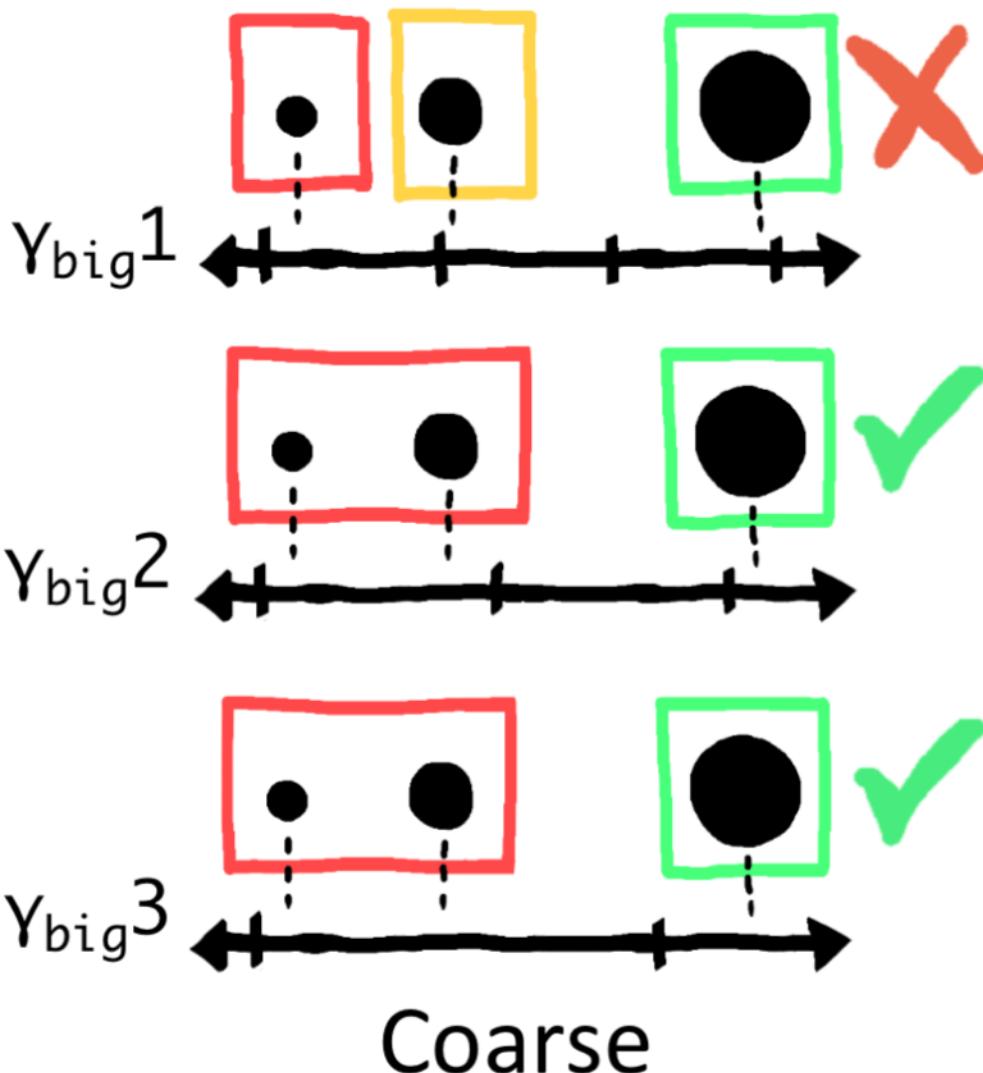


*the biggest circle* 😊

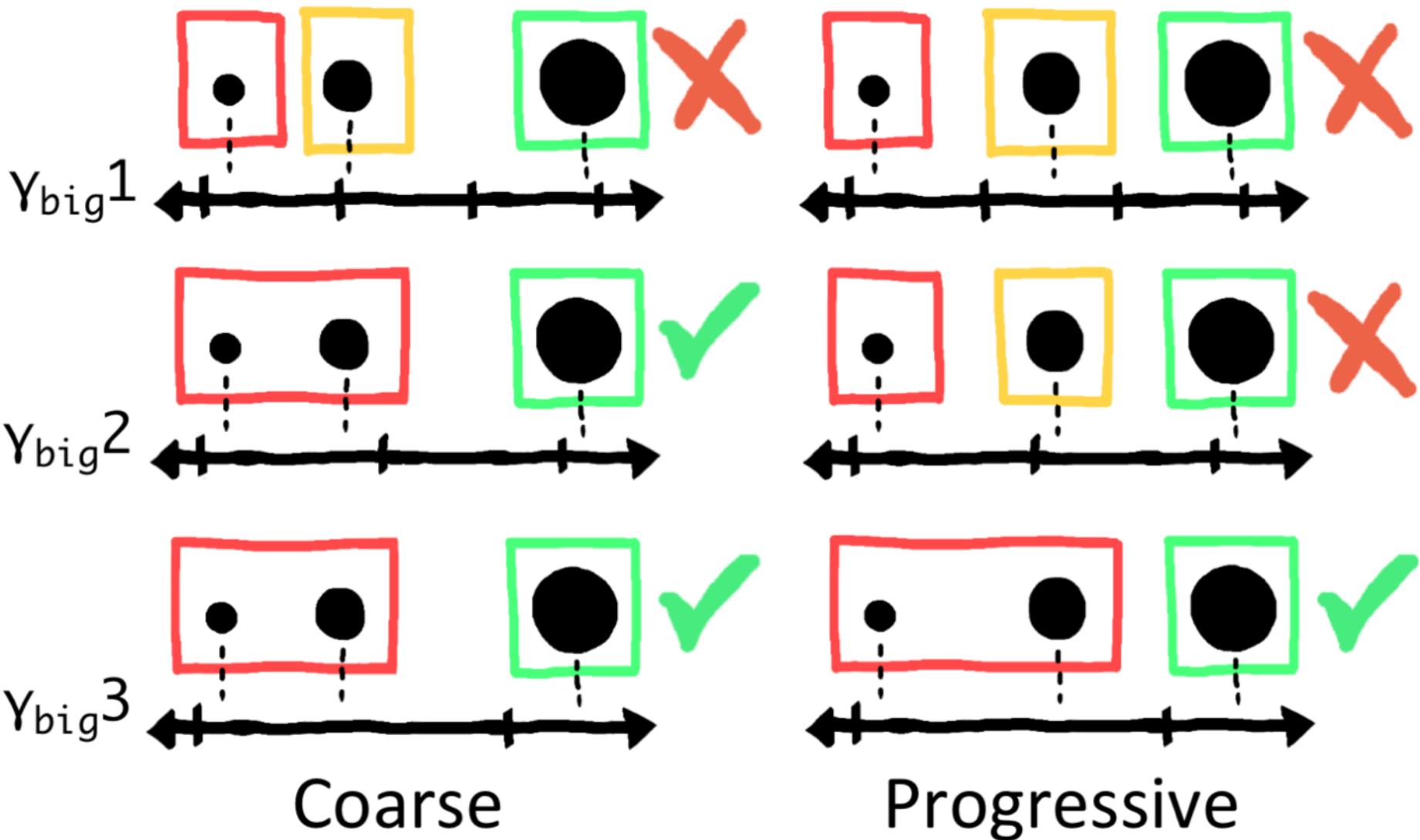
*the bigger circle* 🤔

1. "bigger" requires that there are two **referents** in the context of the comparison class
2. "bigger" requires that there are two **granularities** in the context of the comparison class

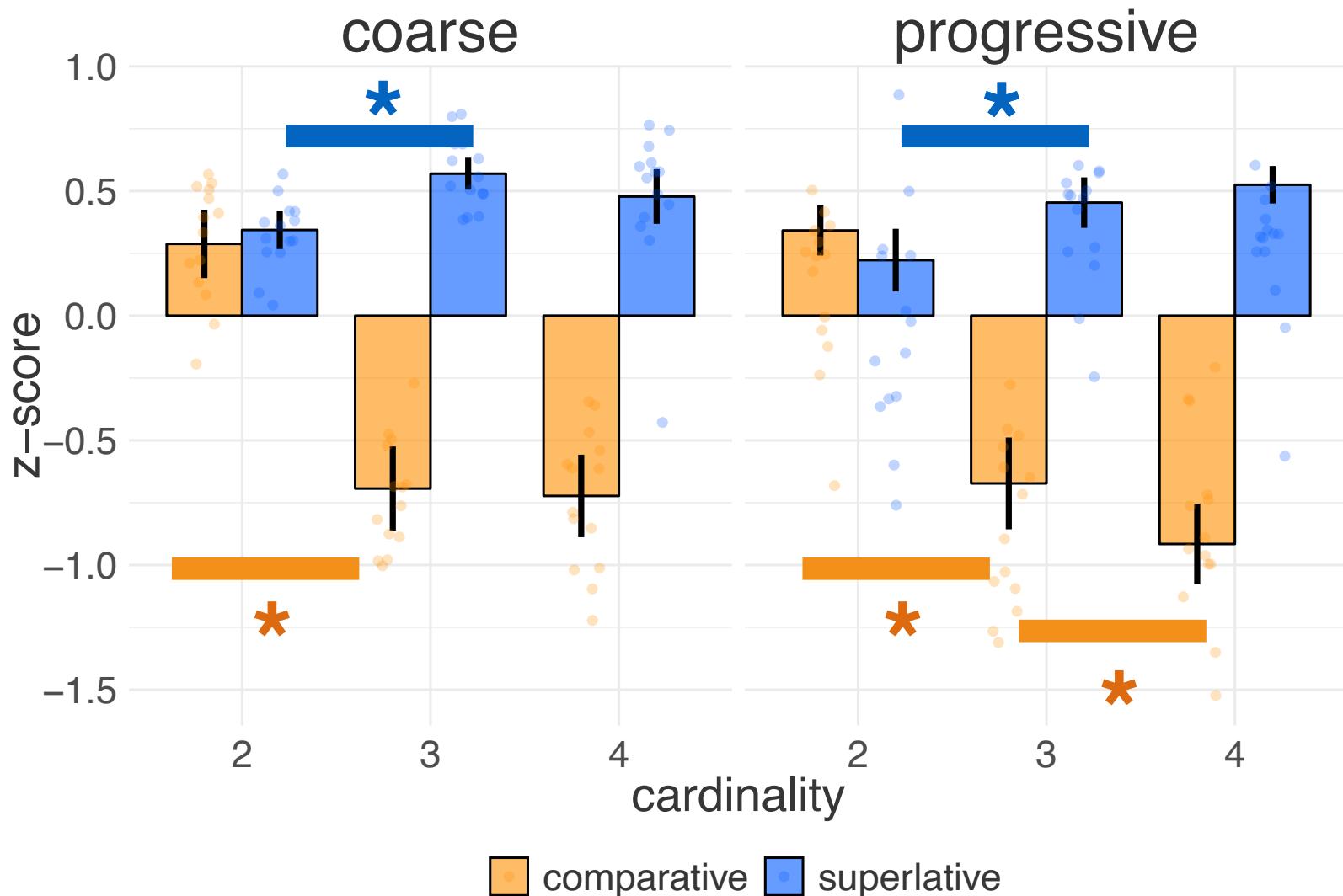
# Theory of granularity inference



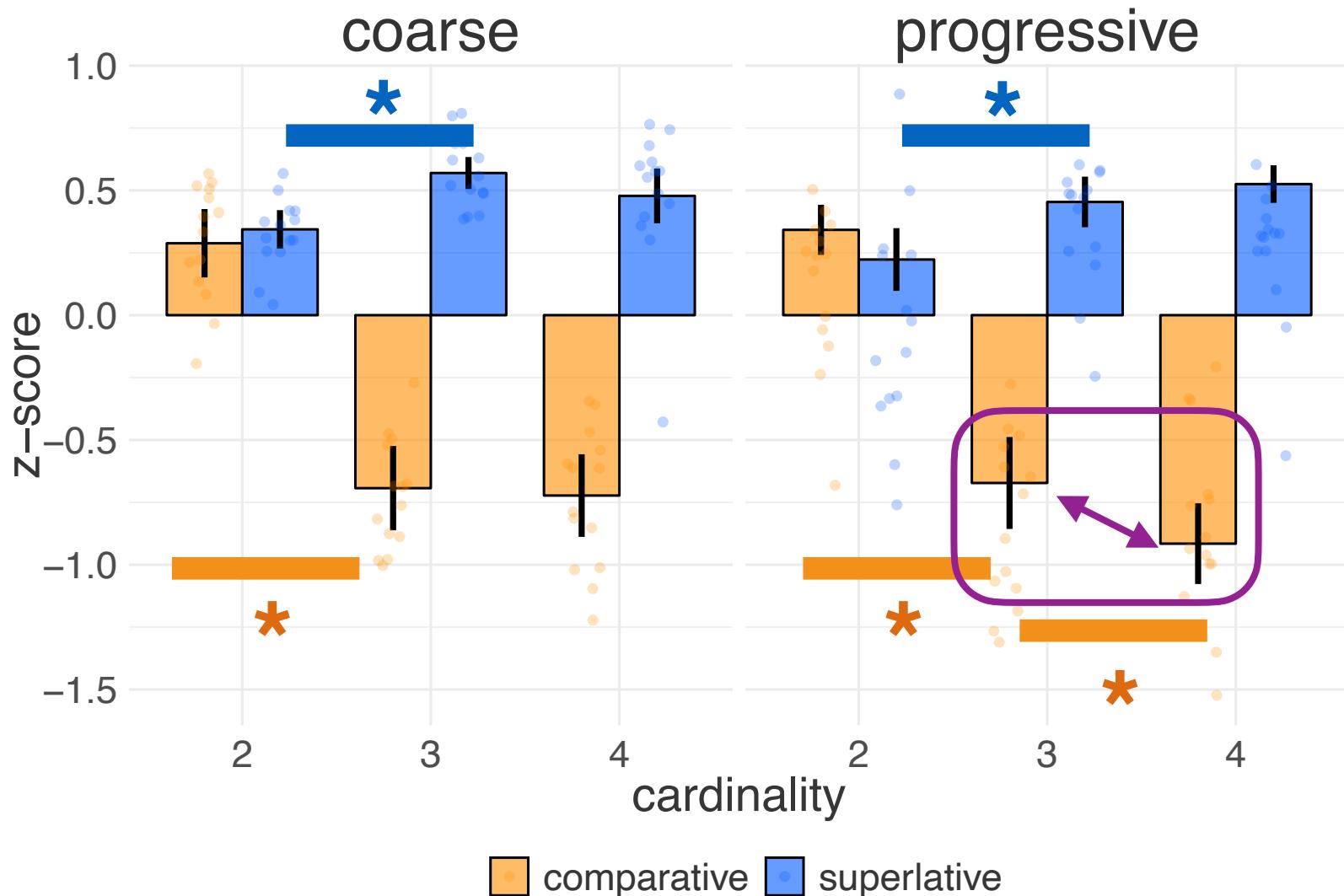
# Theory of granularity inference



# Experiment results



# Experiment results



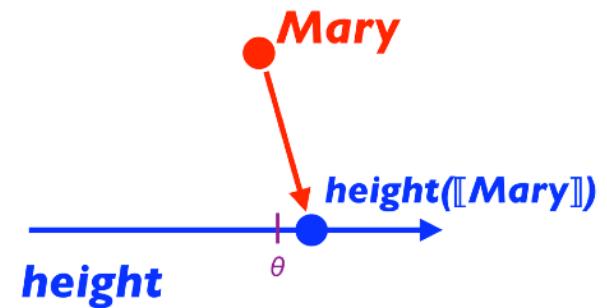
# Vignettes

---

- Unknown words and pragmatic inference
- The nature of semantic scales and comparatives
- Syntax & inferring comparison classes for semantic scales
- Putting it all together: Complex descriptions and pragmatic inference in context

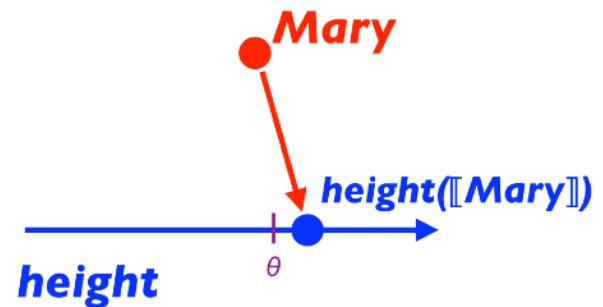
# What else the degree semantics doesn't say

---



# What else the degree semantics doesn't say

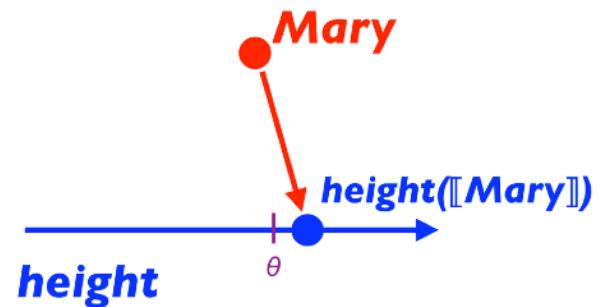
---



- How do we know the comparison class?

# What else the degree semantics doesn't say

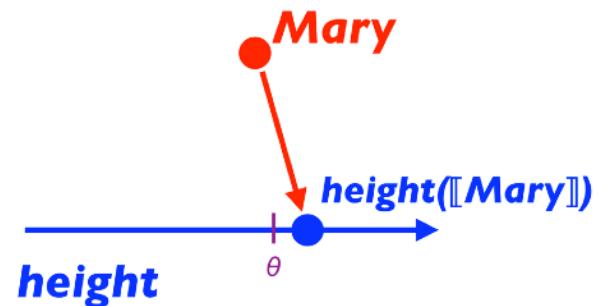
---



- How do we know the comparison class?
  - How does *tall elephant* turn out to mean something different from *tall mouse*?

# What else the degree semantics doesn't say

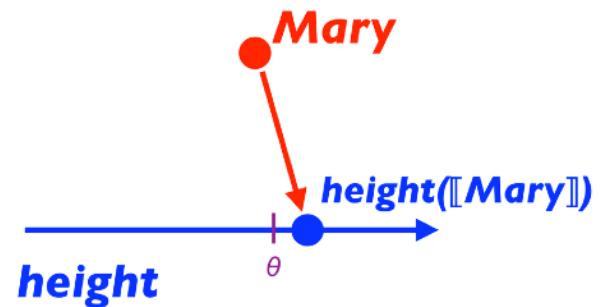
---



- How do we know the comparison class?
  - How does *tall elephant* turn out to mean something different from *tall mouse*?
  - How can the same *individual* be evaluated as either tall or not tall in different contexts?

# What else the degree semantics doesn't say

---

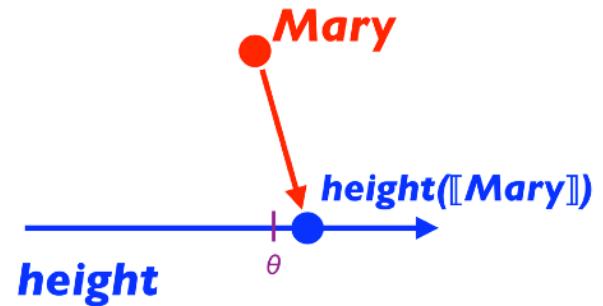


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# What else the degree semantics doesn't say

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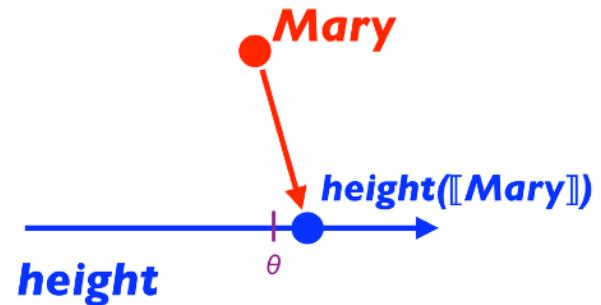


- How do we know the comparison class?
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*Stephen Curry is tall.*



# What else the degree semantics doesn't say

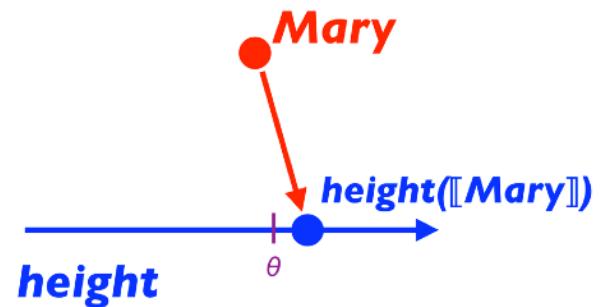


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# What else the degree semantics doesn't say



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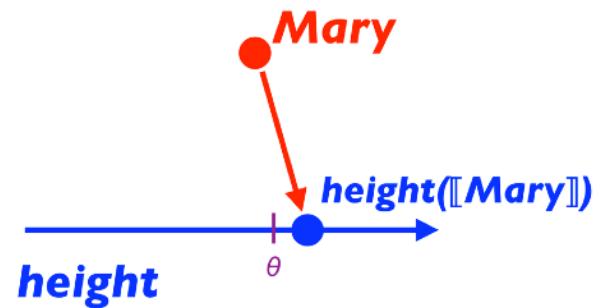
*Stephen Curry is tall.*



*(Stephen Curry is 6'2"; this is the 12th percentile of NBA player heights)*



# What else the degree semantics doesn't say



- How do we know the comparison class?
  - How does *tall elephant* turn out to mean something different from *tall mouse*?
  - How can the same *individual* be evaluated as either tall or not tall in different contexts?

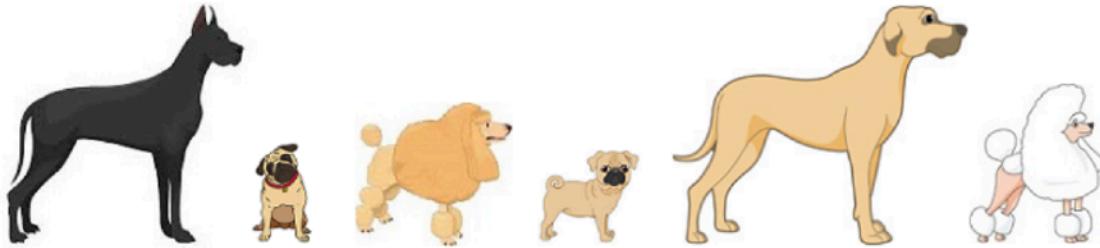
*Stephen Curry is tall.*

*Stephen Curry is a tall basketball player.*

*(Stephen Curry is 6'2"; this is the 12th percentile of NBA player heights)*



You and your friend see the following:



Your friend runs far ahead of you, and you see him in the distance:



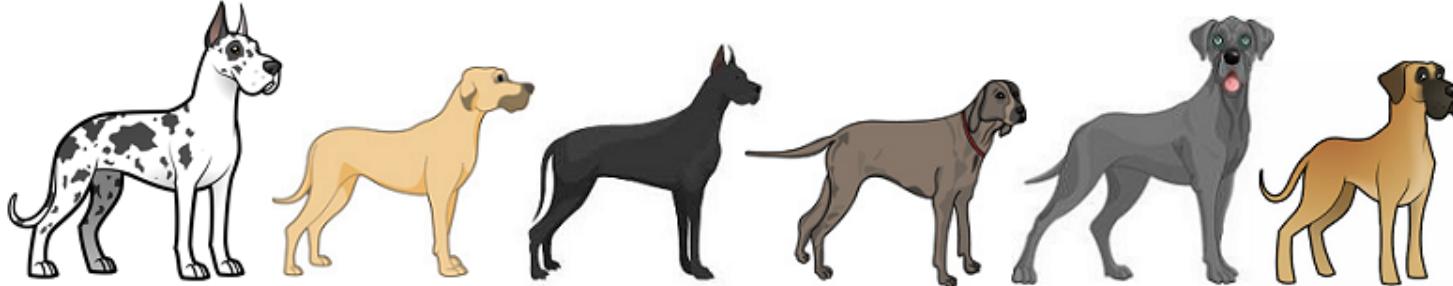
Your friend says: **That's a big great dane.**

**Context** Basic-Level  
**Syntax** Predicate NP  
**Noun** Subordinate Category

What do you think your friend meant?

It is big relative to other \_\_\_\_\_.

You and your friend see the following:



Your friend runs far ahead of you, and you see him in the distance:



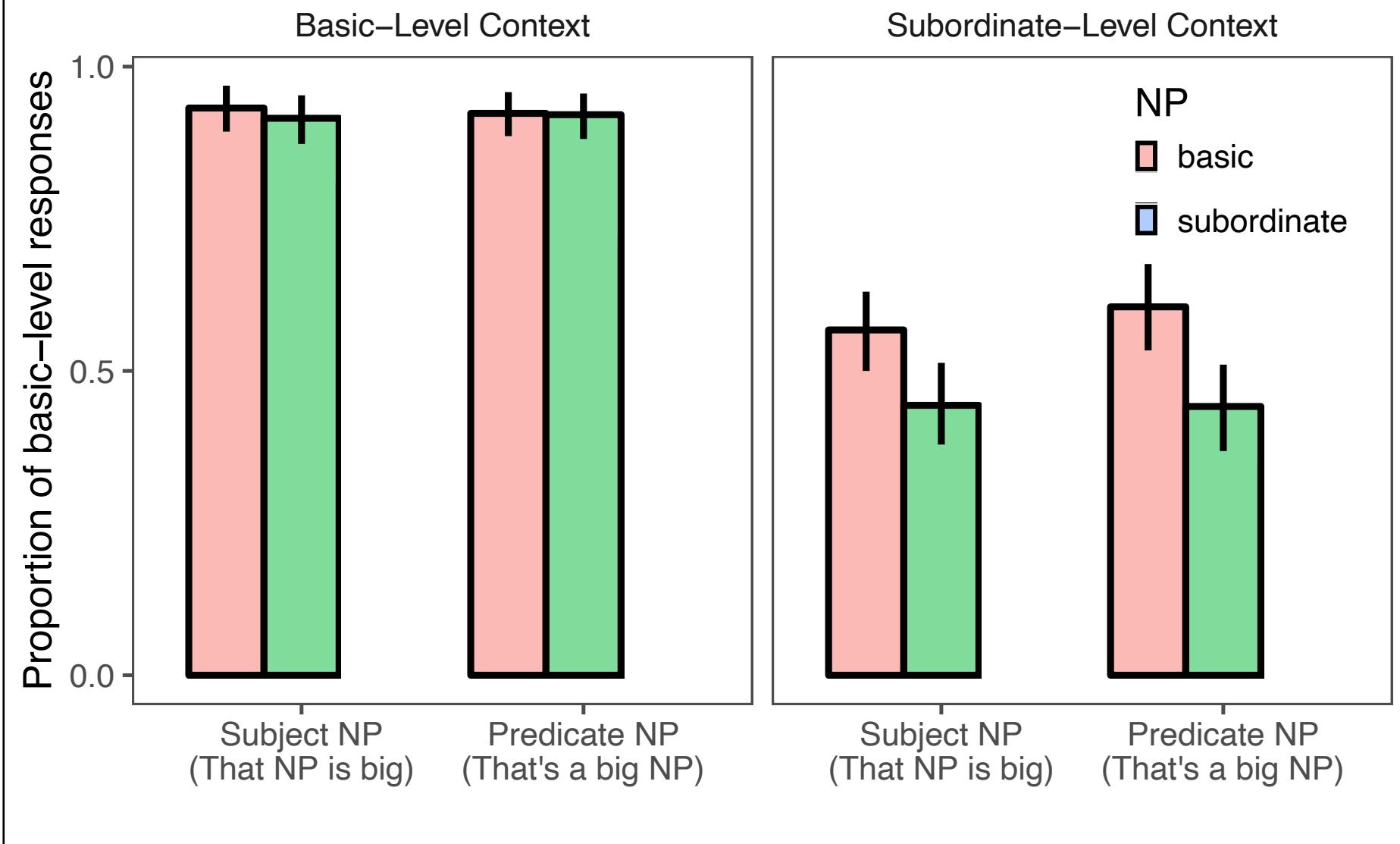
**Context** Subordinate-level  
**Syntax** Subject NP  
**Noun** Basic-level Category

Your friend says: **That dog is big.**

What do you think your friend meant?

It is big relative to other \_\_\_\_\_.

# Results



# Vignettes

---

- Unknown words and pragmatic inference
- The nature of semantic scales and comparatives
- Syntax & inferring comparison classes for semantic scales
- Putting it all together: Complex descriptions and pragmatic inference in context

# Definites

---



**Point at the bag**

# Definites

---

which one?!



Point at the bag

# Definites

---

**Property of definites: require a unique referent**



**Point at the bag**

# Definites

---

**Request violates a cooperative norm for communication  
rooted in the semantics of the definite determiner**



**Point at the bag**

# Definites

---

## Reference Failure



Point at the bag

# Haddock Descriptions

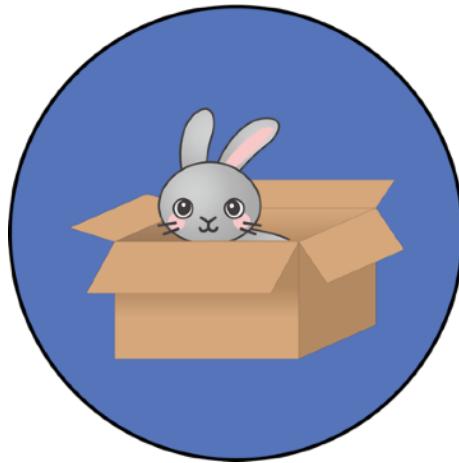
---



**The rabbit in the bag**

# Haddock Descriptions

---



The rabbit in [the bag]

# Haddock Descriptions

---



[The rabbit in [the bag]]

# Haddock Descriptions

---



The rabbit in the bag

39

Haddock (1987)

# Puzzle

---

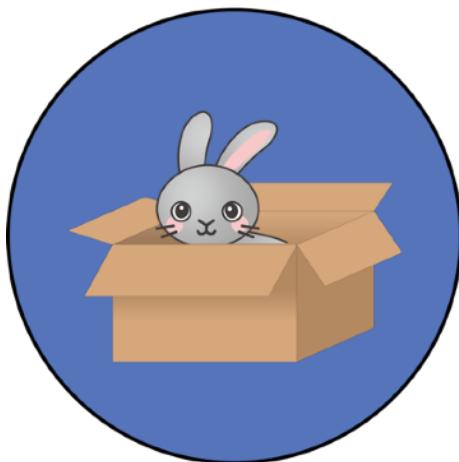


**The rabbit in the bag**

# Puzzle

---

 Why doesn't the embedded definite fail to refer?



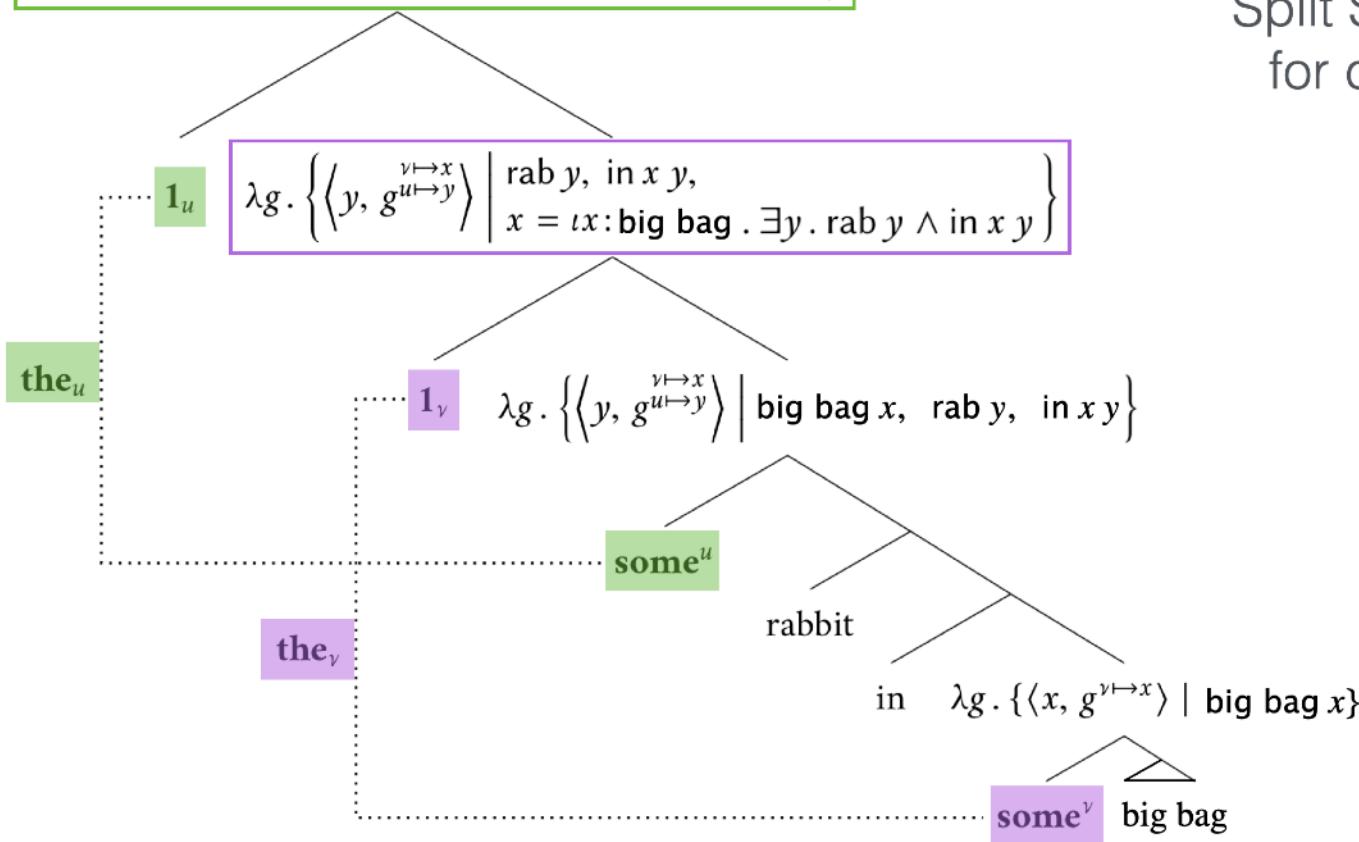
The rabbit in **the bag**

# A semantic account for Haddock descriptions

$$\lambda g. \left\{ \left\langle y, g^{u \mapsto y} \right\rangle \mid \begin{array}{l} x = \iota x: \text{big bag} . \exists y. \text{rab } y \wedge \text{in } x \ y \\ y = \iota y: \text{rab} . \text{in } x \ y \end{array} \right\}$$

**Bumford (2017)**

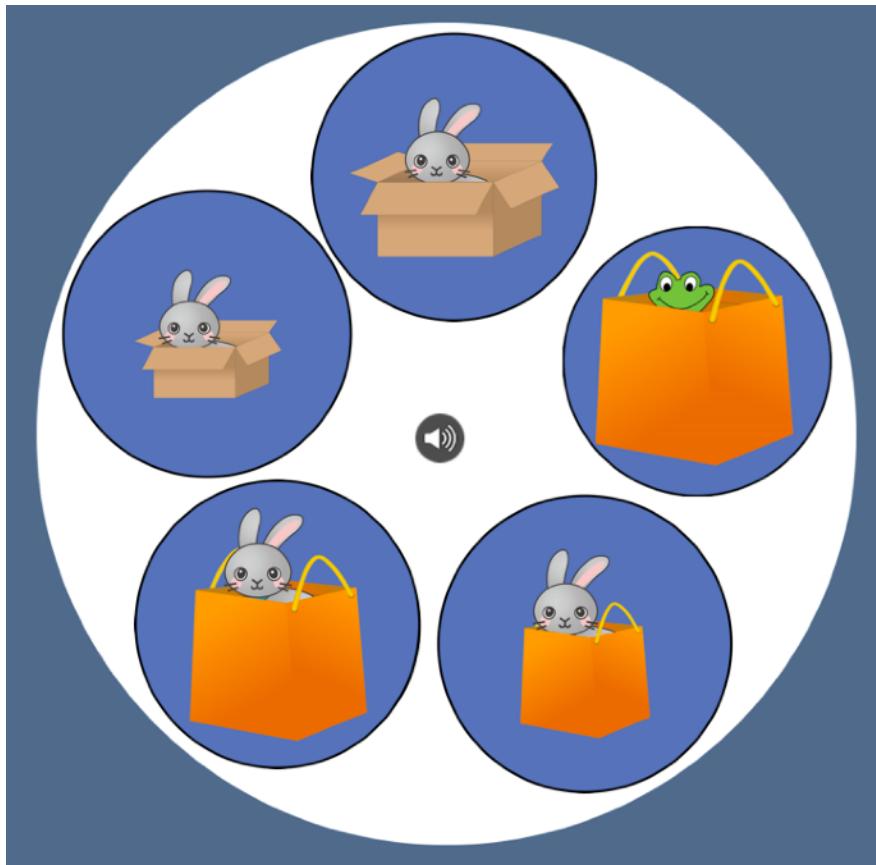
Split Scope interpretation  
for definite determiner



# Experiment: *threshold uncertainty* condition

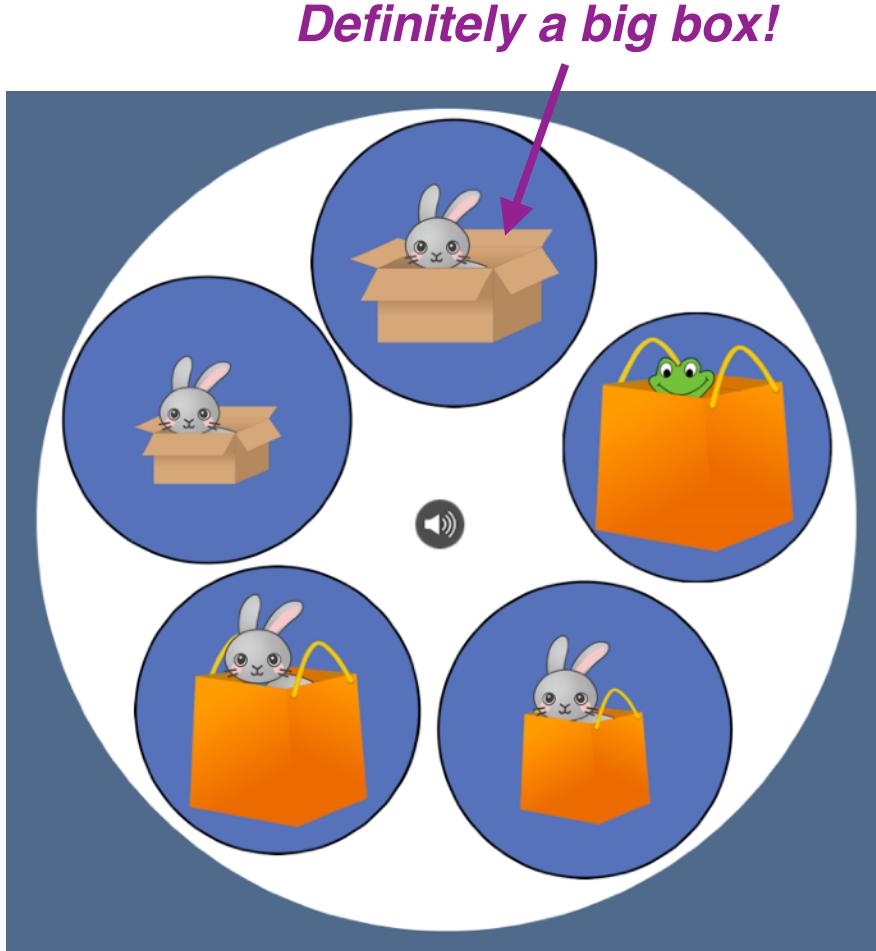
---

**Click on the rabbit in the big [\*\*\*]**



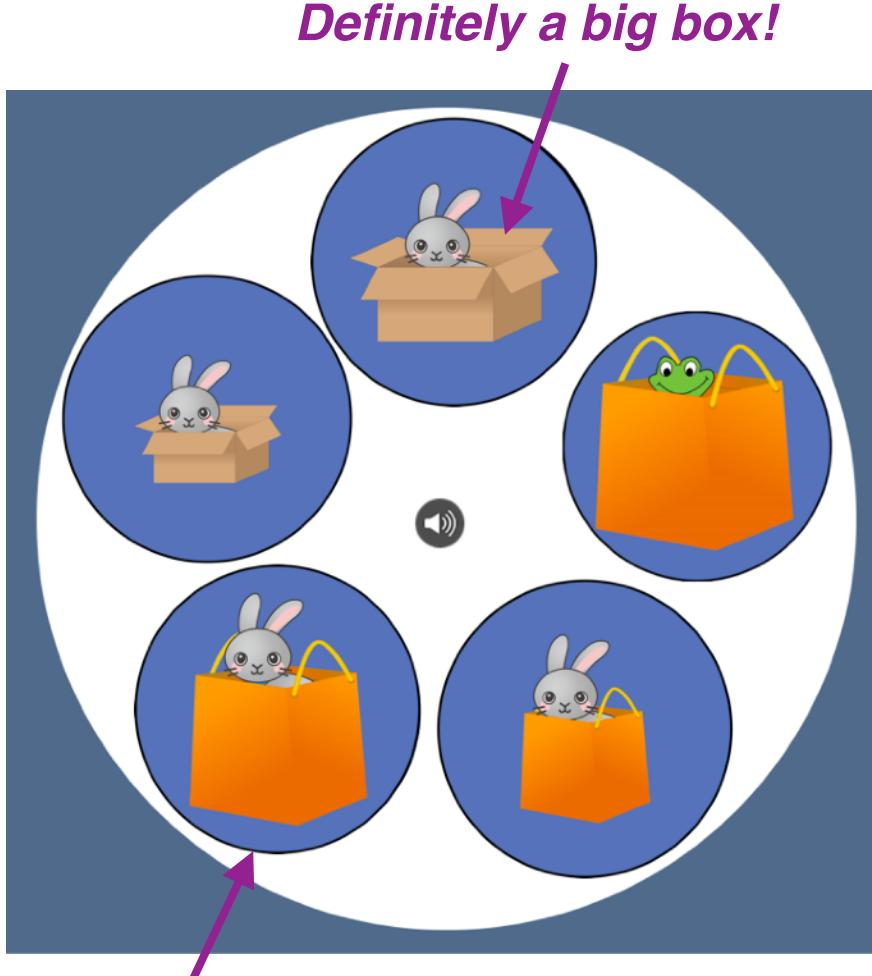
# Experiment: *threshold uncertainty* condition

Click on the rabbit in the big [\*\*\*]



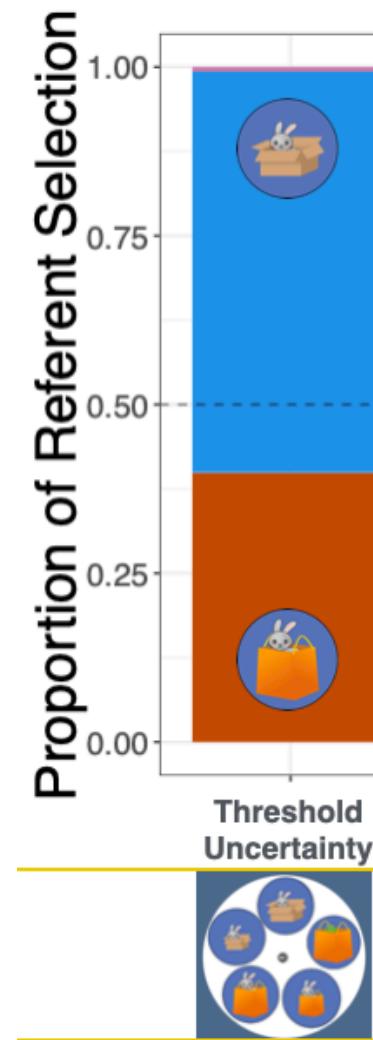
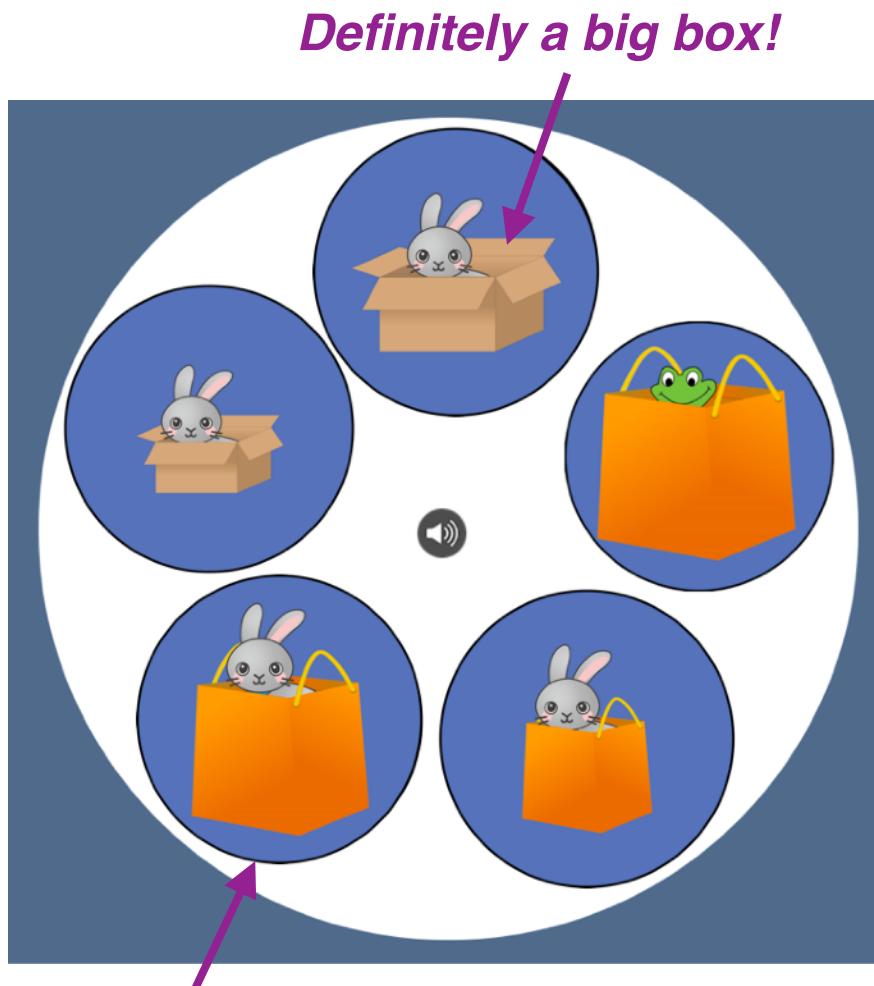
# Experiment: *threshold uncertainty* condition

Click on the rabbit in the big [\*\*\*]



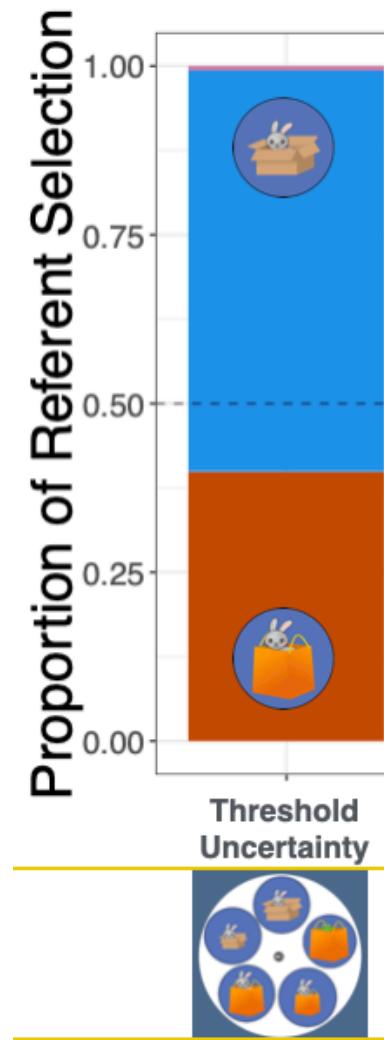
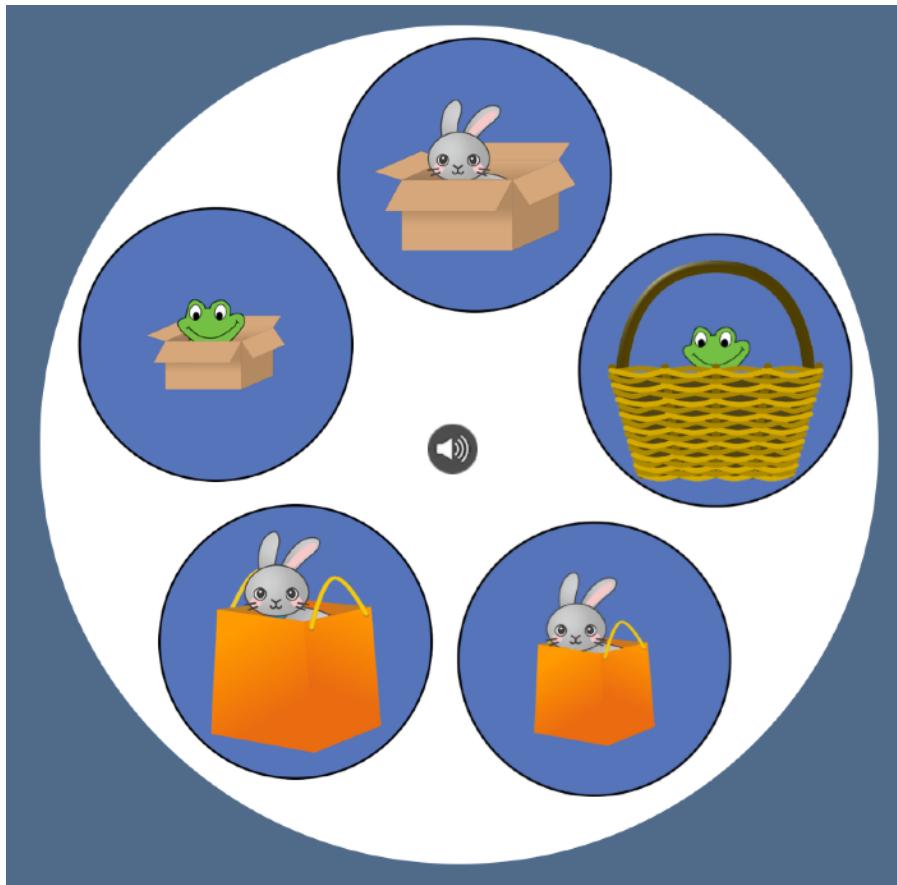
# Experiment: *threshold uncertainty* condition

Click on the rabbit in the big [\*\*\*]



# Experiment: *informativity violation* condition

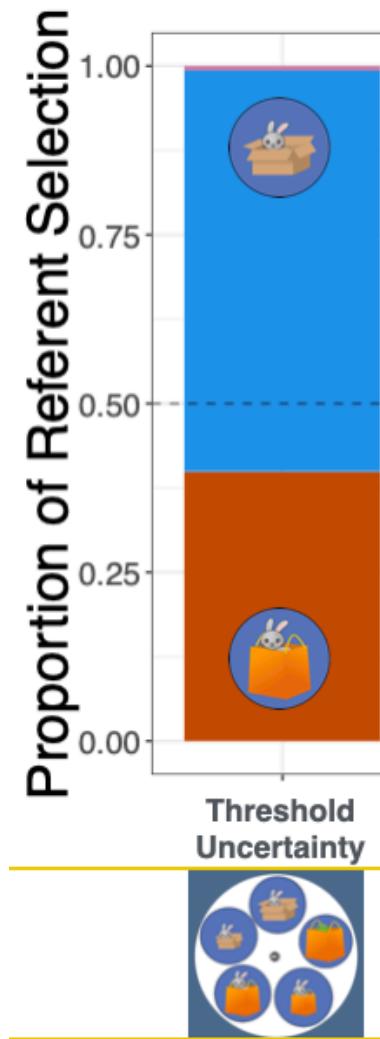
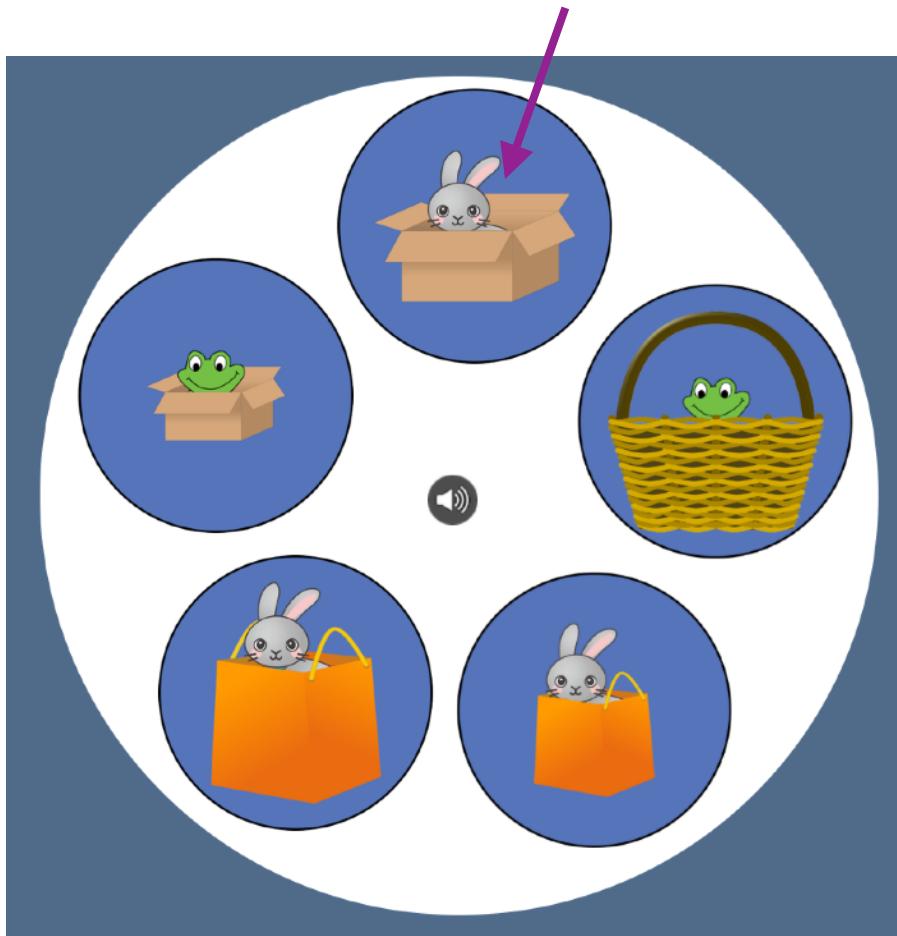
Click on the rabbit in the big [\*\*\*]



# Experiment: *informativity violation* condition

Click on the rabbit in the big [\*\*\*]

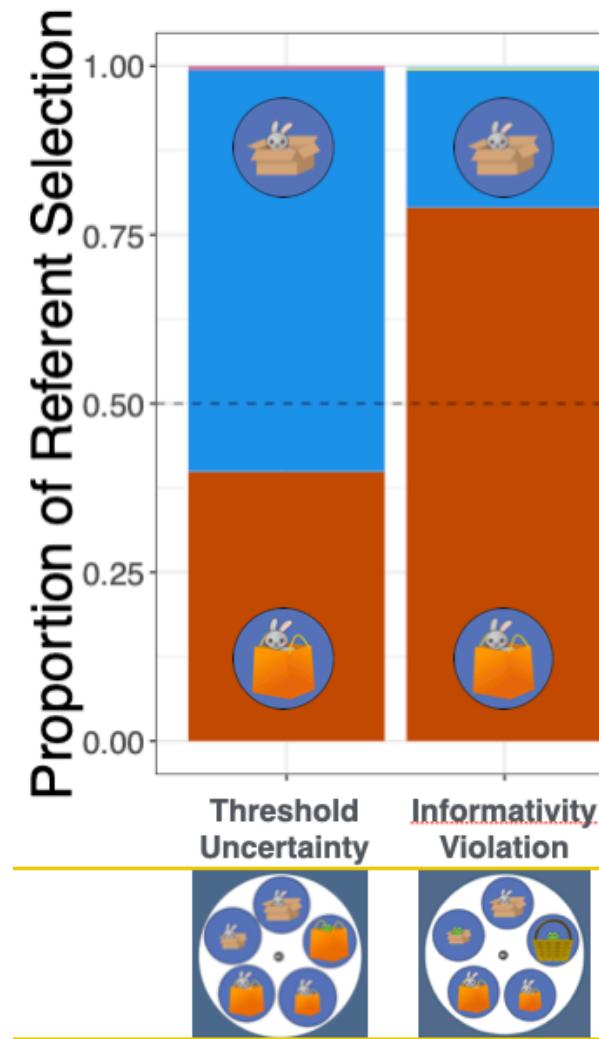
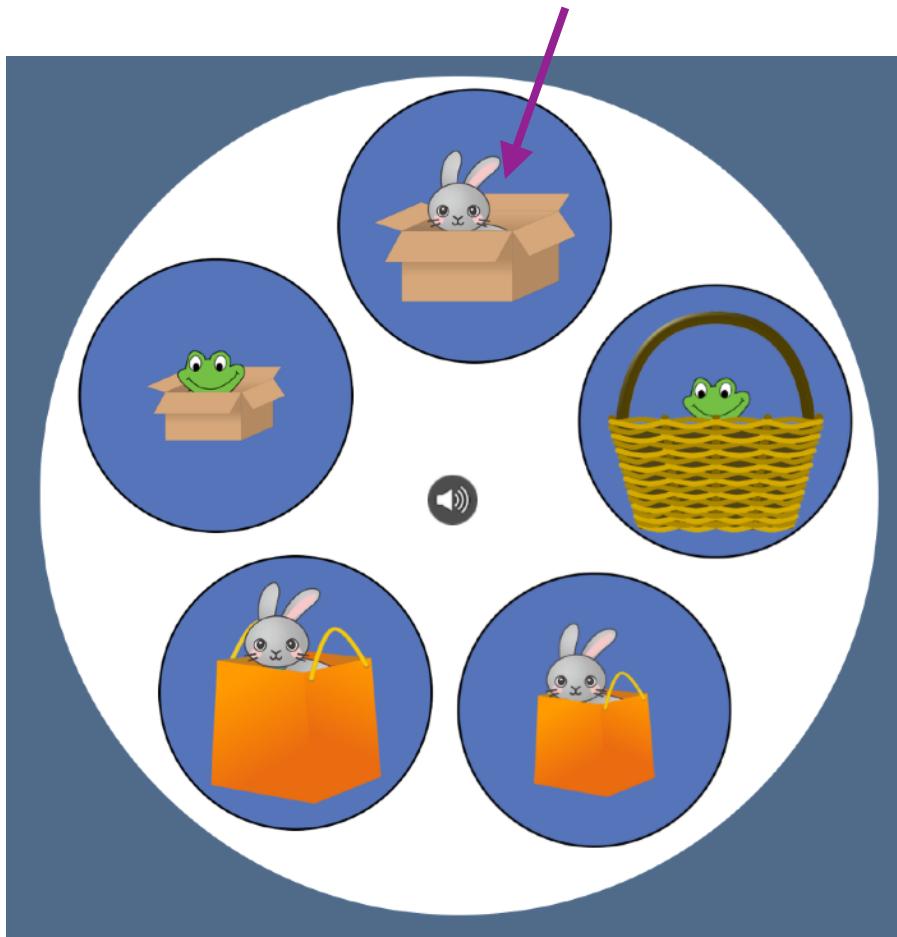
*Wouldn't have needed to say "big"!*



# Experiment: *informativity violation* condition

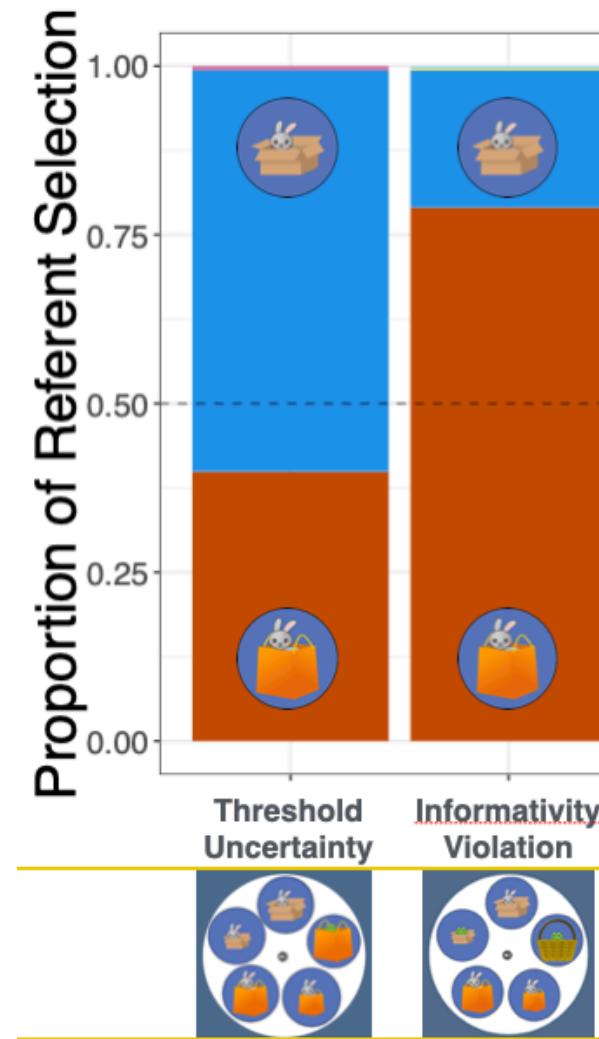
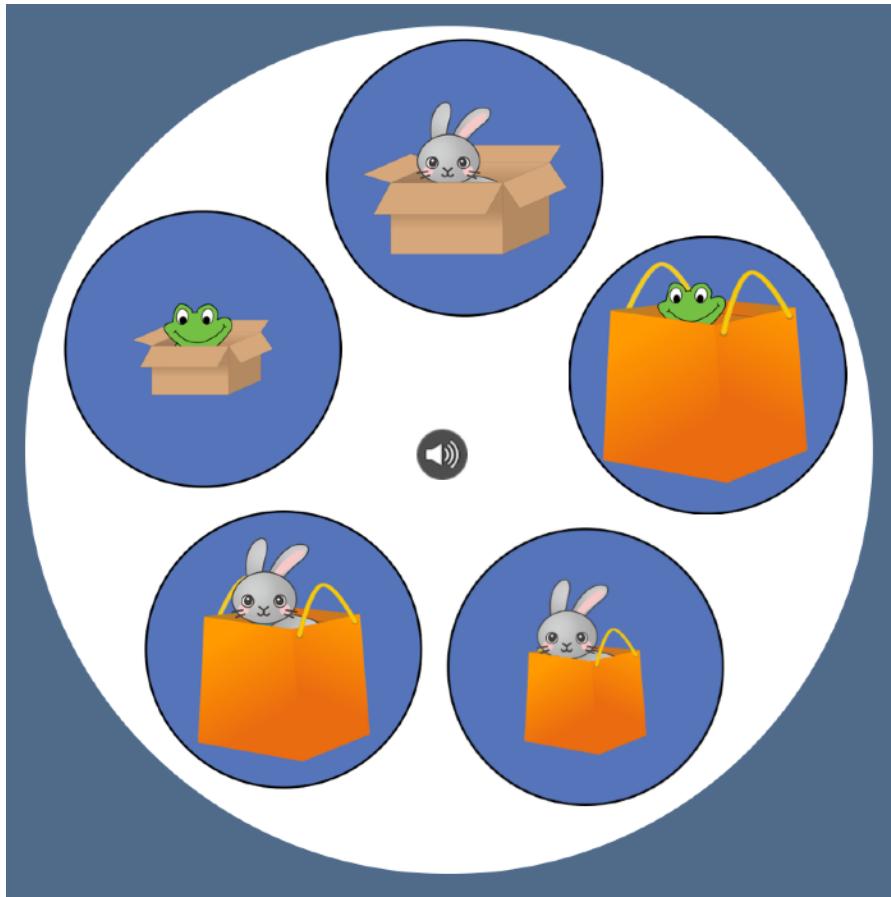
Click on the rabbit in the big [\*\*\*]

*Wouldn't have needed to say "big"!*



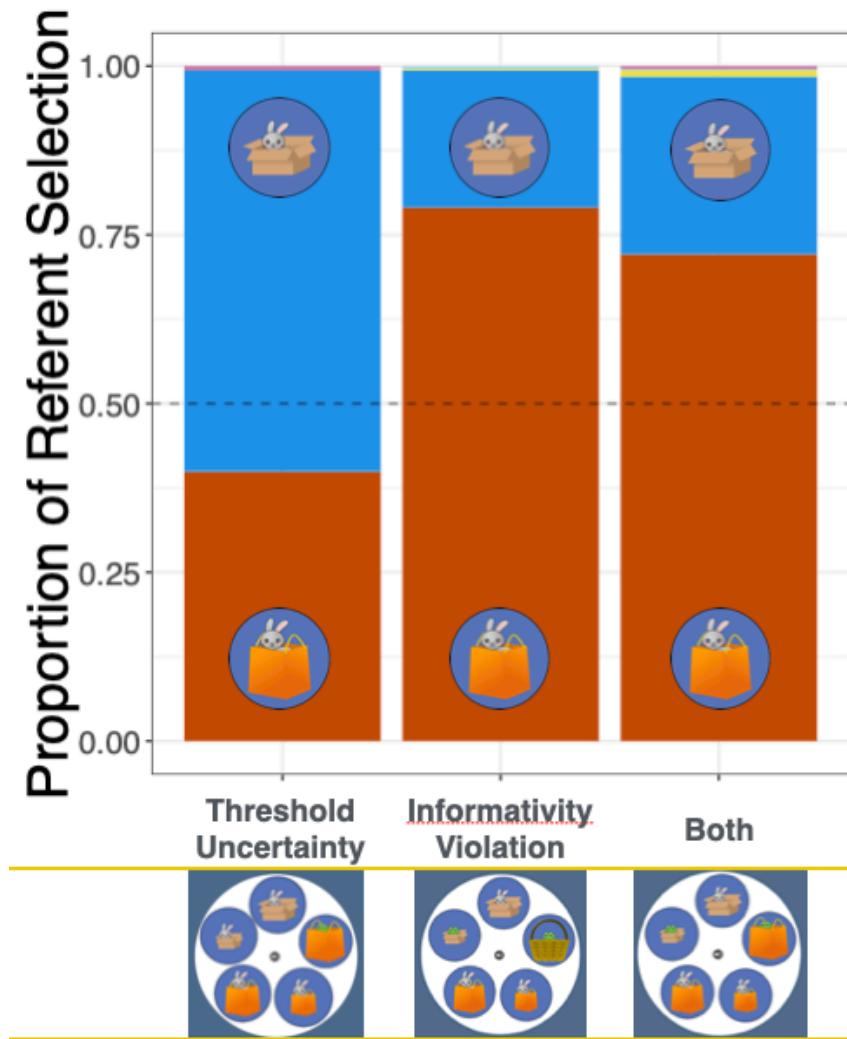
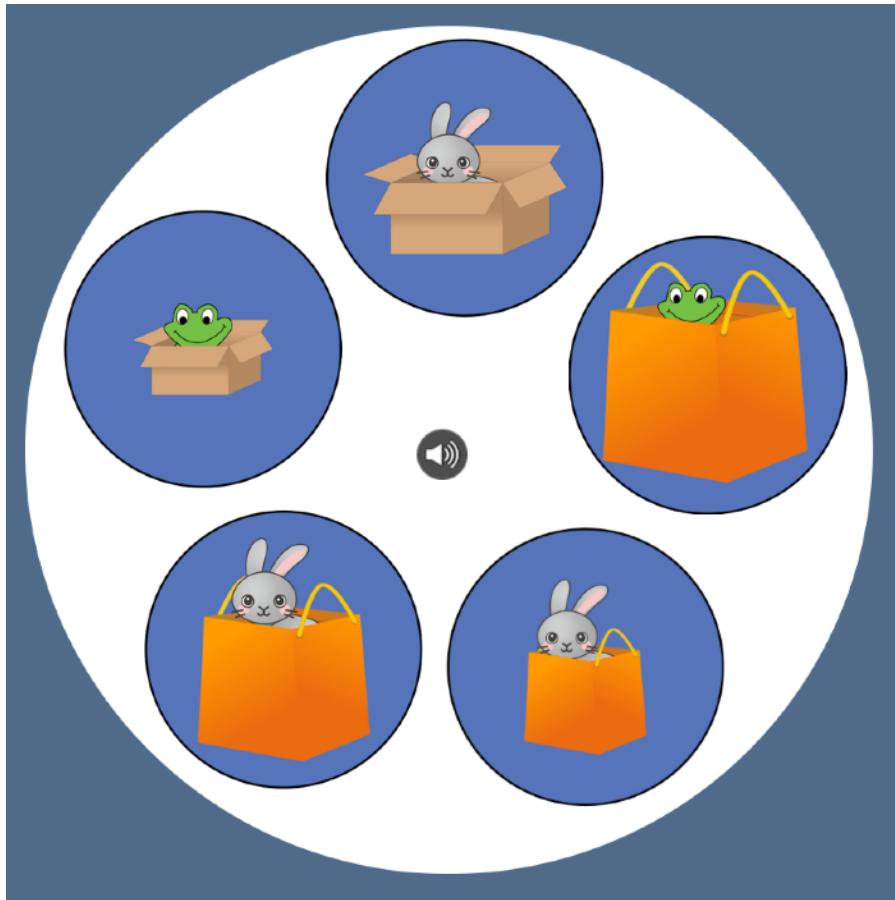
# Threshold uncertainty and informativity violation

Click on the rabbit in the big [\*\*\*]

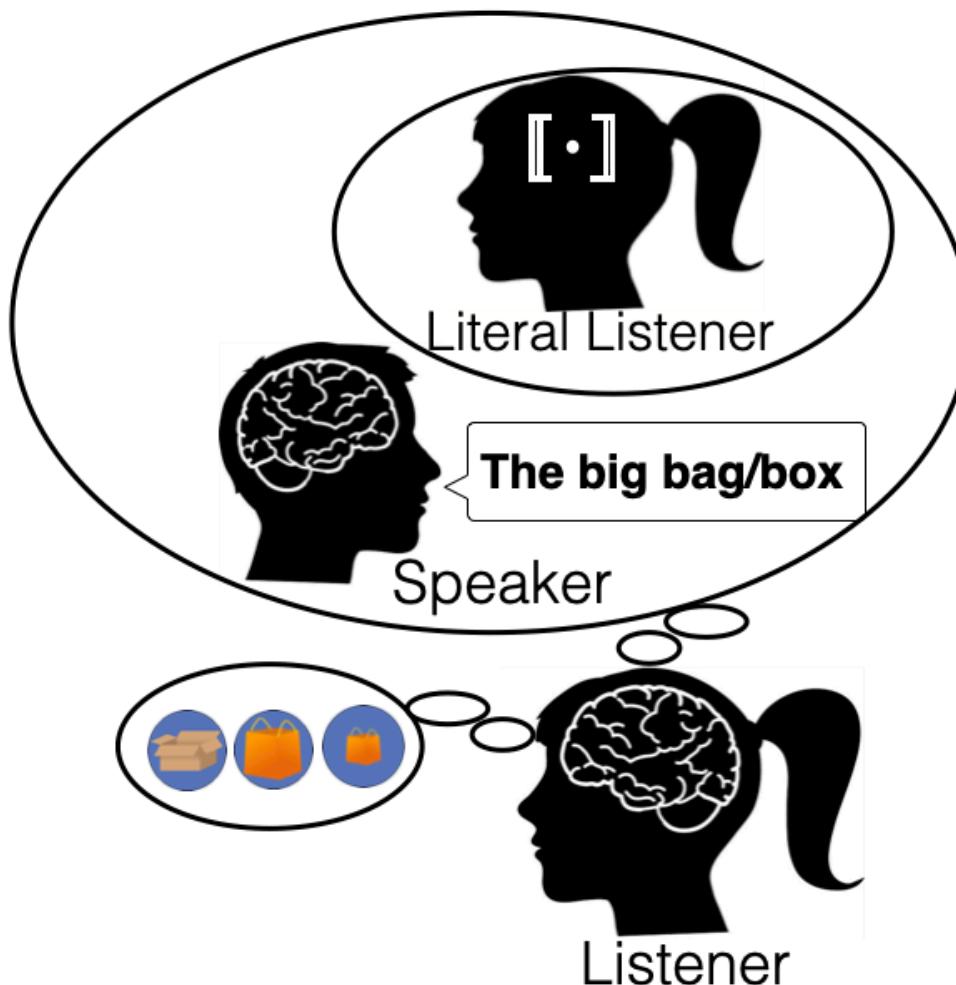


# Threshold uncertainty and informativity violation

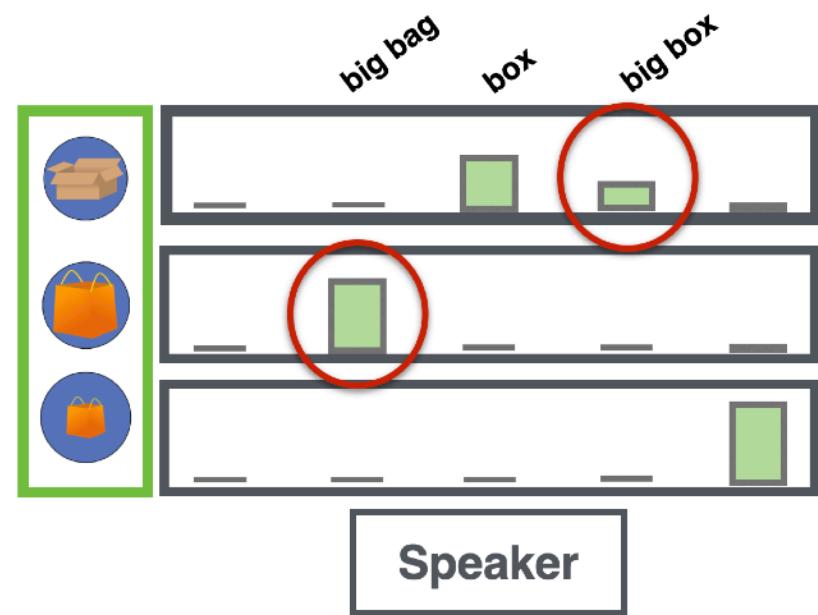
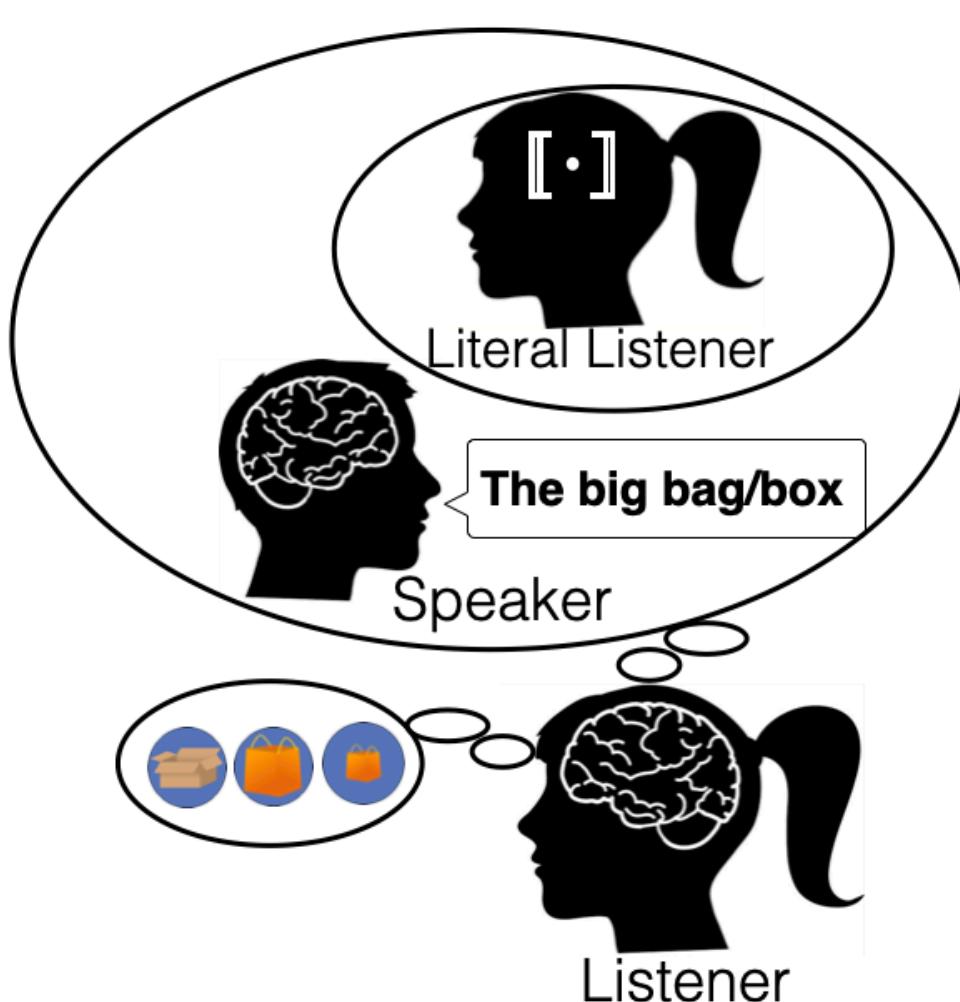
Click on the rabbit in the big [\*\*\*]



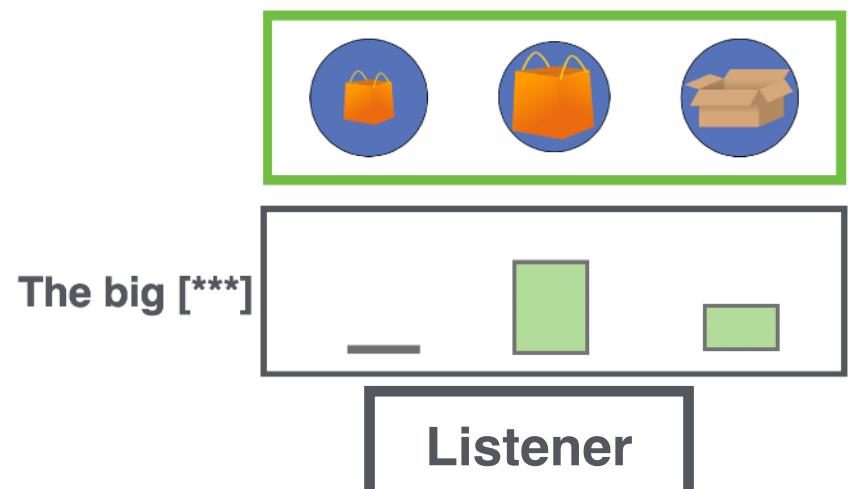
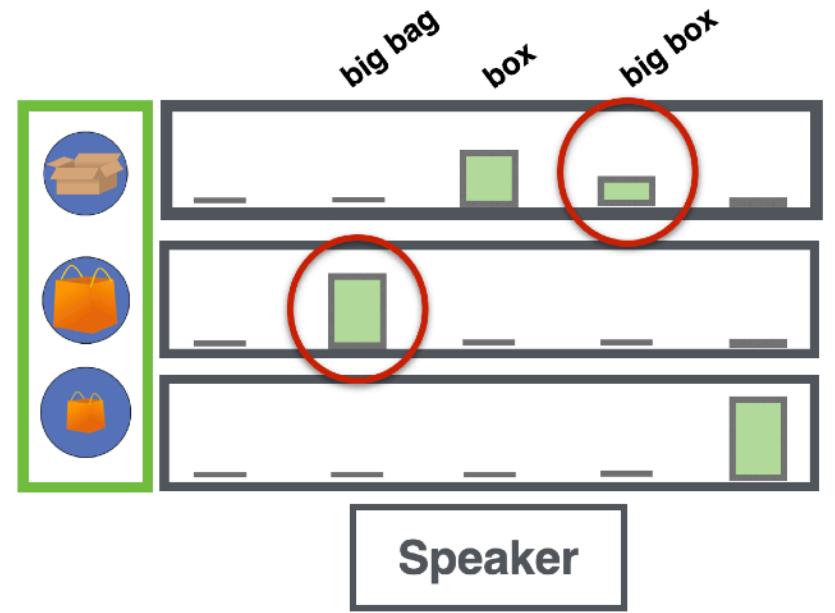
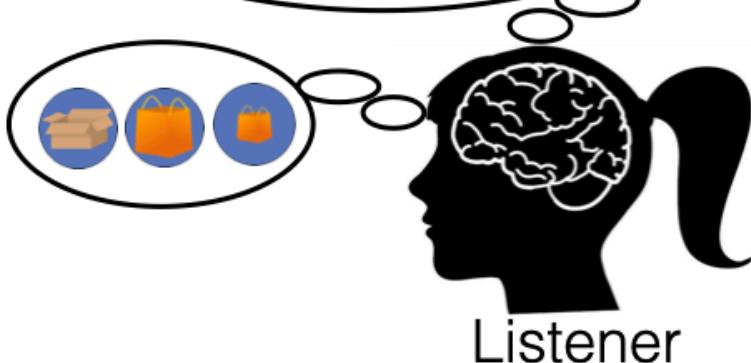
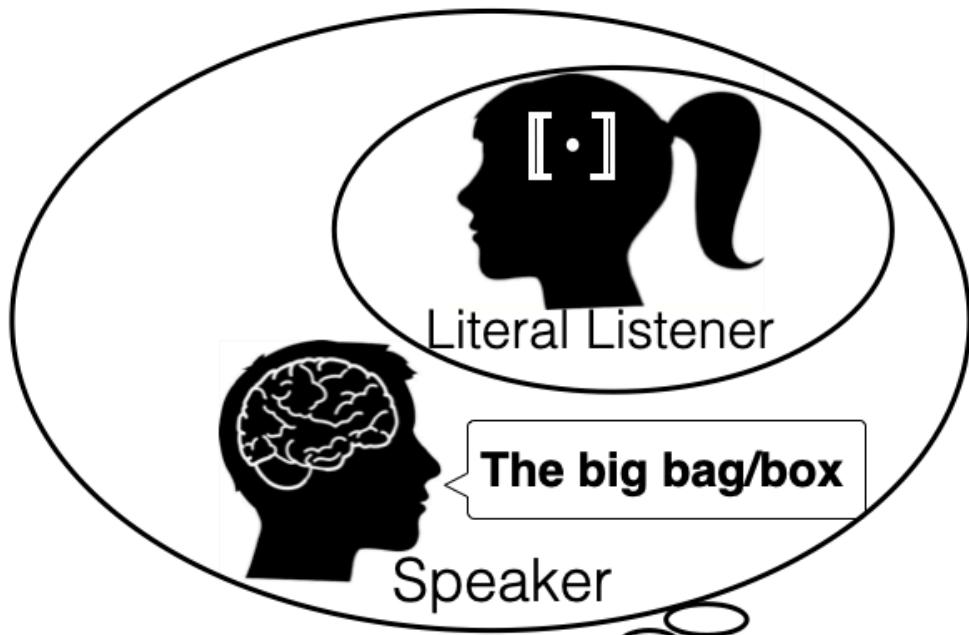
# Modeling with Bayesian pragmatics



# Modeling with Bayesian pragmatics

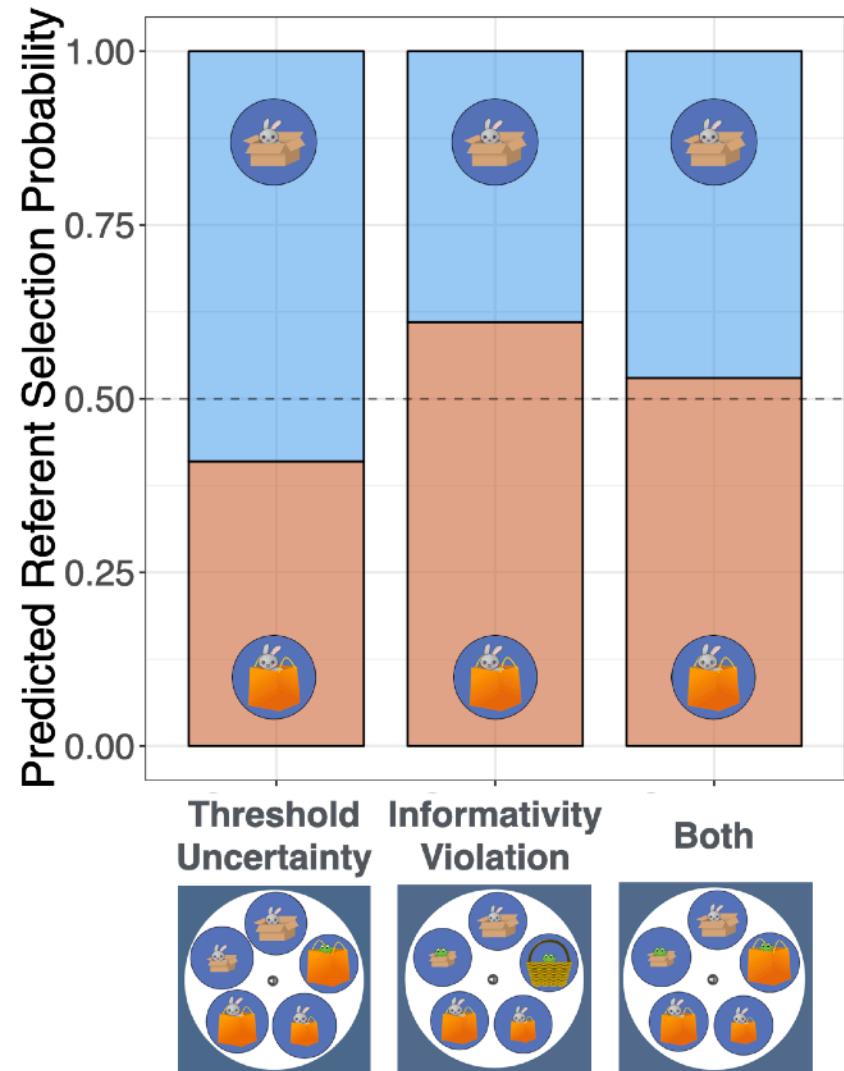


# Modeling with Bayesian pragmatics

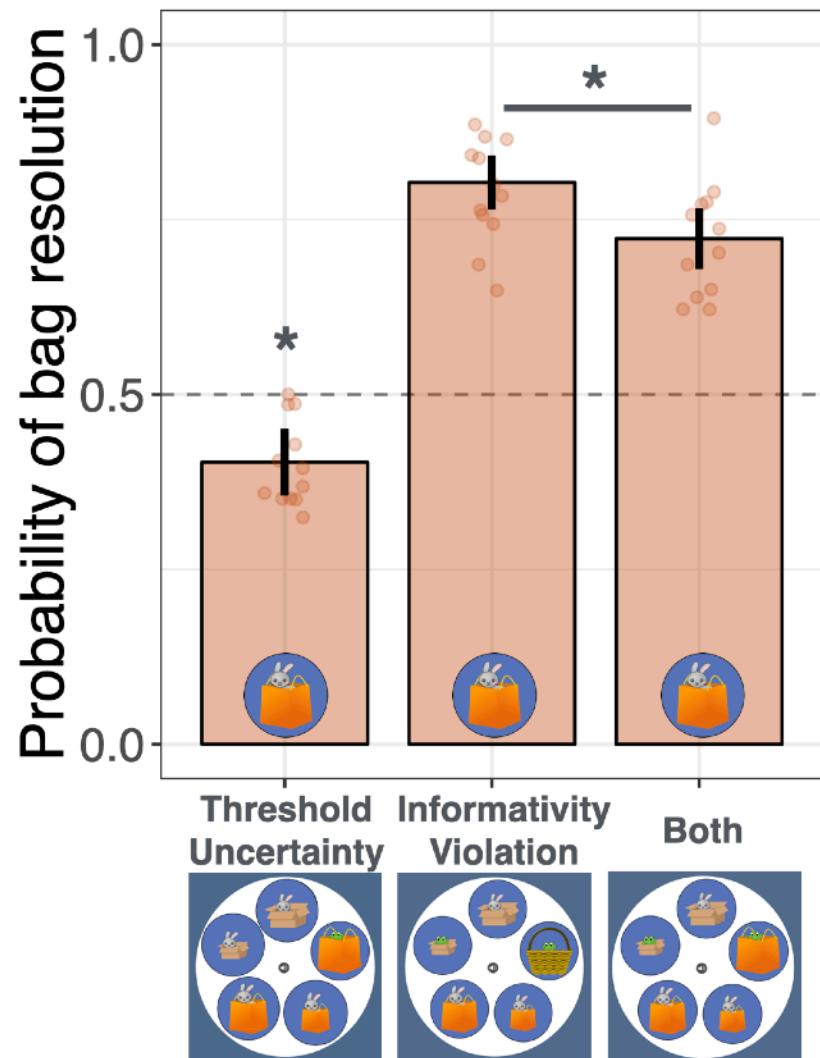


# Model derives qualitative patterns of human response

## Semantic Model



## Human Data

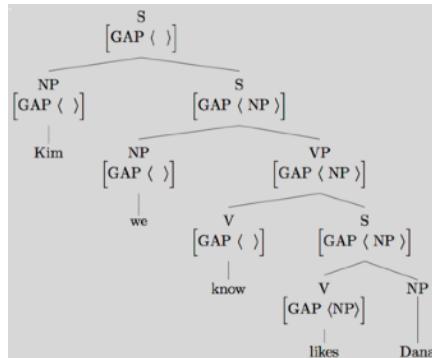


# Vignettes

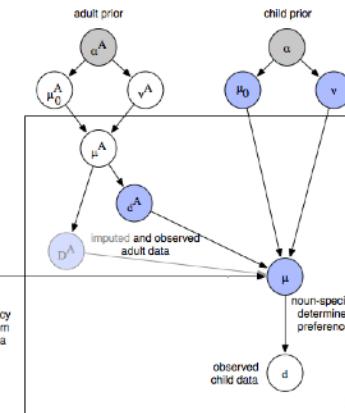
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- Unknown words and pragmatic inference
- The nature of semantic scales and comparatives
- Syntax & inferring comparison classes for semantic scales
- Putting it all together: Complex descriptions and pragmatic inference in context

# Zeroing in on truly human-like language



# Theory of linguistic knowledge



# Computational Models

# Language Datasets

# Psychological Experimentation



DATA CENTER PROJECT

Punkter efter ungdomars körningspråk och den "synkretistiska dansen", en sammanslutning av olika kulturers dans, har jag i min färdtillsats under hösten tortat på olika arter inom skolans värld. Nodiske, afrikansk, syd- och östasiatisk dansmedier gör sin rörelse. Härigenom sång, musik, skräck och gestalter hänslutar och uttrycker med hjälp av körningspråk och dans.

Den individuella esitetiken framhäder i kläder, frisyrer och symboliska tecken som förstärker ungdomarnas "ing-project" där också den egna stilen i kroppsliga former spelar en betydande roll i identitetsprövningen. Upphållsrummen fungerar som offentliga arena där ungdomarna spelar upp sina performanceklandrade kroppar. Hove

# Collaborators

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***Helena Aparicio***



***Curtis Chen***



***Elizabeth Coppock***



***Jennifer Hu***



***Michael Henry Tessler***



***Polina Tsvilodub***



***Noga Zaslavsky***

# Thank you for listening!

<http://cpl.mit.edu>

<http://www.mit.edu/~rplevy>