Disentangling continuous and discrete linguistic signals in transformer-based sentence embeddings

Anonymous EACL submission

Abstract

Sentence and word embeddings encode struc-002 tural and semantic information in a distributed manner. Part of the information encoded – par-004 ticularly lexical information – can be seen as continuous, whereas other - like structural information - is most often discrete. We explore whether we can compress transformer-based sentence embeddings into a representation that separates different linguistic signals - in particular, information relevant to subject-verb agreement and verb alternations. We show that by compressing an input sequence that shares a targeted phenomenon into the latent layer of a variational autoencoder-like system, the targeted linguistic information becomes more explicit. 016 A latent layer with both discrete and continuous 017 components captures better the targeted phenomena than a latent layer with only discrete or only continuous components. These experiments are a step towards separating linguistic signals from distributed text embeddings and linking them to more symbolic representations.

1 Introduction

034

040

As deep learning models become more and more powerful, the need grows to move away from black box models to interpretable ones. An important reason for this is that black box models may make good predictions for the wrong reasons. There is a big risk involved with deploying such models in environments where wrong predictions can have dire consequences (Rudin et al., 2021).

Explanations need to be formulated based on the conscious primitives of language. The expressive power of human thought and language are arguably built by compositional processes that operate on objects that, at least at the conscious level, are symbolic.

At a high level, the discrete, symbolic and combinatorial nature of language needs to be reconciled with the statistical patterns and the machine encoding of language in distributed representations. At a lower level, understanding the representations of words, sentences, and text produced with deep learning models would help trace the different syntactic and semantic signals and explain how they are encoded in distributed representations. 042

043

044

045

047

049

052

055

056

057

060

061

062

063

064

065

066

067

069

070

071

072

073

074

075

076

077

078

079

Information in the input word or text fragment is encoded into a vector of fixed dimensions with continuous values. Some of the information encoded can be viewed as continuous. For example, our intuitive understanding of lexical semantic properties is conceived as a similarity space so that we can judge whether words or text fragments are close or distant. Other types of information – e.g. grammatical number, gender, roles, verb classes – are more discrete in nature. While the good results in using these representations for various NLP tasks (Wang et al., 2019; Rajpurkar et al., 2018) indicate that both discrete and continuous information is encoded in these representations, it is not explicit.

Unlike previous work, we do not aim to show that sentence embeddings encode information pertaining to specific linguistic phenomena, but to detect how such information is encoded, and whether we can disentangle different linguistic signals from transformer-based sentence embeddings. Because sentence representations compress a multitude of linguistic information, we use datasets that focus on and encode specific linguistic phenomena - in particular, subject-verb agreement and verb alternations - as commonly done (Nikolaev and Padó, 2023; Linzen et al., 2016). To test how well we can detect signals relevant to these (implicitly) provided phenomena, we use a variational autoencoder-based system. We show that a latent layer that has a continuous and a discrete part leads to best results. By analysing the kind of errors the system makes when masking different parts of the latent layer, we show that they encode different types of information. The code will be made public upon publication.

2 Related work

084

086

092

100

101

102

103

104

105

106

108

109

110

111

112

113

114

115 116

117

118

119

120

121

122

123

124

125

126

127

128

129

130

131

132

Neural representations have lead to breakthroughs in multiple tasks, including NLP, but they, and the models used to build them, are quite opaque. Neural systems may produce the correct answer but for the wrong reason, or based on spurious correlations in the input. Understanding the neural network blackboxes and the representations they induce or learn is a crucial research direction (Bengio et al., 2013). Rudin et al. (2021) provide an overview of interpretable ML, which include disentanglement techniques. Disentanglement can also be used to design and select input data such that it covers the targeted interpretable concepts and help improve generalization (Locatello et al., 2020).

Disentanglement, often implemented using Generative Adversarial Networks (GANs) (Goodfellow et al., 2014) and Variational AutoEncoders (VAEs) (Schmidhuber, 1992; Kingma and Welling, 2013), has found several applications in NLP, as it can help separate the various types of information encoded in a sentence, such as syntax and semantics (Chen et al., 2019a; Bao et al., 2019), text style (Fu et al., 2018; John et al., 2019) or morphological information (Zhou and Neubig, 2017). The representation on the latent layer can have continuous or discrete variables. Continuous representations can also be disentangled (Higgins et al., 2017; Mathieu et al., 2019; Chen et al., 2019b), while the discrete one by default separates specific factors.

Bao et al. (2019) and Chen et al. (2019a) use two continuous variables to model semantic and syntactic information on the latent layer of a VAE. Bao et al. (2019) enforce the encoding of syntactic information in the latent layer by predicting the linearized parse tree of the input. Chen et al. (2019a) use multi-task training to encourage the separation of information on the latent layer.

Mercatali and Freitas (2021) learn to isolate 9 generative factors using a variational autoencoder (VAE) architecture with Gumbel-softmax sampling (Jang et al., 2017). Sentences are encoded (and decoded) using an LSTM. Zheng and Lapata (2022) propose a different method for disentangling relations expressed in a sentence which may share arguments. This is implemented as an extension to sequence-to-sequence (seq2seq) models, where at each decoding step the source input is re-encoded by conditioning the source representations on the newly decoded target context. These specialized representations make it easier for the encoder to exploit relevant-only information for each prediction.

133

134

135

136

138

139

140

141

142

143

144

145

146

147

148

149

150

151

152

153

154

155

156

157

158

159

160

161

162

163

164

165

166

167

168

169

170

171

172

173

174

175

176

177

178

179

180

181

Huang et al. (2021) disentangle syntactic and semantic representation using a sentence encoder and a parse encoder. Learning to produce paraphrases of the input sentence with the given parse structure forces the sentence encoder to produce a semantic representation devoid of syntactic information.

We build on Dupont (2018), who shows that a combination of discrete and continuous factors characterizing images can be learned in an unsupervised manner. We experiment with different representations on the latent layer of a VAE-like system, to test whether specific grammatical information can be disentangled from transformer-based sentence embeddings.

3 Grammatical phenomena to study sentence representations

We investigate whether specific grammatical information can be accessed from distributed sentence representations. Sentences are combinations of linguistic phenomena, which LLMs compress in fixed-length continuous vectors. Because of this, linguistic phenomena are often studied on specifically designed or selected datasets (e.g. (Nikolaev and Padó, 2023; Linzen et al., 2016)), that isolate or emphasize the targeted phenomena. We also use artificially generated datasets, Blackbird Language Matrices (BLMs) (Merlo et al., 2022; Merlo, 2023), inspired by Raven Progressive Matrices visual pattern tests that rely on the solver detecting overlapping rules (Raven, 1938; Zhang et al., 2019).

3.1 Input data

A Blackbird Language Matrix (BLM) problem (Merlo, 2023) has an input consisting of a context of S sentences that share the targeted grammatical phenomenon, but differ in other aspects relevant for the phenomenon in question. BLMs are multiplechoice problems, and each input is paired with a set of candidate answers, where the incorrect ones are built by corrupting some of the generating rules of the input sequence. This added dimension of the datasets facilitates the investigation of the kind of information a system is able to disentangle from the sentence embeddings.

BLM datasets can also vary in lexical complexity. The datasets usually comprise three levels of complexity. Type I data is generated based on manually provided seeds, and a template for its generative rules. Type II data is generated based on Type I data, by introducing lexical variation using a transformer, by generating alternatives for masked nouns. Type III data is generated by combining sentences from different instances from the Type II data. This allows investigations into the impact of lexical variation on the ability of a system to detect grammatical patterns.

182

183

188

190

191

192

193

196 197

198

199

201

202

203

207

210

211

We use two BLM datasets, which encode two different linguistic phenomena, each in a different language: subject verb agreement in French, and an instance of verb alternations in English.

BLMs for subject-verb agreement in French Subject-verb agreement is often used to test the syntactic abilities of deep neural networks (Linzen et al., 2016; Gulordava et al., 2018; Goldberg, 2019; Linzen and Baroni, 2021). While theoretically simple, it can have several complicating factors: e.g. linear or structural distance between the subject and the verb.

EXAMPLE OF CONTEXT								
1	The vase	with the flower		leaks.				
2	The vases	with the flower		leak.				
3	The vase	with the flowers		leaks.				
4	The vases	with the flowers		leak.				
5	The vase	with the flower	from the garden	leaks.				
6	The vases	with the flower	from the garden	leak.				
7	The vase	with the flowers	from the garden	leaks.				
8	???							
EXAMPLE OF ANSWERS								
The vase with the flower and the garden leaks. Coord								
The vases with the flowers from the garden leak. Correct								
The vase with the flower leaks.								
The vase with the flower from the garden leak.								
The vases with the flower from the garden leak.								
TI	The vases with the flowers from the gardens leak. WN2							

Figure 1: Subject-verb agreement BLM: a type I data instance (original in French). WNA=wrong nr. of attractors; AE=agreement error; WN1=wrong nr. for 1^{st} attractor (N1); WN2=wrong nr. for 2^{nd} attractor (N2).

We use BLM-AgrF (An et al., 2023),¹ illustrated in Figure 1. The input for each instance consists of a context set of seven sentences that share the subject-verb agreement phenomenon, but differ in other aspects – e.g. number of intervening attractors between the subject and the verb, different grammatical numbers for these attractors, and different clause structures.

BLMs for verb alternations in English The study of the argument-structure properties of verbs and semantic role assignments is also a test-bed

for the core syntactic and semantic abilities of neu-212 ral networks (Kann et al., 2019; Yi et al., 2022). 213 In particular, Yi et al. (2022) demonstrates that 214 transformers can encode information on the two al-215 ternants of the well-studied spray-load alternation 216 (Rappaport and Levin, 1988; Levin, 1993). We use 217 the dataset BLM-s/IE (Samo et al., 2023), whose 218 structure is exemplified in Figure 2. 219

EXAMPLE OF CONTEXT					
1	1 The girl sprayed the wall with paint.				
2	Paint was sprayed by the girl				
3	Paint was sprayed onto the wall by the girl				
4	Paint was sprayed onto the wall				
5	5 The wall was sprayed by the girl				
6	5 The wall was sprayed with the paint by the girl				
7	The wall was sprayed with paint				
8	???				
EXAMPLE OF ANSWERS					
The girl sprayed paint onto the wall Correct					
The girl was sprayed paint onto the wall AgentAc					
Tl	The girl sprayed paint the wall Alt1				
The girl sprayed with paint onto the wall Alt2					
The girl sprayed paint for the room NoEmb					
The girl sprayed paint under the wall LexPrep					
Pa	Paint sprayed the girl onto the wall SSM				
Τl	The wall sprayed the girl with paint SSM				
Pa	Paint sprayed the wall with the girl AASSM				

Figure 2: Verb alternations. The labels indicate which (sub)rules are corrupted to create the error: AgentAct=The agent in the alternant should be an NP in an active sentence; Alt=the alternation consists of a NP and a PP after the verb; NoEmb=the PP should not be embedded in the PP; LexPrep=the argument structure require given prepositions; SSM=syntax/semantic mapping; AASSM=simultaneous violations of Agent Act and SSM.

As can be seen, a BLM instance consists of a context set comprising one alternant of the *sprayload* alternation and other sentences that provide the syntactic properties of the arguments (e.g. passivization strategies). The target sentence is the other alternant (whose arguments share common properties with the first sentence) to be chosen from an answer set of superficially minimally, but, syntactically and semantically deeply, different candidates. (See Samo et al. (2023) for more detail.)

There are two groups within this dataset, one for each of the two alternates. *Group 1* (ALT-ATL) has the alternant AGENT-LOCATIVE-THEME (e.g. *The girl sprayed the wall with the paint*) in the context and the correct answer is the alternant whose configuration is AGENT-THEME-LOCATIVE (e.g. *The girl sprayed paint onto the wall*), while the the template of *Group2* (ATL-ALT) starts with AGENT-THEME-LOCATIVE and the target answer

¹The data is publicly available at https://github.com/ CLCL-Geneva/BLM-SNFDisentangling

240 241

242

243

244

245

246

247

249

251

255

261

264

265

267

268

269

is Agent-Locative-Theme.

Datasets statistics Table 1 shows the datasets statistics. Each subset is split 90:10 into train:test subsets. 20% of the train data is used for development.

	Subjverb agr.	Verb alternations	
		ALT-ATL	ATL-ALT
Type I	2304	3750	3750
Type II	38400	15000	15000
Type III	38400	15000	15000

Table 1: Types I, II, III correspond to different amounts of lexical variation within a problem instance.

3.2 Sentence representations

We investigate sentence embeddings obtained from two transformer-based systems: RoBERTa (Liu et al., 2019) and Electra (Clark et al., 2020), with a FFNN baseline and an encoder-decoder architecture inspired by variational autoencoders, represented schematically below.



For all of these systems we use as sentence embedding the encoding of the [*CLS*] or the $\langle s \rangle$ character read from the last layer of the model.

3.3 Detecting linguistic signals in sentence embeddings

We explore sentence embeddings using a baseline FFNN and variations of a system based on the variational autoencoder architecture.² The system's hyperparameters – parameters of the CNN and FFNN layers in the encoder and decoder – were established using development data on the subject-verb agreement problem, using type I data for training and testing. It was then deployed on the other train/test configurations and the verb alternation problem. We add to the encoder-decoder architecture different sampling methods on the latent layer of the encoder-decoder – continuous, discrete and joint sampling – to test whether separating discrete and continuous components makes the targeted phenomena more explicit.

3.3.1 FFNN baseline

The FFNN baseline is a three-layer feed-forward neural network, that maps an input sequence of sentence embeddings into a vector representing the answer. The learning objective is to maximize the probability of the correct answer from -the candidate answer set and is implemented through the max-margin loss function. This -function combines the scores of the correct and erroneous sentences in the answer set relative to the sentence embedding predicted by the system: 272

273

274

275

276

277

278

279

280

281

282

284

285

287

288

291

293

294

295

296

298

299

300

301

302

303

304

306

307

308

310

311

312

313

314

315

316

317

318

319

320

321

$$loss_{a}(x) = \sum_{e_{i}} [1 - score(e_{c}, e_{pred}) + score(e_{i}, e_{pred})]^{+}$$

where e_i is the embedding of a sentence a_i in the answer set \mathcal{A} , e_{pred} is the embedding produced by the system for input x, and *score* is the cosine of the angle between the given vectors.

For prediction, the answer a_i with the highest *score* from a candidate set w.r.t. the produced sentence embedding is taken as the correct answer.

3.3.2 Encoder-decoder

This system is similar to a variational autoencoder (VAE) (Kingma and Welling, 2013; Kingma et al., 2015), but the decoder does not reconstruct the input, rather it constructs an answer.

A variational autoencoder encodes an input sequence into a compressed representation, and then attempts to reconstruct it, while modeling the compressed representation of the input as a distribution over the latent space, rather than a single point. This procedure avoids overfitting and ensures that the latent space is structured and thus has good properties that enable the generative process.

The input is a stack of 2D-ed sentence embeddings. The encoder consists of a 3D CNN layer with a 3x15x15 kernel for the input SxNxM where S is the length of the input sequence (7) and NxM is the shape of the 2D sentence representation array (we use 32x24). This is followed by a linear layer that compresses the output of the CNN to the dimension set for the latent layer. The decoder consists of a linear layer followed by a CNN (with a 1x15x15 kernel) that produces a 2D array representing the embedding of the predicted answer.

The objective function of the VAE captures the modeling (reconstruction of the input) and regularization constraints placed on the latent space through two factors:

²The code will be made publicly available upon publication.

$$\mathcal{L}(x) = \mathbb{E}_{q_{\Phi}(z|x)}[log \ p_{\Theta}(x|z)] - KL(q_{\Phi}(z|x)||p(z))$$

This is implemented through the corresponding loss function, where x is the input and x' is output, i.e. the reconstructed input.

$$loss(x) = ||x - x'||^2 + KL(q_{\Phi}(z|x)||p(z))$$

Because our system does not reconstruct the input but rather outputs a sentence embedding, the loss function becomes:

$$loss(x) = loss_a(x) + KL(q_{\Phi}(z|x)||p(z))$$

where $loss_a$ is the max-margin loss function used by the baseline FFNN.

We can enforce different assumptions on the latent layer, and sample a vector accordingly from the output of the encoder. In particular, we can consider the latent layer to be a continuous vector, a discrete one, or a combination. For each variation the KL divergence factor will change accordingly, and $loss_a(x)$ will remain the same.

Continuous In this setting, the assumption is that the vector on the latent layer is a vector of continuous values, with a standard Gaussian prior distribution $p(z) = \mathcal{N}(0, 1)$. The output of the encoder is a vector interpreted as $[\mu_x; \sigma_x]$ modeling a normal distribution from which the vector z is sampled: $z \sim q_{\Phi}(z|x) = \mathcal{N}(\mu_x, \sigma_x)$ (Kingma and Welling, 2013). The KL factor becomes $KL(\mathcal{N}(\mu_x, \sigma_x) || \mathcal{N}(0, 1))$.

Discrete To model data that may have discrete structure, Jang et al. (2017) introduce the Gumbel-Softmax distribution, which can approximate categorical samples. If *c* is a categorical variable with class probabilities $\pi_1, ..., \pi_k$, drawing a sample *c* from a categorical distribution with class probabilities π would be:

$$c \sim one_hot(\operatorname{argmax}_i[g_i + log\pi_i])$$

where $g_i \sim Gumbel(0,1)$, and the nondifferentiable argmax function is approximated using softmax:

$$\operatorname{argmax}_{i}[g_{i} + \log \pi_{i}] \approx \operatorname{softmax}_{i}[g_{i} + \log \pi_{i}] = \frac{\exp((g_{i} + \log \pi_{i})/\tau)}{\sum_{j=1}^{k} \exp((g_{j} + \log \pi_{j})/\tau)}$$

where τ is a *temperature* that controls the softmax distribution: higher values result in more uniform distributions, whereas for values closer to 0 the expected value approaches the expected value of a categorical random variable with the same logits. The KL factor becomes $KL(q_{\Phi}(c|x)||Gumbel(0,1))$

369

370

371

372

373

374

375

376

377

378

379

380

381

384

385

386

387

388

389

390

391

393

394

395

396

397

398

399

400

401

402

403

404

405

406

407

408

409

410

411

412

413

414

415

Joint A latent vector with a discrete and continuous part can also be used (Dupont, 2018). In this case the encoder models a distribution with continuous latent z and discrete latent c as $q_{\Phi}(z, c|x)$ with prior p(z, c) and likelihood $p_{\Theta}(x|z, c)$. Because the continuous and discrete channels can be assumed to be conditionally independent, $q_{\Phi}(z, c|x) = q_{\Phi}(z|x)q_{\Phi}(c|x); p(z, c) = p(z)p(c)$ and $p_{\Theta}(x|z, c) = p_{\Theta}(x|z)p_{\Theta}(x|c)$, where each of the probabilities and samplings will be done according to the continuous or the discrete sampling respectively. The KL factor becomes

$$KL(q_{\Phi}(z, c|x) || p(z, c)) = KL(q_{\Phi}(z|x) || p(z)) + KL(q_{\Phi}(c|x) || p(c)).$$

4 **Experiments**

We hypothesize that we can separate different types of linguistic information, specifically lexical from structural information, in transformer-based sentence representations. We test this hypothesis through two types of analysis.

- A1 Through the performance on the BLM multiple-choice problems that encode different linguistic phenomena, in two different languages.
- A2 Through error analysis, which will reveal:
 - A2.1 what kind of information is accessed in sentence embeddings to solve the problems;
 - A2.2 whether different types of information is captured in the discrete and continuous parts of the latent layer.

Should our hypothesis be correct, we expect analysis **A1** to show higher performance for joint sampling on the latent layer of our encoder-decoder system, compared to either discrete or continuous sampling alone. The different range of lexical variation of the three dataset subsets (type I, II, III) adds another dimension to the investigation: lexical variation, a source of continuous information

in neural networks, allows us to assess the impact
of such information on the differentiation of the
input into discrete and continuous signals. We measure performance in terms of F1 score, and report
averages over 5 runs.

421

422

423

424

425

426

427

428

429

430

431

432

433

434

435

436

437

438

439

440

441

442

443

444

445

446

447

448

449

450

451

452

453

454

455

456

457

458

459

460

461

462

463

Analyses **A2.1** and **A2.2** investigate the kind of errors the system makes when using different variations of the system. The erroneous candidate answers represent different types of errors – structural or lexical – and changes in the frequency of such types of errors provide additional clues regarding the information encoded in the different parts of the latent vector.

Data We use the data described in Section 3.1, and sentence embeddings generated using RoBERTa (Liu et al., 2019) and Electra (Clark et al., 2020) pretrained models³.

For space reasons, we show here results when training on type I, II and III – increasing lexical variation – and test on type III – maximal lexical variation. This is the most difficult learning set-up, and will allow us to test whether the system can discover robust patterns, or rather it picks up on lexical regularities.

System We analyze the effects of compressing these embeddings into low-dimensional representations, with discrete and continuous components, using the system described in Section 3.2. Unlike previous work on disentangling syntax and semantics (Chen et al., 2019a; Bao et al., 2019; Huang et al., 2021), the targeted grammatical information is only implicitly provided.

Previous work (anonymous) explored how the subject-verb agreement information can be accessed in BERT (Devlin et al., 2019) sentence embeddings. Experiments with various architectures have shown that this information seems to be regularly distributed in the sentence embedding (the embedding of the [CLS] special token), such that reshaping the one-dimensional array corresponding to the sentence embedding into a 2D-array makes the grammatical pattern more easily accessible.

We adopt a similar experimental set-up, using a VAE-based architecture, and aim to determine whether we can separate different types of linguistic information in sentence embeddings, in a general framework. For this reason we do not tune hyperparameters for each dataset and system setup. We use the hyperparameters tuned using BERT (Devlin et al., 2019) sentence embeddings, with sentence embeddings reshaped as 32x24 arrays, trained and tested with type I subject-verb agreement data. The size of the latent layer for continuous sampling is 5. For the joint sampling we use 1x2+5 (7) and 2x2+5 (9) sized vectors (1 and 2 binary categories, continuous portion length 5). We include experiments using a continuous latent that matches the length of the vector on the latent layer for the joint sampling (7 and 9) to show that the increase in performance is not due to a longer vector on the latent layer.

464

465

466

467

468

469

470

471

472

473

474

475

476

477

478

479

480

481

482

483

484

485

486

487

488

489

490

491

492

493

494

495

496

497

498

499

500

501

502

503

504

505

506

507

508

509

510

511

512

All systems used a learning rate of 0.001 and Adam optimizer, and batch size 100. The training was done for 120 epochs. The experiments were run on an HP PAIR Workstation Z4 G4 MT, with an Intel Xeon W-2255 processor, 64G RAM, and a MSI GeForce RTX 3090 VENTUS 3X OC 24G GDDR6X GPU.

A1: Performance analysis We analyze first the performance of different variations of the encoderdecoder system in terms of F1 score averages over 5 runs⁴. Should having a discrete part of the latent layer be useful, we expect the set-up using joint sampling to have the highest performance. To control for alternative explanations of the improvement, we set up pairwise comparisons with two control models: we compare joint models to simple models with latent vectors of equal size, and with the simple model that has overall highest performance. We verify the robustness of the results across two word embedding representations.

The comparative results of selected set-ups are shown in Figure 3. They cover: the FFNN baseline; VAE_5, the system with continuous sampling and latent size 5 (the best variation when using continuous sampling); VAE_7, the system that has the latent layer size equal to the one used in joint sampling; VAE_5_1x2, the system using joint sampling, with a continuous part of length 5, and 1 binary category for capturing discrete signals. All results were obtained for Electra sentence embeddings. The results on all configurations and both sentence embedding types are shown in Figure 6 in the Appendix.

Joint sampling leads to highest performance on all datasets and sentence embeddings, and particularly in the more difficult set-up of using maximal

³RoBERTa: *xml-roberta-base*, Electra: *google/electra-base-discriminator*

⁴The standard deviation for all set-ups is lower than 1e-03, so we do not include it.

578

579

581

582

583

584

585

586

587

588

590

591

592

593

595

546

547



Figure 3: F1 (avg. over 5 runs): continuous and joint sampling, Electra sentence embeddings.

lexical variation data (type III), as expected. Us-514 ing a bigger continuous latent layer leads to lower performance, showing that the increase in performance when using joint sampling is indeed due to having a discrete portion. This indicates that this configurations captures more, or more explicitly, linguistic information that is relevant to the two phenomena represented in the datasets.

513

515

516

517

518

521

522

525

529

530

533

534

535

537

539

541

542 543

544

A2.1: Error analysis To understand better the kind of information the system accessed in the sentence representations, we use the answer sets, which have been constructed to include specifically built erroneous answers. Using two different problems with different properties allows us some interesting controlled pairwise comparisons. In the agreement problems, basically all incorrect answers violate structural rules. In the verb alternation problem, NoEmb and LexPrep are lexical rules, while the others are structural.

Results are shown in Figure 4, for sentence embeddings obtained using Electra, which had overall better performance⁵. For the agreement data, the main sources of error are WNA, WN1 and WN2. These mistakes indicate a lack of understanding of the structural aspect of agreement, preferring a linear interpretation. These are mistakes that show that the global pattern of agreement over the whole BLM, which is purely formal, has not been learnt. For all, the highest drop (compare the red and the blue bars) is obtained for the configuration that includes a discrete part in the latent layer, and most obviously for the WN2 error - the closest NP carries the number that allows it to agree with the verbwhich humans also make. This indicates that using joint sampling allows the system to find longer distance patterns, and not be tricked by proximity.

Most of the errors specific to Alternations are in the syntax-semantic mapping (SSM), for both groups. Group 2 also shows some structural mistakes if not enough lexical variation is seen in training. This pattern of mistakes suggests that the syntax-semantic mapping, the core of argument structure, has not been fully mastered. When using joint sampling, the most affected mistakes (as shown in comparing the blue and red bars in Type I and type III, which reveal the clearest patterns) are the lexical ones, LexPrep, as expected.

A2.2: Discrete vs. continuous analysis To get closer to understanding what kind of information is encoded in the discrete and continuous portions of the latent layer, we mask these one by one (set it to 0), and perform error analysis. To analyze the change in error patterns we compare the system predictions before and after masking through Cohen's κ . Pairwise agreement between the normal system setting, and masked discrete, and 1-5 continuous layer units are presented in Figure 5. Absolute error plots are shown in Figure 8 in the appendix.

The lower the agreement the more different information the two settings encode. The heatmaps indicate that for the verb alternation problem, the discrete part of the latent encodes information that is most different from the base setup and all the continuous units. The distinction grows with lexical variation in the data - it is highest when training on type III data. Masking the discrete part leads to a big increase in SSM errors (the syntax-semantic mapping), as shown in Figure 8 in the Appendix, which plots the absolute errors for the masked system variations.

For the subject-verb agreement data, the continuous units encode the most distinct information, and this also becomes more pronounced with the increase in lexical variation. The error analysis in Figure 8 shows a high increase in WN2 errors when masking the units in the continuous part. This indicates a loss in long distance view of the model.

Discussion The performance on the multiplechoice problems and the error analysis show that including a discrete part for the latent layer in an encoder-decoder architecture leads to better results. The error analyses indicate that important infor-

⁵Average 0.95 vs. 0.91 for verb alternations, 0.866 vs 0.871 for subject-verb agreement.



Figure 4: Error analysis for continuous and joint sampling using Electra sentence embeddings.



Figure 5: Errors when masking the latent vector in the joint sampling $1x2_5$ setting using Electra.

mation is captured in the discrete and continuous sections of the latent layer. Depending on the problem, either the discrete or the continuous latent sections contain more distinct information from each other. This shows that linguistic signals could be separated with such an architecture. We plan future work to enforce stronger disentanglement of the signals from the sentence embeddings, that can be linked to specific symbolic information.

5 Conclusion

597

598

601

604

Sentence embeddings combine a multitude of semantic and syntactic information in a continuous vector. We presented work that aims to disentangle such different linguistic signals from the sentence representation. We used diagnostic datasets, that focus on specific phenomena and encode them in a variety of contexts. The phenomena to discover are not explicitly provided, but are implied by the correct answer to a problem instance. We combined this data with a VAE-based system, and showed that we can induce a representation on the latent layer that captures linguistic signals relevant to the targeted phenomena. Error analysis shows that the different parts of the latent layer captures slightly different signals. 608

609

610

611

612

613

614

615

616

617

618

619

620

621

622

623

624

625

626

627

628

629

630

631

632

633

634

635

636

The consistent results of the same experimental set-up on different transformer-based sentence embeddings, on two different linguistic phenomena in two different languages supports our hypothesis that linguistic information is regularly distributed in the sentence embedding, and is retrievable and possibly ultimately mappable onto a more symbolic representation. We plan future work that forces more disentanglement of the signals encoded in the latent layer of the VAE-based system.

Limitations

We performed experiments on an artificially generated dataset, that presents a grammatical phenomenon in a particular way – as a sequence of sentences with specific properties. In future work we plan to separate the distillation of rules from a

sequence.

better individual results.

concerns with this paper.

tional Linguistics.

Ethics Statement

References

- 641

- 651
- 652

- 658
- 662

671 672

673 675

- 677
- 678 679

- 684
- 686

Kevin Gimpel. 2019a. A multi-task approach for disentangling syntax and semantics in sentence representations. In Proceedings of the 2019 Conference

of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics: Human Language Technologies, Volume 1 (Long and Short Papers), pages 2453-2464, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Association for Computational Linguistics.

sentence representation from the processing of the

systems from previous experiments using sentence

embeddings from a pretrained BERT model. This

was a deliberate choice, as our goal was to inves-

tigate general properties of sentence embeddings

with respect to different grammatical phenomena through the same systems. Specifically optimiz-

ing each architecture for each problem may lead to

To the best of our knowledge, there are no ethics

Aixiu An, Chunyang Jiang, Maria A. Rodriguez, Vivi

Nastase, and Paola Merlo. 2023. BLM-AgrF: A new

French benchmark to investigate generalization of

agreement in neural networks. In Proceedings of the

17th Conference of the European Chapter of the As-

sociation for Computational Linguistics, pages 1363-

1374, Dubrovnik, Croatia. Association for Computa-

Yu Bao, Hao Zhou, Shujian Huang, Lei Li, Lili Mou,

Olga Vechtomova, Xin-yu Dai, and Jiajun Chen.

2019. Generating sentences from disentangled syn-

tactic and semantic spaces. In Proceedings of the

57th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computa-

tional Linguistics, pages 6008–6019, Florence, Italy.

Yoshua Bengio, Aaron Courville, and Pascal Vincent.

2013. Representation learning: A review and new

perspectives. *IEEE transactions on pattern analysis*

Mingda Chen, Qingming Tang, Sam Wiseman, and

Association for Computational Linguistics.

and machine intelligence, 35(8):1798-1828.

We adopted the hyperparameters of the tested

- Ricky TQ Chen, Xuechen Li, Roger Grosse, and David Duvenaud. 2019b. Isolating sources of disentanglement in vaes. In Proceedings of the 32nd International Conference on Neural Information Processing Systems.
- Kevin Clark, Minh-Thang Luong, Quoc V. Le, and Christopher D. Manning. 2020. ELECTRA: Pretraining text encoders as discriminators rather than generators. In ICLR.

Jacob Devlin, Ming-Wei Chang, Kenton Lee, and Kristina Toutanova. 2019. BERT: Pre-training of deep bidirectional transformers for language understanding. In Proceedings of the 2019 Conference of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics: Human Language Technologies, Volume 1 (Long and Short Papers), pages 4171-4186, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Association for Computational Linguistics.

689

690

691

692

693

694

695

696

697

698

699

700

701

705

706

707

708

709

711

712

713

714

715

717

718

720

721

722

723

724

725

726

727

728

729

730

731

732

733

737

738

739

740

741

742

- Emilien Dupont. 2018. Learning disentangled joint continuous and discrete representations. Advances in Neural Information Processing Systems, 31.
- Zhenxin Fu, Xiaoye Tan, Nanyun Peng, Dongyan Zhao, and Rui Yan. 2018. Style transfer in text: Exploration and evaluation. Proceedings of the AAAI Conference on Artificial Intelligence, 32(1).
- Yoav Goldberg. 2019. Assessing bert's syntactic abilities. arXiv preprint arXiv:1901.05287.
- Ian Goodfellow, Jean Pouget-Abadie, Mehdi Mirza, Bing Xu, David Warde-Farley, Sherjil Ozair, Aaron Courville, and Yoshua Bengio. 2014. Generative adversarial nets. In Advances in Neural Information Processing Systems, volume 27. Curran Associates, Inc.
- Kristina Gulordava, Piotr Bojanowski, Edouard Grave, Tal Linzen, and Marco Baroni. 2018. Colorless green recurrent networks dream hierarchically. In Proceedings of the 2018 Conference of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational *Linguistics: Human Language Technologies*, pages 1195–1205. Association for Computational Linguistics.
- Irina Higgins, Loic Matthey, Arka Pal, Christopher Burgess, Xavier Glorot, Matthew Botvinick, Shakir Mohamed, and Alexander Lerchner. 2017. beta-vae: Learning basic visual concepts with a constrained variational framework. In International Conference on Learning Representations (ICLR).
- James Y. Huang, Kuan-Hao Huang, and Kai-Wei Chang. 2021. Disentangling semantics and syntax in sentence embeddings with pre-trained language models. In Proceedings of the 2021 Conference of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics: Human Language Technologies, pages 1372-1379, Online. Association for Computational Linguistics.
- Eric Jang, Shixiang Gu, and Ben Poole. 2017. Categorical reparameterization with gumbel-softmax.
- Vineet John, Lili Mou, Hareesh Bahuleyan, and Olga Vechtomova. 2019. Disentangled representation learning for non-parallel text style transfer. In Proceedings of the 57th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics, pages 424–434, Florence, Italy. Association for Computational Linguistics.

Katharina Kann, Alex Warstadt, Adina Williams, and

Samuel R. Bowman. 2019. Verb argument structure

alternations in word and sentence embeddings. In

Proceedings of the Society for Computation in Lin-

Diederik P Kingma, Tim Salimans, and Max Welling.

2015. Variational dropout and the local reparame-

terization trick. In Advances in Neural Information

Processing Systems, volume 28. Curran Associates,

Diederik P Kingma and Max Welling. 2013. Auto-

Beth Levin. 1993. English verb classes and alterna-

Tal Linzen and Marco Baroni. 2021. Syntactic structure

Tal Linzen, Emmanuel Dupoux, and Yoav Goldberg.

tion of Computational Linguistics, 4(1):521–535.

Yinhan Liu, Myle Ott, Naman Goyal, Jingfei Du, Man-

dar Joshi, Dangi Chen, Omer Levy, Mike Lewis,

Luke Zettlemoyer, and Veselin Stoyanov. 2019.

Roberta: A robustly optimized bert pretraining ap-

Francesco Locatello, Ben Poole, Gunnar Raetsch,

Bernhard Schölkopf, Olivier Bachem, and Michael

Tschannen. 2020. Weakly-supervised disentangle-

ment without compromises. In Proceedings of the

37th International Conference on Machine Learning,

volume 119 of Proceedings of Machine Learning

Emile Mathieu, Tom Rainforth, Nana Siddharth, and

Yee Whye Teh. 2019. Disentangling disentangle-

ment in variational autoencoders. In International

Conference on Machine Learning, pages 4402–4412.

Giangiacomo Mercatali and André Freitas. 2021. Disen-

tangling generative factors in natural language with

discrete variational autoencoders. In Findings of the

Association for Computational Linguistics: EMNLP

2021, pages 3547-3556, Punta Cana, Dominican Re-

(BLM), a new task for rule-like generalization in neu-

ral networks: Motivations and formal specifications.

Paola Merlo, Aixiu An, and Maria A. Rodriguez. 2022.

Blackbird's language matrices (BLMs): a new bench-

mark to investigate disentangled generalisation in

Blackbird language matrices

public. Association for Computational Linguistics.

proach. arXiv preprint arXiv:1907.11692.

Research, pages 6348-6359. PMLR.

2016. Assessing the ability of LSTMs to learn syntax-

sensitive dependencies. Transactions of the Associa-

from deep learning. Annual Review of Linguistics,

tions: A preliminary investigation. University of

arXiv preprint

guistics (SCiL) 2019, pages 287-297.

encoding variational bayes.

arXiv:1312.6114.

Chicago Press.

7(1):195-212.

747

748 749

- 750
- 751

Inc.

- 754 755 756
- 757 758 759

- 765
- 767 770

- 779 781
- 784
- 786

- 790

791

- 793

- neural networks. ArXiv, cs.CL 2205.10866.

Paola Merlo. 2023.

ArXiv, cs.CL 2306.11444.

PMLR.

Dmitry Nikolaev and Sebastian Padó. 2023. Representation biases in sentence transformers. In Proceedings of the 17th Conference of the European Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics, pages 3701–3716, Dubrovnik, Croatia. Association for Computational Linguistics.

798

799

801

802

803

804

805

806

807

809

810

811

812

813

814

815

816

817

818

819

820

821

822

823

824

825

826

827

828

829

830

831

832

833

834

835

836

837

838

839

840

841

842

843

844

845

846

847

848

849

850

851

852

853

854

Pranav Rajpurkar, Robin Jia, and Percy Liang. 2018. Know what you don't know: Unanswerable questions for SQuAD. In Proceedings of the 56th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics (Volume 2: Short Papers), pages 784–789, Melbourne, Australia. Association for Computational Linguistics.

- Malka Rappaport and Beth Levin. 1988. What to do with theta-roles. In Wendy Wilkins, editor, Thematic relations, pages 7-36.
- John C. Raven. 1938. Standardization of progressive matrices. British Journal of Medical Psychology, 19:137-150.
- Cynthia Rudin, Chaofan Chen, Zhi Chen, Haiyang Huang, Lesia Semenova, and Chudi Zhong. 2021. Interpretable machine learning: Fundamental principles and 10 grand challenges. ArXiv, abs/2103.11251.
- Giuseppe Samo, Vivi Nastase, Chunyang Jiang, and Paola Merlo, 2023. BLM-s/IE: A structured dataset of English spray-load verb alternations for testing generalization in LLMs. In Findings of the 2023 Conference on Empirical Methods in Natural Language Processing.
- Jürgen Schmidhuber. 1992. Learning Factorial Codes by Predictability Minimization. Neural Computation, 4(6):863-879.
- Alex Wang, Yada Pruksachatkun, Nikita Nangia, Amanpreet Singh, Julian Michael, Felix Hill, Omer Levy, and Samuel Bowman. 2019. Superglue: A stickier benchmark for general-purpose language understanding systems. In Advances in Neural Information Processing Systems, volume 32. Curran Associates, Inc.
- David Yi, James Bruno, Jiayu Han, Peter Zukerman, and Shane Steinert-Threlkeld. 2022. Probing for understanding of English verb classes and alternations in large pre-trained language models. In Proceedings of the Fifth BlackboxNLP Workshop on Analyzing and Interpreting Neural Networks for NLP, pages 142–152, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates (Hybrid). Association for Computational Linguistics.
- Chi Zhang, Feng Gao, Baoxiong Jia, Yixin Zhu, and Song-Chun Zhu. 2019. Raven: A dataset for relational and analogical visual reasoning. In Proceedings of the IEEE Conference on Computer Vision and Pattern Recognition (CVPR).
- Hao Zheng and Mirella Lapata. 2022. Disentangled sequence to sequence learning for compositional generalization. In Proceedings of the 60th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics

(Volume 1: Long Papers), pages 4256–4268, Dublin,
Ireland. Association for Computational Linguistics.

857

858

859

860

861

862

863

Chunting Zhou and Graham Neubig. 2017. Multi-space variational encoder-decoders for semi-supervised labeled sequence transduction. In *Proceedings of the* 55th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics (Volume 1: Long Papers), pages 310–320, Vancouver, Canada. Association for Computational Linguistics.

A Supplementary Materials

A.1 Detailed results

864

865

866

867

868

Figure 6 shows the complete results, in terms of F1 averages over 5 runs (the standard deviation is less than 1e-03, so we do not include it), for all settings considered, and Electra and RoBERTa sentence embeddings.



Figure 6: F1 (avg. over 5 runs): continuous and joint samp., Electra and RoBERTa sentence embeddings.





Figure 8 shows the plot of absolute errors for a base system – encoder decoder with joint sampling – $1x^2$ (one binary category) + 5 (continuous units). The discrete part and each continuous unit are separately masked (set to 0), and the test data is then used to generate predictions. The plots shows the errors for the base system (black), and each masked variation.



Figure 8: Errors when masking the latent vector in the joint sampling 1x2_5 setting using Electra.



Figure 9 shows the inter annotator agreement in terms of Cohen's κ , when the base system and each masked variation is considered an annotator.

Figure 9: Errors when masking the latent vector in the joint sampling 1x2_5 setting using Electra.