## TOWARDS A FORMAL THEORY OF COMPOSITIONALITY

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Paper under double-blind review

## ABSTRACT

Compositionality is believed to be fundamental to intelligence. In humans, it underlies the structure of thought, language, and higher-level reasoning. In AI, it enables a powerful form of out-of-distribution generalization, in which a model systematically adapts to novel combinations of known concepts. However, while we have strong intuitions about what compositionality is, there currently exists no formal definition for it that is measurable and mathematical. Here, we propose such a definition, which we call *representational compositionality*. The definition is conceptually simple, quantitative, and grounded in algorithmic information theory. Intuitively, representational compositionality states that a compositional representation is both expressive and describable as a simple function of discrete parts. We validate our definition on both real and synthetic data, and show how it unifies disparate intuitions from across the literature in both AI and cognitive science. We also show that representational compositionality, while theoretically intractable, can be readily estimated using standard deep learning tools. Our definition has the potential to inspire the design of novel, theoretically-driven models that better capture the mechanisms of compositional thought.

- 1 INTRODUCTION
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Compositionality is thought to be one of the hallmarks of human cognition. In the domain of language, it lets us produce and understand utterances that we have never heard, giving us "infinite use of finite means" (Chomsky, 1956). Beyond this, one of the most influential ideas in cognitive science is the *Language of Thought* hypothesis (Fodor, 1975; Quilty-Dunn et al., 2023), which conjectures that *all* thought involved in higher-level human cognition is compositional. Indeed, recent evidence from neuroscience supports the Language of Thought hypothesis and suggests that it is core to human intelligence (Dehaene et al., 2022).

Compositionality has been equally influential in AI from its very origins, motivating efforts in neurosym-033 bolic AI (Garcez & Lamb, 2023; Sheth et al., 2023; Marcus, 2003), probabilistic program inference (Lake 034 et al., 2017; Ellis et al., 2023), modular deep neural networks Bengio (2017); Goyal & Bengio (2022); Pfeiffer et al. (2023); Andreas et al. (2016); Goyal et al. (2021; 2020); Schug et al. (2024), disentangled representation learning (Higgins et al., 2017; Lachapelle et al., 2022; Ahuja et al., 2022; Brehmer et al., 2022; 037 Lippe et al., 2022; Sawada, 2018), object-centric learning (Locatello et al., 2020; Singh et al., 2023; Wu et al., 2024), and chain-of-thought reasoning (Wei et al., 2022; Kojima et al., 2022; Hu et al., 2024), to name only a few. One of the primary appeals of compositionality is that it enables a powerful form of out-of-distribution generalization (Lake & Baroni, 2018): if a model is compositional with respect to a set of features in its 040 training data, it need not observe all possible combinations of those features in order to generalize to novel 041 ones (Schug et al., 2024; Wiedemer et al., 2024; 2023; Bahdanau et al., 2019; Mittal et al., 2021). 042

Despite its importance, compositionality remains an elusive concept: there is currently no formal, quantitative definition of compositionality that could be used to measure it. It is often described as:

045 Definition 1 (*Compositionality – colloquial*)

The meaning of a complex expression is determined by its structure and the meanings of its constituents (Szabó, 2022).

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In the context of neural representations in brains or deep neural networks (DNNs), we can take these "meanings" to be high-dimensional vectors of activations. While satisfying on some level, this definition lacks formal rigour and breaks down upon inspection.

<sup>053</sup> First, the definition presupposes the existence of a symbolic "complex expression" associated to each meaning. In some cases, this makes sense; for instance, we can consider human languages and the neural

representations they elicit. But where do these expressions and their constituent parts come from when considering neural representations themselves such as in the Language of Thought hypothesis, where thoughts are encoded in distributed patterns of neural activity?

Second, it is unclear what the expression's "structure" should be. The definition is motivated from human language, where sentences have syntactic parses and individual words have types (e.g., noun, verb), but these properties are not intrinsic to the sentences themselves, which are simply strings.

Third, the definition says that meaning is "determined by" the structure and meanings of the constituents through a semantics function, but it does not put any kind of restriction on these semantics for the meanings to qualify as compositional: any function qualifies. For instance, functions that *arbitrarily* map constituents to their meanings (as in the case of idioms like "he kicked the bucket") are functions nonetheless and thus satisfy Definition 1, but it is commonly agreed that they are not compositional (Weinreich, 1969; Mabruroh, 2015; Swinney & Cutler, 1979).

Finally, the colloquial definition of compositionality suggests that it is a binary property of representations, when it should arguably be a matter of degree. For instance, while linguists often model the syntax and semantics of language using hierarchical decompositions that are considered compositional (Chomsky, 1956), human language regularly deviates from this idealization. In particular, language has some degree of context-sensitivity, where the meanings of words depend on those of others in the sentence. Thus, human language does not satisfy the colloquial binary definition of compositionality, even though it is considered largely compositional.

The colloquial definition of compositionality is thus flawed if we wish to formalize and measure it quantitatively, moving beyond mere intuitions that are fundamentally limited in their explanatory reach. In this paper, we introduce such a definition, which we call *representational compositionality*. The definition is grounded in algorithmic information theory, and says that compositional representations are both expressive and easily describable as a simple function of symbolic parts. We argue that this definition not only addresses Definition 1's flaws, but also accounts for and generalizes our many intuitions about compositionality. Finally, we provide empirical experiments that clarify implications of the definition and validate its agreement with intuition. Since representational compositionality is rigorous and quantitative, it has the potential to inspire new principled methods in AI for learning compositional representations.

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## 2 COMPRESSING A REPRESENTATION

The definition that we will propose rests on the idea that compositional representations can be redescribed as a simple function of constituent parts. While there may be many ways to redescribe any given representation, a natural and principled way is through the lens of *optimal compression* and Kolmogorov complexity. We provide a brief introduction to Kolmogorov complexity below, but direct unfamiliar readers to Appendix A.

**Kolmogorov complexity** Kolmogorov complexity (Li et al., 2008; Kolmogorov, 1965) is a notion of information quantity. Intuitively, the Kolmogorov complexity of an object x, denoted K(x), is the length of the shortest program (in some programming language) that outputs x. A related notion is the conditional Kolmogorov complexity of x given another object y, denoted K(x|y), which is the length of the shortest program that takes y as input and outputs x. Kolmogorov complexity has many intuitive properties as a measure of information quantity. The smaller and the more "structure" an object has (regularity, patterns, rules, etc.), the more easily it can be described using a short program. Kolmogorov complexity therefore is deeply rooted in the idea of *compression*.

In the context of ML, an interesting quantity is the Kolmogorov complexity of a dataset  $X = (x_1,...,x_n)$ where each sample is drawn *iid* from a distribution p(x). It turns out that if the dataset is sufficiently large, the optimal method for compressing it is to first specify p(x) and then encode the data using it, giving us K(X) = K(X|p) + K(p) (Fortnow, 2000). For the first term K(X|p), each sample can be optimally encoded using only  $-\log_2 p(x_i)$  bits (Witten et al., 1987), as in the case of Shannon information (Shannon, 2001). The second term K(p) refers to the complexity of the data distribution (i.e., the length of the shortest program that outputs the function  $p: \mathcal{X} \to \mathbb{R}^+$ ).

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106 Compressing Z as a function of parts Let us denote a representation by a matrix  $Z \in \mathbb{R}^{N \times D}$ , where 107 each row  $z_n$  is obtained by sampling *iid* from some data distribution and model p(x)p(z|x). For instance, p(x) could be a distribution over natural images,  $z_n \sim p(z|x)$  could be the (often deterministic) output

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of some intermediate layer in a trained image classifier, and the resulting representation  $Z \in \mathbb{R}^{N \times D}$  would be a matrix of these layer activations.

We will argue that a natural way to think about compositional representations is: representations Z that 111 can be significantly compressed as a function of constituent parts. In other words, the shortest program 112 that outputs the representation, with length K(Z), has a very particular form: it first describes Z using 113 short parts-based constituents, and then maps these parts to the high-dimensional representation. This 114 program form is shown in Figure 1 and described in detail below. We also give a summary of all program 115 components in Table 1. Crucially, the components of this program will be used in Section 3 to construct 116 our formal definition of compositionality, in which representations that are more compressible as a function 117 of constituent parts are more compositional. Before combining them into a definition of compositionality, 118 we now describe the components of this program in the following steps.



Figure 1: Assumed form of the shortest program that outputs a compositional representation Z. a. 132 Pseudocode of the program, which describes the representation using sentences W (sequences of discrete 133 tokens) that are compressed using a prior  $p_w(w)$ , and then maps these sentences to high-dimensional 134 vectors in representation space using a function f(w) that outputs the sufficient statistics of a Normal 135 distribution. Reconstruction errors are corrected using bit sequences whose length depends on the 136 magnitudes of the errors. decode() is a short function that decodes an object compressed using 137 arithmetic coding (Witten et al., 1987). b. Illustration of the program compressing a representation from 138 a pretrained model layer, brain region, etc. c. The total Kolmogorov complexity of the representation is 139 estimated by the length of the shortest program that has this form. 140

Name Symbol		Example (for representations of scene images)
Representation	$Z\!\in\!\mathbb{R}^{N\times D}$	Layer activations of a CNN in response to $N$ scene images
Sentences	$W \!\in\! \mathcal{V}^{N  imes M}$	Symbol sequence expressing a scene graph for each $z \in Z$
Language	$p_w$	Distribution over sentences expressing scene graphs
Semantics	f	Embed & concatenate each object/relation in the scene graph
Recon. error	$\mathcal{N}(z;f(w))$	Correct remaining error unaccounted for by the semantics

Table 1: Components of assumed shortest program that outputs a compositional representation Z

150 Step 1: describe a representation using short parts-based constituents First, we assume that every 151 sample of the representation  $z_n$  of data point  $x_n$  can be compressed using a sequence of constituent parts, 152 which in practice are discrete tokens. By analogy to natural language, we will call these discrete token sequences "sentences". Mathematically, we denote these sentences by  $W \in \mathcal{V}^{N \times M}$ , where  $\mathcal{V}$  is a finite set 153 of discrete symbols corresponding to a vocabulary and M is the maximum sentence length. Each row in 154 W is a sentence that describes a high-dimensional vector in the corresponding row of Z. Importantly, these 155 are not sentences in any human language, such as English; they are sequences of discrete tokens that best 156 compress the representation, and can be thought of as an intrinsic representation-specific language. For 157 instance, if the representation describes visual scenes, the sentences might abstractly describe the different 158 objects that the scene is composed of along with the relations between those objects. 159

For the program to encode these sentences in their most compressed form, it should also define a distribution over the sentences  $p_w(w)$ . The reason for this is that optimal coding schemes (e.g., arithmetic coding Witten et al., 1987) allow us to encode an object using only  $-\log p(x)$  bits so long as p is known (see Equation (7)). 162 So far, the part of the program in Figure 1 that describes a representation using discrete sentences 163 contributes a total Kolmogorov complexity of: 164

$$K(p_w) + K(W|p_w) = K(p_w) - \sum_{n=1}^{N} \log p_w(w_n).$$

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Step 2: decode representations from their sentences Given sentences W describing representation Z, the program must reconstruct Z. This means that the program must define a function  $f: \mathcal{V}^M \to \mathbb{R}^D$ —which 170 we call the *semantics* in analogy to natural language—that maps discrete tokens sequences to their high-dimensional vector representations. 172

Usually,  $f(w_n)$  will not perfectly reconstruct any of the  $z_n$ 's, since  $w_n$  is discrete and  $z_n$  is continuous. 173 Since Kolmogorov complexity is about *lossless* compression, these errors must be corrected. This can 174 be achieved if f outputs the sufficient statistics of some distribution in  $\mathbb{R}^D$ , in which case the number 175 of bits needed to encode  $z_n$  is  $-\log \mathcal{N}(z_n; f(w_n))$ . For simplicity, we take p to be a Normal distribution 176 whose mean and standard deviation are given by  $f(w_n)$ . 177

In sum, the part of the program in Figure 1 that decodes representations from their sentences contributes 178 a total Kolmogorov complexity of: 179

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 $K(f) + K(Z|W,f) = K(f) - \sum_{n=1}^{N} \log \mathcal{N}(z_n; f(w_n)).$ 

As a small technical note, because Z lives in a continuous space and p is a probability density function, it 185 would take an infinite number of bits to encode the correction term. Thus, in practice, Z must be discretized to some finite precision and a discrete approximation of the Normal distribution with corresponding probability mass function must be used (e.g., the Skellam distribution). 187

**Summary and further intuition** The steps above describe a program outputs Z. We take representations 189 to be compositional if they are highly compressible as a function of constituent parts (justified in Section 3). 190 Under this framework, the total Kolmogorov complexity of the representation decomposes as: 191

$$K(Z) = \min_{p_w, W, f} K(p_w) + K(W|p_w) + K(f) + K(Z|W, f)$$
(1)  
$$= \min_{p_w, W, f} K(p_w) - \sum_{n=1}^{N} \log p_w(w_n) + K(f) - \sum_{n=1}^{N} \log \mathcal{N}(z_n; f(w_n)).$$

197 The minimization term here is important: the shortest program is the one in which  $p_w$ , W, and f are jointly selected so as to minimize the total program length. With K(Z) defined, we can provide some 199 more intuition for its components.

200  $K(p_w)$  is the complexity of the language used to describe the representation. For instance, a language 201 in which each word is independent of the others would be simpler than a language in which each 202 word is highly context-sensitive.  $K(W|p_w)$  is the complexity of the sentences needed to describe the 203 representation using the language  $p_{w}$ . If sentences tend to be typical utterances with high probability under 204 the language, they will have low complexity. If instead sentences tend to be uncommon utterances with 205 low probability (e.g., from rare tokens), they will have high complexity. K(f) is the complexity of the 206 semantics that define how sentences (discrete token sequences) map to their meanings (high-dimensional 207 vectors). This term is central to the definition of compositionality that we will introduce in Section 3. 208 K(Z|W,f) arises from imperfect reconstructions of Z, such as errors due to continuous parts of Z that 209 can't be modeled as a function of discrete inputs.

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#### 3 REPRESENTATIONAL

#### COMPOSITIONALITY: A FORMAL DEFINITION OF COMPOSITIONALITY

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- Our definition of compositionality is a ratio of constituent terms appearing in the decomposition of K(Z)215 in Equation (1):

#### 216 **Definition 2** (*Representational compositionality*)

The compositionality of a representation, denoted by C(Z), is:

$$C(Z) = \frac{K(Z)}{K(Z|W)} = \frac{K(p_w) + K(W|p_w) + K(f) + K(Z|W, f)}{K(f) + K(Z|W, f)},$$
(2)

where  $p_w$ , W, and f are obtained from the shortest program that compresses Z in Equation (1).

Crucially,  $p_w$ , W, and f are *not* free parameters: they are intrinsic to the representation in that they best compress Z (see the minimization in Equation (1)). Like Kolmogorov complexity, then, C(Z) is intractable to compute because it requires an exponentially-large search over all possible tuples  $(p_w, W, f)$ . However, like Kolmogorov complexity, C(Z) can still be tractably estimated using efficient compression and optimization methods. While the primary contribution of this work is theoretical and aimed at justifying Definition 2, we outline a strategy for finding  $(p_w, W, f)$  and estimating C(Z) in Appendix B. We will also later introduce a complementary definition for the compositionality of a *language* as opposed to a *representation* in Section 3.1 that is easier to estimate in certain cases, as we show in our experiments.

We now unpack Definition 2 to see how it accounts for the problems of the colloquial Definition 1 and explains computational properties typically associated with compositionality.

234 Expressivity and compression Effectively, representational compositionality says that the compo-235 sitionality of a representation is a compression ratio that depends on two things: (1) the complexity 236 of the representation, which appears in the numerator, and (2) the complexity of the semantics which 237 construct the representation from its constituent parts, which appears in the denominator. When a 238 representation is highly expressive (high K(Z)) but can nevertheless be compressed as a *simple* function of constituent parts (low K(Z|W)), representational compositionality says that the representation is highly 239 compositional. Representational compositionality therefore formalizes a hypothesis in cognitive science 240 that compositionality emerges from competing pressures for expressivity and compression (e.g., Kirby, 241 1999; Kirby et al., 2004; 2008, and references therein). 242

243 **Constituent "parts" are intrinsic to** Z Note that unlike the colloquial Definition 1, representational 244 compositionality makes it clear where the "constituent parts" (tokens in W), "complex expressions" 245 (W), and "structure" (f) associated with a representation come from: they are intrinsic properties of 246 the representation. Compositional representations are those that are compressible in principle as simple 247 functions of constituent parts, regardless of whether or not we know what that optimal compression scheme 248 is. This is a significant difference between our definition and other related ideas in the literature which 249 quantify compositionality in terms of reconstruction from *externally*-defined parts (e.g., Andreas, 2019; 250 Trager et al., 2023; Lewis et al., 2022). In addition, unlike prior work, our definition makes no strong 251 assumptions about the *form* of the reconstruction (e.g., that it is linear, a hierarchical grammar, etc.) as it abstracts over arbitrary functions through the lens of their complexity K(f). Definition 2 therefore 252 generalizes diverse notions of compositionality framed in terms of representation-reconstruction. 253

254 Systematicity and generalization Representational compositionality formalizes the intuition that the 255 constituent parts of a compositional representation determine the meaning of the whole in a systematic 256 way (Szabó, 2022; 2012), where "systematicity" is a term from cognitive science that roughly means 257 "structured" or "non-arbitrary". If f arbitrarily maps sentences w to their representations z in a way 258 that does not take the structure or words of the sentence into account (as in the case of idioms), then its 259 complexity K(f) is necessarily high and compositionality is low (we demonstrate this through experiments in Section 4.1). In addition, if f is inaccurate in how it maps sentences to their representations, the error 260 K(Z|W,f) is high and the compositionality low. A representation that is highly compositional according 261 to our definition thus benefits from the generalization ability of simple functions (low K(f)) that fit their 262 data well (low K(Z|W,f)). This ability of f to generalize to novel sentences explains the fundamental 263 relationship between compositionality and notions of systematicity from cognitive science (Szabó, 2022). 264

**Structure-preserving semantics** Representational compositionality explains the widely-held intuition that semantics functions f which are compositional are structure-preserving in how they map  $w \rightarrow z$ (Montague et al., 1970). As explained in Ren et al. (2023), structure-preserving maps have lower complexity, and thus higher compositionality according to our definition. In a structure-preserving map, each word in the sentence w independently affects a different subspace of the representation z so that pairwise-distances are similar in sentence-space and representation-space.

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270 **Modularity & compositionality** Representational compositionality explains the precise relationship be-271 tween compositionality and modularity, which has been difficult to formally articulate in past work (Lepori 272 et al., 2023; Goyal & Bengio, 2022; Mittal et al., 2022). Modularity refers to a system which can be decom-273 posed into interacting sub-parts that can be understood separately (Poole & Mackworth, 2010); an example 274 in ML is mixture-of-experts models. A modular f is simple because it decomposes knowledge into smaller reusable components, each of which only need to be defined once, and thus contributes to high composition-275 ality under our definition. This also explains why natural language is highly compositional. Linguists model 276 language using context-free grammars (Chomsky, 1956), in which a sentence decomposes into a parse tree with a "production rule" applied at each node. The recursive application of these production rules, akin 278 to a small number of modules in f, is then thought to determine the meaning of the sentence as a whole. 279

Ultimately, a formal definition of compositionality should be judged based on whether it agrees with our
 intuitions, generalizes them in meaningful ways, and is quantitatively consistent. Based on the properties
 listed above, we argue that representational compositionality satisfies all of these desiderata. To provide
 further intuition for representational compositionality and its implications, we describe some concrete
 illustrative examples in Appendix D.

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### 3.1 SPECIAL CASE: COMPOSITIONALITY OF LANGUAGE SYSTEMS

In representational compositionality, W is not a free parameter, but rather a collection of sentences intrinsic to Z that minimize its description length. However, we can also consider the special case of languages in which the sentences are fixed to some  $W^L$  that is external to the representation. In a natural language for instance,  $W^L$  are the sentences that a person may utter while Z are the neural activity patterns (thoughts) that those sentences elicit. We could then ask to what degree this *language system* composed of thoughts Z and sentences  $W^L$  is compositional:

## Definition 3 (Language system compositionality)

The compositionality of a language system L with sentences  $W^L$ , denoted by  $C^L(Z)$ , is:

$$C^{L}(Z) = \frac{K(Z)}{K(Z|W^{L})} = \frac{K(Z)}{K(f^{L}) + K(Z|W^{L}, f^{L})},$$
(3)

where  $f^L$  is obtained from the shortest program that compresses Z given  $W^L$ .

This definition opens the door to comparisons between the compositionalities of different real-world language systems, such as French and Japanese, which we attempt in Section 4.3.

## 4 EMPIRICAL RESULTS

We evaluate our compositionality definitions on synthetic and real-world datasets. While no other formal definition of compositionality has been proposed, a commonly used heuristic is *topological similarity*. For some (W,Z), topological similarity computes a distance between all pairs of sentences  $\Delta_{W}^{ij} = d_{W}(w_{i},w_{j})$  using a distance metric  $d_{W}(\cdot)$  in W, and a distance between all pairs of representation elements  $\Delta_{Z}^{ij} = d_{Z}(z_{i},z_{j})$  using a distance metric  $d_{Z}(\cdot)$  in Z. It then computes the Pearson correlation  $\rho$  between the two pairwise distance matrices, quantifying the degree to which the two spaces share linear structure. Throughout our experiments, we compare our definitions to topological similarity.

# 3143154.1 SYNTHETIC REPRESENTATIONS

We first consider representations Z that are generated synthetically using known rules through:  $z \sim \mathcal{N}(z;f(w)), w \sim p_w(w)$ . Since we know the underlying programs that generated the representations in this case, we know the true complexity terms  $K(p_w), K(W|p_w), K(f)$ , and K(Z|W,f) needed to compute C(Z) exactly. This allows us to validate whether representational compositionality matches with intuitions. We describe our synthetic representations below (details in Appendix H).

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Lookup table representations The simplest way to construct a representation from sequences of
 discrete tokens is to assign each token in the vocabulary a fixed embedding in a lookup table, and then
 concatenate these embeddings across the sequence (Figure 2a). Alternatively, the lookup table could



341 Figure 2: Compositionality of synthetically-generated representations. C(Z) is consistent with intuitions about compositionality across all experiments, whereas topological similarity is not. a. In lookup 343 table representations, words (or n-grams) are assigned embeddings which are concatenated to form z. 344 **b.** Compositionality as a function of ground-truth representation properties. "Disentanglement" refers to 345 varying n-gram size. c. In grammar representations, sentences are parsed with a context-free grammar, and each production rule is associated with a linear projection. Production rules are recursively applied, and the 346 embedding at the parse tree's root defines z. d. Compositionality as a function of ground-truth properties 347 of the grammar. Numbers inside plots show min/max compositionality according to each corresponding 348 metric. Error bars show  $\sigma$  over 10 seeds. 349

assign each unique *n*-gram an embedding and we could concatenate the embeddings for consecutive *n*-sized chunks in the sequence. We call *n* the "disentanglement" factor because n = 1 corresponds to a representation in which each word fully determines a subset of dimensions in the representation. We generate representations by varying certain parameters of the generative program while keeping others constant, and observe the effects on compositionality in Figure 2b.

Sentence length: As sentence length increases, compositionality should intuitively increase. For instance, if sentences are of length 1, we are not tempted to call the representation compositional. The more the representation decomposes according to parts, the more compositional it should be. Representational compositionality empirically matches this intuition because K(Z) increases with sentence length (there are more possible z values, for instance) and K(f)—proportional to the size of the lookup table—is decreases with sentence length (embeddings become lower-dimensional). In contrast, topological similarity decreases with sentence length, thus violating intuitions.

Vocabulary size: If the vocabulary is too small relative to sentence length, then expressivity and compositionality are limited (e.g., with only one word, nothing can be expressed). On the other hand, if the vocabulary is too large relative to sentence length, then compositionality is low because expressivity doesn't come from combining constituent parts (e.g., with one-word sentences, there is no notion of parts). For a given sentence length, then, compositionality should peak at some intermediate vocabulary size. We observe this empirically with representational compositionality: a sharp increase in compositionality early on followed by a monotonic decrease as vocabulary size increases further. While topological similarity also decreases with vocabulary size, it does not show the early increase, and is in fact largest for a vocabulary size of 1.

**Representation dimensionality:** We increased representation dimensionality by increasing the dimensionality of the word embeddings. The representation grows more expressive with dimensionality, but only from increased word complexity rather than word combinations. We should therefore expect compositionality to decrease. Representational compositionality empirically captures this phenomenon because the only thing increasing in this scenario is the size of the lookup table K(f), which is present in both the numerator and denominator of C(Z), so that C(Z) decreases. Topological similarity, in contrast, increases as a function of representation dimensionality.

377 *Disentanglement:* The more the meanings of words are context-dependent, the less compositional we consider the language (e.g., idioms like "he kicked the bucket" are not considered compositional).

Therefore, as a function of disentanglement, compositionality should decrease. We observe this empirically with representational compositionality because the size of the lookup table—and therefore the complexity of the semantics K(f)—grows exponentially as a function of disentanglement. Topological similarity also decreases as a function of disentanglement.

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**Context-free grammar representations** While our lookup table experiments provide intuitions 384 for representational compositionality, they are unlikely to reflect the structure of representations in DNN and brains. For instance, The Language of Thought hypothesis (Fodor, 1975) posits 385 386 that representations underlying human thought have a hierarchical structure akin to context-free grammars in natural language (Chomsky, 1956). In such grammars, the meanings of sentences 387 decompose according to parse trees, where children merge into parents through production rules 388 and leaves correspond to words. For instance, the sentence "scared cats run" decomposes accord-389 ing to "ADJECTIVE (scared) + NOUN (cats)  $\rightarrow$  NOUN-PHRASE (scared cats)" followed by 390 "NOUN-PHRASE (scared cats) + VERB (run)  $\rightarrow$  VERB-PHRASE (scared cats run)", where symbols 391 such as NOUN-PHRASE are parts of speech (similar to data types) and functions between parts of speech 392 such as NOUN+VERB  $\rightarrow$  VERB-PHRASE are production rules. 393

To model such systems using representational compositionality, we generated representations using simple synthetic grammars (Figure 2c). First, we assigned each word in the vocabulary an embedding and a part of speech, and we defined a grammar with a set of production rules. We then generated a dataset of sentences and parsed them using the grammar. Finally, the semantics were defined by embedding each word in the sentence and then applying a rule-specific function at every node in the parse tree until the root was reached, whose value we defined to be the representation. The rule-specific functions concatenated children embeddings and applied a linear projection.

400 We generated many synthetic representations in this way and measured their resulting representational 401 compositionality (Figure 2d). For representational compositionality to match intuition, the number of rules 402 in the grammar should be inversely proportional to compositionality. For example, in a natural language 403 like English, we can express an infinite number of ideas using a relatively small set of grammatical 404 rules and vocabulary, and this is why we believe natural language is compositional. We thus varied two 405 properties of the grammar: its "width" and its "depth". Width refers to the number of rules that are defined 406 for each level of the parse tree's hierarchy. Depth refers to the number of levels in the parse tree's hierarchy 407 with unique rules prior to solely recursive application.

As both width and depth increase the complexity of the grammar, we should expect compositionality to decrease as a function of both. Representational compositionality is empirically consistent with this intuition because K(f) increases as a function of the number of rules, each of which was associated with its own linear projection matrix. Topological similarity only loosely correlates with intuition, and has far more noise with different draws of Z from the same grammar.

- 413 414
- 414 4.2 EMERGENT LANGUAGES FROM MULTI-AGENT TRAINING 415

416 Next, we further validate our compositionality metric by applying it to real-world representations. To 417 avoid having to solve the difficult optimization problem involved in measuring C(Z) (which requires 418 a minimization of K(Z) w.r.t.  $p_w$ , W, f) we instead consider language systems in which  $W = W^L$  is 419 fixed and measure  $C^L(Z)$  (see Section 3.1).

420 One interesting case of real language systems is those that emerge in multi-agent settings where agents 421 must learn to communicate. We consider the setting of Li & Bowling (2019); Ren et al. (2020) in which a 422 speaker and a listener learn to communicate in a simple object reference game, where objects have symbolic 423 attributes analogous to color, size, shape, etc. Agents trained using reinforcement learning typically communicate successfully, but often learn non-compositional language systems that arbitrarily map 424 sentences to objects. However, Li & Bowling (2019); Ren et al. (2020) have shown that compositionality 425 can emerge through a multi-generation process called *iterated learning* (Kirby et al., 2015), where 426 the agents' parameters are periodically reset and retrained on sentence/object pairs from the previous 427 generation. Kirby et al. (2015) hypothesize that this occurs because iterated learning amplifies a model's 428 inductive bias for simpler language systems that are more easily learnable across subsequent generations. 429

430 We trained agents both with and without iterated learning and measured  $C^{L}(Z)$  for the resulting language 431 systems. Training details are provided in Appendix I. After N generations, we obtain a dataset consisting of all possible objects Z and the sentences output by the speaker  $W^{L}$  when given those objects as input.



Figure 3: Compositionality of language systems that emerge in multi-agent settings with and without iterated learning. a. We used prequential coding to measure  $K(Z|W^L)$  for the emergent languages, where the area under the curve is the "prequential code length" estimating compression size.  $W^L$  for models trained using iterated learning achieved a much lower prequential code length than those trained normally without iterated learning, meaning the semantics f were simpler. b. Our language system compositionality metric  $C^L(Z)$  agrees with topological similarity on the ordering of models trained with and without iterated learning, but the numerical values provided by  $C^L(Z)$  provide more theoretical insight (see main text). Error bars show  $\sigma$  over 5 seeds.

To measure  $C^{L}(Z)$ , we need both K(Z) and  $K(Z|W^{L})$ . Since Z consists of a set of symbolic objects 450 sampled uniformly, K(Z) is simply equal to  $|\mathcal{O}|\log_2(|\mathcal{O}|)$ , where  $\mathcal{O}$  is the set of all possible objects. To 451 measure  $K(Z|W^{L})$ , we used a compression method called prequential coding (Blier & Ollivier, 2018) that 452 provides good estimates in practice (see Appendix G). Intuitively, prequential coding compresses Z given 453 W by incrementally encoding individual datapoints  $z_{<i}$  and fitting a model  $\theta_{i-1}$  to predict them using  $w_{<i}$ 454 as input. The more datapoints are encoded, the better the model becomes by having seen more training 455 data, and the more accurately it can predict the next datapoint  $z_i$ . Since prediction error is equivalent to 456 complexity,  $K(z_i|w_i,\theta_{i-1})$  will decrease as a function of i, which means that every subsequent datapoint 457 takes fewer bits to encode. The total complexity K(Z|W) is estimated by summing all of these terms. 458

In Li & Bowling (2019) and Ren et al. (2020), compositionality was measured using topological similarity. Using  $C^{L}(Z)$ , we find that we are able to reproduce their results (see Figure 3): iterated learning produces language systems that are more compositional. However, a desirable property of our definition is that the absolute quantities of the metric are meaningful and interpretable. In particular, the "normal" language system trained without iterated learning obtains the lowest possible compositionality score,  $C^{L}(Z) = K(Z)/K(Z|W^{L}) = 1$ , meaning that the mapping from sentences to representations is entirely arbitrary. In contrast, topological similarity can at best only be used as a relative metric for comparing different language systems, as its theoretical link to compositionality is not well understood.

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#### 4.3 NATURAL LANGUAGES

469 While it is commonly accepted that all natural languages are roughly equal in their expressive power 470 (their ability to express ideas and thoughts), a highly debated question in linguistics is whether or not they are all equally compositional (Joseph & Newmeyer, 2012). For instance, while one camp suggests 471 that high compositionality in one respect is generally balanced by low compositionality in another, other 472 evidence suggests that languages which undergo significant outside contact experience a pressure for easier 473 learnability and thus higher compositionality, such as in the case of English being exposed to non-native 474 speakers. This question has been difficult to answer definitively, partly due to the absence of a principled 475 and quantitative definition of compositionality. 476

To investigate the compositionalities of natural language systems using our definition, we first collected 477 a dataset of English sentences describing natural images (COCO, 2024), which we then translated into 478 French, Spanish, German, and Japanese using a large open source model (Costa-jussà et al., 2022). To 479 obtain proxies of "meanings" Z for these sentences, we encoded them using a multilingual sentence 480 embedding model that outputs a dense fixed-size vector (Reimers & Gurevych, 2020). More experimental 481 details as well as limitations of this approach can be found in Appendix J. Using these datasets of 482 sentence/representation pairs, we measured the compositionalities of each natural language system  $C^{L}(Z)$ 483 using the same prequential coding approach as in Section 4.2. 484

Our results are shown in Figure 4. We find that the prequential code lengths of all languages are highly similar, indicating that they have semantics f of roughly equal complexity (Figure 4a). Assuming that these



Figure 4: Compositionality of natural language systems. We consider language natural systems in which 496  $W^L$  are sentences in some language and Z are sentence embedding vectors obtained from a pretrained 497 multilingual model. **a.** We used prequential coding to measure  $K(Z|W^L)$  for these natural languages, 498 where the area under the curve is the "prequential code length" estimating compression size. Languages have highly similar prequential code lengths, with Japanese having the lowest among them. b. Assuming 499 all languages have equivalent expressivity K(Z), their relative compositionalities measured using our definition  $C^{L}(Z)$  are similar. c. Using topological similarity as a measure of compositionality gives counter-intuitive results, with most languages having near-zero topological similarity and Japanese being 502 a strong outlier with a topological similarity of -0.2. Error bars show  $\sigma$  over 3 seeds. 503

504 natural languages are all equally expressive in their abilities to express ideas and identify referents (i.e., 505 equal K(Z); a common assumption in linguistics), their compositionalities as measured by our definition 506  $C^{L}(Z)$  are roughly equivalent, with Japanese having slightly higher relative compositionality (Figure 4b). 507 Using topological similarity as an alternative definition of compositionality gives counter-intuitive results 508 that contradict our own: most languages have a near-zero topological similarity, except for Japanese which 509 is a strong outlier with a topological similarity of -0.2 (Figure 4c).

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#### 5 CONCLUSION

513 We introduced a novel definition of compositionality, representational compositionality, that is grounded in 514 algorithmic information theory. Through theoretical arguments and empirical experiments, we showed that 515 this simple definition not only accounts for our many intuitions about compositionality, but also extends 516 them in useful ways. 517

In virtue of being quantitatively precise, representational compositionality can be used to investigate 518 compositionality in real-world systems. We demonstrated this with emergent and natural language 519 representations, but in a limited way that only considered language systems where the sentences 520 describing a representation are externally defined. We note that this quantity can readily be applied to 521 score tokenization schemes that parse text into tokens producing different representations after training 522 downstream models, which may lead to improvements in their design. 523

More generally however, measuring the compositionalities of *representations* without a given mapping 524 to sentences requires the development of additional machine learning tools, whose overall architecture 525 we sketch out in Appendix B. The development of such tools is an important direction for future work, 526 as it will allow us to investigate the compositionalities of representations that emerge from different 527 learning objectives, neural architectures, inductive biases, and brain regions. In turn, we will be able to 528 see how representational compositionality empirically relates to other topics in ML such as compositional 529 generalization, multi-task generalization, and latent space generative models—we give some hypotheses 530 and ideas for future work along these lines in Appendix E. In particular, representational compositionality has the potential to explain the success of varied methods because it defines compositionality using 531 compression, which abstracts across the architecture, learning details, and particular representational 532 format. Representational compositionality can therefore be used to validate or reject diverse hypotheses 533 about compositionality, such as the Language of Thought hypothesis (Fodor, 1975). 534

535 Representational compositionality can also play an important role in the design and validation of machine 536 learning models with principled inductive biases for compositionality. Namely, in addition to supporting a given task, a compositional representation must be easily describable as a simple function of constituent 537 parts. There are both direct and indirect ways to achieve this that are grounded in our definition; we 538 describe some approaches in Appendix F that we intend to pursue in future work.

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## 864 APPENDIX A BACKGROUND ON KOLMOGOROV COMPLEXITY

Kolmogorov complexity was independently developed in the 1960s by Kolmogorov (1965), Solomonoff (1964), and Chaitin (1966), and defines a notion of "information quantity".

Intuitively, the Kolmogorov complexity of an object is the length of the shortest program (in some programming language) that outputs that object. Specifically, given some finite string x, K(x) is the length l(r) (in bits) of the shortest binary program r that prints x and halts. Let U be a universal Turing machine that executes these programs. The Kolmogorov complexity of x is then:

$$K(x) = \min_{r} \{ l(r) : U(r) = x, r \in \{0,1\}^* \},$$
(4)

where  $\{0,1\}^*$  denotes the space of finite binary strings. A related notion is the conditional Kolmogorov complexity of a string x given another string y, which is the length of the shortest program that takes y as input and outputs x:

$$K(x|y) = \min_{r} \{ l(r) : U(r(y)) = z, r \in \{0,1\}^* \},$$
(5)

where r(y) denotes a program taking y as input. Finally, we can also define a "joint" Kolmogorov complexity K(x,y), which denotes the length of the shortest program that jointly outputs both x and y. Surprisingly, joint Kolmogorov complexity is related to conditional Kolmogorov complexity (up to an additive logarithmic term, which we will ignore) by the Symmetry of Information theorem (Li et al., 2008):

$$K(x,y) = K(y|x) + K(x) = K(x|y) + K(y).$$
(6)

885 Kolmogorov complexity has many intuitive properties that make it attractive as a measure of information 886 quantity, and although it is less common than notions from Shannon information theory (Shannon, 2001), 887 it is strictly more general (as we will show later below). The smaller and the more "structure" an object has—regularity, patterns, rules, etc.—the more easily it can be described by a short program and the lower 889 its Kolmogorov complexity. Kolmogorov complexity therefore is deeply rooted in the idea of compression. 890 For instance, a sequence with repeating patterns or a dataset that spans a low-dimensional subspace can 891 be significantly compressed relative to its original size, and this results in low Kolmogorov complexity. In contrast, a random string devoid of any structure cannot be compressed at all and must in effect be 892 "hard-coded", making its Kolmogorov complexity equal to its original size in bits. 893

894 While powerful, Kolmogorov complexity has certain limitations. First and foremost, Kolmogorov 895 is intractable to compute exactly because it requires a brute force search over an exponentially large 896 space of possible programs. It is therefore often of conceptual rather than practical value, although it 897 can nevertheless be upper-bounded using more efficient compression strategies. Second, Kolmogorov 898 complexity depends on the programming language of choice. For instance, if a programming language has a built-in primitive for the object being encoded, Kolmogorov complexity is trivially small. This concern, 899 however, is often overblown: given any two Turing-complete programming languages, the difference in 900 Kolmogorov complexity that they assign to an object is upper-bounded by a constant that is independent 901 of the object itself, because any Turing-complete programming language can simulate another (Grünwald 902 & Vitányi, 2003; Fortnow, 2000). In practice, we can simply consider "reasonable" Turing-complete 903 programming languages that don't contain arbitrary object-specific primitives, in which case this simulation 904 constant will be relatively small and the particular programming language of choice will have little effect. 905 Finally, Kolmogorov complexity is only defined for discrete objects because no terminating program can 906 output a continuous number with infinite precision. This concern is also less consequential in practice, 907 because we can always represent continuous objects using finite (e.g., floating-point) precision. 908

**Important properties for machine learning** In ML, we are often concerned with datasets and probabilistic models. Kolmogorov complexity relates to these two concepts in several interesting ways. First, we can ask about the Kolmogorov complexity of a finite dataset  $X = (x_1,...,x_n)$  where each sample is drawn *iid* from a distribution p(x). It turns out that if we have access to the true distribution p(x), optimal algorithms such as arithmetic coding (Witten et al., 1987) can encode each sample using only  $\log_2 p(x_i)$  bits. Intuitively, this is because samples that occur more frequently can be encoded using shorter codes in order to achieve an overall better compression. We thus have that:

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$$K(X|p) = -\sum_{i=1}^{n} \log_2 p(x_i).$$
(7)

918 If instead of access to the true distribution p(x) we only have a probabilistic model of the data  $p_{\theta}(x)$ , we 919 have that: 920

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$$K(X|p) \le K(X|p_{\theta}) \le -\sum_{i=1}^{n} \log_2 p_{\theta}(x_i), \tag{8}$$

where we have equality on the LHS when  $p_{\theta} = p$  and equality on the RHS when the cost of improving 925  $p_{\theta}$  (in bits of written code) would be greater than the benefits from more accurate modeling. In practice, 926 if  $p_{\theta}$  is close to p, we can say that  $K(X|p_{\theta}) \approx -\sum_{i=1}^{n} \log_2 p_{\theta}(x_i)$ .

This insight is significant. Notice that  $-\sum_{i=1}^{n} \log_2 p_{\theta}(x_i)$  is the negative log-likelihood of the data under 928 929 the model, which is a common loss function used in ML. This tells us that models with lower error better 930 compress their data, and directly relates Kolmogorov complexity to optimization in ML. However, what 931 if we do not have a model? What is the Kolmogorov complexity of the data itself? Intuitively, if the dataset is sufficiently large, the optimal method for encoding it should be to first specify a model and then encode 932 the data using that model as in Equation (8). Specifically, using identities in Fortnow (2000), we have: 933

$$K(X) \le K(X|p_{\theta}) + K(p_{\theta}). \tag{9}$$

This encoding scheme on the RHS is referred to as a 2-part code (Grünwald, 2007). For large datasets, we have equality when the model's description length and error are jointly minimized, which occurs when the model  $p_{\theta}(x)$  is equivalent to the true distribution p(x):

$$K(X) = \underset{p_{\theta}}{\operatorname{argmin}} K(X|p_{\theta}) + K(p_{\theta}) = \underset{p_{\theta}}{\operatorname{argmin}} - \sum_{i=1}^{n} \log_2 p_{\theta}(x_i) + K(p_{\theta})$$
(10)

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$$=K(X|p) + K(p) = -\sum_{i=1}^{n} \log_2 p(x_i) + K(p).$$
(11)

Again, we can draw important connections to ML. Equation (9) says that the Kolmogorov complexity of a dataset is upper-bounded by the a model's error and complexity. In addition, Equations (10) and (11) tell us that the simplest model that explains the data is most likely to be the true one, which draws a theoretical link between compression, maximum likelihood training, model complexity, and generalization (Goldblum et al., 2023).

Relation to Shannon information In Shannon information theory (Shannon, 2001), the notion 955 of information quantity is entropy. Given a random variable  $X \sim p(x)$ , entropy is defined as: 956  $H(X) = \mathbb{E}_{x \sim p(x)} - \log_2(p(x))$ . Notice that the  $-\log_2(p(x))$  inside the expectation is equal the quantity 957 inside the sum of Equation (7), which specified the minimum number of bits needed to encode a sample 958 from a dataset given the distribution that sample was drawn from. This is no accident: entropy can be seen 959 as the average number of bits needed to compress events from a distribution using an optimal encoding 960 scheme when the distribution p(x) is known. If we simply sum these bits for a finite number of samples 961 instead of taking an expectation, we get exactly K(X|p) as defined in Equation (7).

962 As we have seen, though, the assumption about a known distribution p(x), need not be made in the 963 Kolmogorov complexity framework. In this sense, Kolmogorov complexity is a strict generalization of 964 Shannon information theory: K(X) as defined in Equation (11) is equivalent to summed entropy plus 965 the complexity of the distribution p(x), which is unknown and needs to be encoded. In the Shannon 966 framework, it is difficult to derive a meaningful notion for the information quantity in the distribution p(x)967 because it is an individual object—a function, in particular—and Shannon information is only defined for 968 random variables (Grünwald & Vitányi, 2003). A second drawback of Shannon information is that entropy is a measure of statistical determinability of states; information is fully determined by the probability 969 distribution on states and unrelated to the representation, structure, or content of the individual states 970 themselves (Grünwald & Vitányi, 2003). For this current work, we require a notion of complexity that 971 can account for representations and functions, making Kolmogorov complexity better suited to the task.

#### 972 973 974 APPENDIX B COMPRESSING A REPRESENTATION USING DISCRETE AUTO-ENCODERS

To measure compositionality as defined in Definition 2, we must first compress K(Z) using the program form in Section 2. This involves finding a  $p_w$ , W, and f that jointly minimize:

$$K(Z) = \min_{p_w, W, f} K(p_w) + K(W|p_w) + K(f) + K(Z|W, f)$$
(1 revisited)  
$$= \min_{p_w, W, f} K(p_w) - \sum_{n=1}^{N} \log p_w(w_n) + K(f) - \sum_{n=1}^{N} \log \mathcal{N}(z_n; f(w_n)).$$

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While this is an intractable search problem, it can be turned into an easier optimization problem using modern deep learning tools. In particular, we can minimize at least some of the terms in Equation (1) by fitting a discrete auto-encoder to Z using a learned prior in the latent W-space, as illustrated in Figure B.1. This auto-encoder consists of an encoder w = e(z) that maps the representation to a discrete latent space of sentences, a latent prior  $p_w(w)$ , and a decoder  $\mathcal{N}(z; f(w))$  that outputs the sufficient statistics of a Gaussian distribution in order to evaluate the likelihood of the original representation. In practice, the latent prior  $p_w(w)$  can be parameterized using an auto-regressive model such as a causal Transformer, which tends to work well on language data. We can then train this discrete auto-encoder using the following loss function:

$$\mathcal{L}(Z;e,p_w,f) = \sum_{z \in Z} -\log p_w(e(z)) - \log \mathcal{N}(z;f(e(z))).$$
(12)

2. Measure complexity terms

 $K(Z) = K(p_w) + K(W | p_w) + K(f) + K(Z | W, f)$ 

The first term in this loss ensures that W has high prior likelihood, and optimizes both the prior model  $p_w$  as well as the encoder e that produces the latent sentences. The second term in the loss ensures that Z has high likelihood given W, and optimizes the decoder f as well as the encoder e so that they preserve information about Z. Recall from Equation (7) that the negative likelihood of an object under some probability distribution is equal to its conditional Kolmogorov complexity given that distribution. As a result, minimizing the loss in Equation (12) is equivalent to finding a  $p_w$ , W, and f that jointly minimize  $K(W|p_w)+K(Z|W,f)$ .



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1. Fit a discrete auto-encoder with learned prior

 $\mathcal{L} = -\log p_{W}(W) - \log p(Z \mid f(W))$ 

Figure B.1: Estimating the complexity of a representation K(Z) by fitting a discrete auto-encoder with learned latent prior. The encoder, prior, and decoder are jointly trained with a loss that maximizes the likelihood of Z using sentences that have high prior likelihood  $p_w(W)$ . If  $p_w$  and f are also regularized to be simple functions, fitting this discrete auto-encoder is equivalent to finding a  $p_w$ , W, and f that jointly minimize K(Z).

# To measure K(Z), we also need to minimize $K(p_w)$ and K(f). For this, two options present themselves:

- 1. Hope that the implicit simplicity bias of DNNs trained using SGD does a good enough job on its own of finding solutions with low complexity (Blier & Ollivier, 2018).
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  2. Use additional regularization techniques that implicitly minimize the complexities of the models, such as simple architectures, L1 or L2 weight penalties, modularity (Goyal & Bengio, 2022), dropout (Hinton et al., 2012), periodic resetting Zhou et al. (2021), etc.
- 1025 Regardless of which method is used, the complexities of the final trained models can be estimated using a method called prequential coding (Blier & Ollivier, 2018), which we describe in Appendix G. Thus, we

are able to estimate all of the constituent complexity terms of K(Z) in Equation (1). The main challenge in this overall approach then becomes how to successfully train a discrete auto-encoder with a prior in latent space, in a way that is both stable and scalable.

- 1030 VQ-VAE The most popular method for training discrete auto-encoders is the Vector-Quantized
  1031 Variational Auto-Encoder (VQ-VAE) (Van Den Oord et al., 2017). While the latent prior in a VQ-VAE
  1032 is generally trained post-hoc, some work has managed to train the prior end-to-end along with the rest
  1033 of the model (Jones & Moore, 2020; Yasuda et al., 2021; Cohen et al., 2022). The main challenge with
  1034 VQ-VAEs is that they explicitly discretize in the latent space during training—which is an inherently
  1035 non-differentiable operation—and then attempt to approximate gradients using imperfect estimators
  1036 (Bengio et al., 2013; Jang et al., 2016). As a result, training is often unstable and fraught with degenerate
  1037 solutions that collapse in the latent space (Łańcucki et al., 2020).
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**Simplicial embeddings** Another option, which avoids the difficulty of training with hard-discretization, 1039 is to use so-called simplicial embeddings in the latent space (Lavoie et al., 2023). Simplicial embeddings 1040 amount to soft attention: each vector "chunk" representing a word in the latent space is projected onto 1041  $|\mathcal{V}|$  word embeddings followed by a softmax, and the weighted word embeddings are then summed at 1042 each sentence position. The temperature of the softmax can then be gradually decreased over the course 1043 of training such that the operation approaches a hard-discretization in the limit. As the operation is entirely 1044 continuous and deterministic, it is easier to train using end-to-end gradient descent methods (although it may 1045 become numerically unstable at low softmax temperatures). One challenge becomes how to define and train the prior  $p_w$  in this case, where W is in fact a sequence of continuous word embedding mixtures as opposed 1046 to a sequence of discrete tokens. One possibility is to perform a hard-discretization of the latent before it is 1047 passed to the prior, along with relevant gradient estimators (e.g. Bengio et al., 2013; Jang et al., 2016). While 1048 this could make training more difficult, the encoder-decoder part of the model would at least remain entirely 1049 continuous and deterministic. Another option is to define  $p_w$  in continuous space, where the input is a 1050 sequence of word embedding mixtures and the "next-token" targets are categorical distributions over words. 1051

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GFlowNets If we still wish to perform hard-discretization, but do not want to resort to imperfect gradient 1053 estimators required for end-to-end training, Generative Flow Networks (GFlowNets) could be a promising 1054 alternative (Bengio et al., 2021; 2023). GFlowNets can learn to sample some compositional discrete 1055 object in proportion to a reward function. The reward function and GFlowNet can also be conditioned 1056 on some input, and the reward function can be learned in alternation with the GFlowNet using expectation-1057 maximization (GFlowNet-EM) (Hu et al., 2023). In the case of a discrete auto-encoder, the encoder would 1058 be a GFlowNet, while the decoder and prior would be the reward function. While this approach has 1059 been used to train a discrete auto-encoder before (Hu et al., 2023), it comes with its own challenges. First, GFlowNet-EM is not an end-to-end training procedure (no gradients flow from the decoder to the encoder), which makes it more difficult to train. Second, while GFlowNets sample proportionally to their reward, our 1061 ultimate goal is to *maximize* the reward (i.e., find sentences W that maximize the prior and reconstruction). 1062 To do this, we will ultimately have to decay the temperature of the reward over the course of training in 1063 order to settle to a final solution that minimizes the loss in Equation (12). Training GFlowNets with a 1064 sparse reward, however, is more difficult due to exploration challenges (Atanackovic & Bengio, 2024).

- **Computational complexity** If the discrete auto-encoder described in this section can be trained successfully, then estimating representational compositionality is tractable, despite being defined theoretically in terms of Kolmogorov complexities. Fitting the auto-encoder itself is tractable using modern machine learning hardware. Then, to estimate  $K(p_w)$  and K(f) we must use prequential coding (see Appendix G), which amounts to fitting a neural network at varying dataset sizes. While fitting a neural network N times (where N is the dataset size) is inefficient, it is nonetheless tractable, and can be approximated efficiently by chunking the data into coarser sizes as we did in our experiments. There are also methods for computing prequential coding online rather than retraining the model from scratch each iteration (Bornschein et al., 2022).
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#### APPENDIX C ASSUMPTIONS IN COMPRESSING A REPRESENTATION

- In laying out our framework for measuring K(Z) in Section 2, we made several key assumptions.
- 1079 First, we assumed that the shortest program that outputs Z has a particular form. If it does not, then the estimated K(Z) can be far greater than the true one. However, we argue that the assumed program form

1080 is safe for the kinds of representations that we are interested in and the kinds of insights we wish to gain from estimating K(Z). Namely, we are interested in seeing if given neural representations share similar 1082 properties to conscious human thought, which is believed to have a symbolic structure where each thought 1083 is a composition of discrete concepts (Fodor, 1975). If a representation does not have this kind of structure, 1084 then our method would detect it in the form of a high estimated K(Z), even if this is an overestimate of the true Kolmogorov complexity due to incorrectly assuming the program form in Section 2.

1086 Second, actually estimating K(Z) using Equation (1) requires a minimization over  $p_w$ , W, and f. This 1087 optimization approach assumes that the  $p_w$  and f which minimize K(Z) are DNNs. While this can 1088 seem unintuitive at first given the significant number of parameters in DNNs, it has been found that they 1089 converge to solutions that are remarkably simple and compressible (Blier & Ollivier, 2018; Goldblum 1090 et al., 2023; Sutskever, 2023; Rae, 2023), which likely explains their strong generalization abilities. We therefore believe that for neural representations with sufficient complexity, the assumption that they can 1091 be best compressed using DNNs is justified. 1092

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#### APPENDIX D **EXAMPLES OF COMPOSITIONAL REPRESENTATIONS**

To supplement and clarify the arguments in Section 3, it is easiest to gain further intuition for our definition of compositionality through concrete examples of different hypothetical representations. For each, we have strong intuitions about whether or not the representation is compositional, and we will see that our 1099 definition agrees with—and indeed extends—these intuitions. We illustrate these examples in Figure D.1.







**Example 1**,  $\downarrow C(Z)$ : f is a lookup table from w to z Consider a representation Z that is sampled from 1130 a mixture of Gaussians, where the centroids are far apart but their locations lack any kind of structure (i.e., 1131 they are randomly distributed). To simplify things, let us assume that there are as many unique centroids 1132 as there are possible sentences. In such a case, the semantics function f would identify each centroid 1133 with a unique sentence and the resulting error K(Z|W,f) would be low. However, because these centroids

1134 1134 lack any structure, f would have to define an *arbitrary* mapping from each sentence to its corresponding 1136 centroid. In other words, f would function as a lookup table from w to z that does not leverage the 1136 internal structure (i.e., words and their ordering) in the sentence to achieve a more compressed mapping. 1137 The resulting description length of f would be equal to the size of the lookup table, which would grow 1138 exponentially with the sentence size. f would be, in effect, a complex "hard-coded" mapping (in fact, the 1139 most complex possible) with  $\mathcal{O}(K(f)) = |\mathcal{V}|^M$ , where M is the sentence length and  $|\mathcal{V}|$  is the vocabulary 1140 size. The resulting compositionality C(Z) would be extremely low.

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**Example 2,**  $\downarrow C(Z)$ : *Z* is smooth and continuous The above example considered a case where the representation had discrete structure that could be accurately modeled by sentences, and the source of low compositionality came from a high K(f). However, the compositionality can also be low if *Z* is inherently continuous, in which case modeling it using a discrete *W* is at best an approximation via quantization. In such a case, the error K(Z|W,f) would be high and the corresponding compositionality would be low. Note that it might be possible to compress *Z* using a low-dimensional continuous code rather than discrete sentences, from which an equivalent (perhaps even identical) definition of continuous compositionality could be derived, but in this work we consider only compositions of discrete parts.

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1150 **Example 3**,  $\downarrow C(Z)$ : Z is simple Most of the discussion thus far has focused on the denominator of C(Z)1151 in Definition 2. However, a representation can also lack compositionality if the complexity of the numerator, 1152 K(Z), is low. If Z were very low—say it were a constant, for instance—then it could be modeled using 1153 a simple f that achieves low error K(Z|W,f). However, we would certainly not be tempted say that the 1154 representation is compositional. In fact, it would be best compressed using a single word and an f that 1155 outputs a constant, rather than using complex sentences and simple compositional rules. Compositionality 1156 must therefore also increase with the expressivity of the representation, which is captured by the numerator 1157 K(Z) in our definition. In cognitive science, where the scientific notion of compositionality has its origins, expressivity is considered an essential component of compositionality; Chomsky (1956) famously argued 1158 that natural language as a compositional system derives its power because it gives us "infinite use of finite 1159 means", or in the language of our definition high expressivity as a simple function of parts. 1160

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**Example 4,**  $\uparrow C(Z)$ : f assigns an embedding to each word followed by a simple operation We now 1162 turn to paradigmatic examples of high compositionality, beginning with the most intuitive. Consider once 1163 again a representation Z that is sampled from a mixture of Gaussians like in *Example 1*, but this time 1164 imagine that the centroids are arranged in a structured way. In particular, imagine that they are structured 1165 such that each can be described as a concatenation of subcomponents that are shared across all centroids. 1166 Now, the simplest f would be one that first assigns a vector embedding to each word such that it represents a 1167 possible subcomponent of the centroid, and then concatenates the embeddings for all words in the sentence. 1168 The complexity of f would then scale only linearly as a function of the number of words in the vocabulary 1169 (assuming they are all necessary), because concatenation is a simple operation that takes a constant number of lines of code. We would have  $\mathcal{O}(K(f)) = |\mathcal{V}|$ , which is independent of the sentence length, in contrast to 1170 the arbitrary mapping in *Example 1* that scaled as  $\mathcal{O}(K(f)) = |\mathcal{V}|^M$ . This is a substantial reduction in com-1171 plexity and increase in compositionality, and it comes from the fact that the words contribute independently 1172 to the representation. This is a case of a perfectly disentangled representation, which in our theory is simply 1173 an extreme case of compositionality, but intermediate cases are possible as well. For instance, the representa-1174 tion could be determined by interactions between pairs of words in the sentence, or it might be the case that 1175 words largely contribute independently to the representation but that there is some small degree of context-1176 sensitivity, as in human language. Our theory unifies all of these cases under a single, succinct definition.

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1178 **Example 5,**  $\uparrow C(Z)$ : f is modular As already explained in Section 2, a modular f is simpler to describe 1179 and thus implies higher compositionality. To see why modular functions are more compressible, consider 1180 a paradigmatic case: computer programs. When a computer program is written in such a way that it can be 1181 refactored into a small number of functions and classes that are reused several times, the total length of the 1182 program decreases substantially. Programs that are not written with modularity in mind tend to be much 1183 longer and complex. Modular functions therefore tend to have far lower complexity because the modules 1184 only need to be defined once, but can then be reused many times inside the function. In ML, modularity 1185 is leveraged in a similar fashion. For instance, Goyal et al. (2021) introduces an architecture that consists of N DNNs as well as a learned attention-based routing mechanism for how they communicate. Crucially, 1186 these modules are leveraged by the routing mechanism in a context-dependent way, and each module can 1187 be reused many times to process each individual input. This means that while the entire model is simple

(small number of modules and simple routing mechanism), it is nevertheless highly expressive due to the combinatorial way in which modules can be composed. Our definition explains how this expressivity and compression endowed by modular functions formally relates to compositionality (Lepori et al., 2023; Goyal & Bengio, 2022).

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1193 **Example 6,**  $\uparrow C(Z)$ : f has many equivariances The connection between equivariance and compo-1194 sitionality is perhaps less obvious (Gordon et al., 2020), but it is a natural and intuitive consequence of 1195 our definition. Equivariances (and invariances) are symmetries-sources of structure that decreases the 1196 complexity of a function (Immer et al., 2022; Wilk et al., 2018; van der Ouderaa & van der Wilk, 2022). For 1197 instance, convolutional layers have local connectivity and reuse weights across spatial locations, which both 1198 reduces their description length and makes them equivariant to spatial translations. We can also consider lin-1199 ear equivariance as a special case that is easy to illustrate. If f is linearly equivariant to a particular operation g in sentence-space, it means that  $f(g(w)) = f(w) + v_q$ , where  $v_q$  is a constant vector that corresponds to 1201 the equivariant change in the representation output by  $\tilde{f}$ . The difference in the function's behaviour for two 1202 different inputs, w and g(w), can therefore be compactly described by a single vector, whereas in the general non-equivariant case the change in the function's behaviour can be arbitrarily complex. In an extreme case, 1203 if f can be completely described by a set of linear equivariances, then each w corresponds to a set of  $q_i$ 's 1204 applied to a constant "default" sentence, and f merely needs to encode a single vector for each of these  $q_i$ 's 1205 then sum those that apply to a particular input. The resulting function is very similar to the one described in 1206 *Example 4*, where f applied a simple operation to a sequence of word embeddings in a sentence (in this case 1207 vector addition). The function also bears similarities to the one described in *Example 5* if we view the equiv-1208 ariances as modules. Similar arguments can be made for non-linear equivariance, where the complexity 1209 K(f) would still be reduced, but to a lesser extent. In general, the more equivariances a function has and the 1210 simpler those equivariances are, the lower the complexity K(f) and the higher the compositionality C(Z). 1211

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## NDIX E RELATIONS BETWEEN REPRESENTATIONAL COMPOSITIONALITY AND OTHER ML TOPICS

**Compositional generalization** One of the benefits of compositional representations is that they enable 1217 better compositional generalization (Lake & Baroni, 2018). If a model is compositional with respect to 1218 a set of features in its training data, it need not observe all possible combinations of those features in order 1219 to generalize to novel ones (Schug et al., 2024; Wiedemer et al., 2024; 2023; Bahdanau et al., 2019; Mittal 1220 et al., 2021; Hupkes et al., 2020; Jarvis et al., 2024; Lippl & Stachenfeld, 2024; Lachapelle et al., 2024). 1221 For instance, if an image classifier's representation is compositional with respect to foreground objects 1222 and background scenes, then it should be able to correctly classify an image of "a cow on a beach" at 1223 inference time after having only observed cows and beaches separately at training time. 1224

In certain cases, compositionality is defined in terms of a model's ability to compositionally generalize 1225 compositionally (e.g., Jarvis et al., 2024; Wiedemer et al., 2024; 2023; Lippl & Stachenfeld, 2024). 1226 However, while such definitions of compositionality can often provide theoretical guarantees on 1227 generalization, they also place strong assumptions on either the representation, the downstream model, or 1228 both. For instance, Wiedemer et al. (2023) assumes that the representation is perfectly disentanglement with 1229 respect to some underlying task constituents. Similarly, Lachapelle et al. (2024) assumes disentanglement 1230 and that the downstream function using the representation is additive with respect to the the disentangled 1231 factors, and Lippl & Stachenfeld (2024) assumes disentanglement and "conjunction-wise additivity". 1232 Wiedemer et al. (2024) takes from the object-centric learning literature and defines a compositional representation as one that is structured into distinct "slots" (Locatello et al., 2020), and then requires that 1233 the downstream model using these slots is additive. 1234

1235 In contrast, our definition of representational compositionality is far more general: it defines compositional-1236 ity in terms of compression, which abstracts across the architecture producing and using the representation, 1237 learning details, data requirements, and particular representational format. For instance, disentangled 1238 and slot-wise representations are particular cases of representational compositionality in terms of their 1239 simple semantics K(f) (see Appendix D), but these are rigid assumptions to build into a model that might 1240 negatively impact performance. In contrast, representational compositionality has the potential to explain 1241 the success of more varied and flexible methods in terms of compositional generalization, such as loss regularizers or simply scaling dataset and model size. As a consequence of its generality, it may be difficult to formally characterize the relationship between representational compositionality and compositional generalization with theoretical guarantees, and we did not attempt to do so in this paper. Nevertheless we hypothesize that representations with high C(Z) should enable better compositional generalization. This is because the representation of constituent parts is system-atic: the semantics mapping constituent parts to the representation is a simple function that will generalize better to novel part combinations (i.e., it will assign them a meaningful rather than arbitrary representation, which downstream functions should be able to leverage). One of our central goals for future work is to test this hypothesis empirically, where we measure the compositionalities of many model representations using our definition and then correlate this score with the models' compositional generalization abilities. 

**Generative models in latent space** In addition to compositional generalization, representational compositionality also relates to generative models that sample in latent space. In particular, once a compositional representation is learned, efficient and generalizable generative models can be constructed by sampling in the space of discrete sentences, rather than in the high-dimensional continuous latent space directly. This is because the semantics function f of a representation with high C(Z) is simple, and can generalize to novel sentences that the generative model might produce. Empirically, modeling and sampling from discrete distributions is often easier and more effective, especially for complex multi-model distributions (Razavi et al., 2019).

To give a concrete example, imagine that a vision model has been pretrained on some task like object classification and produces latent representations with high C(Z). Using this representation, we can train a generative model of the form  $z \sim p_w(w)\mathcal{N}(z;f(w))$  described in Section 2, and then generate novel samples for downstream visual reasoning tasks directly in the abstract latent space, rather than in the low-level image space. This is akin to thought and reasoning is believed to work in human cognition, which is a generative process believed to exhibit a discrete language-like structure (Fodor, 1975; Dehaene et al., 2022; Lake et al., 2017; Bengio, 2017; Goyal & Bengio, 2022).

### APPENDIX F INDUCTIVE BIASES FOR REPRESENTATIONAL COMPOSITIONALITY

In virtue of being formally precise and quantitative, representational compositionality can inspire the design of novel inductive biases for compositional representations in ML models. In this section, we outline two approaches that we believe have promise: one that directly optimizes for C(Z), and another that indirectly attempts to increase it through task and data constraints. In addition, C(Z) can be used to validate existing inductive biases for compositionality (e.g., architectures for object-centric representations Locatello et al., 2020).

**Regularizing** K(Z|W) The most direct way to learn representations with high C(Z) is to regularize the denominator K(Z|W) so that the representations become more *verbalizable*, as suggested in Bengio (2017) and Goyal & Bengio (2022). Definition 2 says that compositional representations are (a) expressive and (b) easily described using sequences of discrete symbols-in other words, that they are verbalizable like human thoughts that can largely be conveyed in natural language. Expressivity can be obtained simply by training on a sufficiently complex task; for example, representations for image classification need to be expressive so that they can discriminate different objects. Task pressure alone, however, does not guarantee that the representation will be verbalizable. This second desiderata can be achieved, however, through a prior that regularizes the model's loss function.

$$K(f^{Z'}) + K(Z'|W^{Z'}, f^{Z'}) < K(f^{Z}) + K(Z|W^{Z}, f^{Z}),$$
(13)

where  $Z' = g_{\theta'}(X)$ . One option for accomplishing this is by backpropagating the reconstruction error of the discrete auto-encoder,  $K(Z|W^Z, f^Z)$ . This approach assumes that the semantics before and after the update are unchanged (i.e.,  $f^{Z'} = f^Z$ ), so that the only thing that needs to be considered is the auto-encoding reconstruction error  $K(Z|W^Z, f^Z) \rightarrow K(Z'|W^{Z'}, f^Z)$ . While this assumption will be violated in practice, it may hold approximately such that regularizing reconstruction error alone is sufficient to increase compositionality.

In sum, the approach described here consists of training a DNN  $g_{\theta}(X)$  on some task as usual, but with an additional loss: a discrete auto-encoder is fit to a layer in the model which we want to be more compositional, and the  $\theta$  is regularized to minimize the loss of this discrete auto-encoder. As a result, in addition to subserving task demands, the representation is optimized to be more compressible as a function of constituent discrete parts (i.e., it is verbalizable).

1306 **Multi-task training** A common observation in deep learning is that the model representations after 1307 training tend to be surprisingly simple despite the significant number of parameters in the network (Blier 1308 & Ollivier, 2018), as evidenced by their strong *iid* generalization abilities. However, absent additional 1309 constraints (e.g., Lachapelle et al., 2024), these same representations do not enable compositional out-1310 of-distribution generalization, suggesting that they lack sufficient compositional structure. One hypothesis is that while the simplest representation used to solve a single task may not be compositional, the simplest 1311 representation used to solve many related tasks might be. An analogy can be made to computer programs. 1312 When a program is written for a single narrow purpose, writing it in a compositional manner that reuses 1313 shared functions and classes might in fact result in bloat that increases the total program length. However, 1314 if these same functions and classes constitute a useful library that can be leveraged to write other programs 1315 as well, significant compression might be possible because the library is shared across all programs. 1316

In the terminology of C(Z), learning the simplest representation that subserves many different related 1317 tasks might result in low K(Z|W) and high compositionality because the semantics f are shared across 1318 these tasks and therefore lead to high compression; only  $K(p_w)$  grows to accommodate additional tasks, 1319 analogous to how a programming library would be used in novel ways to write a new program. Since 1320 DNNs already tend to learn simple representations (Blier & Ollivier, 2018), our definition suggests that 1321 ordinary training in certain multi-task settings (those that reuse certain task components) might be a simple 1322 method for learning compositional representations. Indeed, this has long been hypothesized and observed 1323 empirically (Driscoll et al., 2024; Johnston & Fusi, 2023; Lachapelle et al., 2023; Vafidis et al., 2024a; 1324 Maziarka et al., 2022; Vafidis et al., 2024b), especially in the case of disentangled representation learning, 1325 and could be verified more formally using our definition of representational compositionality.

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## APPENDIX G PREQUENTIAL CODING

While the Kolmogorov complexity of a model  $K(p_{\theta})$  is difficult to measure directly, it turns out that we can jointly estimate  $K(D|p_{\theta}) + K(p_{\theta})$  in cases where the model was fit to the data using a learning algorithm, as is the case in ML. From Equation (6), we have that:

$$K(D|p_{\theta}) + K(p_{\theta}) = K(D, p_{\theta}).$$
(14)

Instead of trying to estimate the terms on the LHS directly, we can estimate the RHS by finding the shortest
 program that jointly compresses both the dataset and the model, which we turns out to be easier through
 a compression algorithm called *prequential coding* illustrated in Figure G.1 and described below.

Prequential coding first assumes that we have access to a learning algorithm T which was used to fit 1338 the model  $p_{\theta}$ . For instance,  $p_{\theta} = T(D)$  might correspond to a randomly initialized DNN architecture fit 1339 to D using SGD with some set of hyperparameters. Then, consider an ordering of *iid* datapoints D =1340  $\{D_1,...,D_N\}$ , and denote  $D_{1,i} = \{D_1,...,D_i\}$ . In prequential coding, the first datapoint  $D_1$  is hard-coded 1341 in an uncompressed form, which takes a large number of bits. The learning algorithm T is then used to train 1342 a model  $p_{\theta_1} = T(D_1)$  on this single observation. Because the model is trained on only one datapoint, it will 1343 not be very accurate; however, it should be better than a random model that has seen no data at all. Because 1344 of the relationship between probabilistic generative models and compression described in Appendix A, 1345 we can use this model to specify the next datapoint  $D_2$  in a compressed form using only  $-\log_2 p_{\theta_1}(D_2)$ bits. At this point, we have encoded 2 datapoints, on which we can train a new model  $p_{\theta_2} = T(D_{1:2})$ . Having seen more data, this model should assign a higher likelihood to a new datapoint  $D_3$ , which we can 1347 specify in compressed form using  $-\log_2 p_{\theta_2}(D_3)$  bits. This process repeats until the entire dataset has been 1348 generated. At this point, the model  $p_{\theta}$  can be obtained simply by applying the learning algorithm to the 1349 complete dataset  $p_{\theta} = T(D)$ , since we assumed by construction that this was where the model came from.



Figure G.1: Illustration of prequential coding, a method for estimating  $K(D,\theta) = K(D|p_{\theta}) + K(p_{\theta})$ 1360 using  $p_{\theta}$ 's learning algorithm T. a. Pseudocode of the prequential coding program that outputs both D and 1361  $p_{\theta}$ . The program jointly compresses D and  $p_{\theta}$  by incrementally training a model using T on increasingly 1362 more data, each time efficiently encoding the next datapoint using the model obtained from all previous 1363 ones. The primary sources contributing to total program length come from specifying each next datapoint 1364  $D_{i+1}$  in compressed form using the current model  $p_{\theta_i}$ , which takes  $-\log_2 p_{\theta_i}(D_{i+1})$  bits. **b.** A visual 1365 illustration of the number of bits needed to specify each next datapoint given the model that was trained on all previous ones. As the learner T sees more data, it outputs models that assign a higher likelihood to new observations, and can thus better compress them. The total prequential code length  $L_{preq}(D;T)$  is given by 1367 the area under the curve. The area underneath the curve's last point is equal to the number of bits needed 1368 to encode the entire dataset given the final model,  $K(D|p_{\theta})$ . Since  $L_{preg}(D;T) = K(D|p_{\theta}) + K(p_{\theta})$ , the 1369 area above the curve's last point is equal to  $K(p_{\theta})$ . Prequential coding formalizes the intuition that simple 1370 models generalize better, thus quickly decreasing their prediction error for the next datapoint. 1371

The total number of bits that it takes to jointly compress D and  $p_{\theta}$  using prequential coding is the sum of how many bits it takes to specify each next datapoint using a model that was trained on all previous ones. Visually, it is the area under the *prequential coding curve* shown in Figure G.1b. We can call the total length of this compression program the *prequential code length*  $L_{preq}(D;T)$  (Blier & Ollivier, 2018):

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$$L_{preq}(D;T) = \sum_{i=0}^{N-1} -\log_2 p_{\theta_i}(D_{i+1})$$
(15)

$$L_{preq}(D;T) \ge K(D,p_{\theta}) = K(D|p_{\theta}) + K(p_{\theta}).$$

$$(16)$$

1384 Strictly speaking,  $L_{preq}(D;T)$  is an upper-bound on  $K(D,p_{\theta})$ : the prequential coding algorithm is one 1385 way to jointly compress the data and model, but it is not necessarily the optimal way. The upper-bound 1386 is tight in practice, however, if (a) the final model  $p_{\theta}$  does a good job of compressing the data (i.e., 1387  $K(D|p_{\theta}) \ll K(D)$  and (b) passing data to the learner T through the prequential coding algorithm is an 1388 effective strategy for compressing the model. Regarding this second point, consider how the model is 1389 obtained through prequential coding. Data is gradually transmitted to the learner T, with each additional datapoint requiring fewer bits to encode. If the speed of improvement in predicting the next datapoint is 1390 fast as a function of the amount of data observed, it means that the learner is effectively able to converge to 1391 the final model using only a small amount of data that takes few bits to encode, and thus that the model has 1392 low complexity. Concretely, when prequential coding is a good algorithm for jointly compressing the data 1393 and model, then  $L_{pred}(D;T) \approx K(D,p_{\theta})$  and the model complexity is given by (Blier & Ollivier, 2018): 1394

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$$L_{preq}(D;T) \approx K(D|p_{\theta}) + K(p_{\theta})$$
  

$$K(p_{\theta}) \approx L_{preq}(D;T) - K(D|p_{\theta}).$$
(17)

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Assuming that the model's error decreases monotonically with the size of the training dataset,  $K(D|p_{\theta})$  is equal to the area under the lowest point of the prequential coding curve in Figure G.1b. The area above this point is therefore the complexity of the model  $K(p_{\theta})$ . This relates Kolmogorov complexity to intuitions about generalization in ML: the simpler a model is, the quicker it generalizes from limited amounts of training data.

# 1404 APPENDIX H SYNTHETIC REPRESENTATIONS — EXPERIMENTAL DETAILS

# 1406 H.1 LOOKUP TABLE REPRESENTATIONS

**Generating the representations** We generated our synthetic lookup table representations Z (and their ground-truth sentences W) according to the program summarized in Algorithm 1. In short, the program does the following:

- Generate a lookup table: We begin by constructing a lookup table from words (or *n*-grams) to their embeddings. This table has dimensions  $(K^q, \frac{D}{M \times q})$ , where K is the vocabulary size, q is our disentanglement factor (i.e., the size of the *n*-grams), and D is the desired dimensionality of Z. We use the Skellam distribution to generate lookup table entries, which is a discrete approximation of a Gaussian distribution with precision  $\lambda$ . This discretization is necessary because a continuous distribution would cause the correction term K(Z|W, f) to be infinite.
- Sample W: We generate random integer sentences uniformly with shape (N, L), where N represents the number of samples and L denotes the number of words per sentence. Each integer in W corresponds to a word from our vocabulary of size K.
- Decode W to get Z: For each sentence  $w \in W$ , we perform the following steps to obtain the corresponding representation sample  $z \in Z$ :
  - We divide the sentence into consecutive L/q subsequences, each representing an *n*-gram (or a word if q=1).
  - For each subsequence, we retrieve the corresponding embedding from the lookup table.
  - We concatenate these embeddings to form the complete representation sample z for the sentence.
  - Add noise: We then add Gaussian noise (discretely approximated by a Skellam distribution with mean 0 and standard deviation r for the same reason as above) to the representation. This introduces stochasticity to our representations that cannot easily be modeled with discrete parts. The final representation Z has shape (N,D).

**Calculating the compositionality** To compute representational compositionality C(Z) according to 1434 Definition 2, we need to calculate the following terms:  $K(p_w)$ ,  $K(W|p_w)$ , K(f), and K(Z|W,f). We 1435 show how to do this below for a lookup table representation:

•  $K(p_w)$ : The language  $p_w$  in this case a uniform categorical distribution over integers in range (0, K - 1) at each sentence position  $l \in \{0..(M - 1)\}$ , where K is the vocabulary size and M is the sentence length. To specify an integer u, we need  $\log_2 u$  bits, so we have  $K(p_w) = \log_2 K + \log_2 M$ . There is also a complexity term associated with describing the function for the uniform distribution itself, but we ignore this because it is a small constant.

•  $K(W|p_w)$ : As described in Section 2,  $K(W|p_w)$  is simply equal to  $-\sum_{i=1}^N \log_2 p_w(w_i)$ . To derive  $p_w(w_i)$  for each sentence  $w_i \in W$ , we notice that each  $w_i$  is composed of L words, each sample from a uniform categorical distribution over (0, K-1). Thus  $p_w(w_i) = \frac{1}{K^M}$  for each sentence  $w_i$ . In total, then,  $K(W|p_w) = -\sum_{i=1}^N \log_2 p_w(w_i) = -\sum_{i=1}^N \log_2 p_w(w_i) = -\sum_{i=1}^N \log_2 R$  bits.

- K(f): In this case, the function that maps sentences to their meanings is mainly composed of the lookup table, with some additional small constant complexity to describe how to use the lookup table. To describe each number a in the lookup table, we need  $-\log_2 p(a)$  bits, where p is the PMF of the distribution these numbers were sampled from. In our case, this distribution is the Skellam distribution with a mean of 0, a standard deviation of 1, and a precision of  $\lambda$ . We therefore have  $K(f) = -\sum_{a \in \text{lookup table}} \log_2 p(a)$ . Given that the size of the lookup table is  $(K^q \times \frac{D}{M/q})$ ), the complexity of the semantics K(f) grows linearly in D, polynomially in K, and exponentially in q.
- K(Z|W,f): This term comes from imperfect reconstructions of Z. It can be thought of as the number of bits needed to correct the errors in these imperfect reconstructions. In these lookup table representations, these imperfect reconstructions come from the noise added to Z when it is sampled, which cannot be recovered since the lookup table does not contain it. To describe the corrections, we therefore just need to describe this noise. Each noise sample  $\epsilon$  can be described using  $-\log_2 q(\epsilon)$  bits where q is the PMF of the distribution the noise was sampled from. In our case this

Algorith	<b>Im 1:</b> Sampling $Z$ using a lookup table program
Input	
nu	mber of samples N
sei	ntence length $M$
vo	cabulary size K
en	nbedding dimension D
dis	sentanglement factor q
qu	$\frac{1}{2}$
no	
Ger	nerate lookup table:
looku	$p_{table} \leftarrow skellam_sample(\mu = 0, \sigma = 1, \lambda = \lambda, shape = (K^q, \frac{D}{M/q}))$
// 6	
// San	iple W:
<i>w</i> ←	random_lineger( $(0, K - 1, \text{snape} = (1V, M))$
// Dec	code W to get Z:
$Z \leftarrow [$	
for ea	ach $w$ in $W$ do
$z \leftarrow$	
fo	<b>r</b> position = 0 to $(M/q) - 1$ do
	entry $\leftarrow (w[\text{position} \times q : \text{position} \times q + q - 1])$
on	2.append(sell.lookup_table[entry])
en ~ 4	(a   b)
$\tilde{z}$	append( $z$ )
end f	or
$Z \leftarrow s$	$\operatorname{stack}(Z)$
11 1 1	Insiste
$\frac{1}{\mathbf{if}} r >$	0 then
п / >	$\sigma$ shellar sample $(\mu = 0, \sigma = r, \lambda = \lambda$ shape $= Z$ shape)
Z	$\leftarrow Z + \text{noise}$
end if	f
retur	n Z
	is a Skellam distribution with a mean of 0, standard deviation of $r$ , and precision of $\lambda$ . If we let $E$ be the matrix of all noises added form $Z$ , we have that $K(Z W,f)$ is equal to $-\sum_{\epsilon \in E} \log_2 q(\epsilon)$ .
Combin	ing these complexity terms together, the final expression for $C(Z)$ following Definition 2 is:
	$V(Z) = V(n_{1}) + V(W(n_{2}) + V(f) + V(Z)W(f)$
	$C(Z) = \frac{\Lambda(Z)}{K(Z W)} = \frac{\Lambda(p_w) + \Lambda(W p_w) + \Lambda(J) + \Lambda(Z W,J)}{K(Z)}$
	$K(Z W) \qquad K(f) + K(Z W,f)$
	$ \ \_ \log_2 K + \log_2 M + NM \log_2 K - \sum_{a \in \text{lookup table}} \log_2 p(a) - \sum_{\epsilon \in E} \log_2 q(\epsilon) $
	$-\frac{-\sum_{a \in \text{lookup table}} \log_2 p(a) - \sum_{\epsilon \in E} \log_2 q(\epsilon)}{-\sum_{a \in e} \log_2 q(\epsilon)}$
Experin	nent parameters We used the following parameter values to generate representations (except
when sw	weeping one parameter while keeping the others constant): $N = 1000, M = 16, K = 10, D = 64$ ,
$q=1, \lambda$	=0.01, $r$ =0.01. To sweep over sentence length, we varied M from $(1,D)$ , only keeping values
where L	Was divisible by M. To sweep over vocabulary size, we varied K from $(2,100)$ . To sweep over
epresen	nation dimensionality, we varied D from $(M, 2M,, 10M)$ . To sweep over disentanglement, we

parameters, we generated representations across 10 different random seeds.

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varied q from (1,M), only keeping values where M was divisible by q. For each setting of experiment

## 1512 H.2 CONTEXT-FREE GRAMMAR REPRESENTATIONS

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1514 **Generating the representations** We generated our context-free grammar representations Z (and their 1515 ground-truth sentences W) according to the following procedure:

- Generate a context-free grammar: Our context-free grammars consist of exclusively binary production rules that combine two child non-terminals into a parent non-terminal. We define a vocabulary of size K and evenly assign each word to one of T possible base part of speech types that serve as the first non-terminal symbols in the context-free grammar. We call these T first non-terminals "terminal parts of speech". We algorithmically generate the grammar in a way that depends on two parameters: the width and the depth. The depth refers to the number of levels in the parse tree (above the parts of speech) that have unique non-terminal symbols which can only exist at that level. The width refers to the number of unique non-terminal symbols defined at each level of depth. At any given level of depth, we generate a production rule for all possible combinations of non-terminals at that level, each of which produces one of the possible non-terminals at the next level (we evenly distribute outputs across these possible non-terminals at the higher level). For arbitrarily long sentences to still have valid parses despite the finite depth of our grammar, we define additional recursive production rules that take non-terminals at the highest level of the grammar and produce one of those same non-terminals. To provide additional clarity for how we generated these grammars, we give an example below for T=5, width = 2, and depth=5 (we exclude the vocabulary for brevity). In this grammar, the terminal parts of speech are denote by the prefix "T\_" and other non-terminals are denoted by the prefix "r[depth level]\_".
- 1533 start: r2\_1 | r2\_2 r0\_1: T\_1 " " T\_2 T\_2 " " T\_3 1534 T\_3 " " T\_4  $T_{-4}$  " "  $T_{-5}$  |  $T_{-5}$  " "  $T_{-1}$ 1535 T\_1 " " T\_3 T\_2 " " T\_4  $r0_2:$ 1536 T\_3 " " T\_5 İ T\_4 " " T\_1 | T\_5 " " T\_2 1537 r1\_1: r0\_1 " " r0\_1 r0\_2 " " r0\_1 1538 r0\_2 "" r1\_2: r0\_1 " " r0\_2 r0\_2 1539 r1\_2 "" r2\_1: r1\_1 " " r1\_1 r1 1 1540 r2\_2 "" | r2\_1 " " r2\_1  $r2_{-1}$ r1\_2 "" r2\_2: r1\_1 " " r1\_2 r1\_2 1542 | r2\_1 " " r2\_2 | r2\_2 " " r2 2 1543
  - Sample W: We generate random integer sentences of length M based on a transmission sentence defined over terminal parts of speech. Denote a terminal part of speech by  $t \in 1..T$ . A sentence w always randomly starts from a word that has either t = 1 or t = 2 with equal probability. Permissible transitions to the next word's terminal part of speech are  $t_{i+1} \leftarrow t_i + 1$  or  $t_{i+1} \leftarrow t_i + 2$ , which we sample between with equal probability (we also wrap  $t_{i+1}$  so that it remains in range 1..T). Given a sampled terminal part of speech at a location in w, we randomly sample a word that has been assigned that terminal part of speech.
  - Semantics f: The representation is assigned a dimensionality D. Each word in the vocabulary is given a D-dimensional embedding by sampling from a Skellam distribution, which is a discrete approximation of a Gaussian distribution, using  $\mu = 0$ ,  $\sigma = 1$ , and quantization precision  $\lambda$ . For each production rule i in the grammar, we define a linear mapping  $A_i \in \mathbb{R}^{2D \times D}$  with values sampled from a Skellam distribution using  $\mu = 0$ ,  $\sigma = 1$ , and quantization precision  $\lambda$ . Given a sentence w, the semantics function f is defined by the following steps:
    - Parse w using Earley parser (Earley, 1970) implemented with the Lark Python package.
    - Retrieve the embedding for each word in w.
    - Hierarchically apply the function  $[x_1,x_2]A_i$  at each node in the parse tree to obtain a node embedding, where  $[x_1,x_2]$  are the concatenated embeddings of the child nodes and  $A_i$  is the linear transform of the production rule at the node. The embedding of the root node is taken to be z for the sentence.
- **1563** Add noise: We then add Gaussian noise (discretely approximated by a Skellam distribution 1564 with mean 0 and standard deviation r) to the representation. This introduces stochasticity to 1565 our representations that cannot easily be modeled with discrete parts. The final representation Z has shape (N,D).

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**Calculating the compositionality** To compute representational compositionality C(Z) according to Definition 2, we need to calculate the following terms:  $K(p_w)$ ,  $K(W|p_w)$ , K(f), and K(Z|W,f). We show how to do this below for a context-free grammar representation:

- $K(p_w)$ : The language  $p_w$  in this case is defined by a terminal part of speech for each vocabulary item and a binary matrix of permissible transitions between terminal parts of speech. Defining the terminal part of speech for each vocabulary item takes  $\log_2 T$  bits, and we have K vocabulary items. The binary transition matrix is of shape  $(T+1) \times T$  (where the +1 is for the grammar's start symbol), and so takes T(T+1) bits to define. The total Kolmogorov complexity of the language (ignoring code of a constant complexity that doesn't scale with K or T) is therefore  $K(p_w) = K \log_2 T + T(T+1)$ .
- $K(W|p_w)$ : As described in Section 2,  $K(W|p_w)$  is simply equal to  $-\sum_{i=1}^{N} \log_2 p_w(w_i)$ . Since  $p_w$  is defined by a transition matrix over terminal parts of speech, and for each terminal part of speech each word having that terminal part of speech has equal probability, we have that  $p_w(w_i) = \prod_{m=1}^{M} \frac{1}{|t(w_{i,m-1})|}$  where  $t(\cdot)$  is the set of all permissible next words  $w_{i,m}$  that the previous word  $w_{i,m-1}$  can lead to based on the transition matrix between terminal parts of speech, and  $w_{i,0}$  denotes the grammar's start symbol. We therefore have that  $K(W|p_w) = -\sum_{i=1}^{N} \log_2 p_w(w_i) = -\sum_{j=i}^{N} \sum_{m=1}^{M} \log_2 \frac{1}{|t(w_{i,m-1})|}$  bits.
- K(f): The semantics are defined by the parser, the production rule operations (linear maps), 1585 and the word embeddings. Both the parsing algorithm and the production rule operations scale in complexity as a function of the number of production rules in the grammar, so we ignore the parsing algorithm's complexity and only consider the production rules and word embeddings as the scaling behaviour is the same. To describe each number in the word embedding table a, we need  $-\log_2 p(a)$  bits, where p is the PMF of the distribution these numbers were sampled from. In our case, this distribution is the Skellam distribution with a mean of 0, a standard deviation of 1, and 1590 a precision of  $\lambda$ . The complexity of the embedding table is therefore  $-\sum_{a \in \text{embedding table}} \log_2 p(a)$ . 1591 Given that the size of the embedding table is  $(K \times D)$ , the complexity of the embedding table 1592 grows linearly in both K and D. To describe each production rule i, we must describe a matrix of shape  $2D \times D$ . Each number in this matrix takes  $-\log_2 p(v)$  bits to encode, where p is the PMF 1594 of the distribution these numbers were sampled from. In our case, this distribution is the Skellam distribution with a mean of 0, a standard deviation of 1, and a precision of  $\lambda$ . The total complexity 1596 of all production rules is therefore  $-\sum_{i \in \text{num rules}} \sum_{(r,c) \in 2D \times D} \log_2 p(A_{i,(r,c)})$ . We therefore have that  $K(f) = -\sum_{a \in \text{embedding table}} \log_2 p(a) - \sum_{i \in \text{num rules}} \sum_{(r,c) \in 2D \times D} \log_2 p(A_{i,(r,c)})$  bits. 1598
  - K(Z|W,f): This term comes from imperfect reconstructions of Z. It can be thought of as the number of bits needed to correct the errors in these imperfect reconstructions. In these lookup table representations, these imperfect reconstructions come from the noise added to Z when it is sampled, which cannot be recovered since the lookup table does not contain it. To describe the corrections, we therefore just need to describe this noise. Each noise sample ε can be described using -log<sub>2</sub>q(ε) bits where q is the PMF of the distribution the noise was sampled from. In our case this is a Skellam distribution with a mean of 0, standard deviation of r, and precision of λ. If we let E be the matrix of all noises added form Z, we have that K(Z|W,f) is equal to -Σ<sub>ε∈E</sub>log<sub>2</sub>q(ε).

Combining these complexity terms together, the final expression for C(Z) following Definition 2 is:

$$\begin{split} C(Z) &= \frac{K(Z)}{K(Z|W)} = \frac{K(p_w) + K(W|p_w) + K(f) + K(Z|W,f)}{K(f) + K(Z|W,f)} \\ &= \frac{K\log_2 T + T(T+1) - \sum_{j=i}^N \sum_{m=1}^M \log_2 \frac{1}{|t(w_{i,m-1})|}}{-\sum_{a \in \text{embedding table}} \log_2 p(a) - \sum_{i \in \text{num rules}} \sum_{(r,c) \in 2D \times D} \log_2 p(A_{i,(r,c)}) - \sum_{\epsilon \in E} \log_2 q(\epsilon)} \\ &= \frac{-\sum_{a \in \text{embedding table}} \log_2 p(a) - \sum_{i \in \text{num rules}} \sum_{(r,c) \in 2D \times D} \log_2 p(A_{i,(r,c)}) - \sum_{\epsilon \in E} \log_2 q(\epsilon)} \\ &= \frac{-\sum_{a \in \text{embedding table}} \log_2 p(a) - \sum_{i \in \text{num rules}} \sum_{(r,c) \in 2D \times D} \log_2 p(A_{i,(r,c)}) - \sum_{\epsilon \in E} \log_2 q(\epsilon)} \\ &= \frac{-\sum_{a \in \text{embedding table}} \log_2 p(a) - \sum_{i \in \text{num rules}} \sum_{(r,c) \in 2D \times D} \log_2 p(A_{i,(r,c)}) - \sum_{\epsilon \in E} \log_2 q(\epsilon)} \\ &= \frac{-\sum_{a \in \text{embedding table}} \log_2 p(a) - \sum_{i \in \text{num rules}} \sum_{(r,c) \in 2D \times D} \log_2 p(A_{i,(r,c)}) - \sum_{e \in E} \log_2 q(e)} \\ &= \frac{-\sum_{a \in \text{embedding table}} \log_2 p(a) - \sum_{i \in \text{num rules}} \sum_{(r,c) \in 2D \times D} \log_2 p(A_{i,(r,c)}) - \sum_{e \in E} \log_2 q(e)} \\ &= \frac{-\sum_{a \in \text{embedding table}} \log_2 p(a) - \sum_{i \in \text{num rules}} \sum_{i \in \text{num rules}} \sum_{i \in D} \log_2 p(A_{i,(r,c)}) - \sum_{i \in \text{num rules}} \sum_{i \in$$

1615 Experiment parameters We used the following parameter values to generate representations (except 1616 when sweeping one parameter while keeping the others constant): N = 1000, M = 16, K = 100, D = 10, 1617 T = 5, width = 3, depth = 2,  $\lambda = 0.01$ , r = 0.01. To sweep over sentence length, we varied M from 1618 (1, D), only keeping values where D was divisible by M. To sweep over grammar width, we varied 1619 width from (1,4). To sweep over grammar depth, we varied depth from (1,4). For each setting of 1619 experiment parameters, we generated representations across 10 different random seeds.

# 1620 APPENDIX I EMERGENT LANGUAGES — EXPERIMENTAL DETAILS

1622 **Dataset construction** To obtain emergent languages from multi-agent reinforcement learning in a 1623 simple object reference game, both with and without iterated learning, we used the code base from Ren 1624 et al. (2020), found at https://github.com/Joshua-Ren/Neural Iterated Learning. 1625 Objects consisted of 2 attributes with 8 possible discrete values each, for a total of  $8^2 = 64$  possible objects. Sentences similarly were of length 2 and had a vocabulary size of 8. We used the default values in Ren 1626 et al. (2020) for all model and training hyperparameters (refer to their associated code base for details), 1627 but reserved no held-out objects for separate validation. After training, we generated 50 sentences from 1628 the speaker agent for each unique object, giving us  $W^L$  and Z, respectively. The resulting size of these 1629 datasets were thus  $50 \times 8^2 = 3200$ . 1630

**Estimating compositionality** Estimating the compositionalities of these different emergent language systems  $C^{L}(Z)$  requires estimates of the numerator K(Z) and denominator  $K(Z|W^{L})$ . Both with and without iterated learning, Z consisted of the same enumeration over all possible discrete symbolic objects  $\mathcal{O}$ . Each  $z \in Z$  can therefore be represented using a single integer indexing the object, where these integers range from  $\{1..|\mathcal{O}|\}$  and therefore each require  $\log_2(|\mathcal{O}|)$  bits to encode. Summing these bits over all objects gives a total of  $K(Z) = |\mathcal{O}|\log_2(|\mathcal{O}|)$ .

1637 We estimated  $K(Z|W^L)$  for each language using prequential coding (see Appendix G). The model 1638 architecture used for prequential coding was an MLP with 2 hidden layers of size 256. Each word in  $W^L$ 1639 embedded into a 64-dimensional vector, and these concatenated embeddings were the input to the MLP. 1640 The MLP output logits over object values for each attribute. To estimate prequential code lengths more 1641 efficiently and avoid having to retrain the model N times (where N is the dataset size), we incremented 1642 the size of the dataset by chunks of size 50 at a time. We used the Adam optimizer with a learning rate 1643 of  $1 \times 10^{-3}$  to train the model at each iteration of prequential coding. We reserved 400 datapoints for 1644 a separate validation set that was used for early stopping at each iteration of prequential coding.

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APPENDIX J NATURAL LANGUAGES — EXPERIMENTAL DETAILS

1648 **Dataset construction** We obtained English sentences from captions that were used to describe images 1649 in the Common Objects in Context (COCO) dataset (COCO, 2024), downloaded from Hugging Face. 1650 The reason for using a dataset of image captions was that we expected these captions to use common 1651 words and simple sentence structures, given their grounding in visual stimuli. For each image, the dataset contained two independent captions, and we kept only the first. This gave us a total of 414,010 English 1652 sentences. We then translated each sentence to French, Spanish, German, and Japanese using a large 1653 open-source language model with 3.3 billion parameters (Costa-jussà et al., 2022). We visually inspected 1654 several of the French, German, and Japanese sentences (no authors spoke Spanish) to make sure the 1655 translations were reasonable, and we found them to be of high quality. These sentences constituted the 1656  $W^L$ 's for our experiments. We obtained proxies for the "meanings" Z of these sentences by passing them 1657 through a large (278 million parameter), pretrained, multilingual sentence embedding model that output 1658 a fixed-size vector for each sentence (Reimers & Gurevych, 2020). Both the translation model and the 1659 sentence embedding model were obtained from Hugging Face.

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1661 Estimating compositionality Estimating the compositionalities of these different language systems 1662  $C^{L}(Z)$  requires estimates of the numerator K(Z) and denominator  $K(Z|W^{L})$ . While we did not estimate 1663 K(Z), we assumed that it was approximately equal among languages. This is a common assumption 1664 in linguistics, where languages appear to be equivalent in their expressive power to express ideas, refer 1665 to objects, etc. Fixing the numerator K(Z) to some (unknown) constant shared among languages allowed 1666 us to assess their *relative* compositionalities by estimating only the denominator  $K(Z|W^{L})$ . We estimated 1667  $K(Z|W^{L})$  for each language using prequential coding (see Appendix G).

1668 The model architecture used for prequential coding was the same as the one used to generate Z (Reimers 1669 & Gurevych, 2020). Learning a significant number of word embeddings from only  $\approx 400,000$  samples 1670 would have been difficult however. We therefore used the original model's pretrained word embeddings 1671 and only computed prequential code length by resets of the model's downstream weights, which encode 1672 the semantics of the grammar rather than the word meanings. Strictly speaking, then, we only estimated 1673  $K(Z|embeddings(W^L))$ . To estimate prequential code lengths more efficiently and avoid having to retrain the model  $\approx 400,000$  times, we incremented the size of the dataset in chunks. Chunk boundaries were selected on a base-10 logarithmic scale from 1,000 to N datapoints (the full size of the dataset), with 15 interval boundaries. A logarithmic scale was used because we observed that next-datapoint prediction error as a function of dataset size changed more quickly in low-data regimes and more slowly in high-data regimes. We could therefore more accurately estimate the true prequential coding curve using a logarithmic chunking scale that had higher resolution in low-data regimes. We used the Adam optimizer with a learning rate of  $1 \times 10^{-4}$  to train the model at each iteration of prequential coding. We reserved 10,000 datapoints for a separate validation set that was used for early stopping at each iteration of prequential coding.

**Limitations** Our approach for measuring the compositionalities of real-world language systems has several limitations that should be taken into account when judging the results. First, the translation model that we used may not have been trained on equal amounts of text from the different languages we studied, which could have lead to lower quality translations for some languages compared to others. Similarly, the multilingual sentence embedding model that we used may have not been trained on equal amounts of data from the different languages, leading to lower quality embeddings for some languages compared to others which could have impacted the quantity and accuracy of "true" sentence meaning captured in Z. Indeed, for these reasons we did not include the original English language sentences and embeddings in our experiments (we thought it very likely that the sentence embedding model had been trained on far more English text compared to other languages). Finally, the use of pretrained sentence embeddings as a proxy for sentence meaning Z is likely flawed. The sentence embedding model that we used is trained with invariance-based self-supervised methods, and the resulting representations are unlikely to capture the full scope meaning that would be represented in human brains processing these sentences.