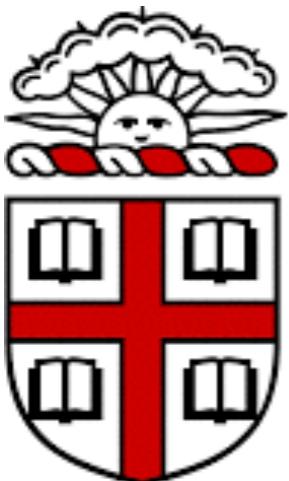


# You can lead a horse to water...: Representing vs. Using Features in Neural NLP

Ellie Pavlick

Department of Computer Science  
Brown University



BROWN

Google Research

# Shout out to my many coauthors!



Ian  
Tenney



Amil  
Merchant



Elahe  
Rahimtoroghi



Dipanjan  
Das



Charlie  
Lovering



Rohan  
Jha



Tal  
Linzen



Tom  
McCoy

Past ~2 years:  
What do deep LMs know about language?

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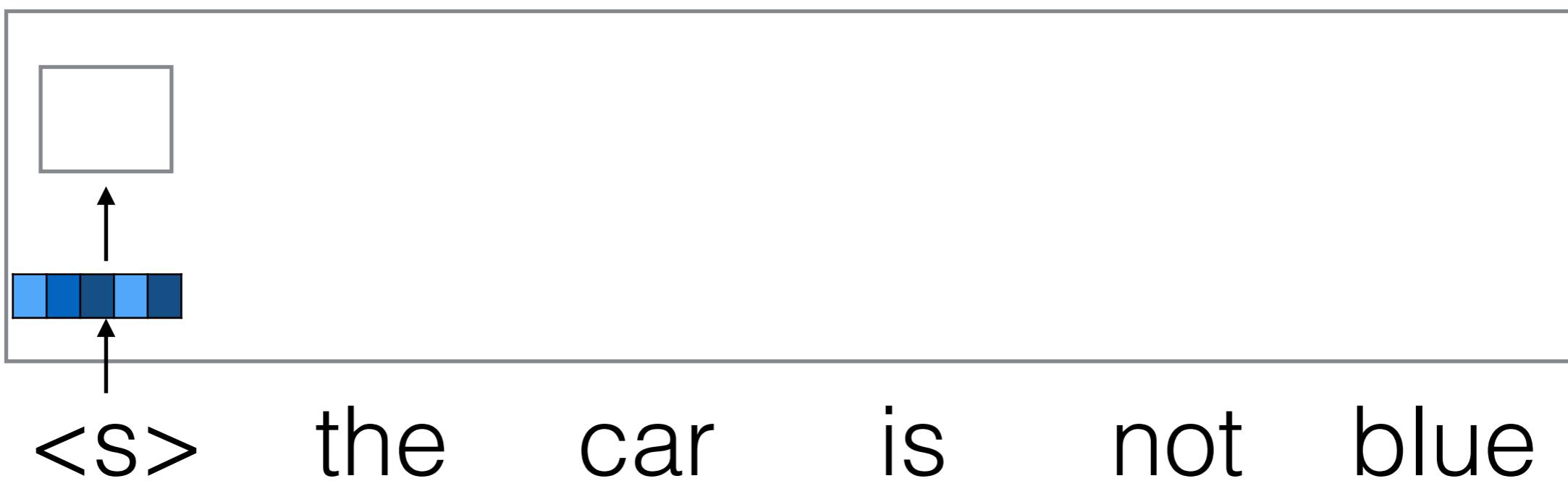
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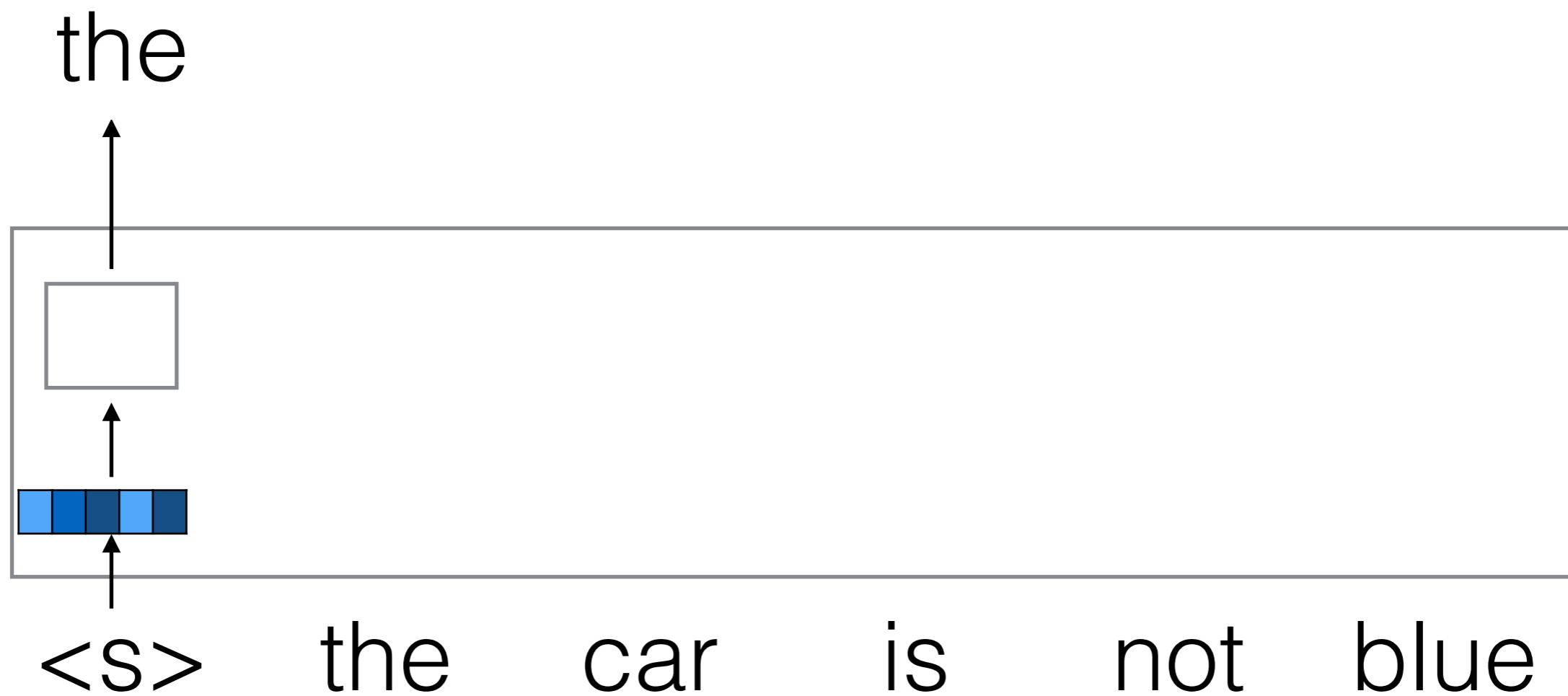
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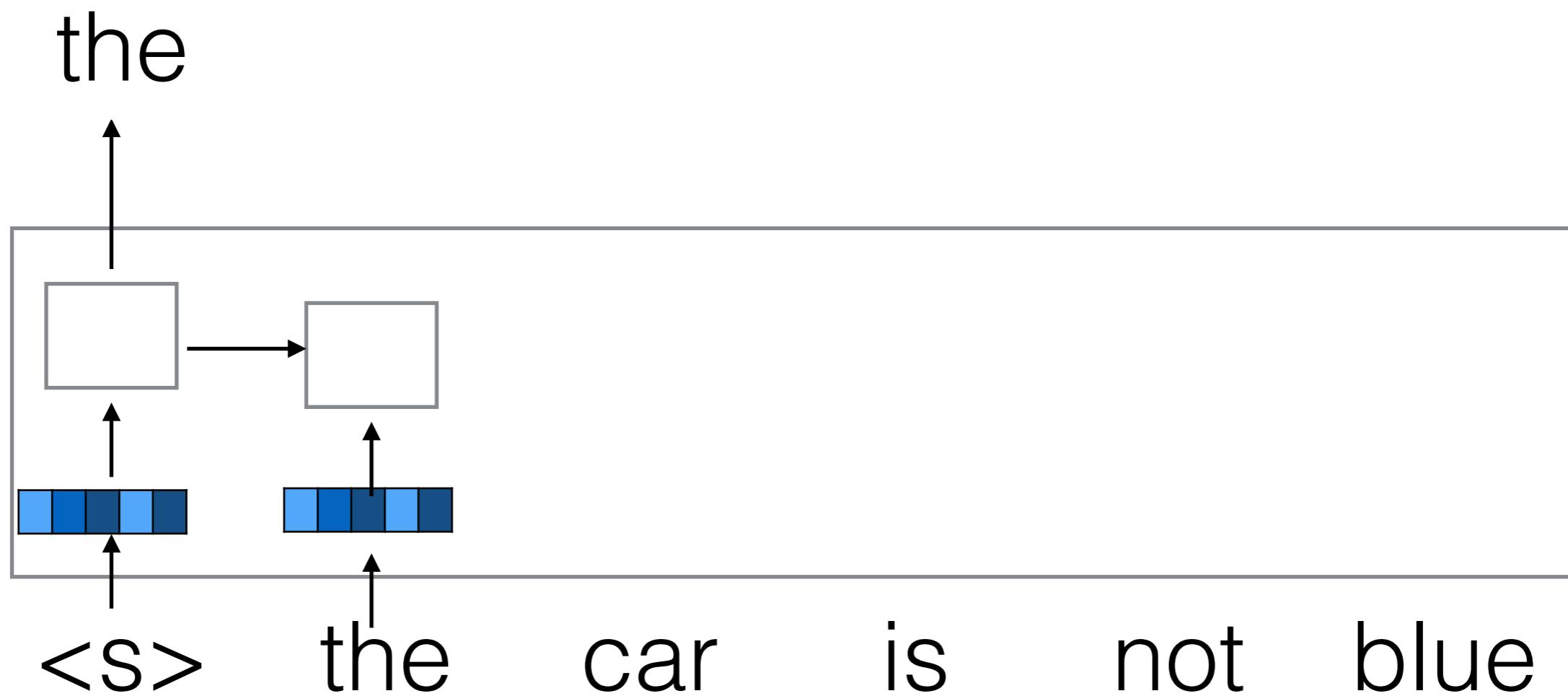
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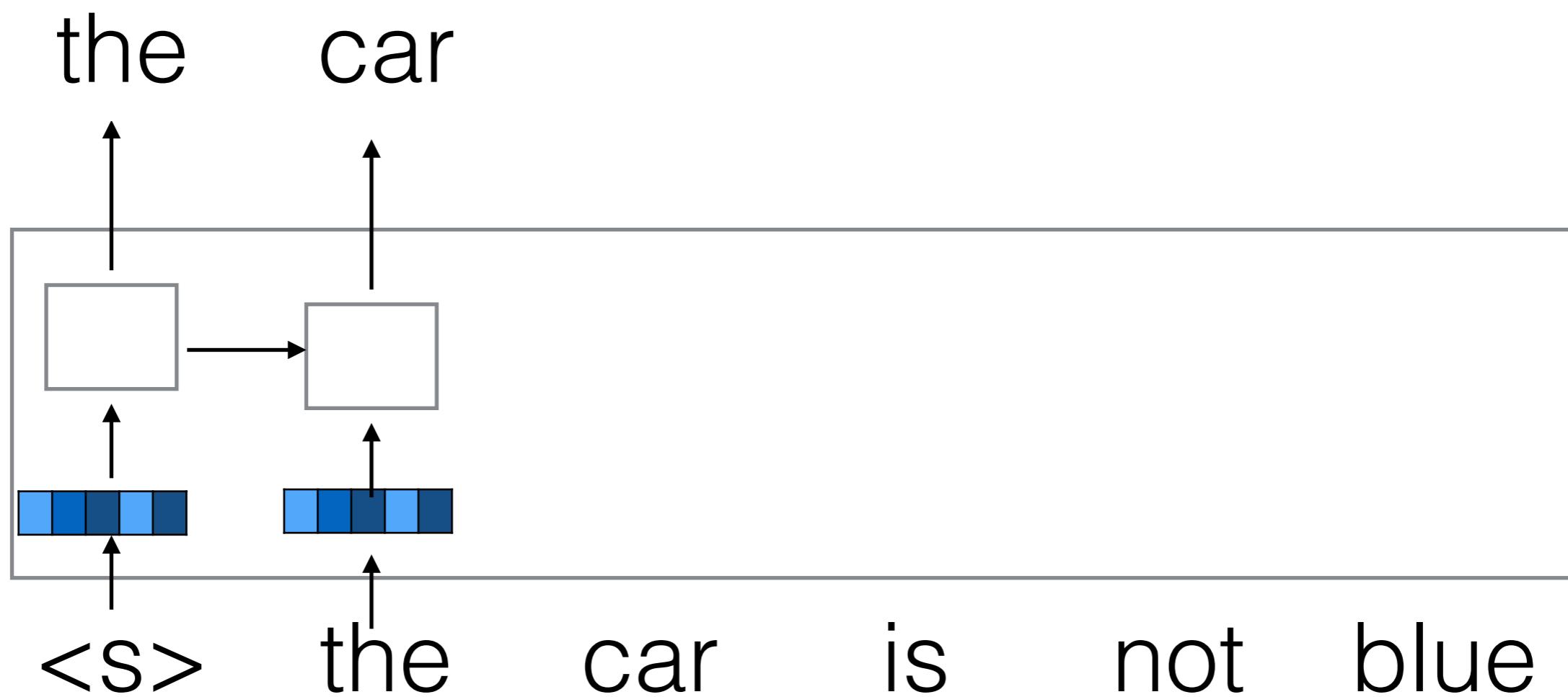
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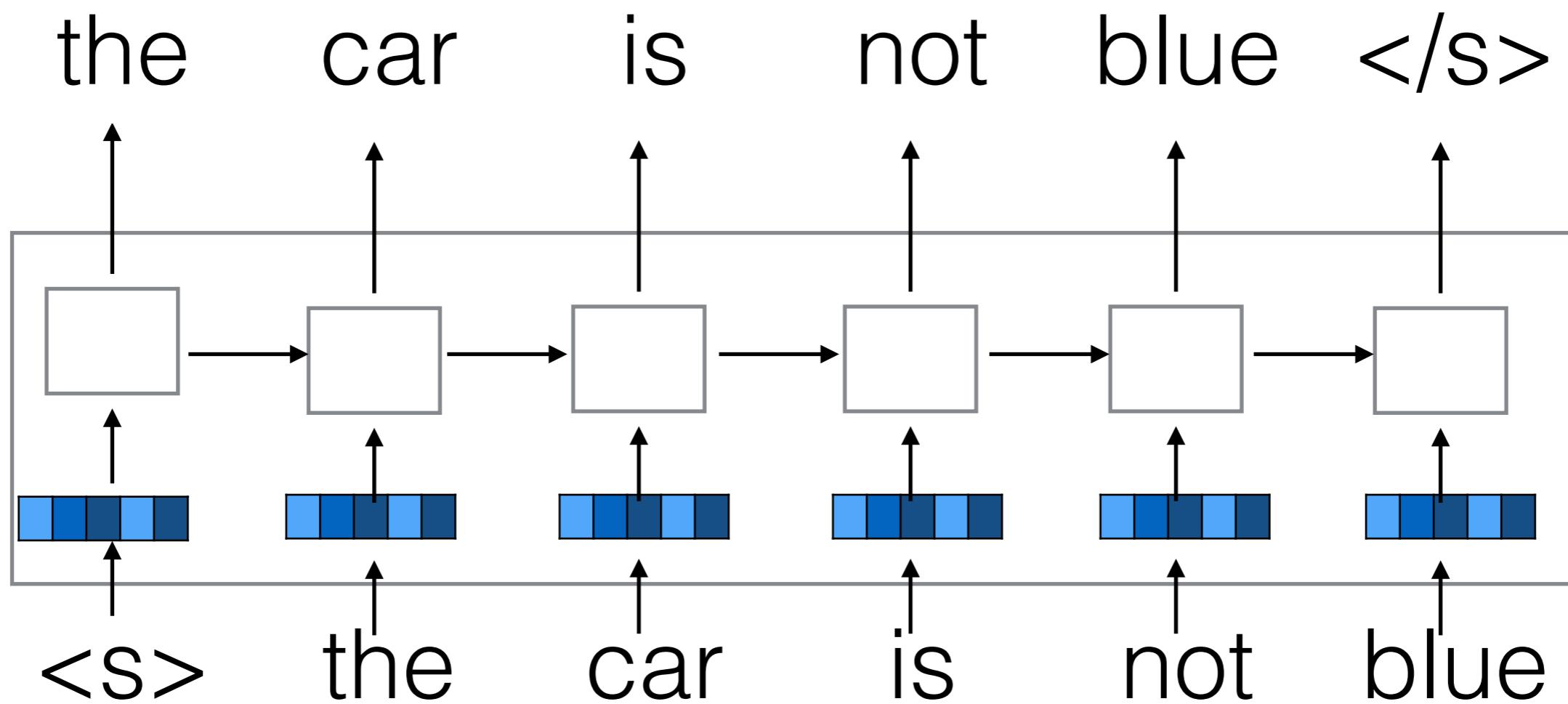
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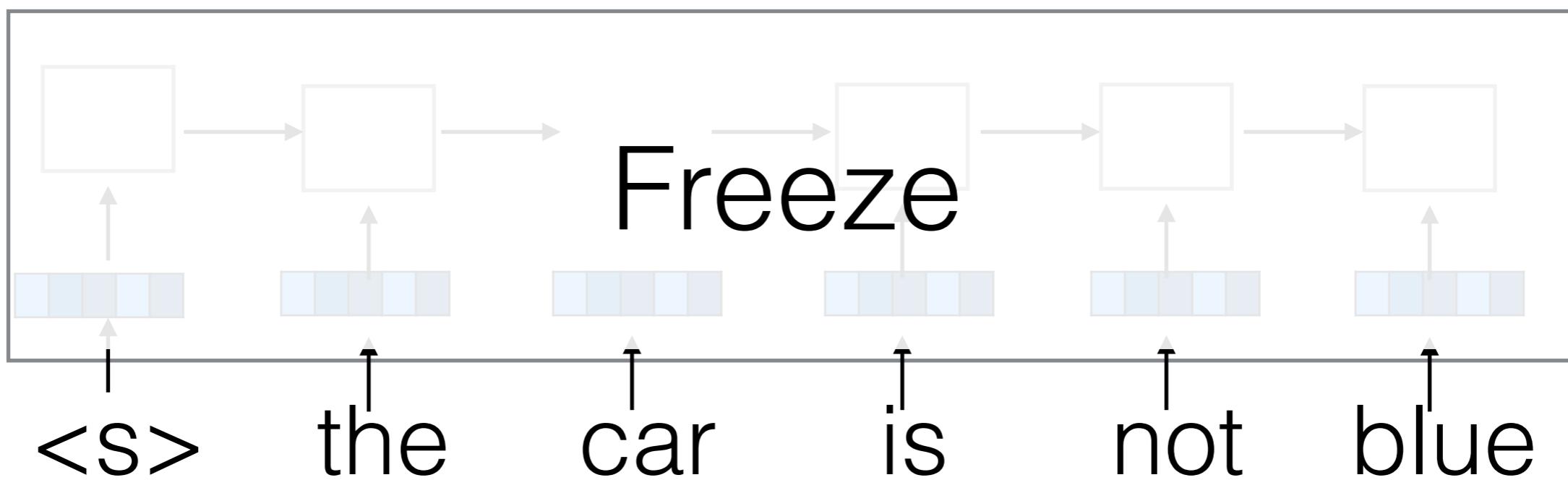
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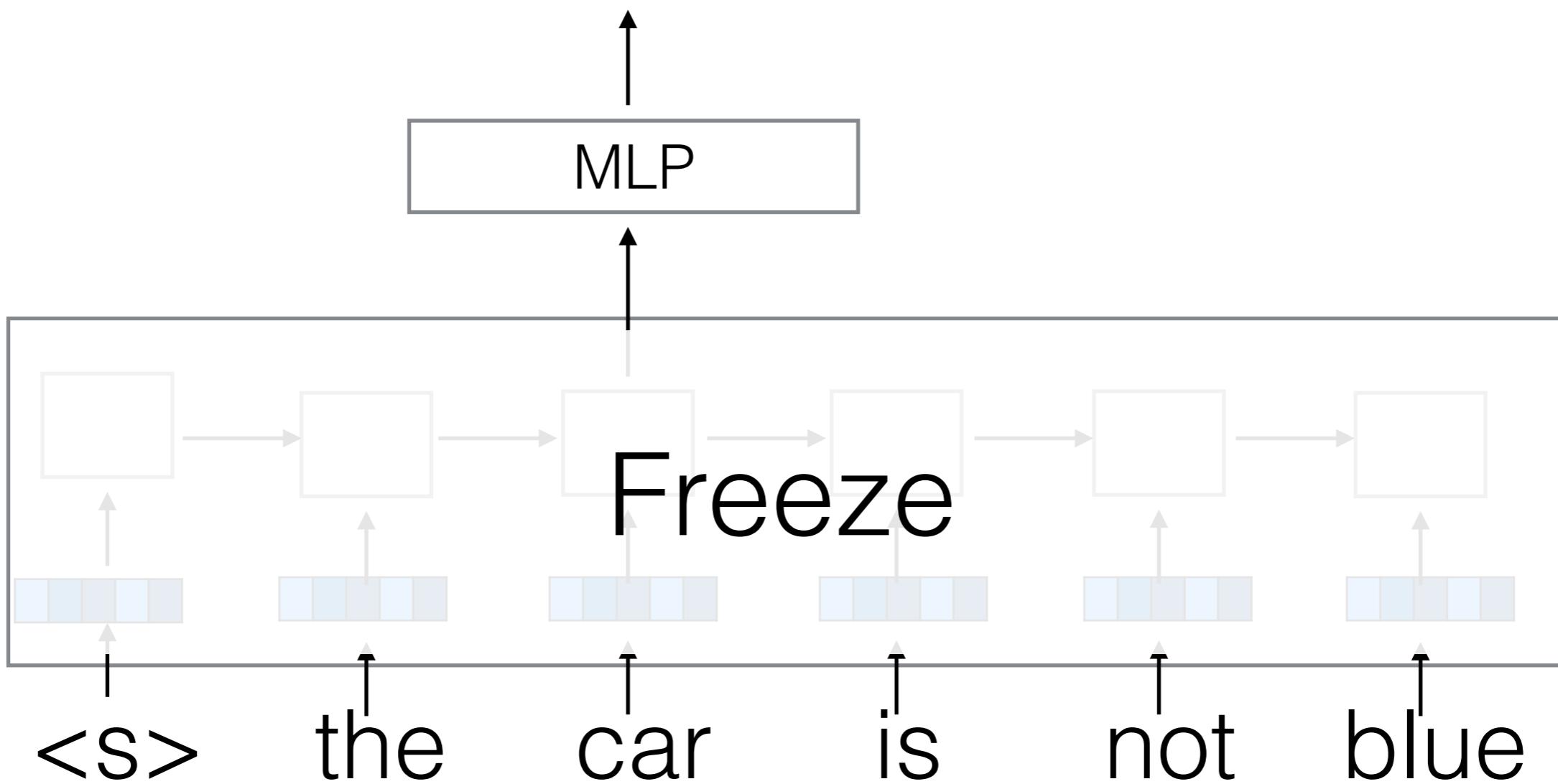


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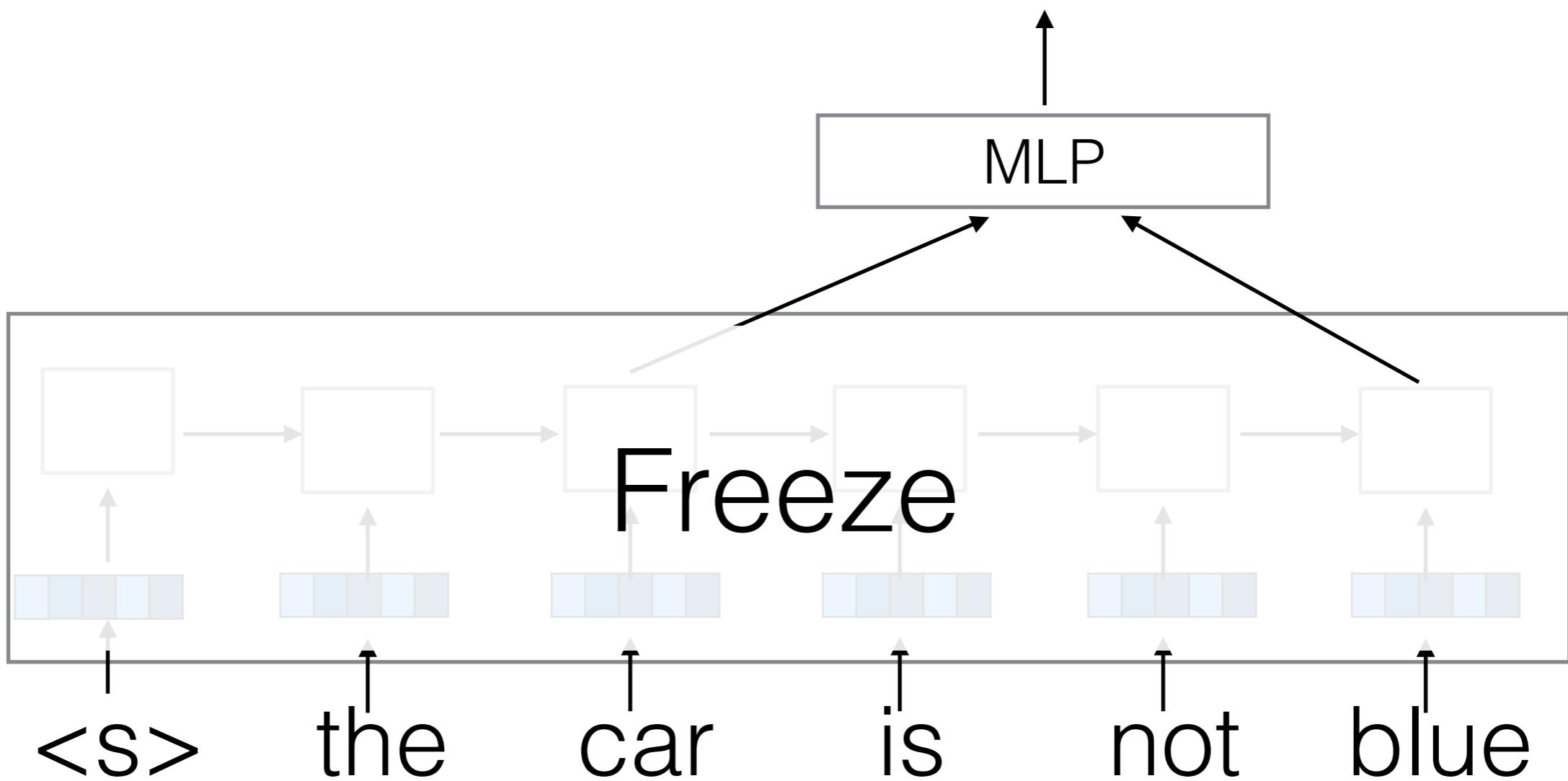
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Noun?

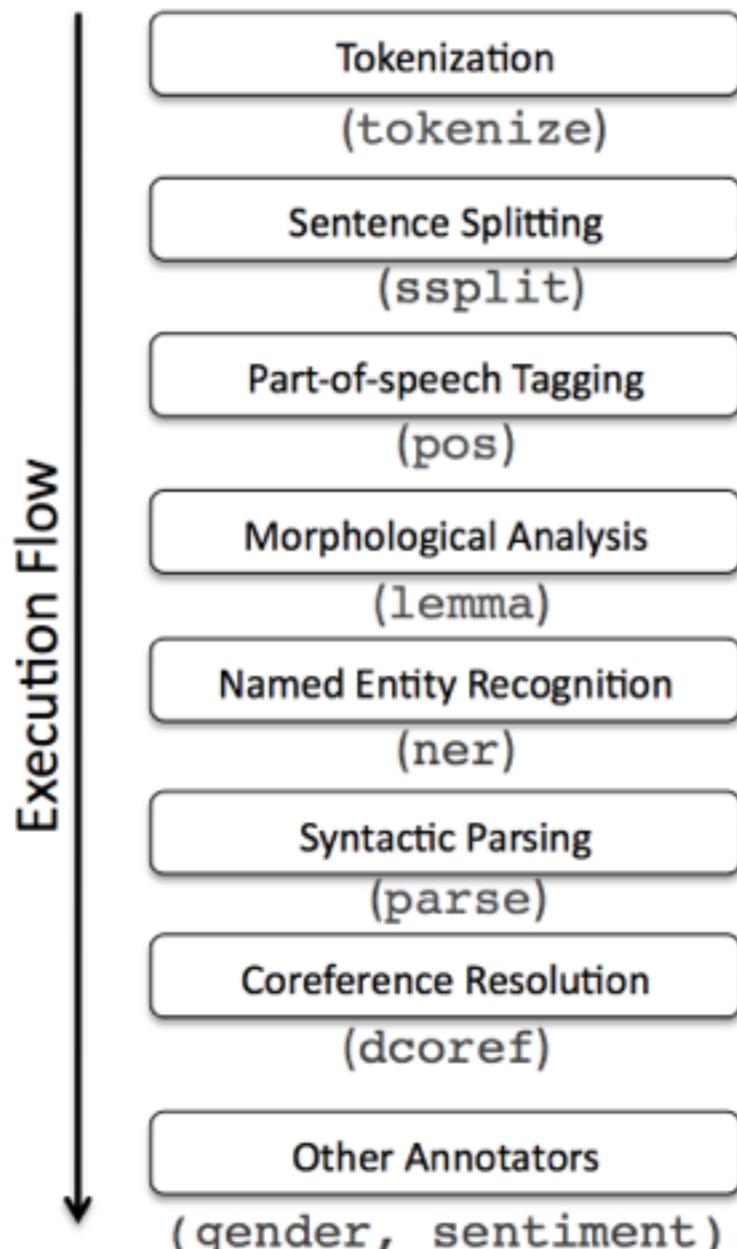


Is such-and-such feature  
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modifier?

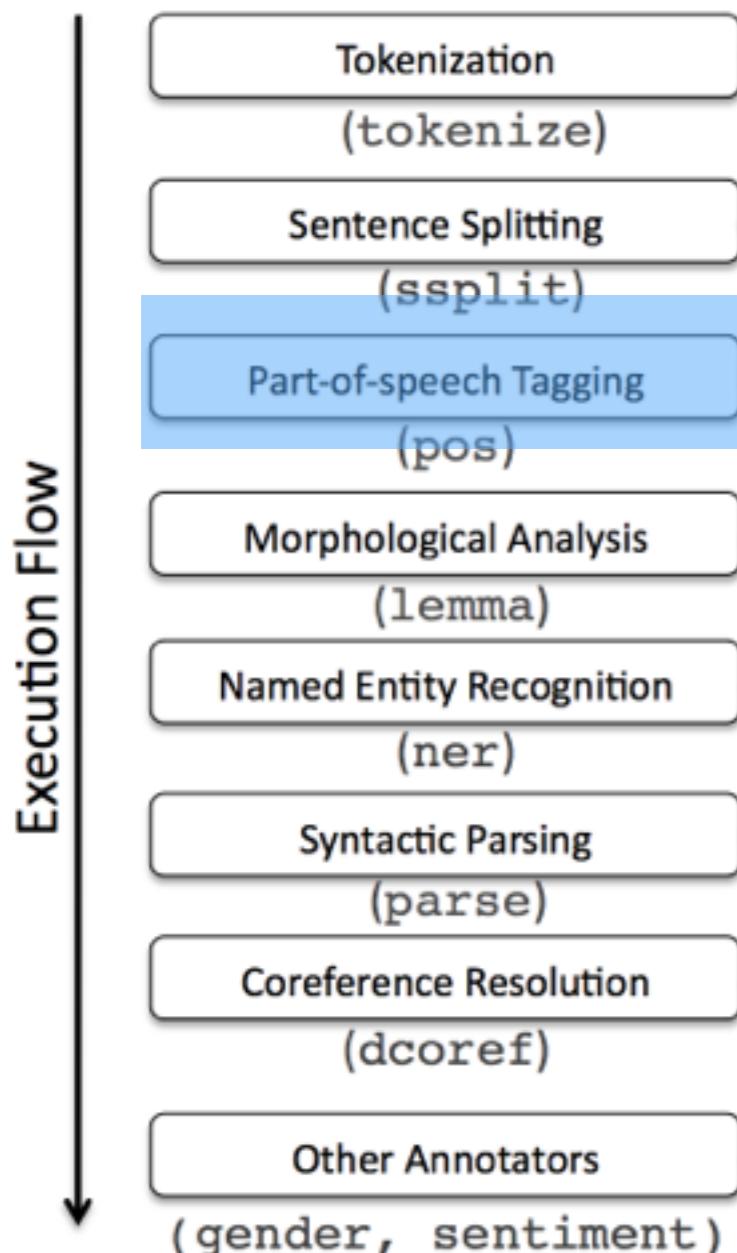


# Is such-and-such feature encoded by the representation?



The important thing about Disney is that it is a global brand.

# Is such-and-such feature encoded by the representation?

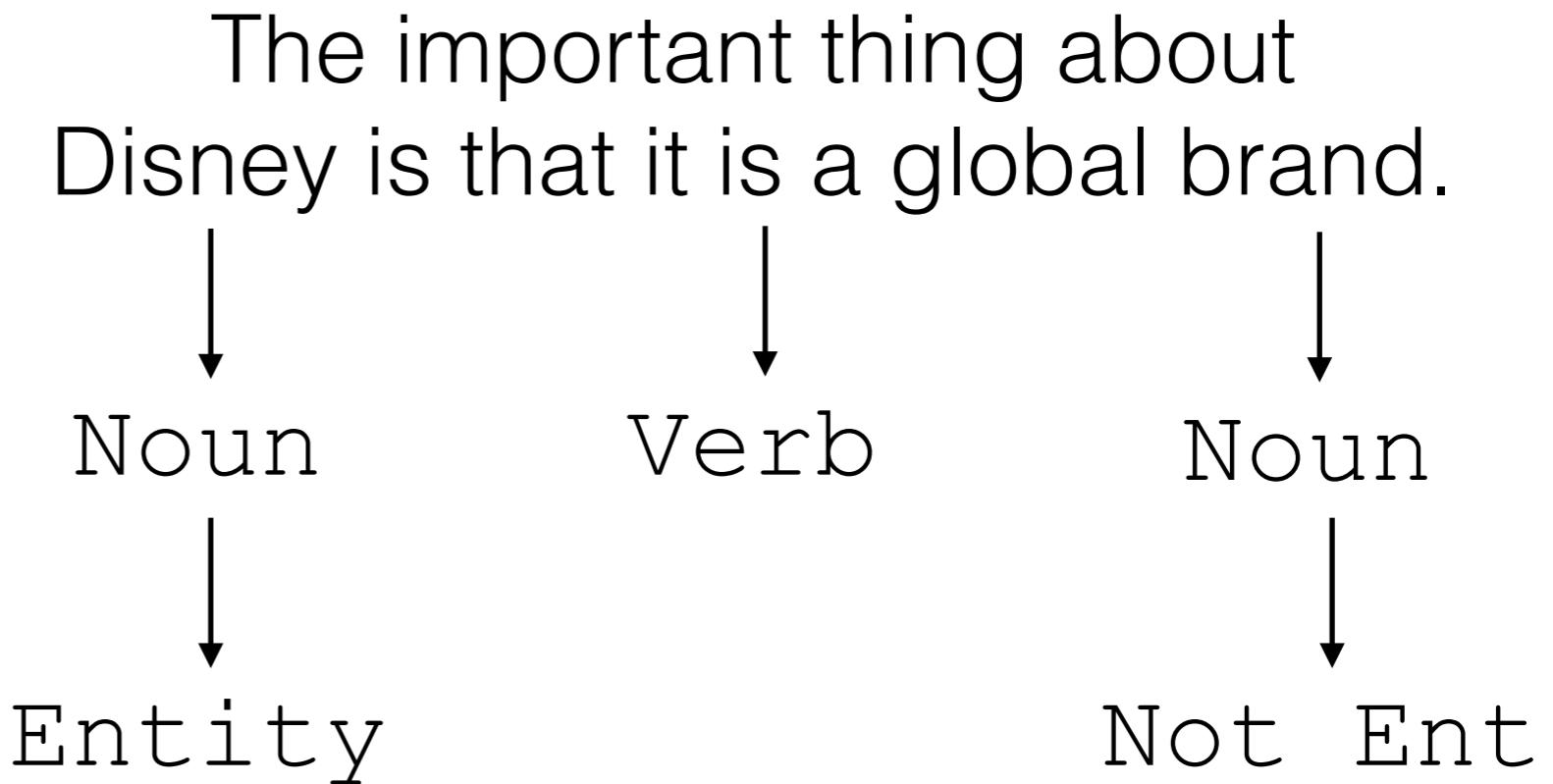
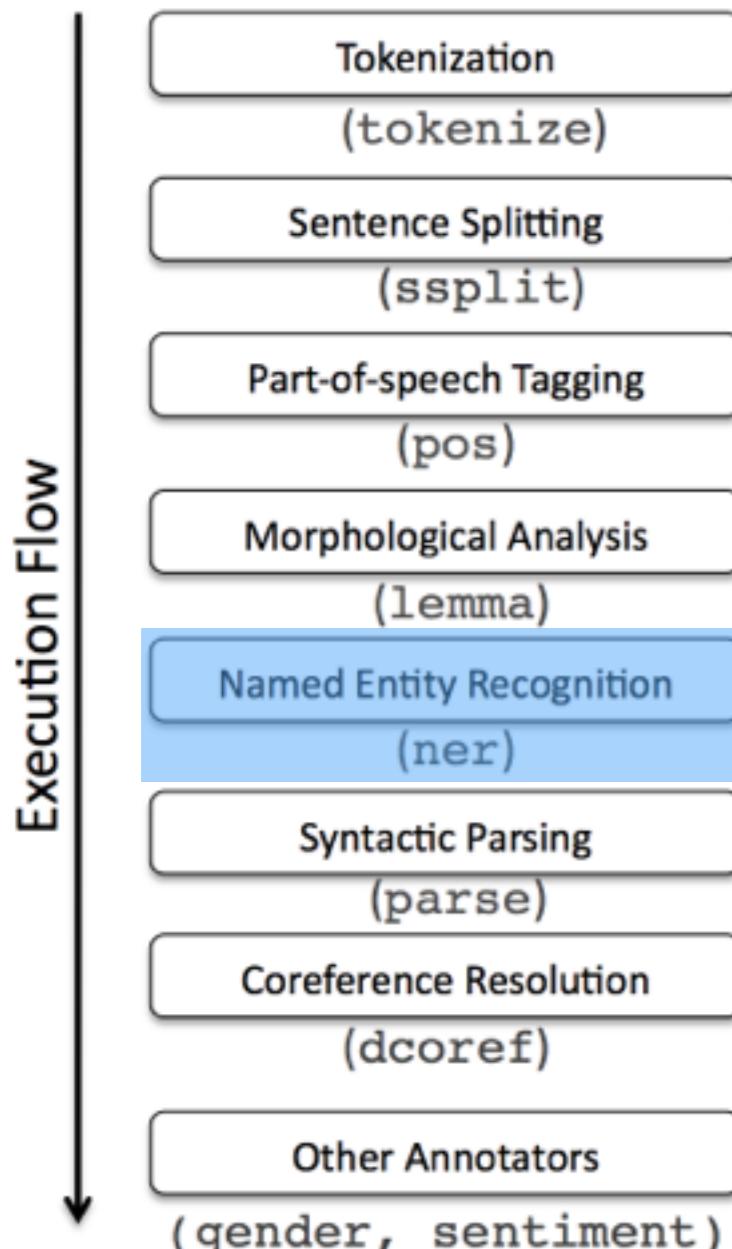


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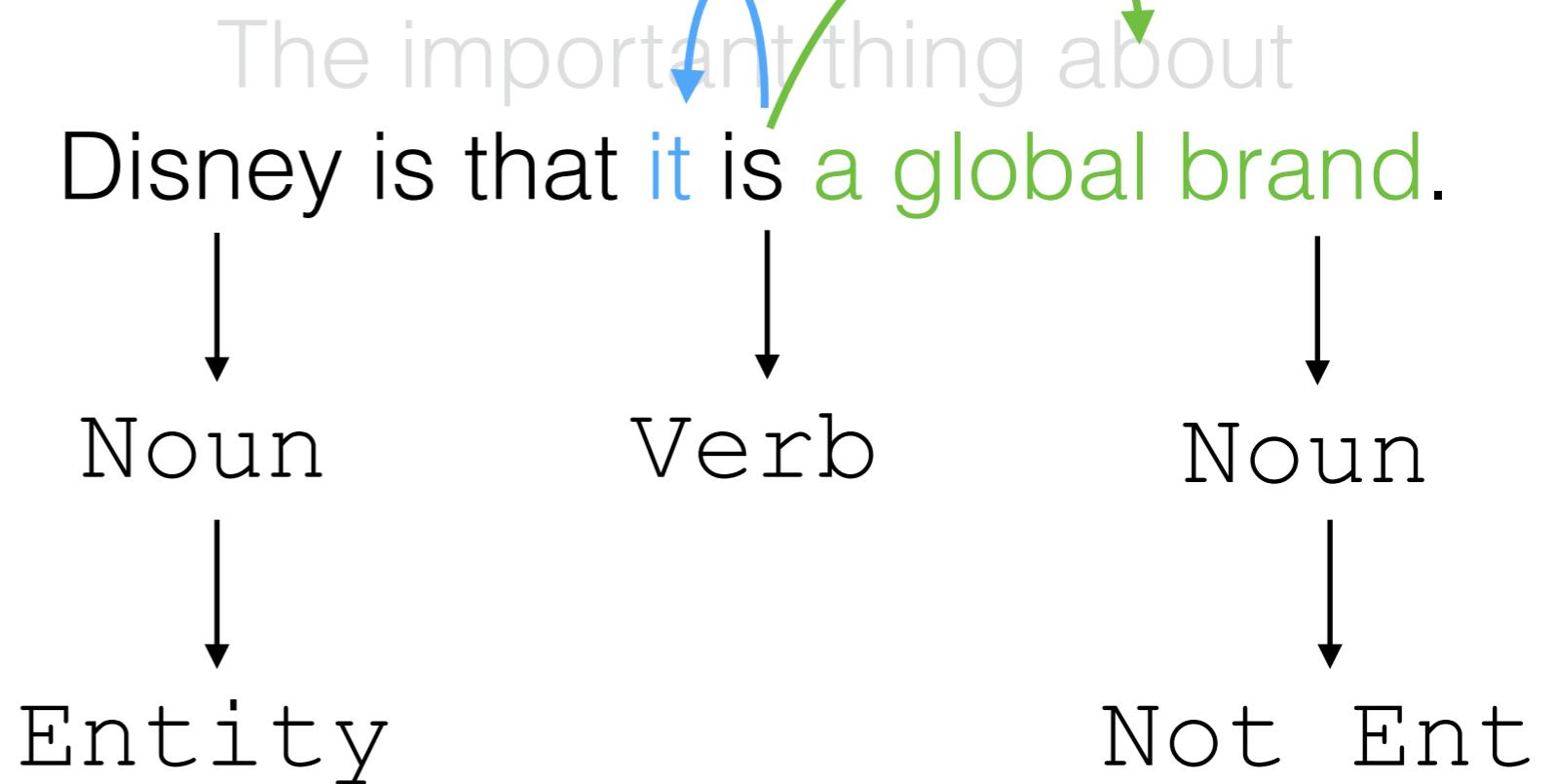
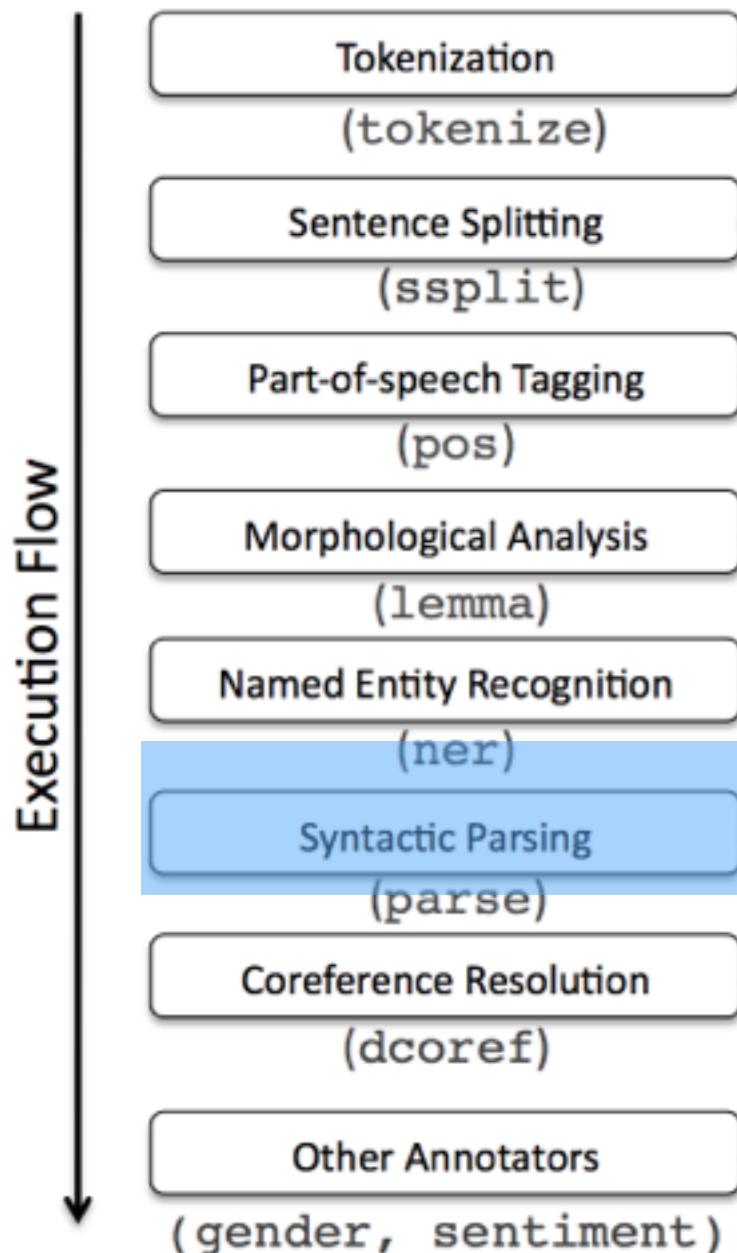
↓      ↓      ↓

Noun      Verb      Noun

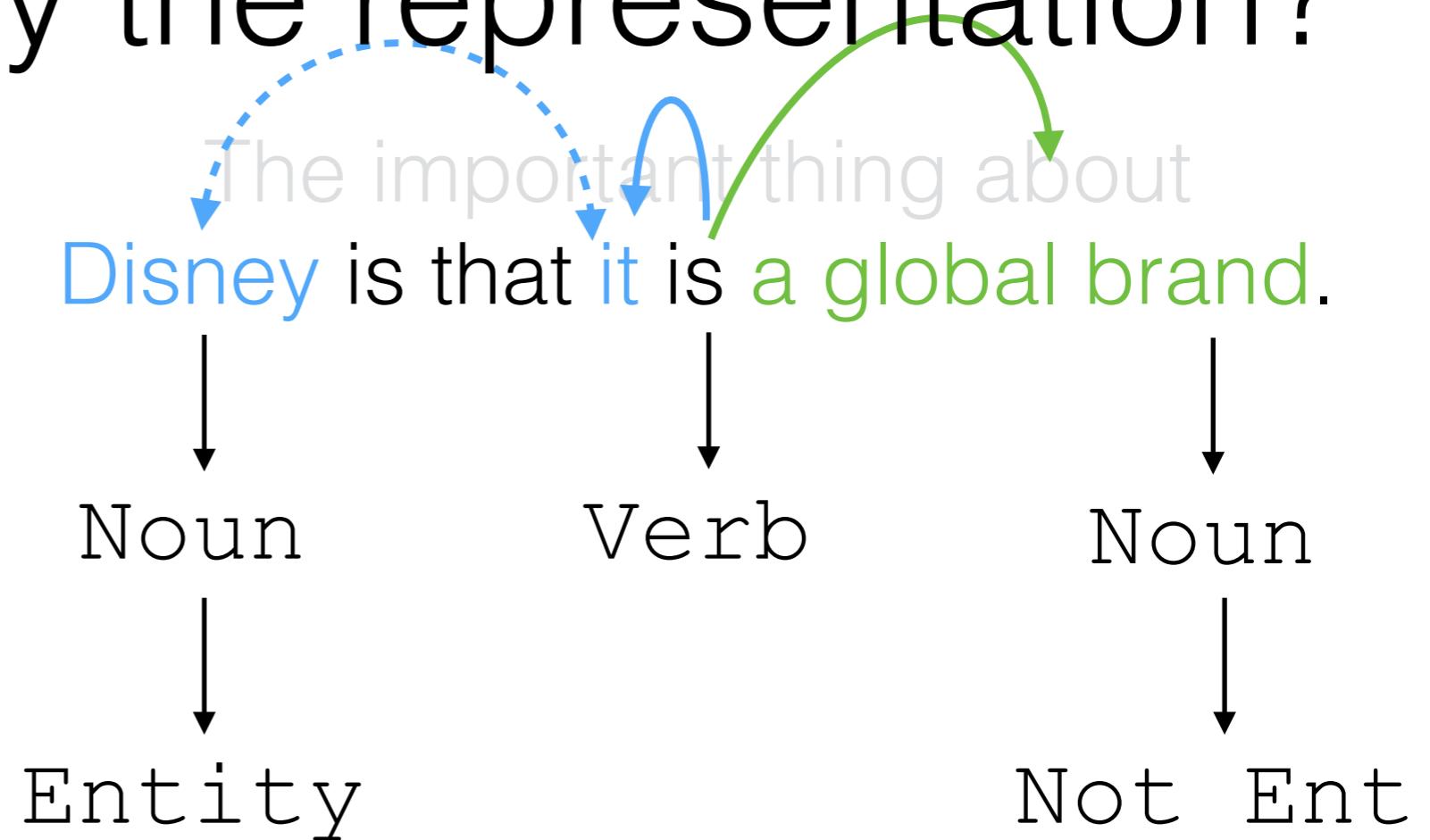
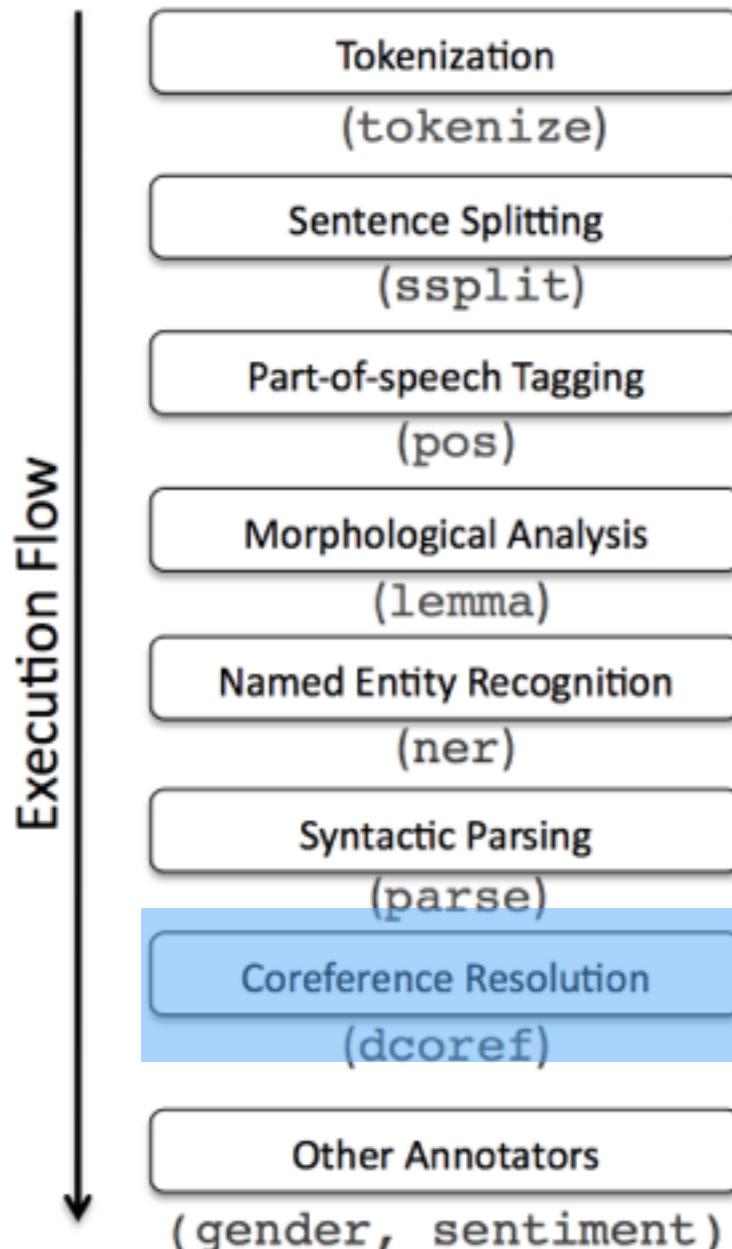
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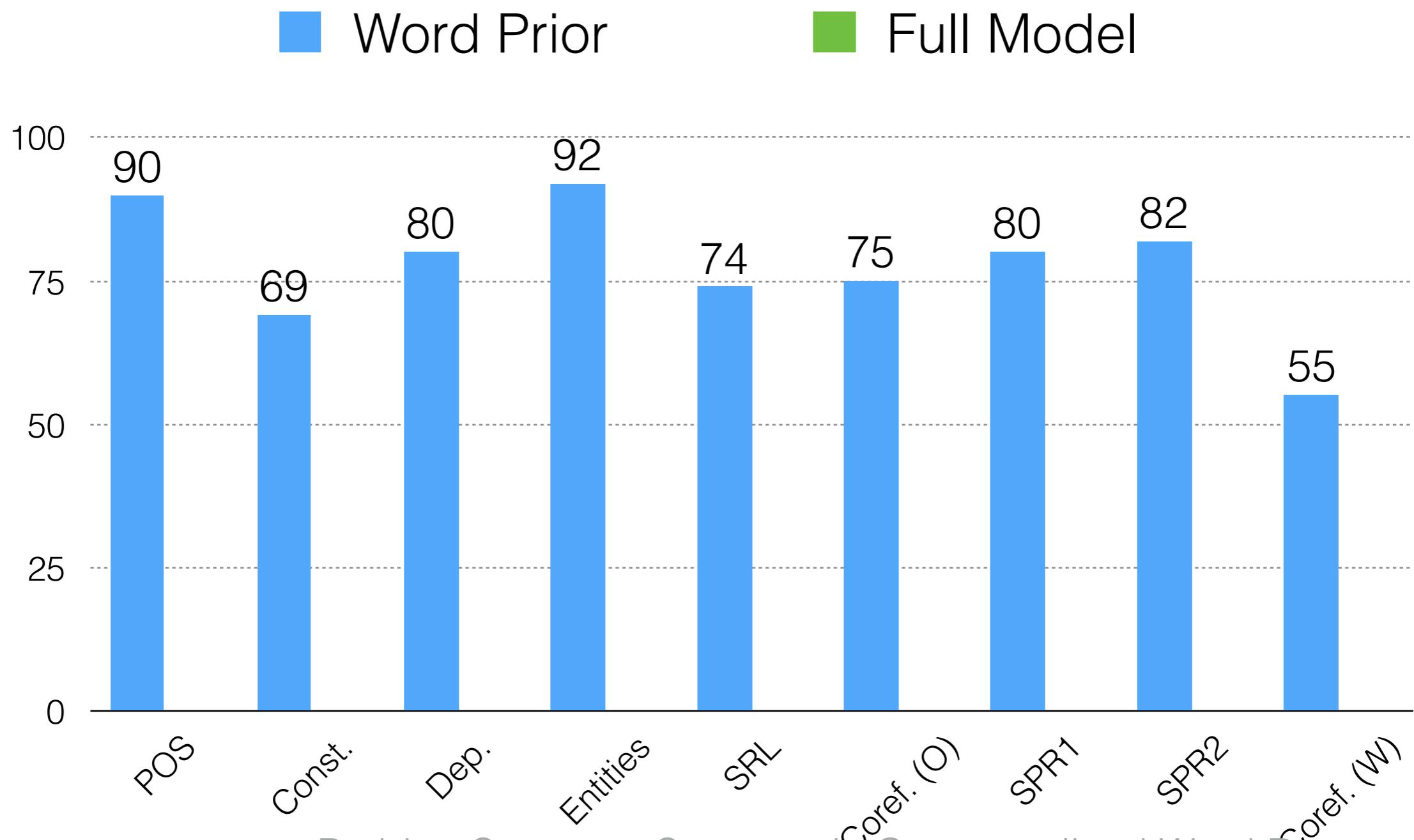
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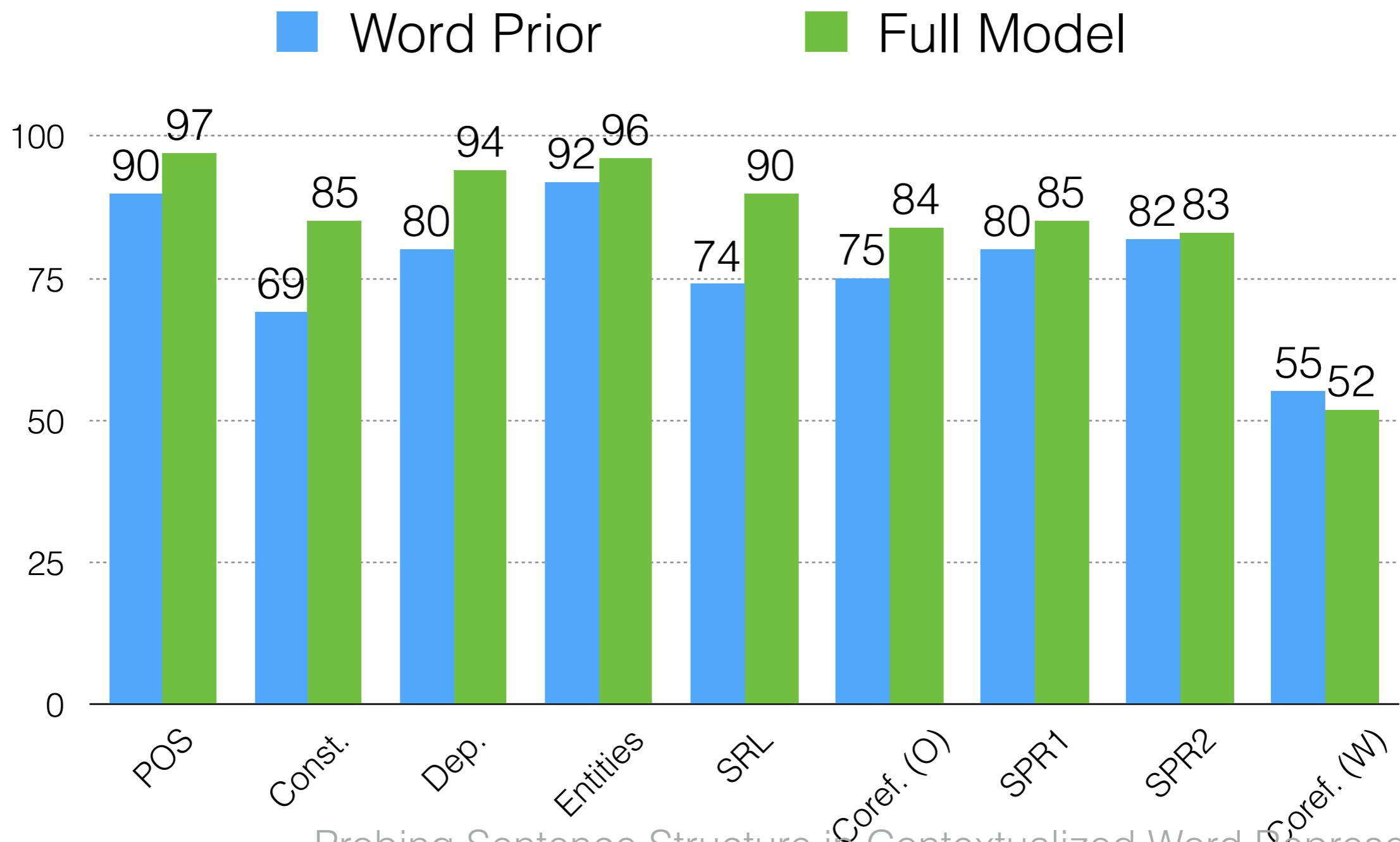
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Probing Sentence Structure in Contextualized Word Representations.

Tenney et al. (ICLR 2019)

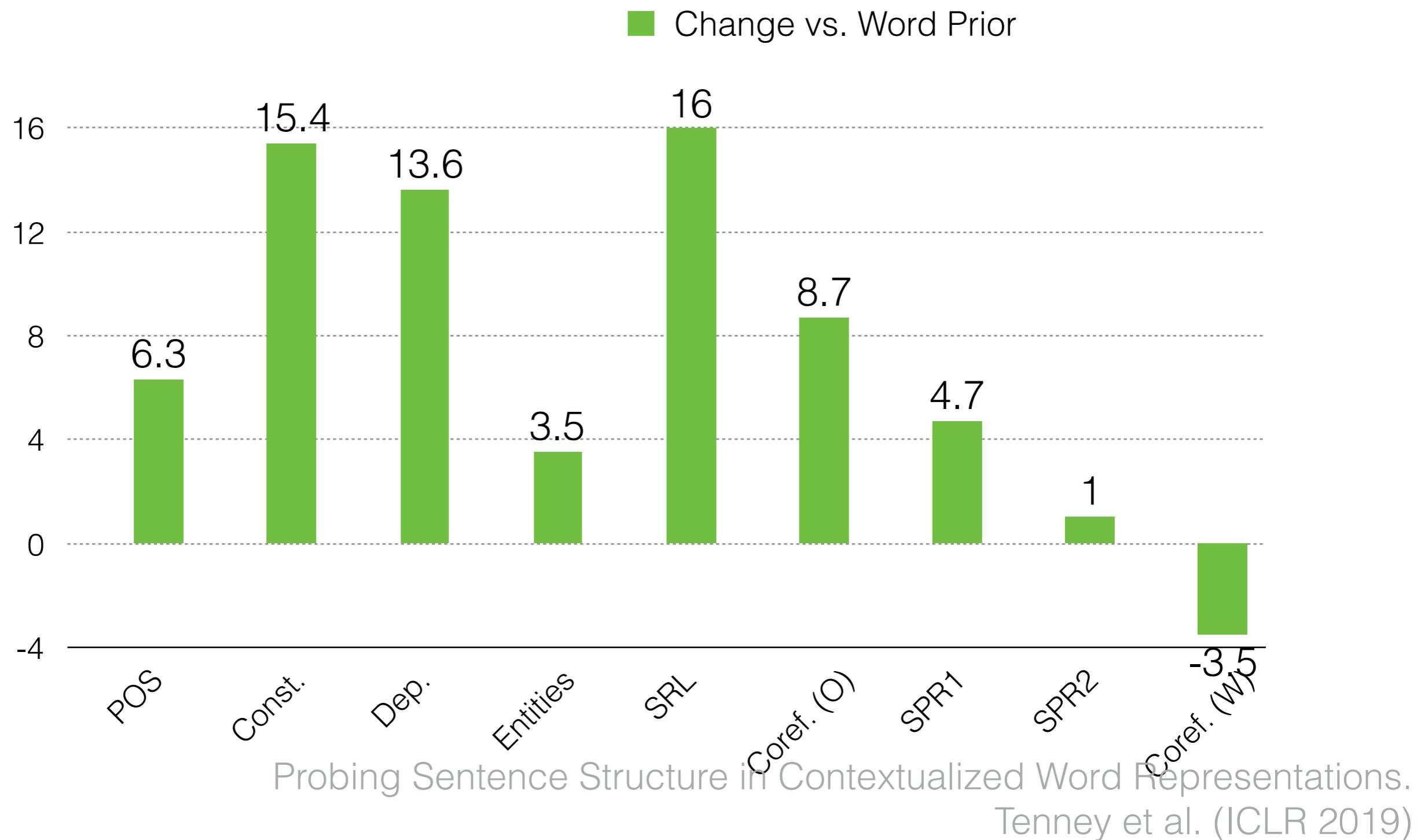
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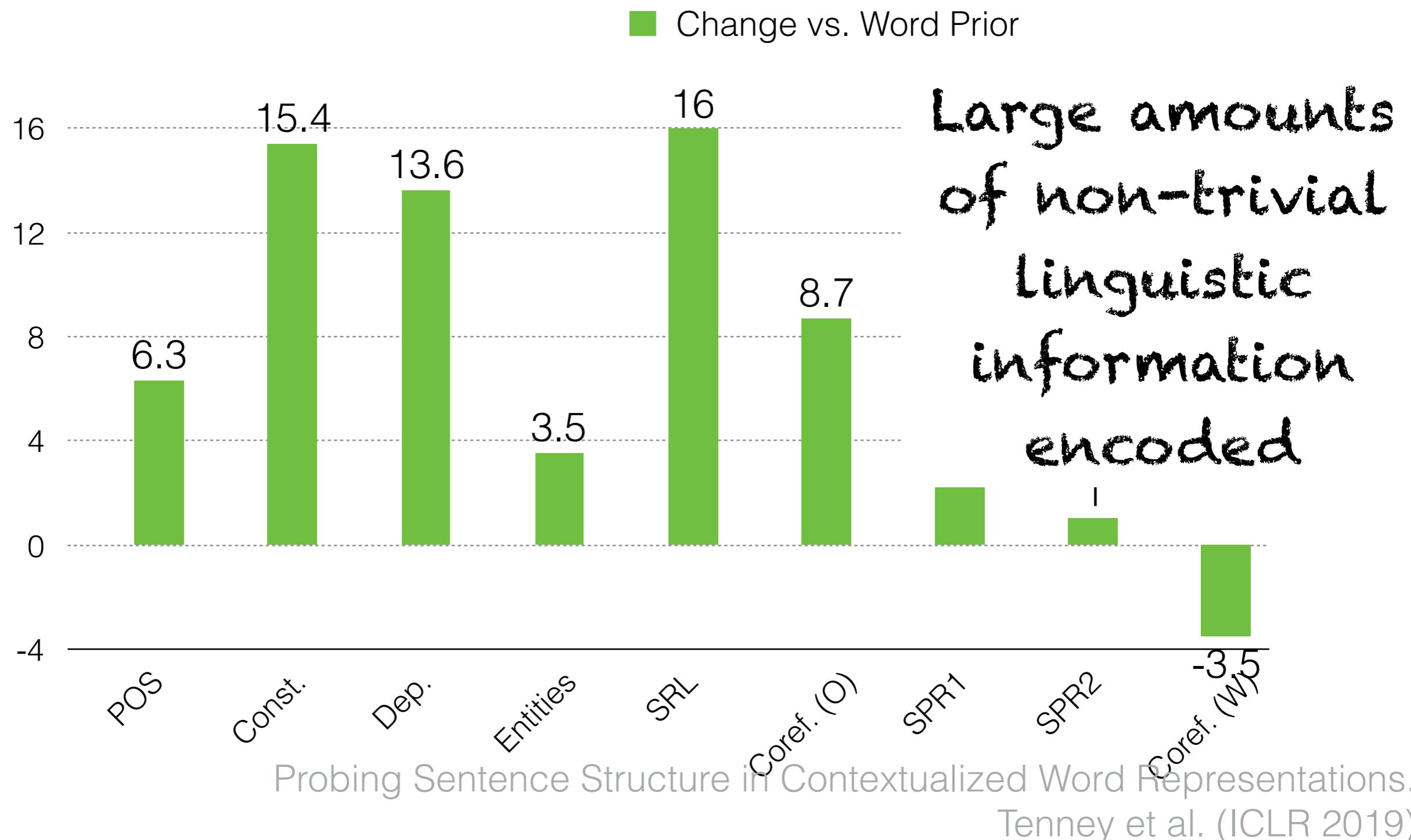
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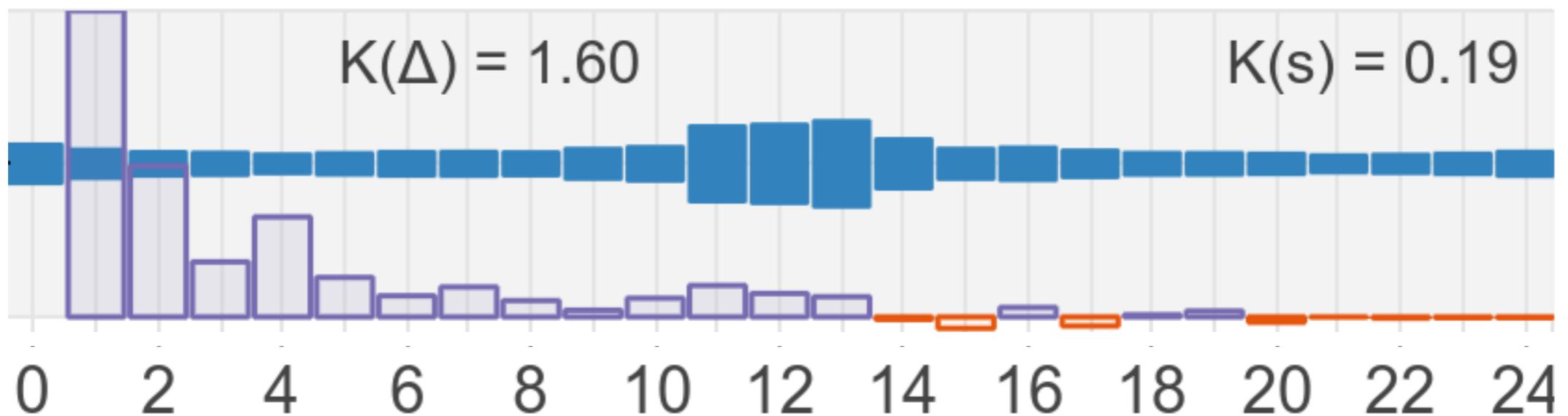
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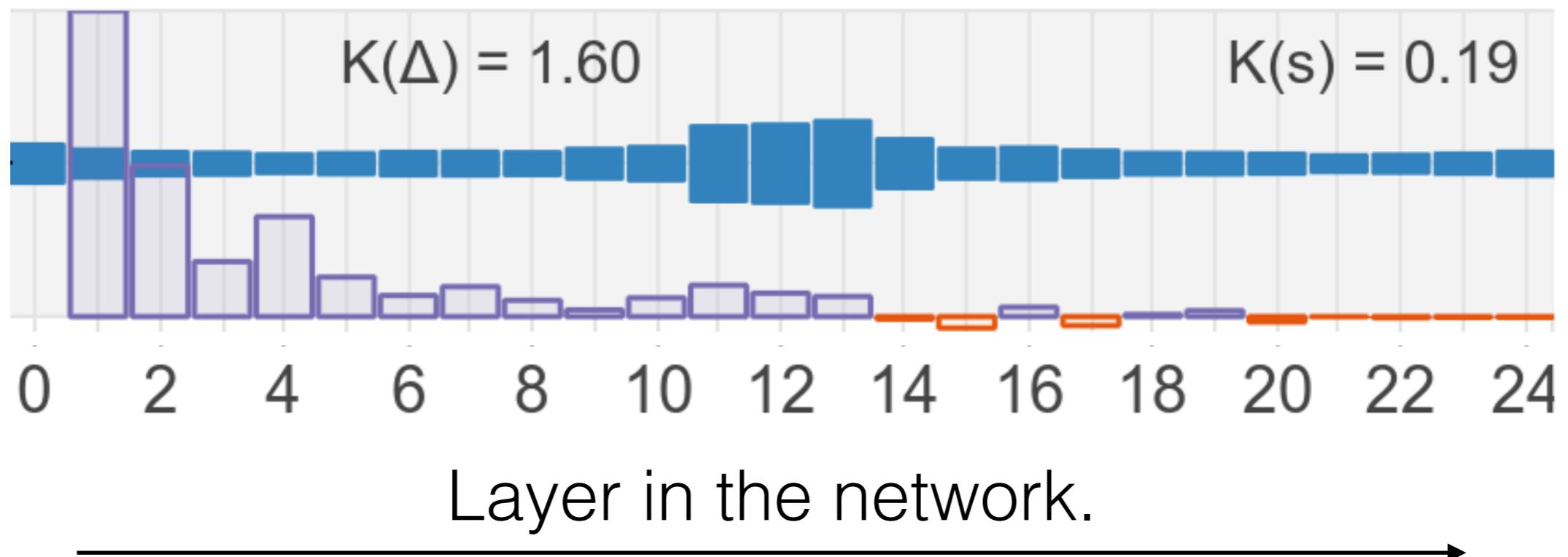
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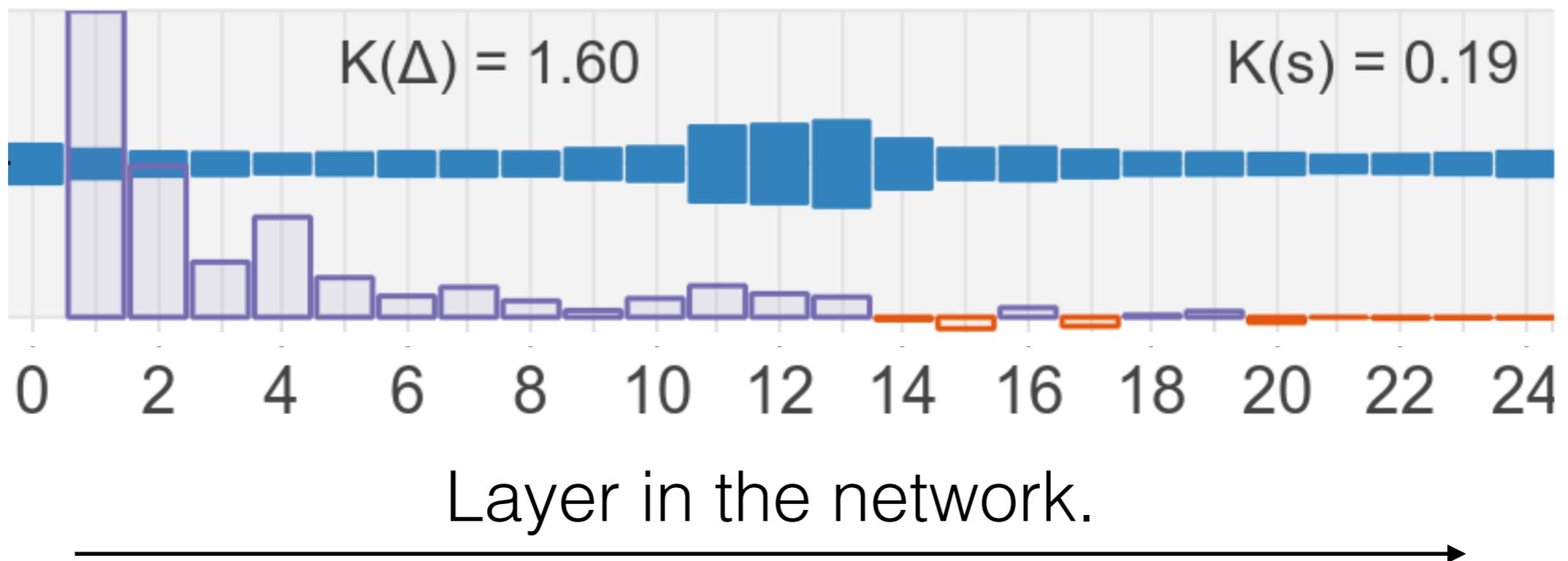
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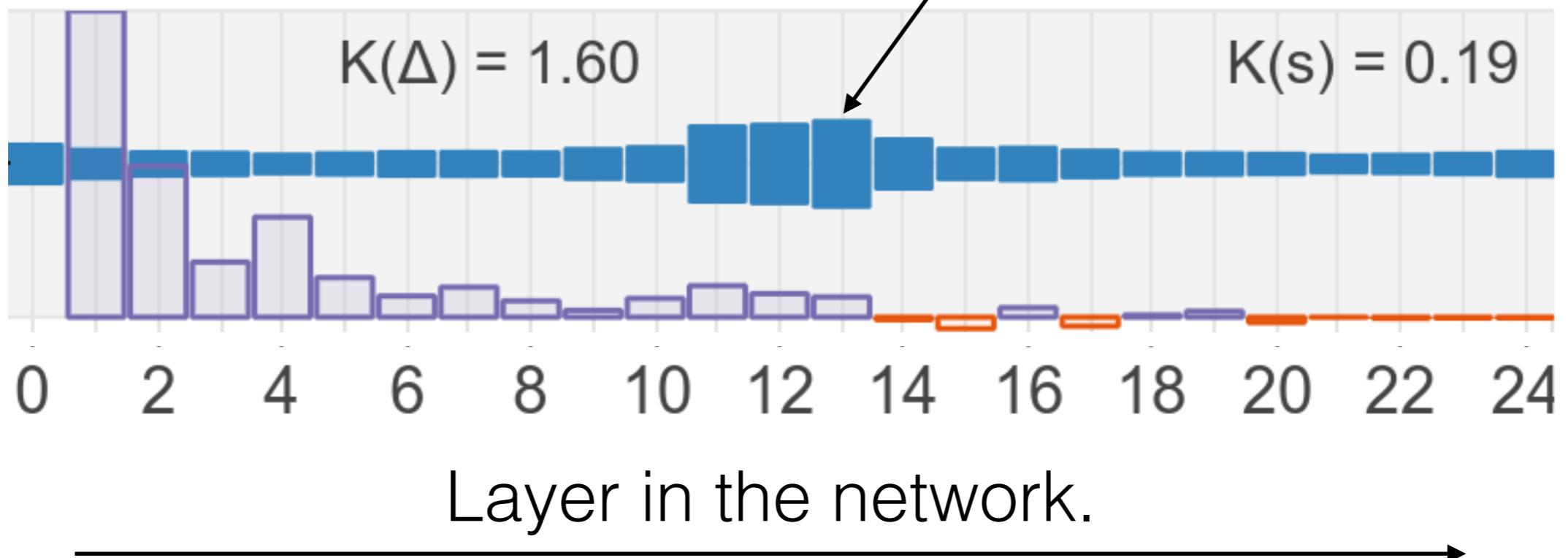
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(Higher-level decisions can depend on lower-level ones.)

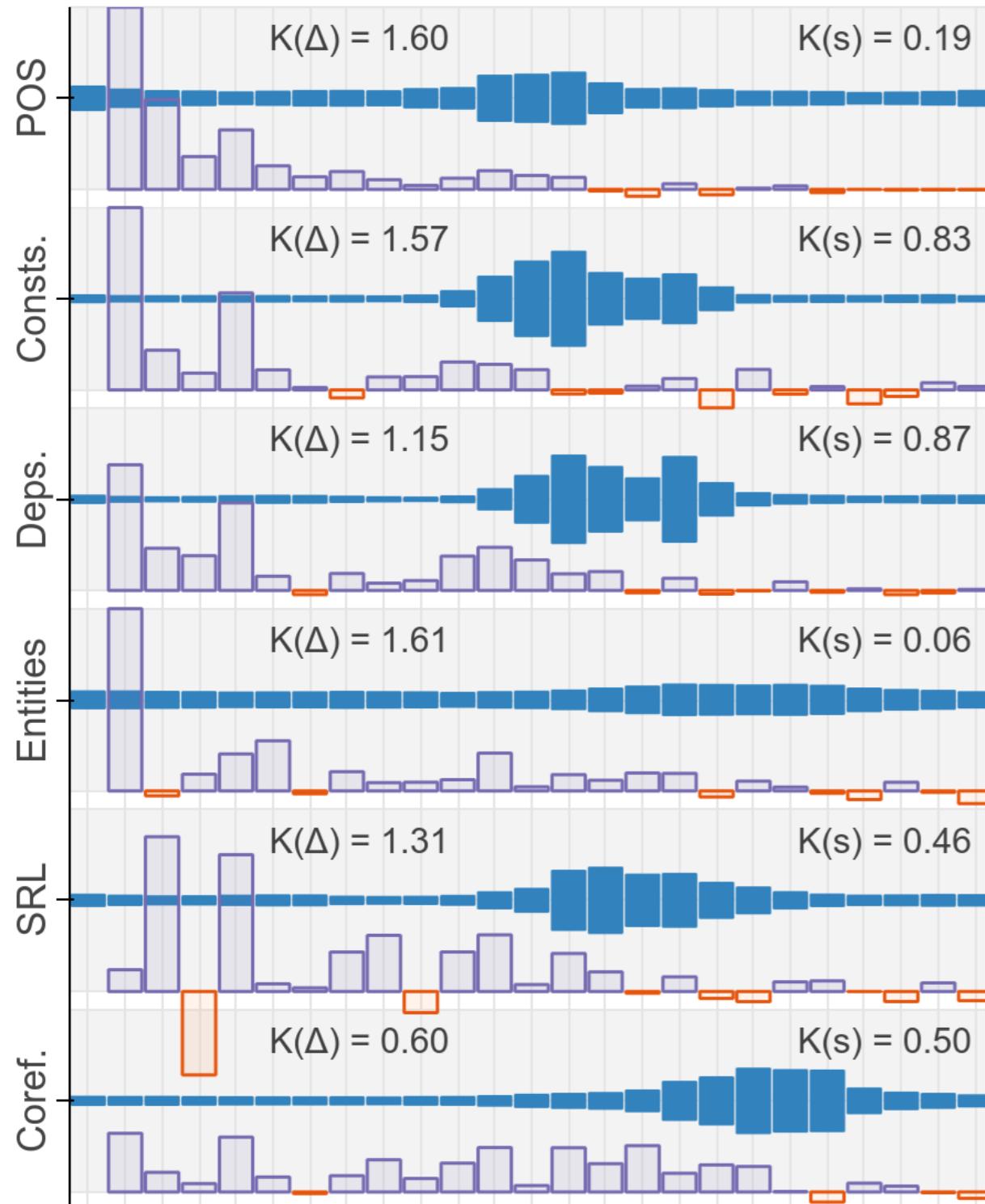
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Importance of  
layer in decision

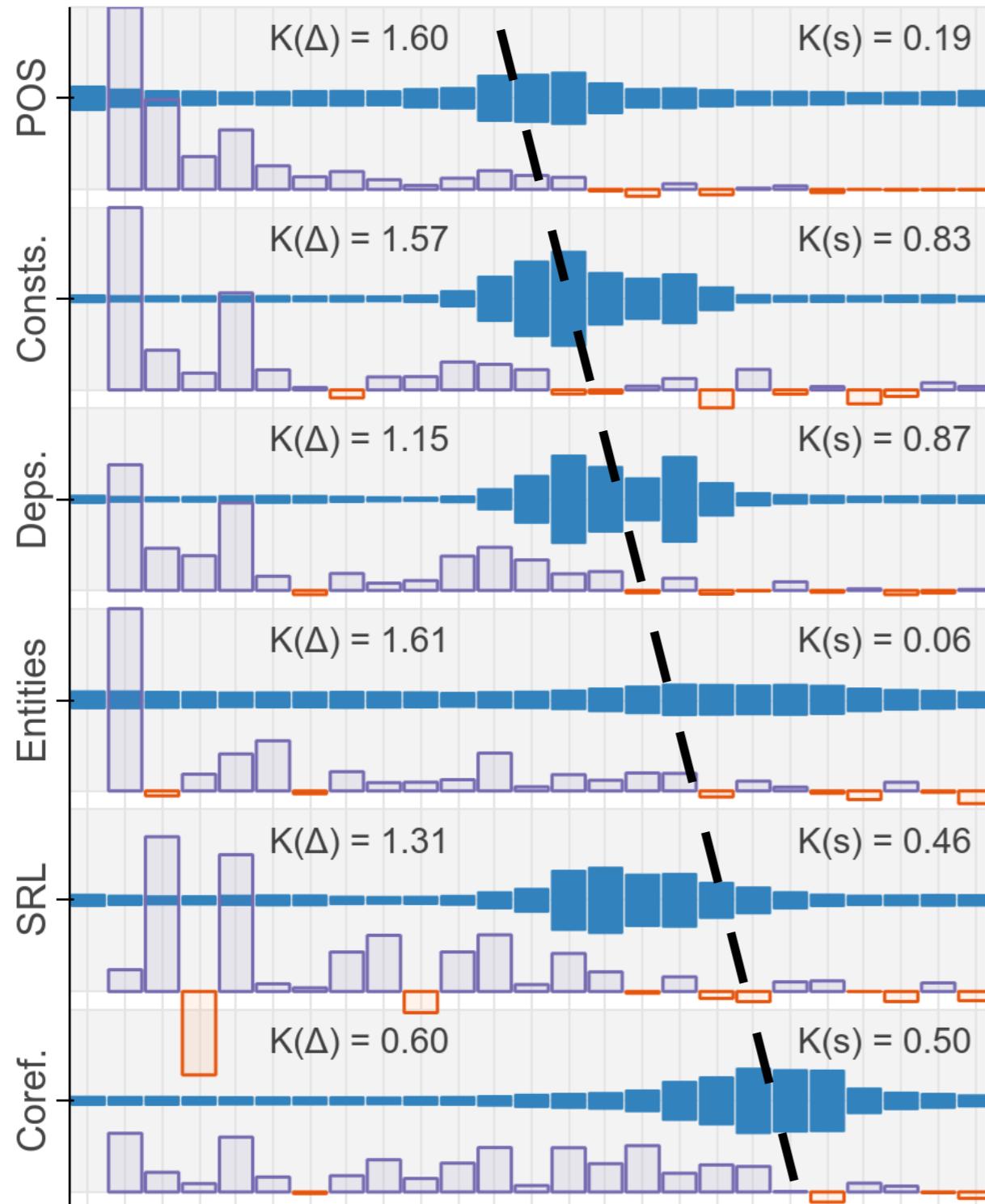


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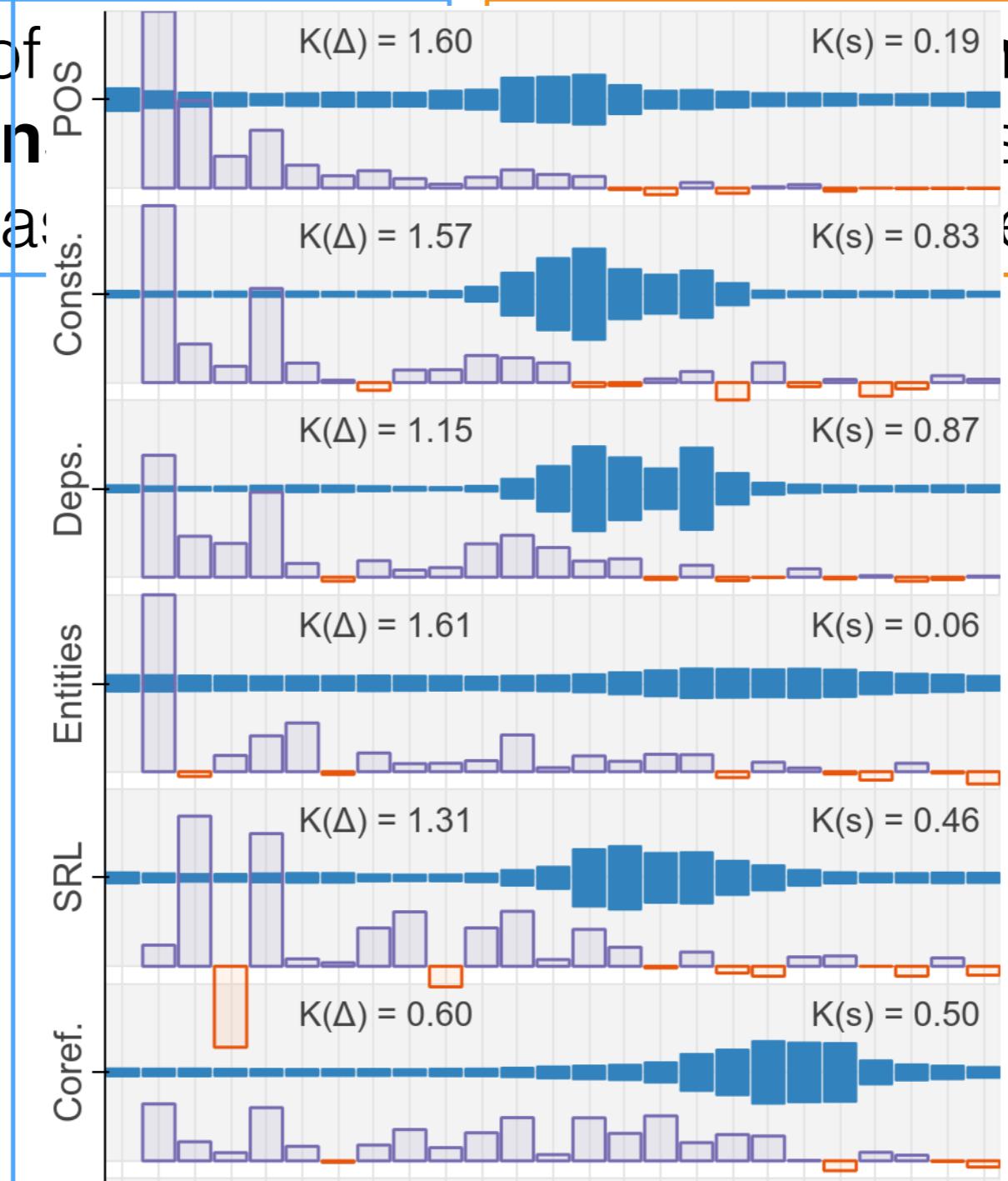
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Roughly:  
Higher-level  
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# Past ~2 years: What do deep LMs know about language?

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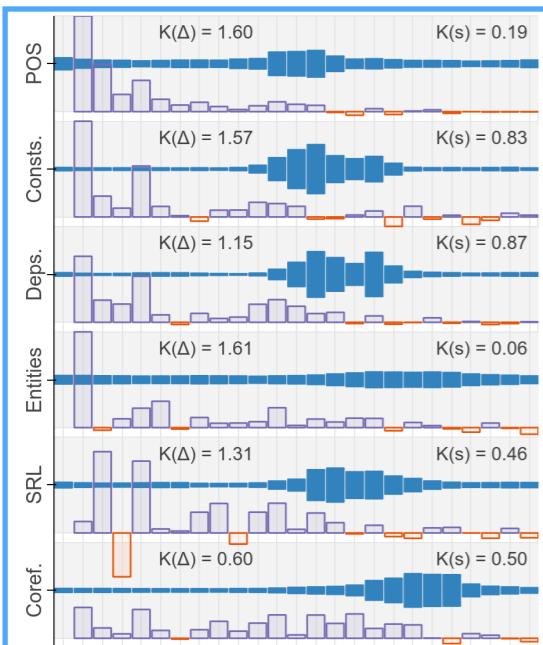


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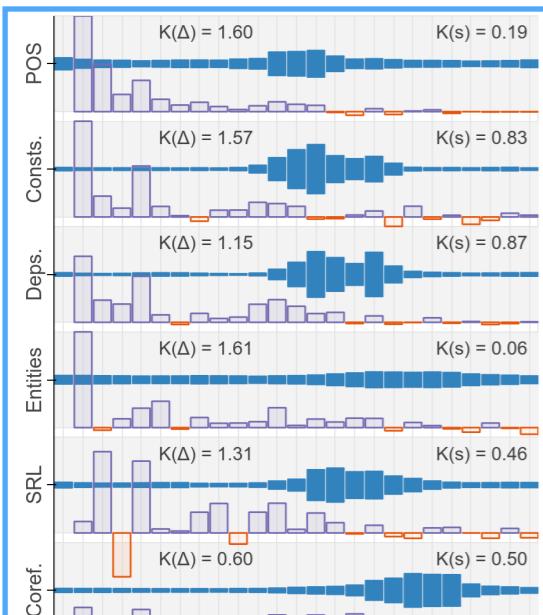


Tenney et al (ACL 2019)

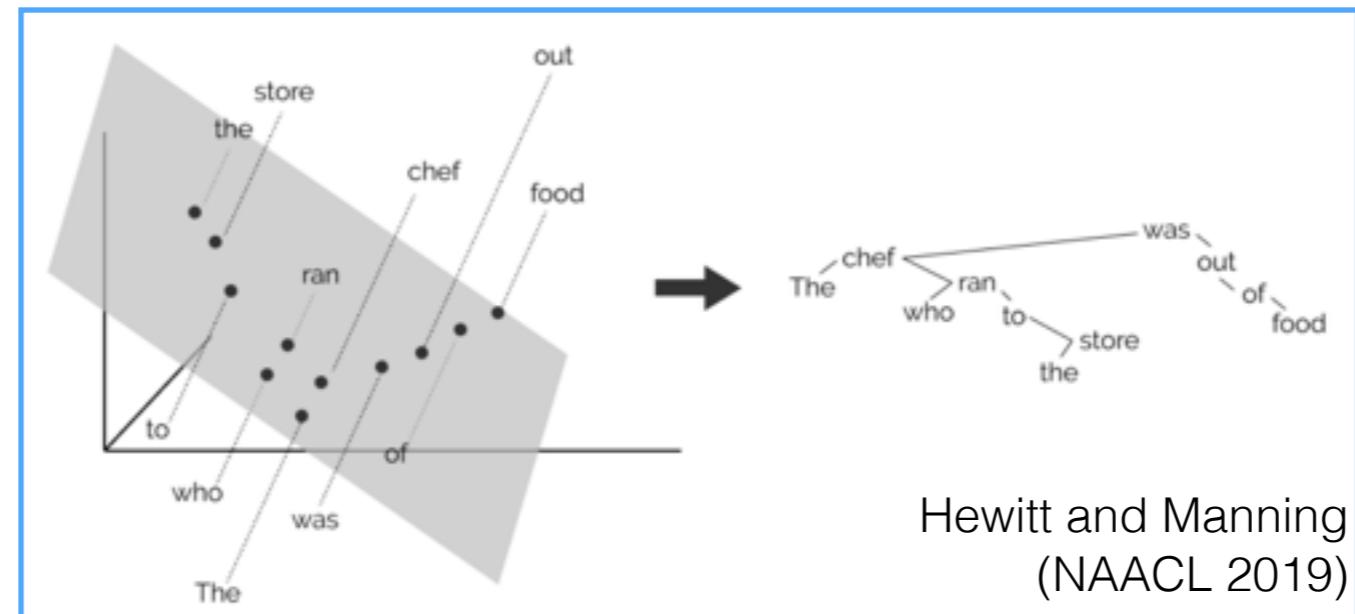
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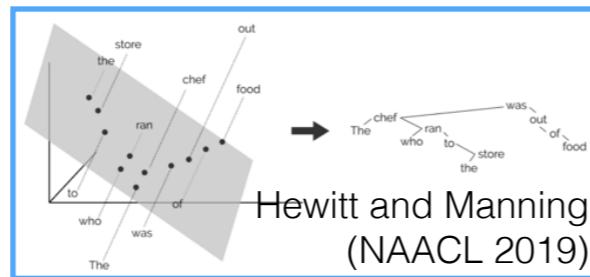
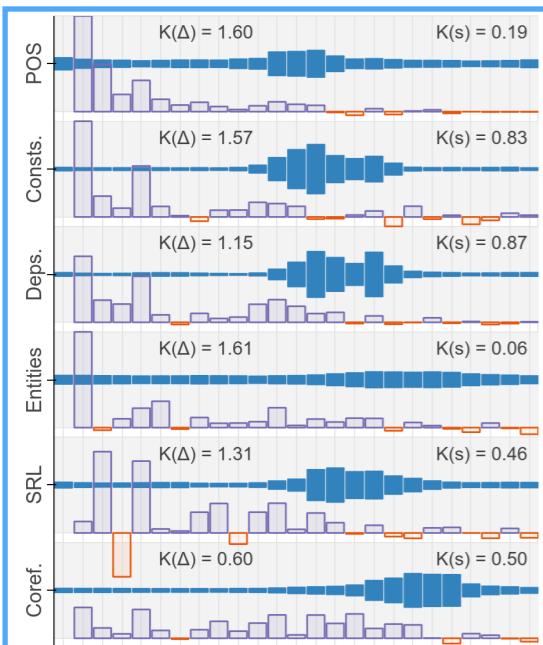
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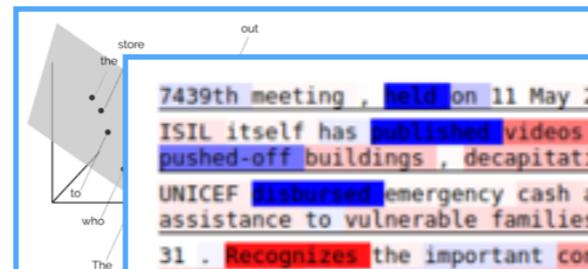
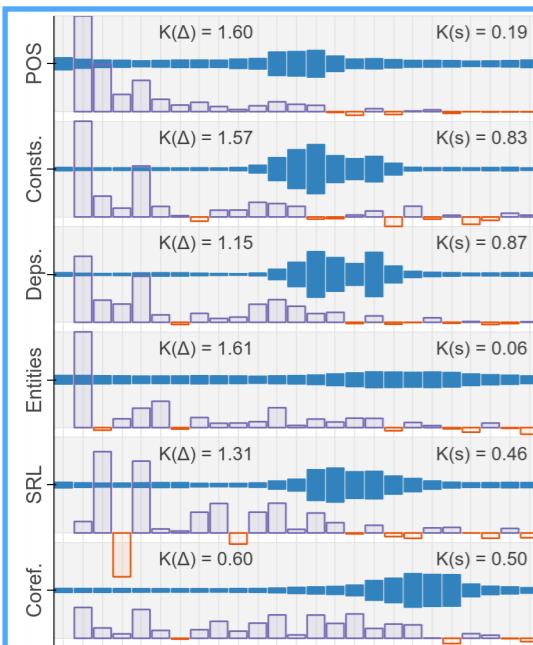


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7439th meeting , held on 11 May 2015 .  
ISIL itself has published videos depicting people being subjected to a range of abhorrent punishments , including stoning , being pushed-off buildings , decapitation and crucifixion .  
UNICEF disbursed emergency cash assistance to tens of thousands of displaced families in camps and UNHCR distributed cash assistance to vulnerable families which had been internally displaced .  
31 . Recognizes the important contribution of the African Peer Review Mechanism since its inception in improving governance and supporting socioeconomic development in African countries , and recalls in this regard the high-level panel discussion held on 21 October 2013 on Africa 's innovation in governance through 10 years of the African Peer Review Mechanism , organized during the sixty-eighth session of the General Assembly to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Mechanism ;  
Spreads between sovereign bonds in Germany and those in other countries were relatively unaffected by political and market uncertainties concerning Greece in late 2014 and early 2015 .

Figure 5: Visualization of a neuron from an English-Arabic model that activates on verb tense: negative/positive for past/present. Examples shown are the first 5 sentences in the test set.

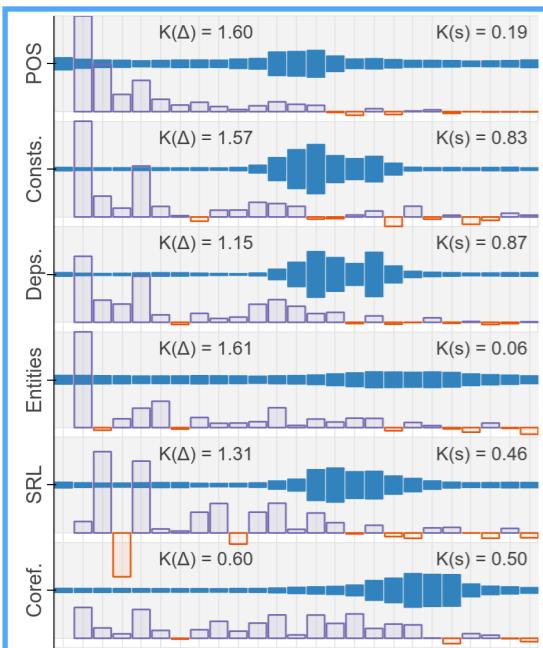
Bau et al. (ICLR 2019)

Tenney et al (ACL 2019)

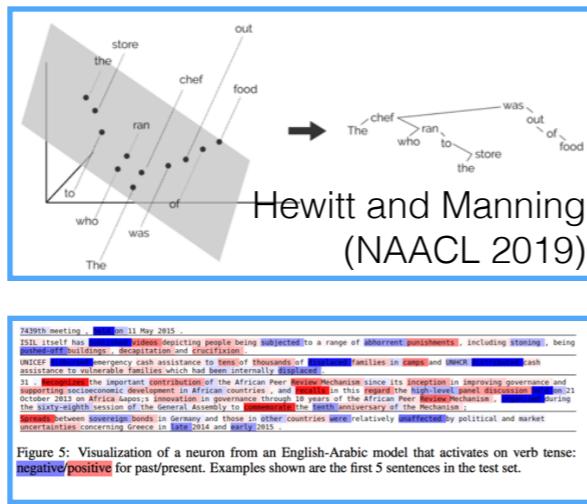
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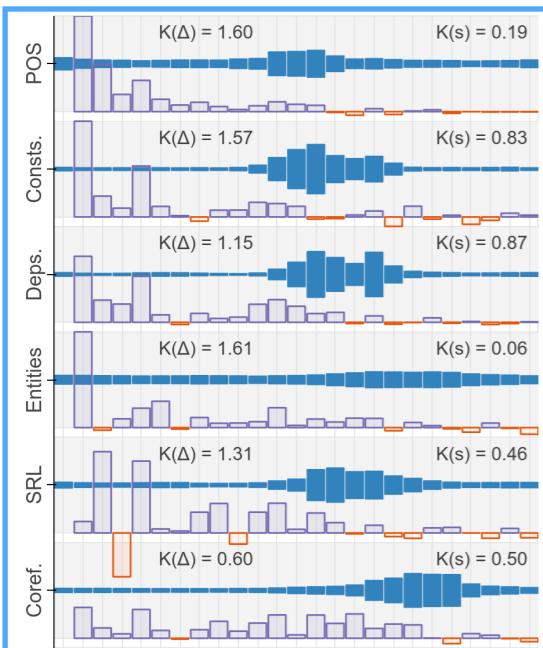


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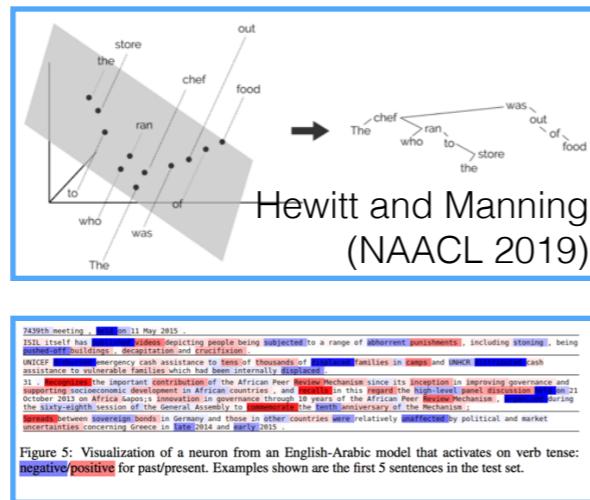
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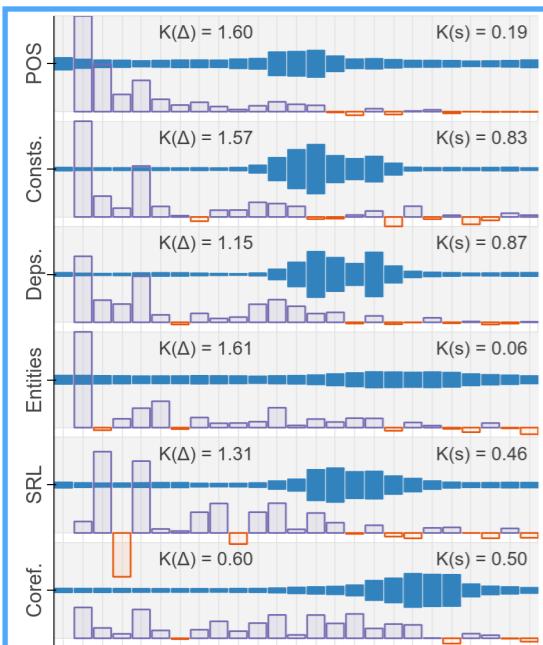
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Wealth of evidence that  
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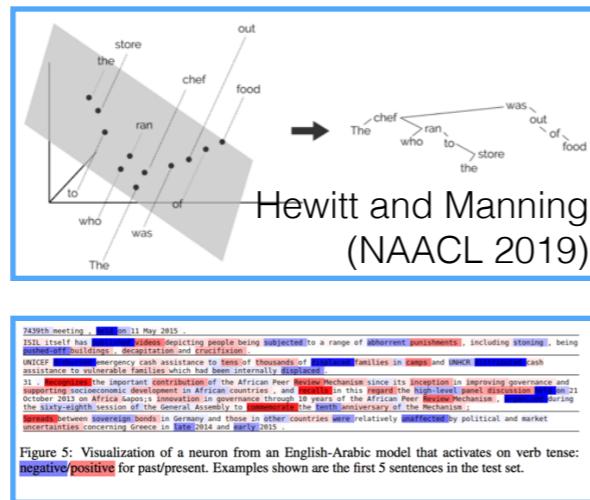
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Tenney et al (ACL 2019)



Bau et al. (ICLR 2019)

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Is such-and-such feature  
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There are apples and bananas on the table.

There are apples on the table.

# Is such-and-such feature used by the model?

*Premise*

There are apples and bananas on the table.

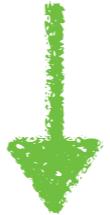
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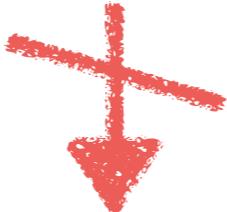
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*Premise*

There are apples or bananas on the table.



*Hypothesis*

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## Lexical Overlap Heuristic

The banker near the judge saw the actor.

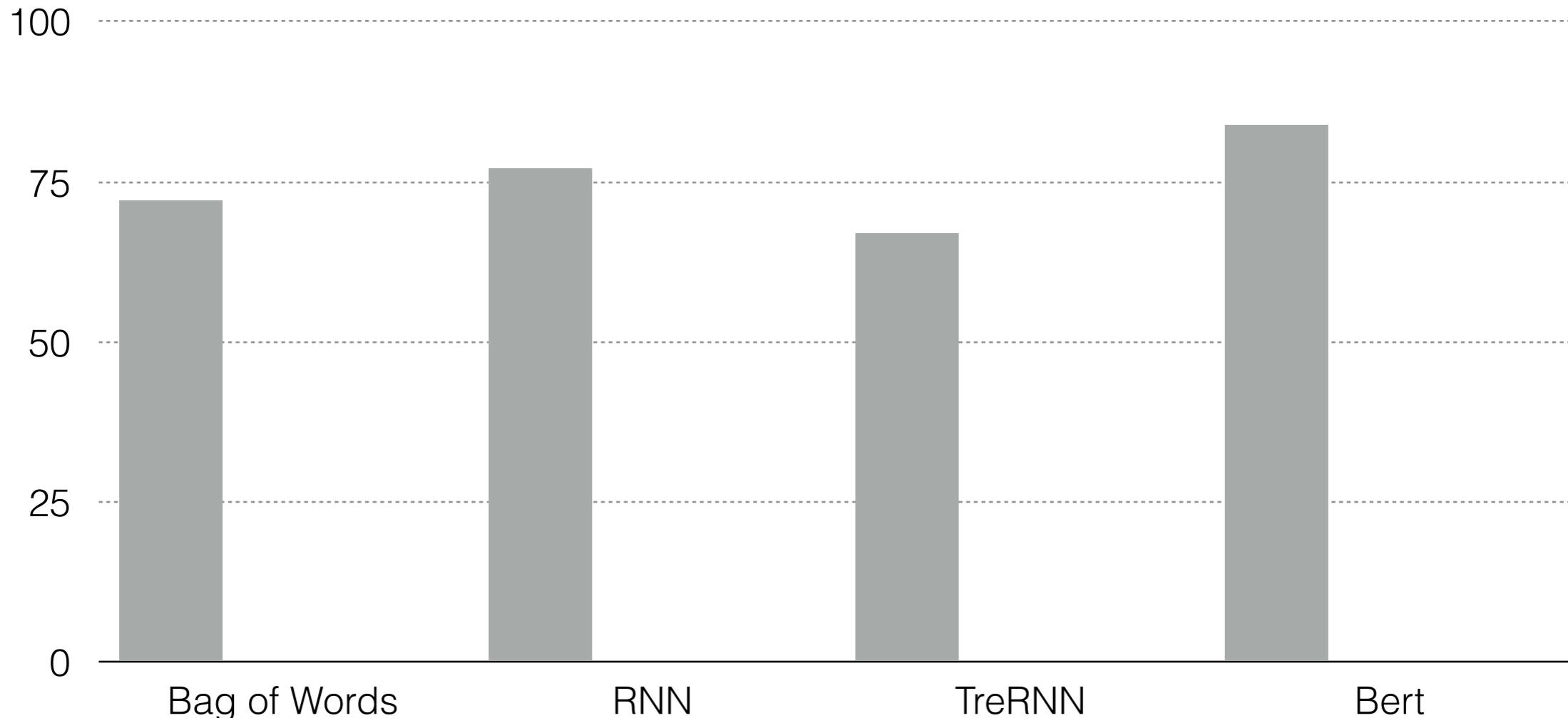
The banker saw the actor.

The judge by the actor stopped the banker.

The banker stopped the judge.

# Is such-and-such feature used by the model?

Standard Eval Set (MNLI)

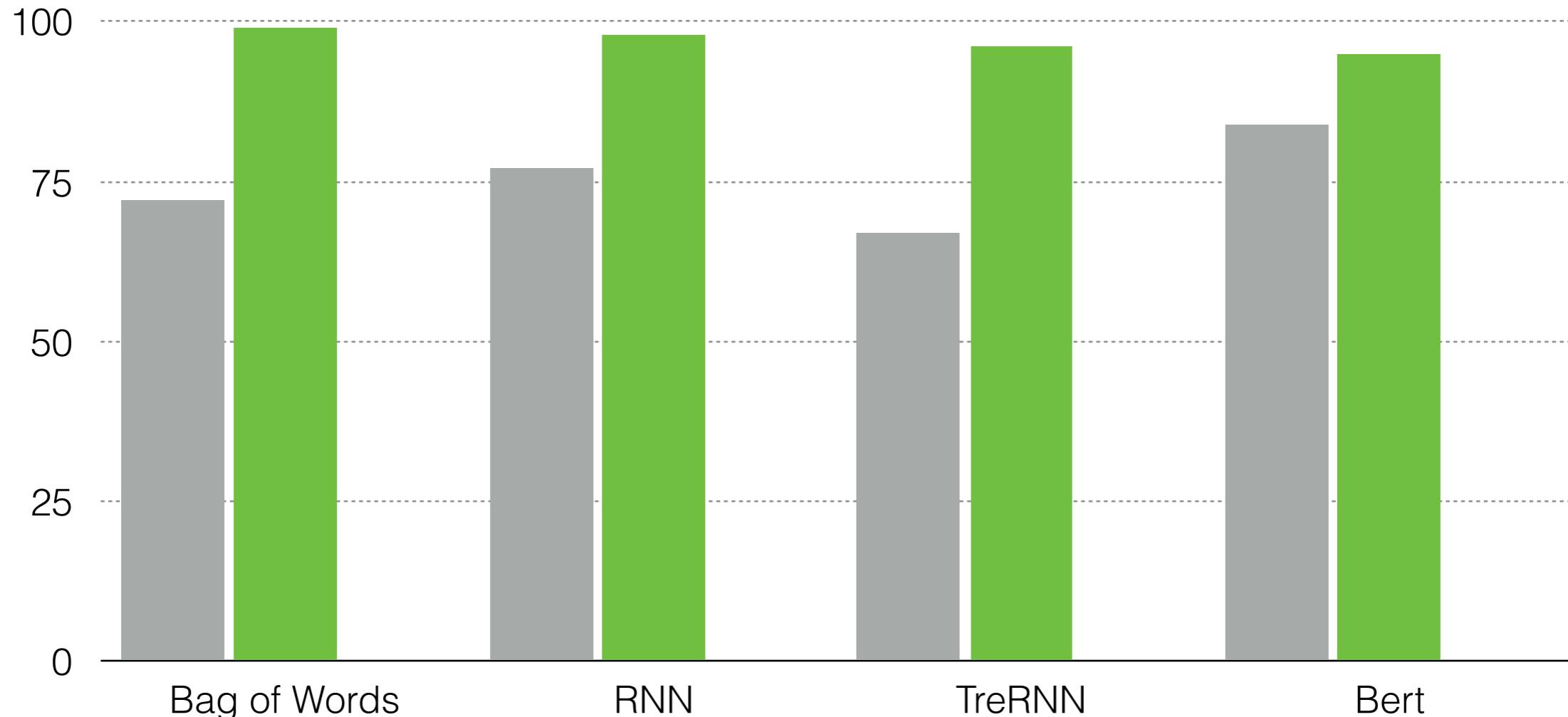


Right for the Wrong Reasons: Diagnosing Syntactic Heuristics in Natural  
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McCoy, Pavlick, and Linzen (2019)

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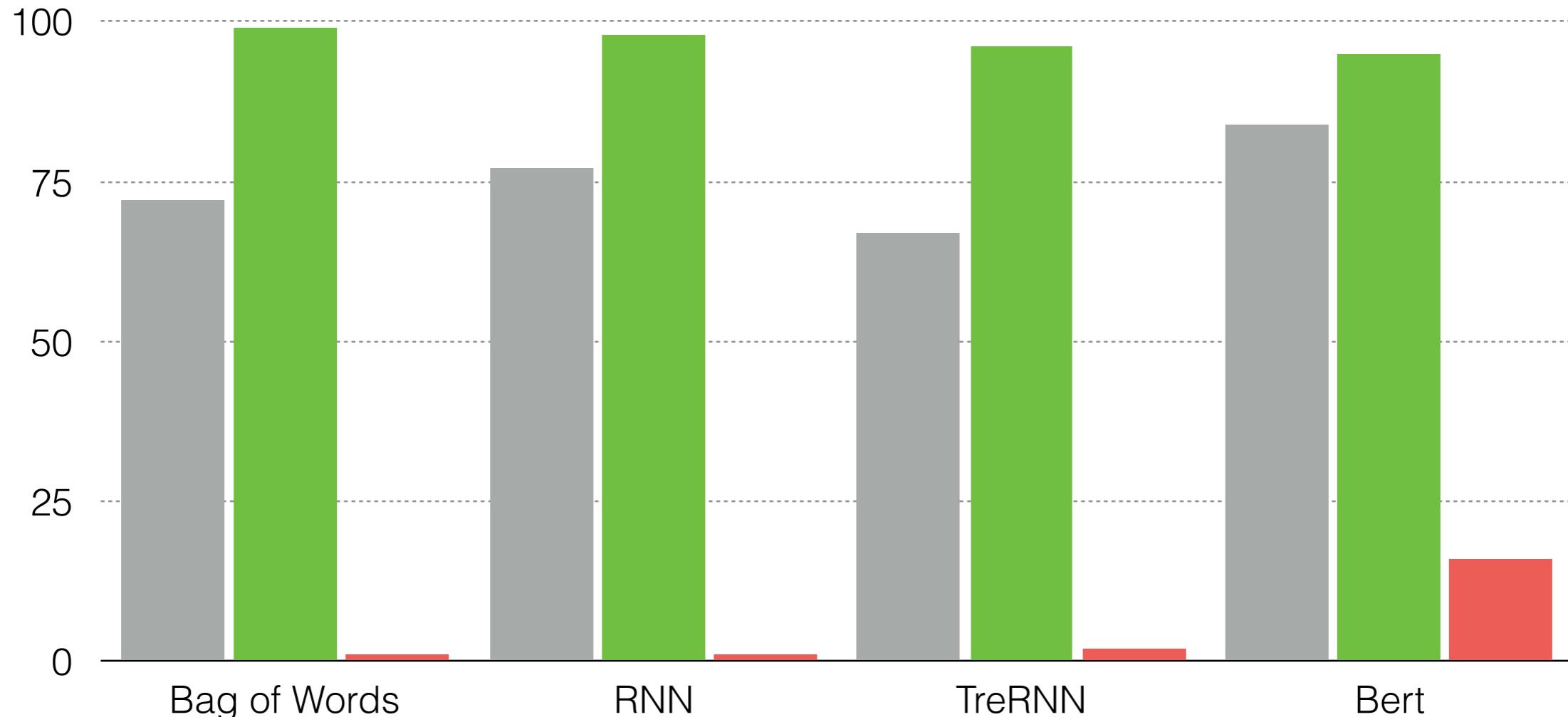


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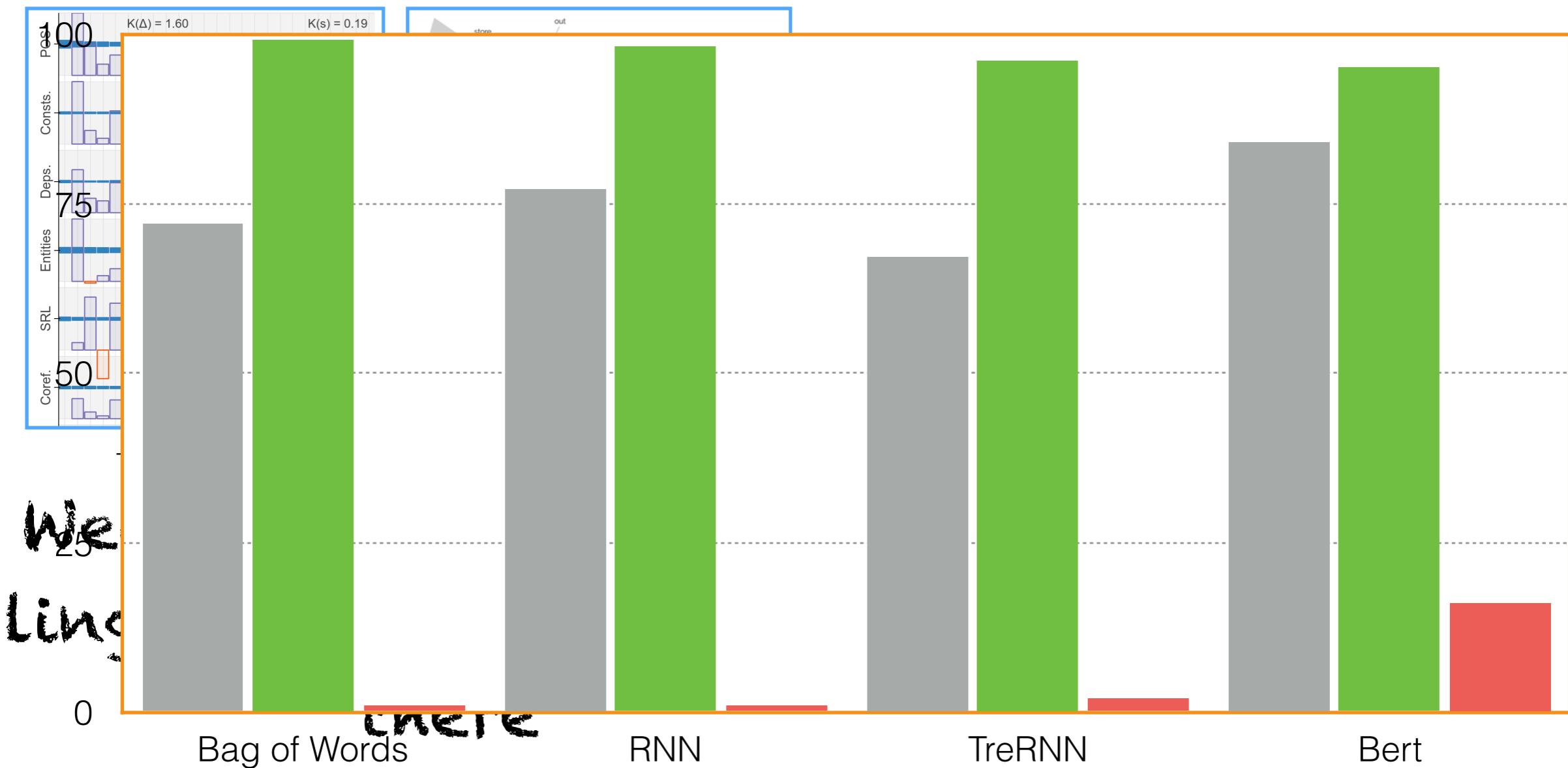


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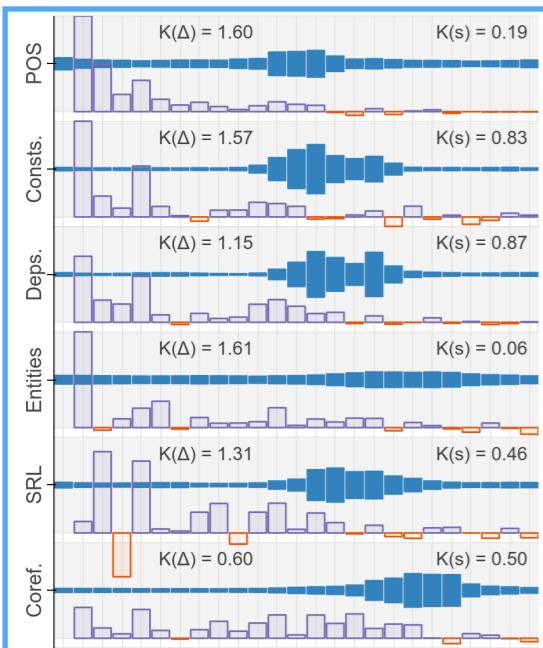
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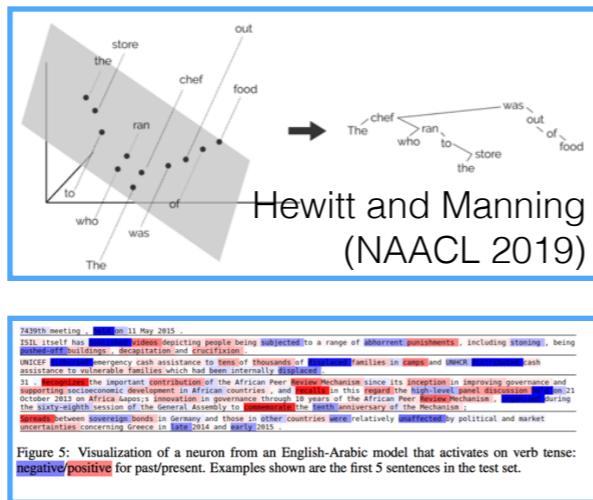
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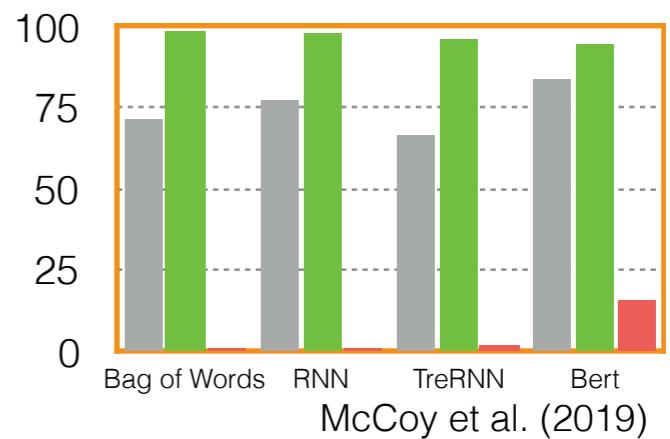
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Tenney et al (ACL 2019)



Bau et al. (ICLR 2019)

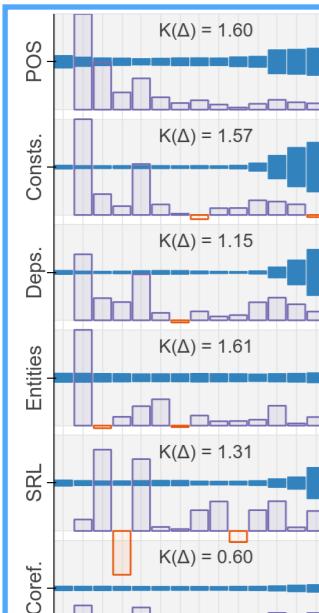


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Tenney et al.

Wealth  
Linguistics

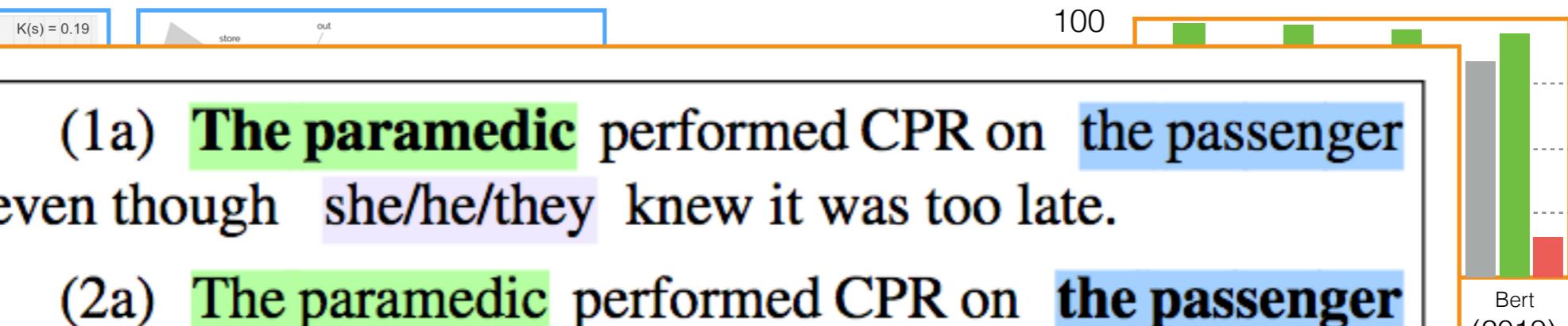
"there"

(1a) **The paramedic** performed CPR on **the passenger** even though **she/he/they** knew it was too late.

(2a) **The paramedic** performed CPR on **the passenger** even though **she/he/they** was/were already dead.

(1b) **The paramedic** performed CPR on **someone** even though **she/he/they** knew it was too late.

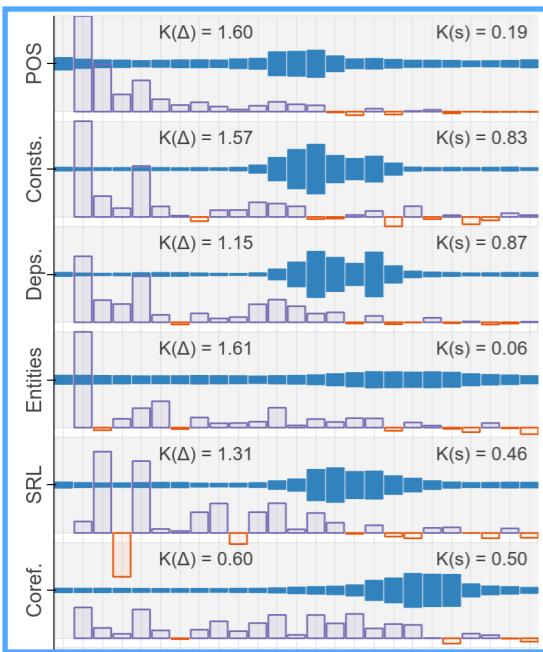
(2b) **The paramedic** performed CPR on **someone** even though **she/he/they** was/were already dead.



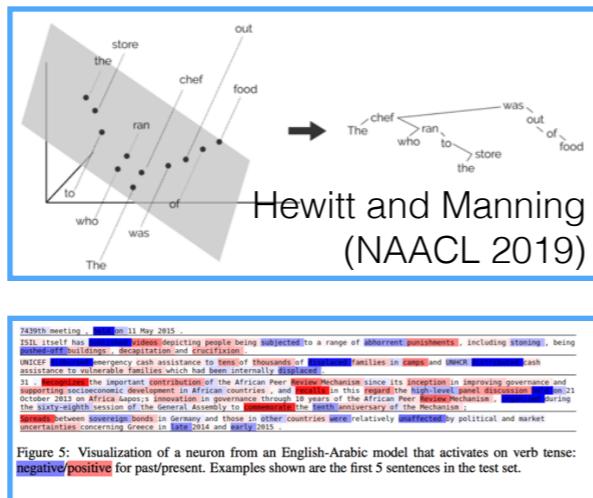
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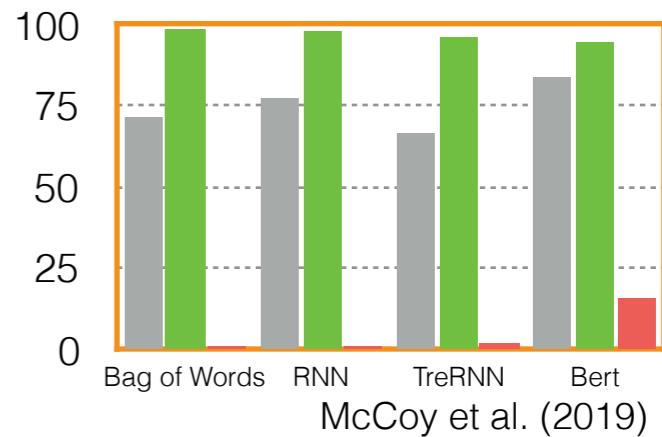
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Tenney et al (ACL 2019)



Bau et al. (ICLR 2019)



(1a) The paramedic performed CPR on the passenger even though she/he/they knew it was too late.

(2a) The paramedic performed CPR on the passenger even though she/he/they was/were already dead.

(1b) The paramedic performed CPR on someone even though she/he/they knew it was too late.

(2b) The paramedic performed CPR on someone even though she/he/they was/were already dead.

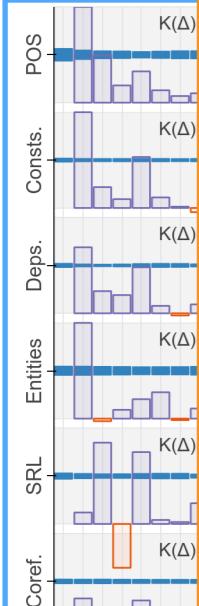
Rudinger et al. (2018)

Wealth of evidence that  
linguistic information is  
“there”

# Past ~2 years:

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## Article: Super Bowl 50

**Paragraph:** “*Peyton Manning became the first quarterback ever to lead two different teams to multiple Super Bowls. He is also the oldest quarterback ever to play in a Super Bowl at age 39. The past record was held by John Elway, who led the Broncos to victory in Super Bowl XXXIII at age 38 and is currently Denver’s Executive Vice President of Football Operations and General Manager. Quarterback Jeff Dean had jersey number 37 in Champ Bowl XXXIV.*”

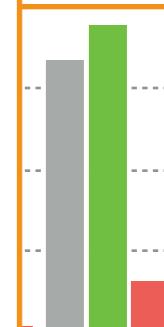
**Question:** “*What is the name of the quarterback who was 38 in Super Bowl XXXIII?*”

**Original Prediction:** John Elway

**Prediction under adversary:** Jeff Dean

?

ney  
?



Bert  
l. (2019)

passenger

passenger

someone

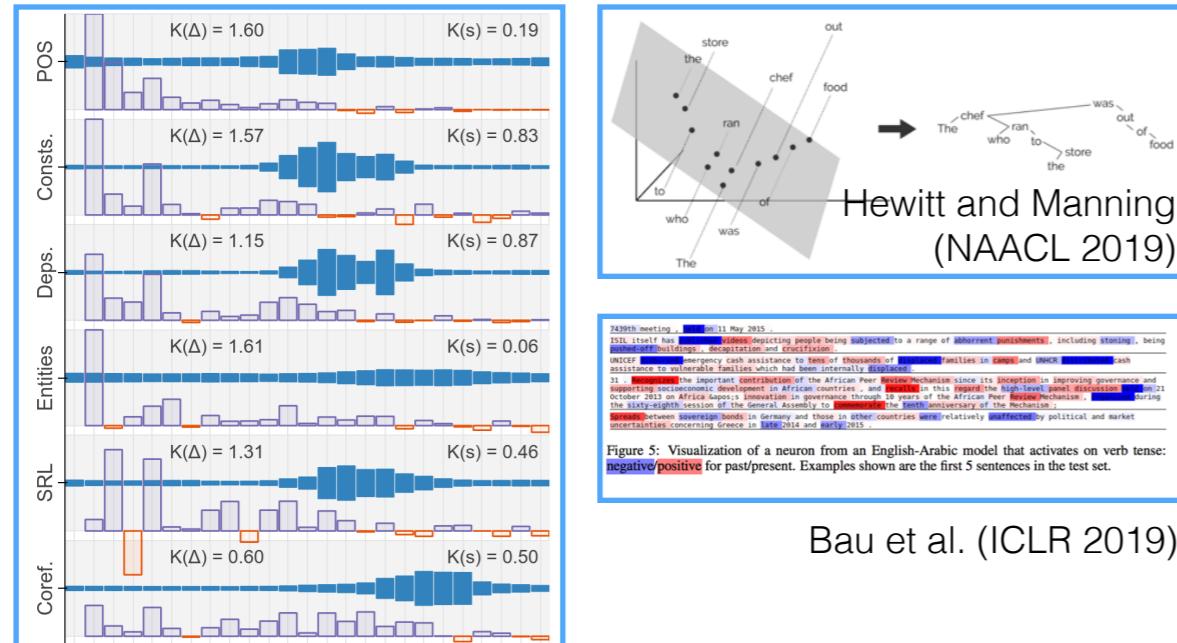
someone

. (2018)

Linguistic information is  
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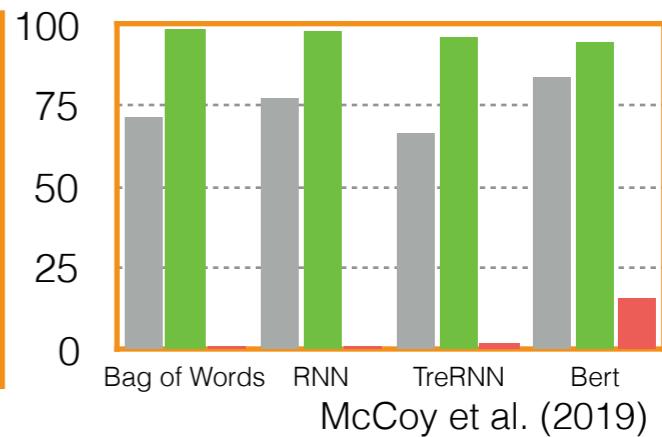
Tenney et al (ACL 2019)

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“there”**

Do models **behave** like they  
are using these features?  
("Challenge Tasks")

**Article:** Super Bowl 50  
**Paragraph:** "Peyton Manning became the first quarterback ever to lead two different teams to multiple Super Bowls. He is also the oldest quarterback ever to play in a Super Bowl at age 39. The past record was held by John Elway, who led the Broncos to victory in Super Bowl XXXIII at age 38 and is currently Denver's Executive Vice President of Football Operations and General Manager. Quarterback Jeff Dean had jersey number 37 in Champ Bowl XXXIV."  
**Question:** "What is the name of the quarterback who was 38 in Super Bowl XXXIII?"  
**Original Prediction:** John Elway  
**Prediction under adversary:** Jeff Dean

Jia and Liang (2017)

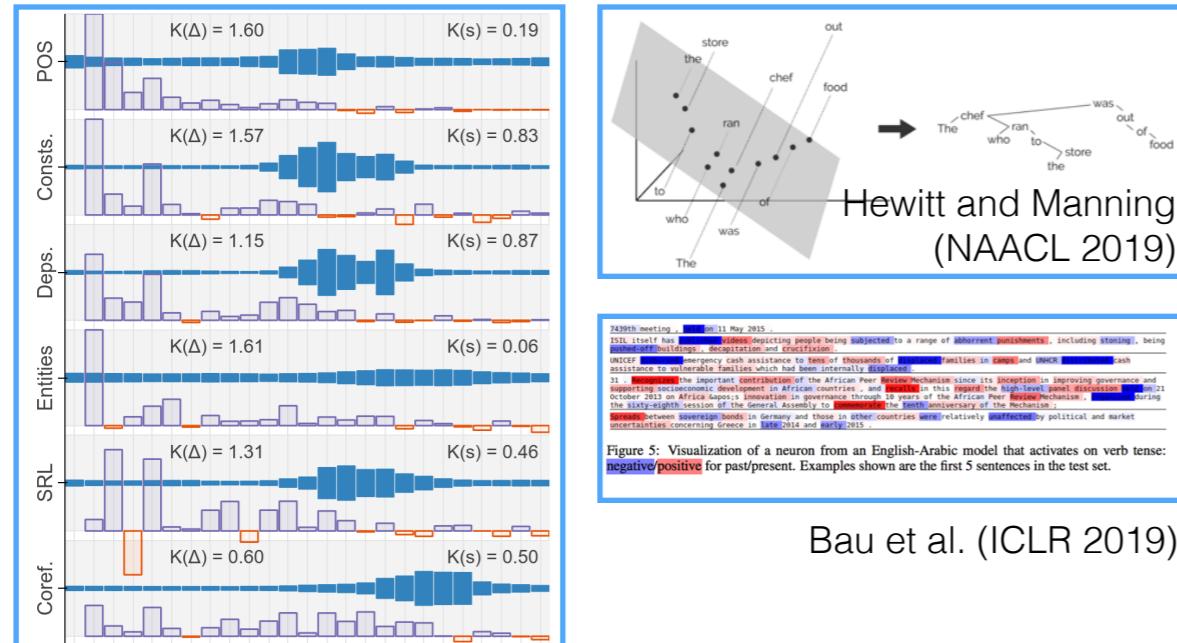


- (1a) The paramedic performed CPR on the passenger even though she/he/they knew it was too late.
- (2a) The paramedic performed CPR on the passenger even though she/he/they was/were already dead.
- (1b) The paramedic performed CPR on someone even though she/he/they knew it was too late.
- (2b) The paramedic performed CPR on someone even though she/he/they was/were already dead.

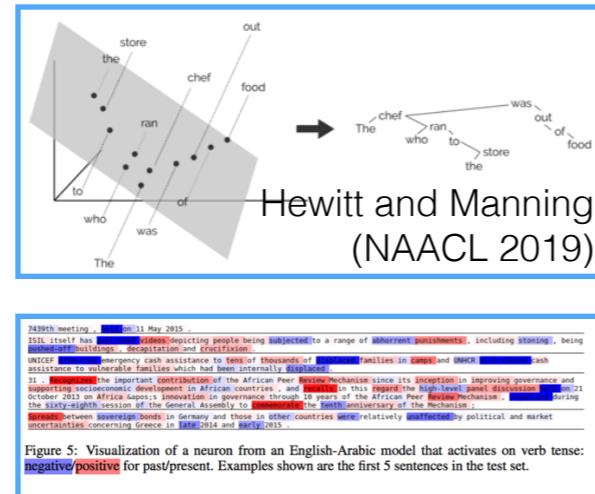
Rudinger et al. (2018)

# Past ~2 years: What do deep LMs know about language?

What types of features  
**representations** encode?  
("Probing Classifiers")

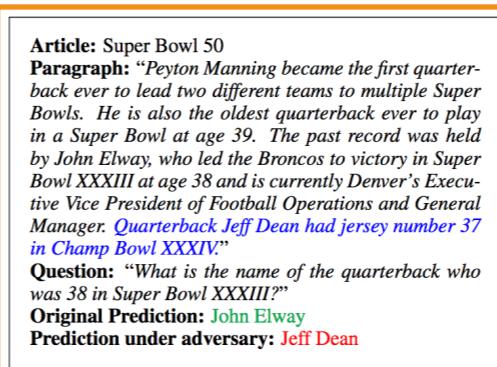


Tenney et al (ACL 2019)

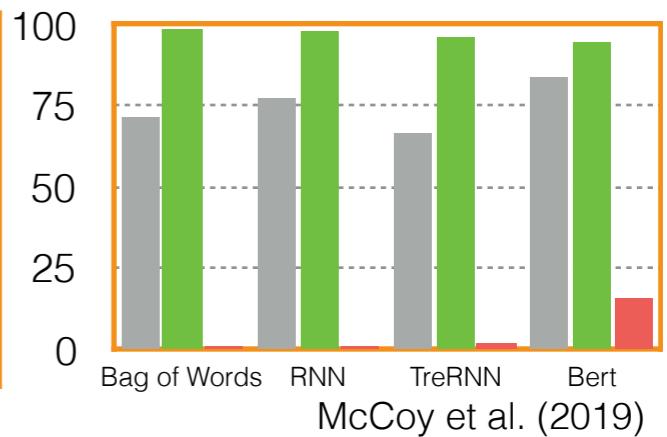


Bau et al. (ICLR 2019)

Do models **behave** like they are using these features?  
("Challenge Tasks")



Jia and Liang (2017)



- (1a) The paramedic performed CPR on the passenger even though she/he/they knew it was too late.
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Rudinger et al. (2018)

Wealth of evidence that  
linguistic information is  
“there”

...but the model  
doesn't use it...

Linguistic features seem to be “there” after pretraining, but fine-tuned models don’t use them...  
why?

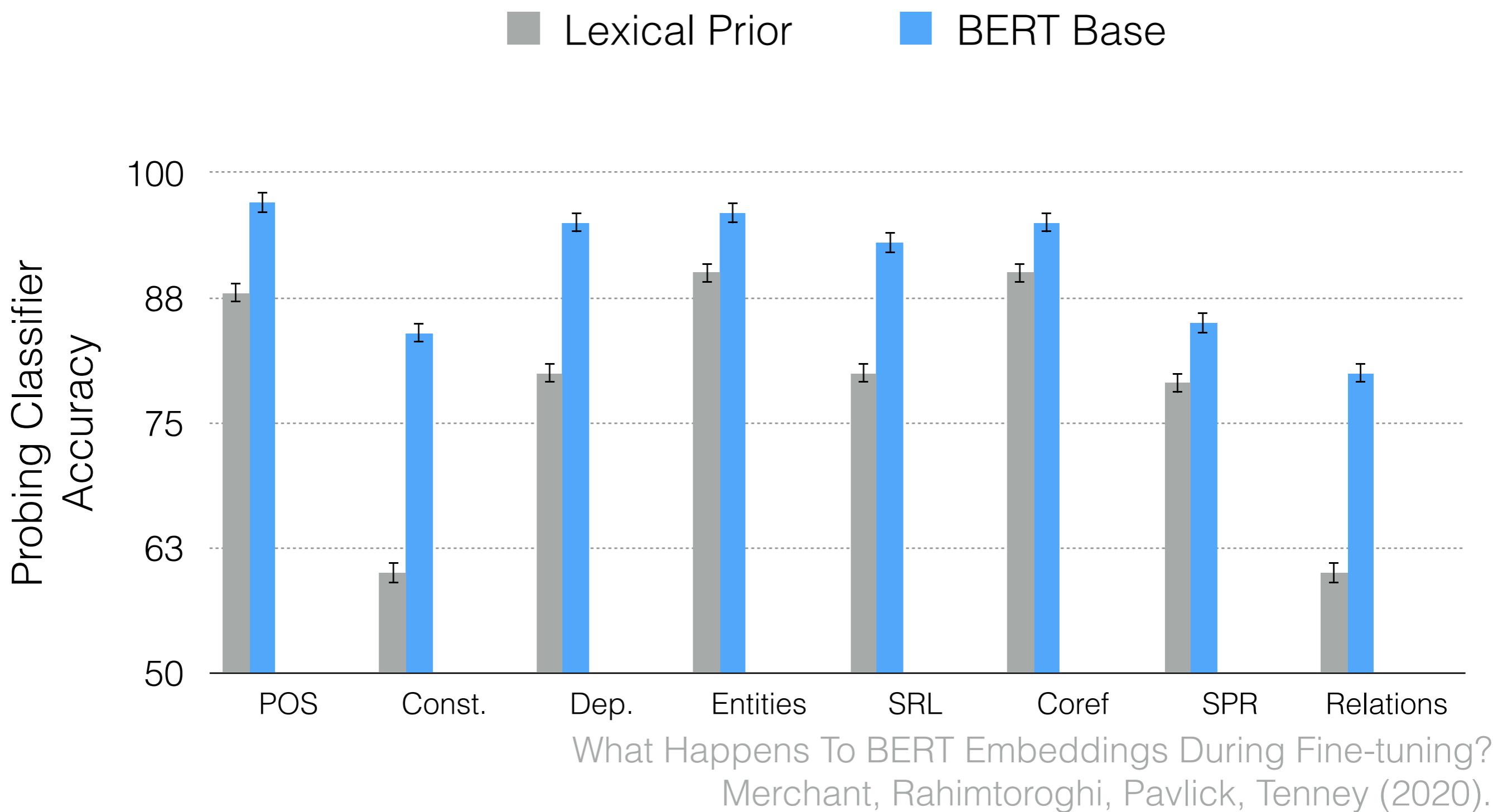
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Maybe the features are erased during finetuning?

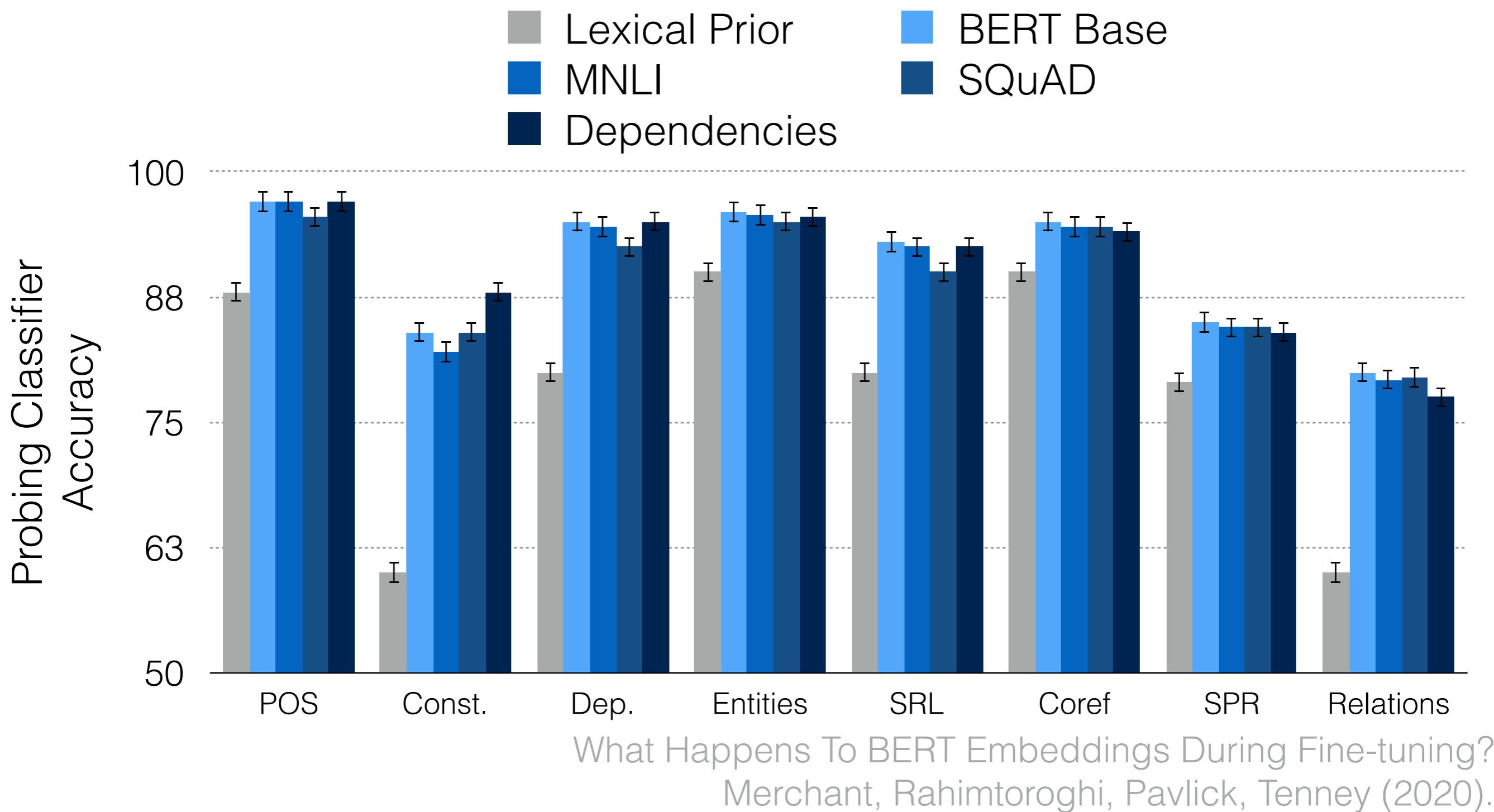
# Are features lost during fine-tuning?

What Happens To BERT Embeddings During Fine-tuning?  
Merchant, Rahimtoroghi, Pavlick, Tenney (2020).

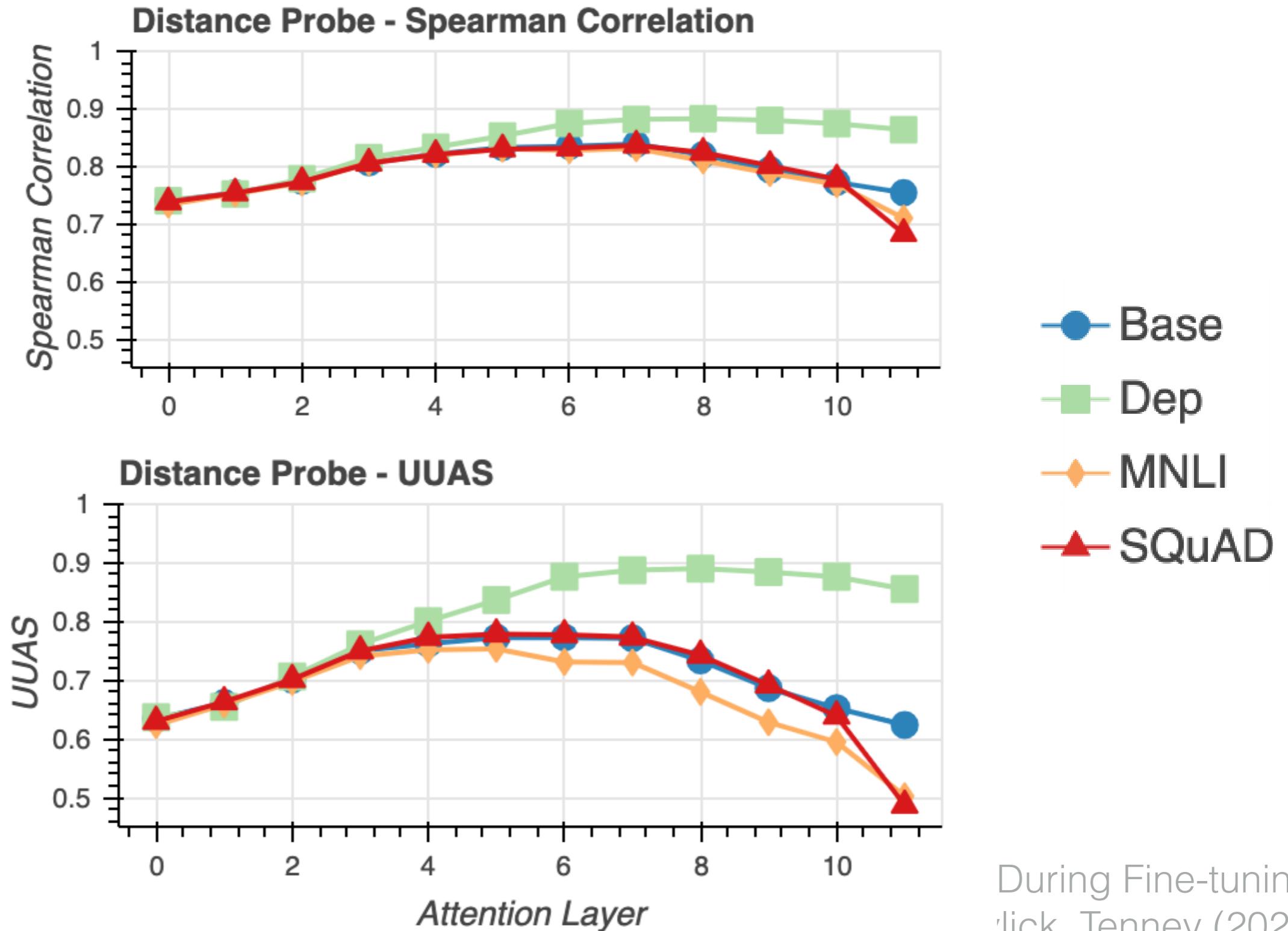
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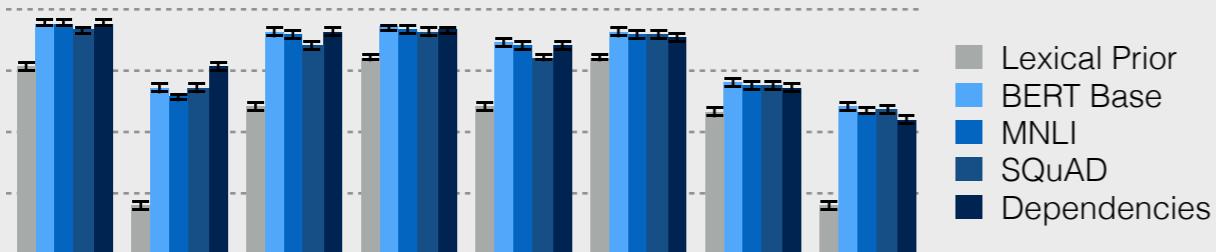
During Fine-tuning?  
Joulin, Tenney (2020).

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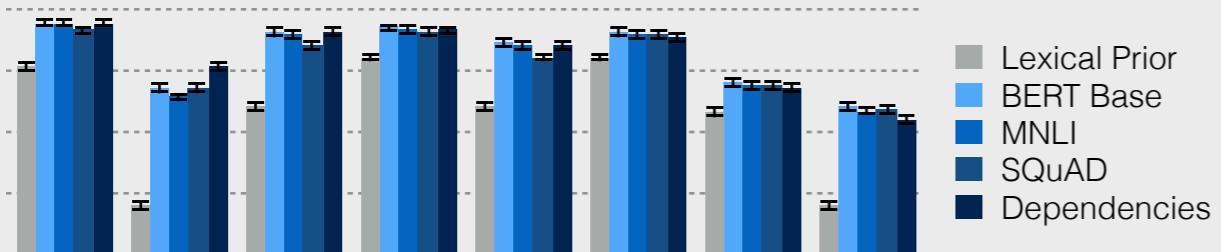
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No obvious drop in probing accuracy after fine-tuning.

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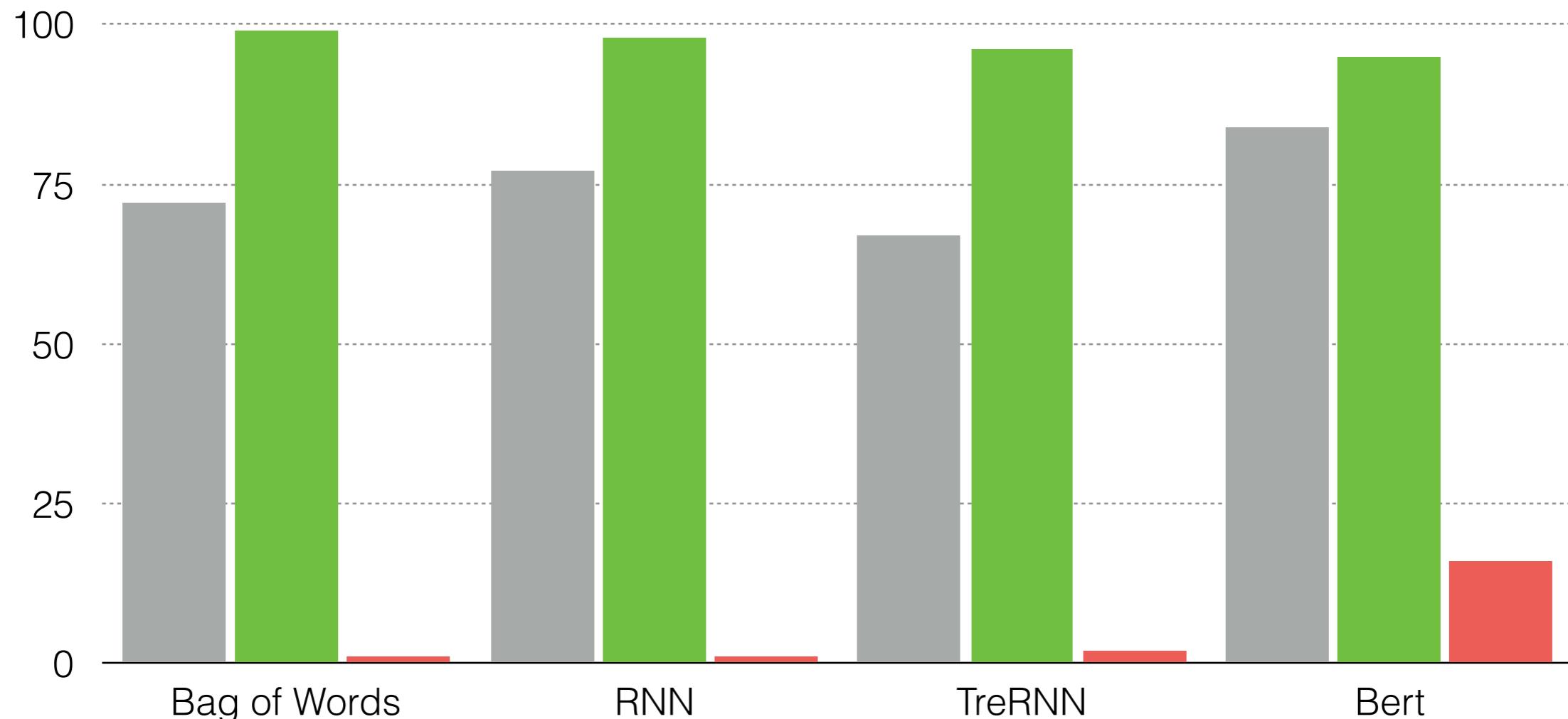


No obvious drop in probing accuracy after fine-tuning.

Maybe there just isn't enough signal in training?

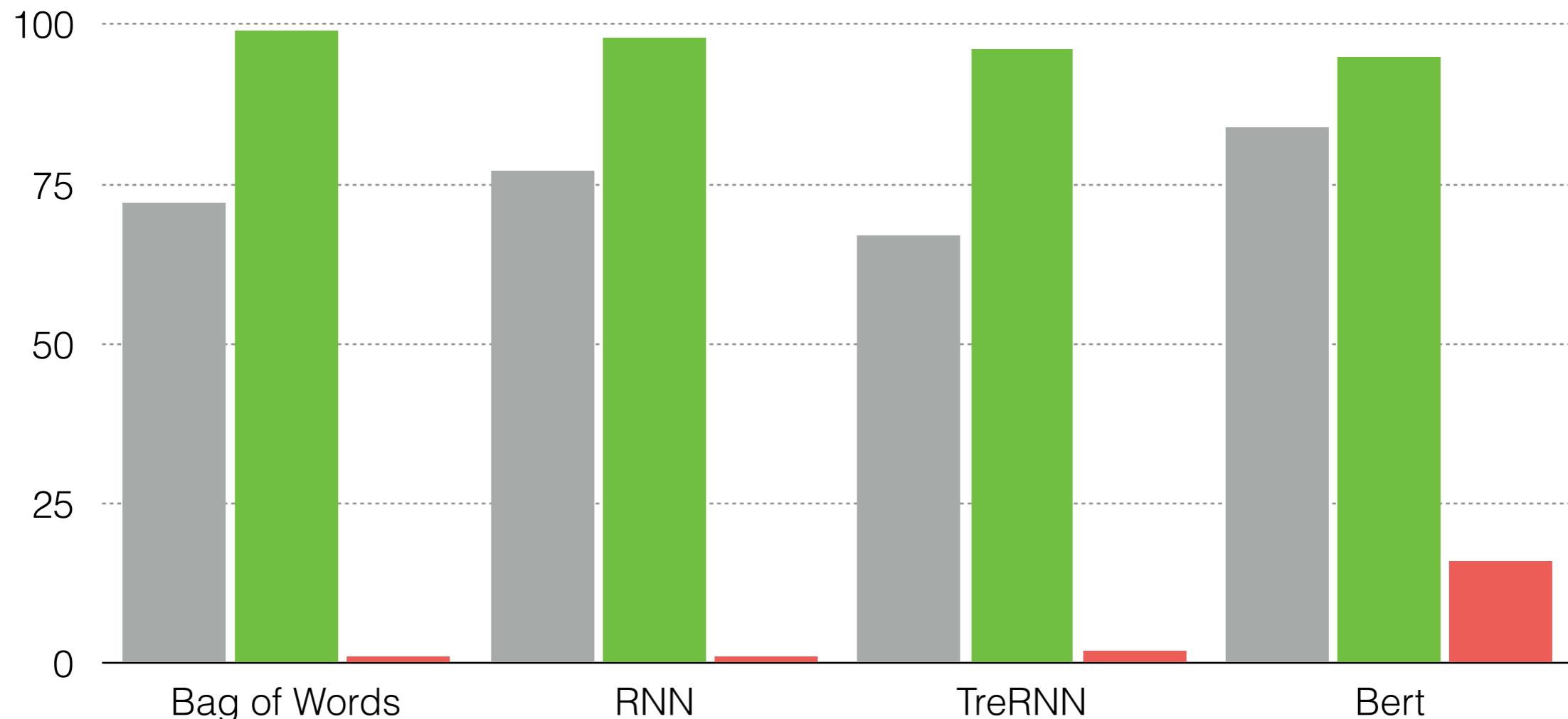
# Blame it on the training data?

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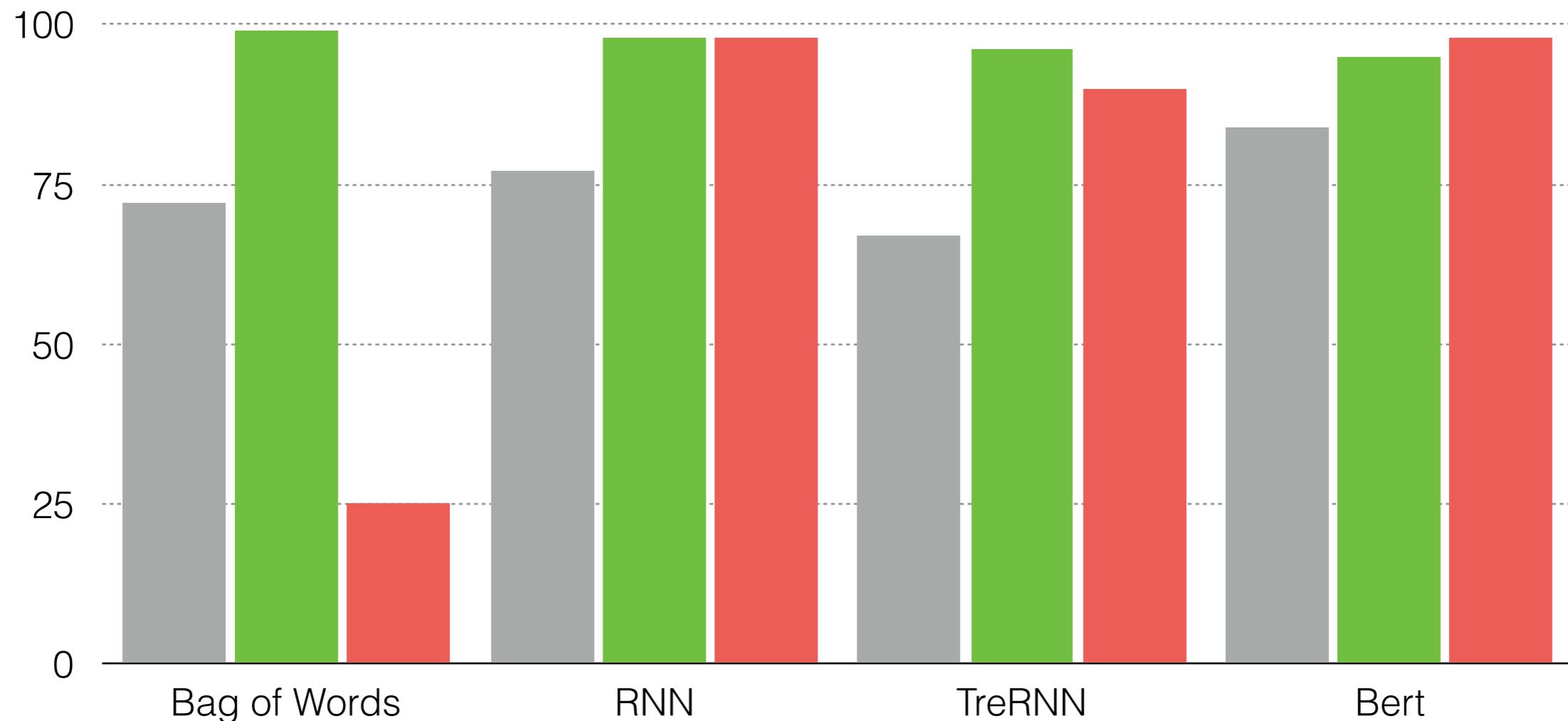
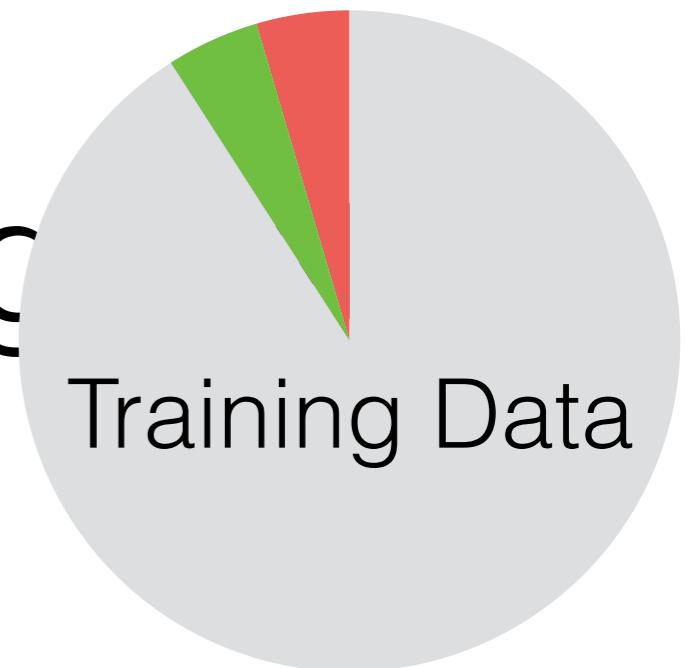
Right for the Wrong Reasons: Diagnosing Syntactic Heuristics in Natural  
Language Inference.  
McCoy, Pavlick, and Linzen (2019)

# Blame it on the training



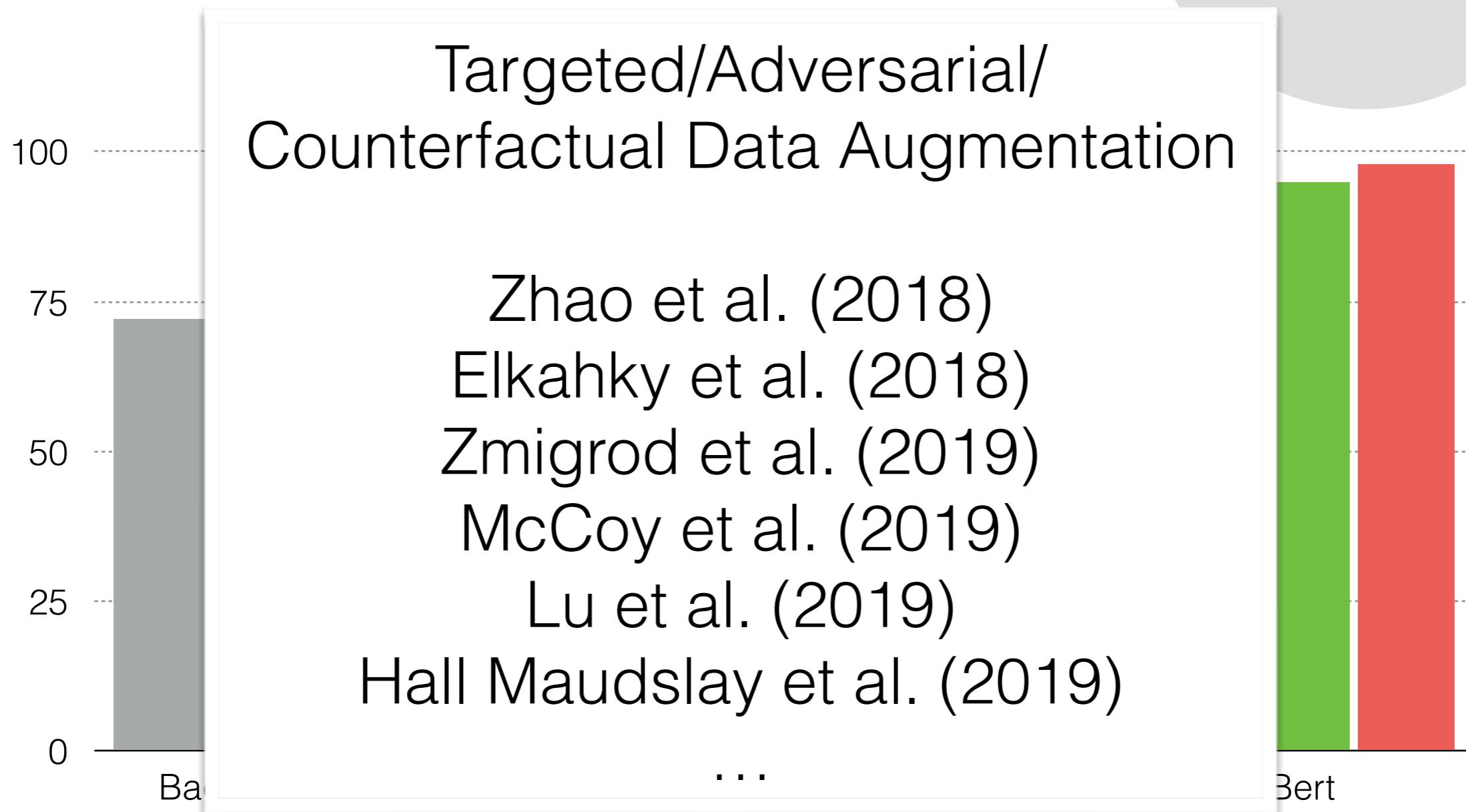
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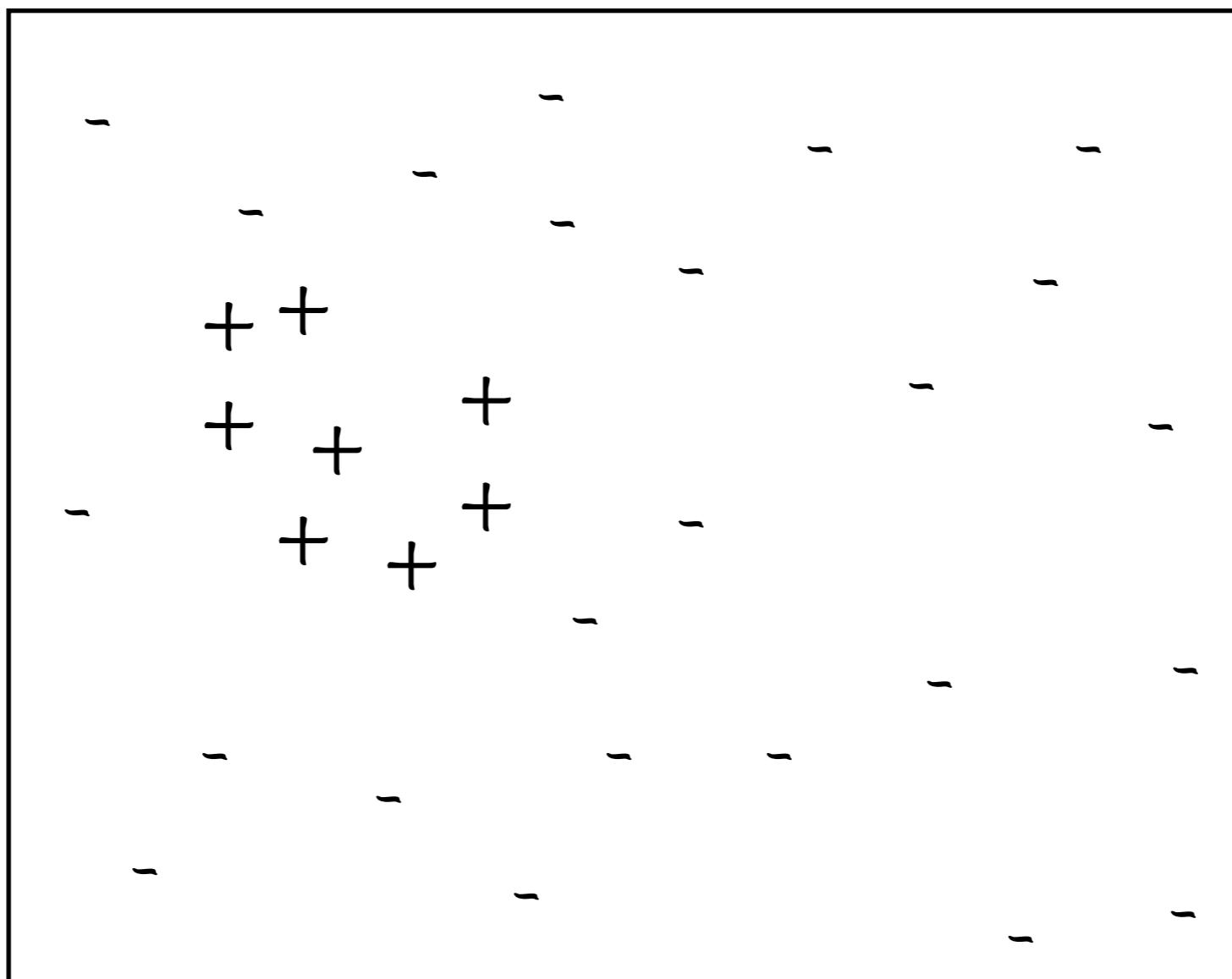
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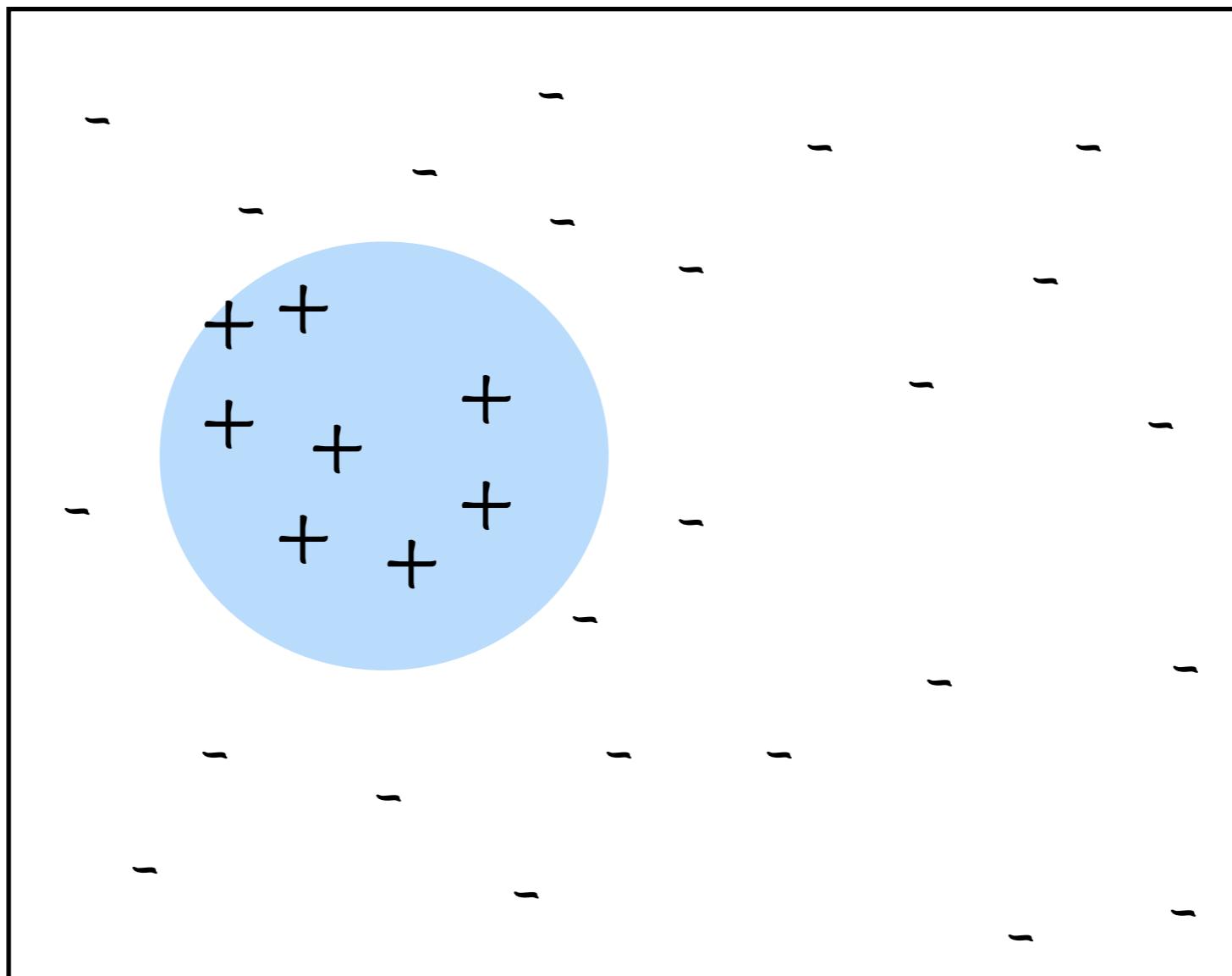
# General Set Up



Information-Theoretic Probing Explains Reliance on Spurious Heuristics  
Jha, Lovering, Linzen, and Pavlick (2020)

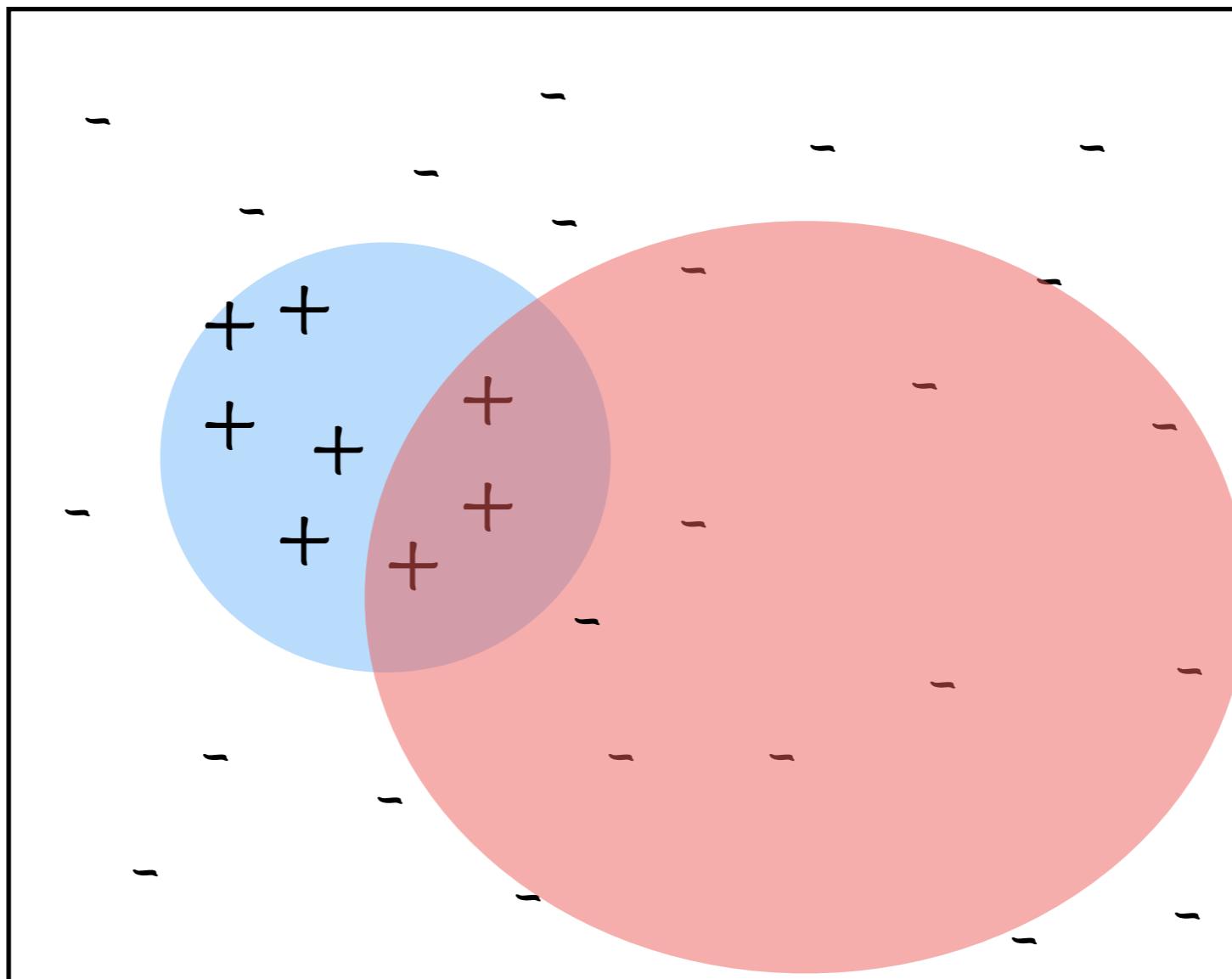
# General Set Up

“Target”  
feature  
perfectly  
predicts  
label



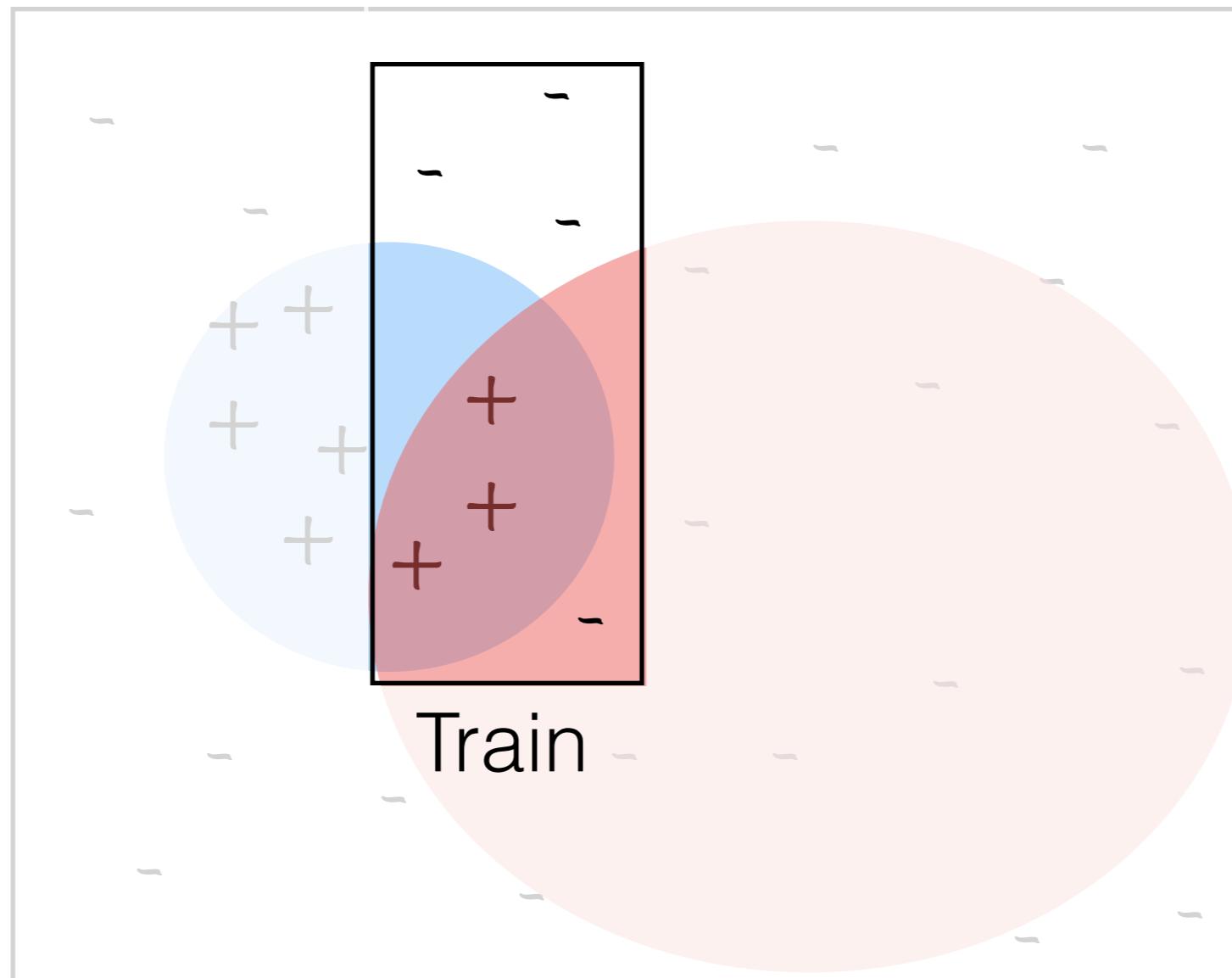
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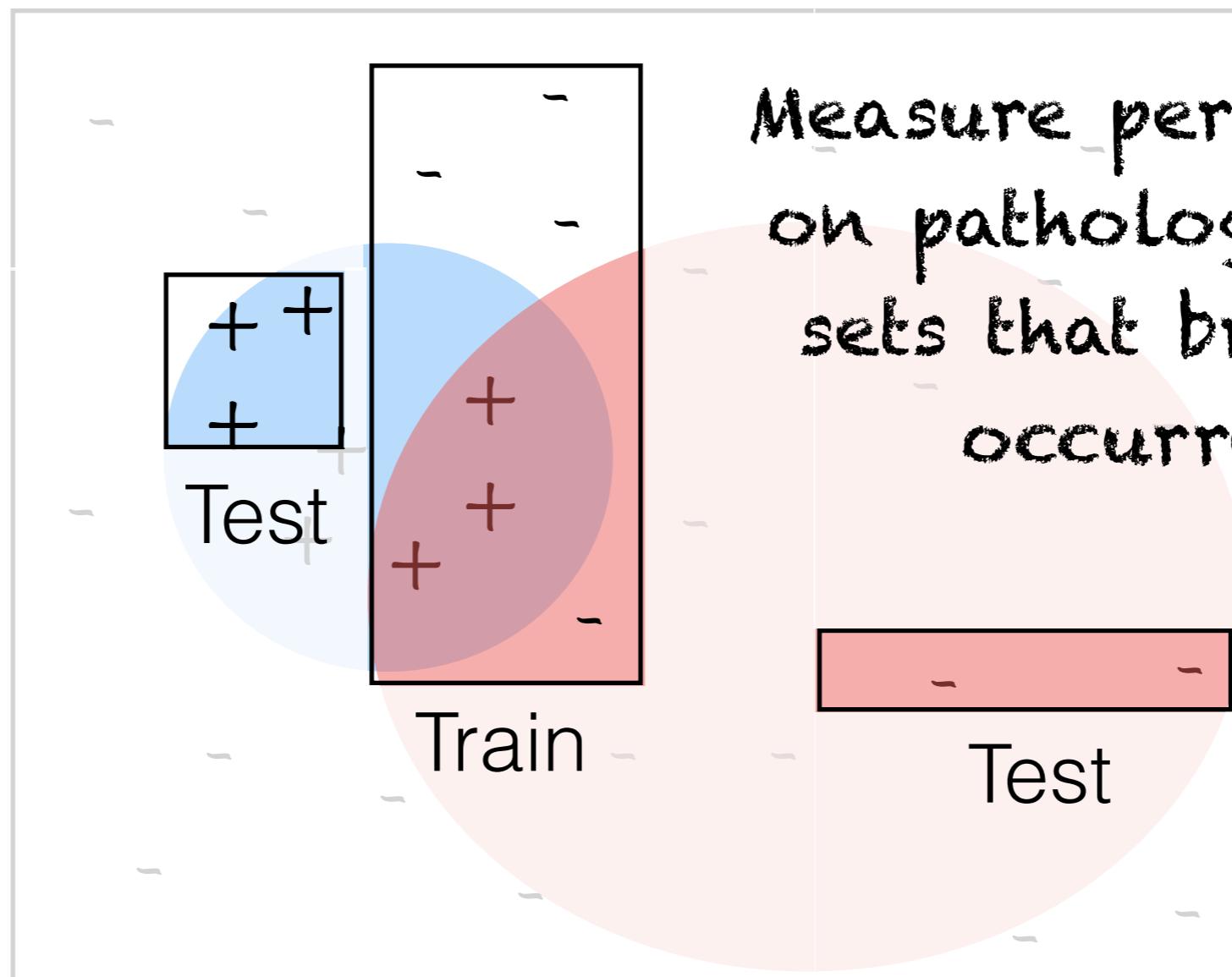
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“Target”  
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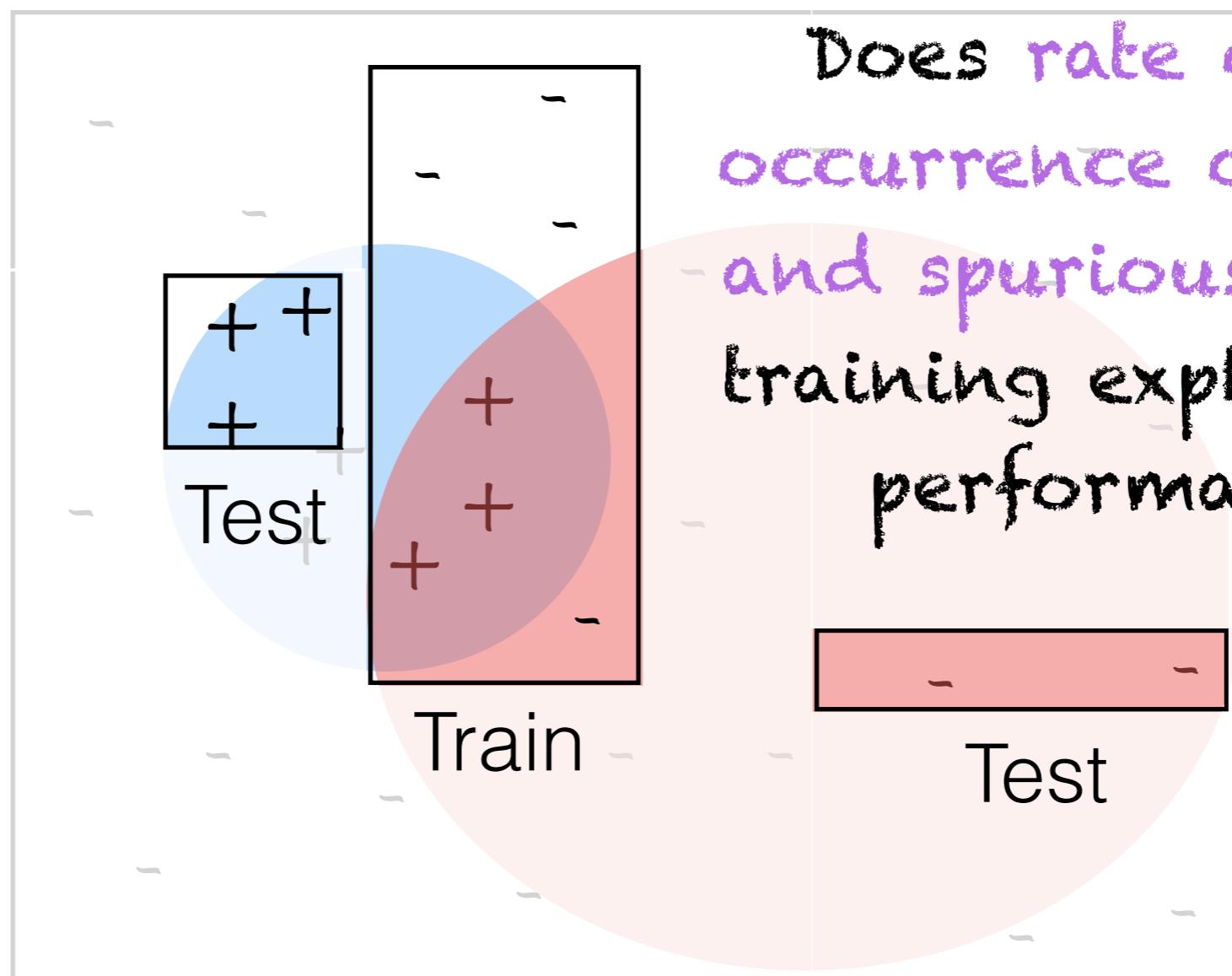


“Spurious”  
feature  
which  
happens to  
co-occur  
with target  
in training  
sample

# General Set Up



# General Set Up



Information-Theoretic Probing Explains Reliance on Spurious Heuristics  
Jha, Lovering, Linzen, and Pavlick (2020)

# Toy Sentence Classification Task

Name	Target	Spurious	Example
contains-1	a '1' occurs in the sequence	a '2' occurs in the sequence	2 4 11 1 4
prefix-duplicate	sequence begins with a duplicate	a '2' occurs in the sequence	5 5 11 12 2
adjacent-duplicate	duplicate occurs somewhere in the sequence	a '2' occurs in the sequence	11 12 3 3 2
first-last	first symbol and last symbol are the same	a '2' occurs in the sequence	7 2 11 12 7

# Out-of-Distribution Test Error



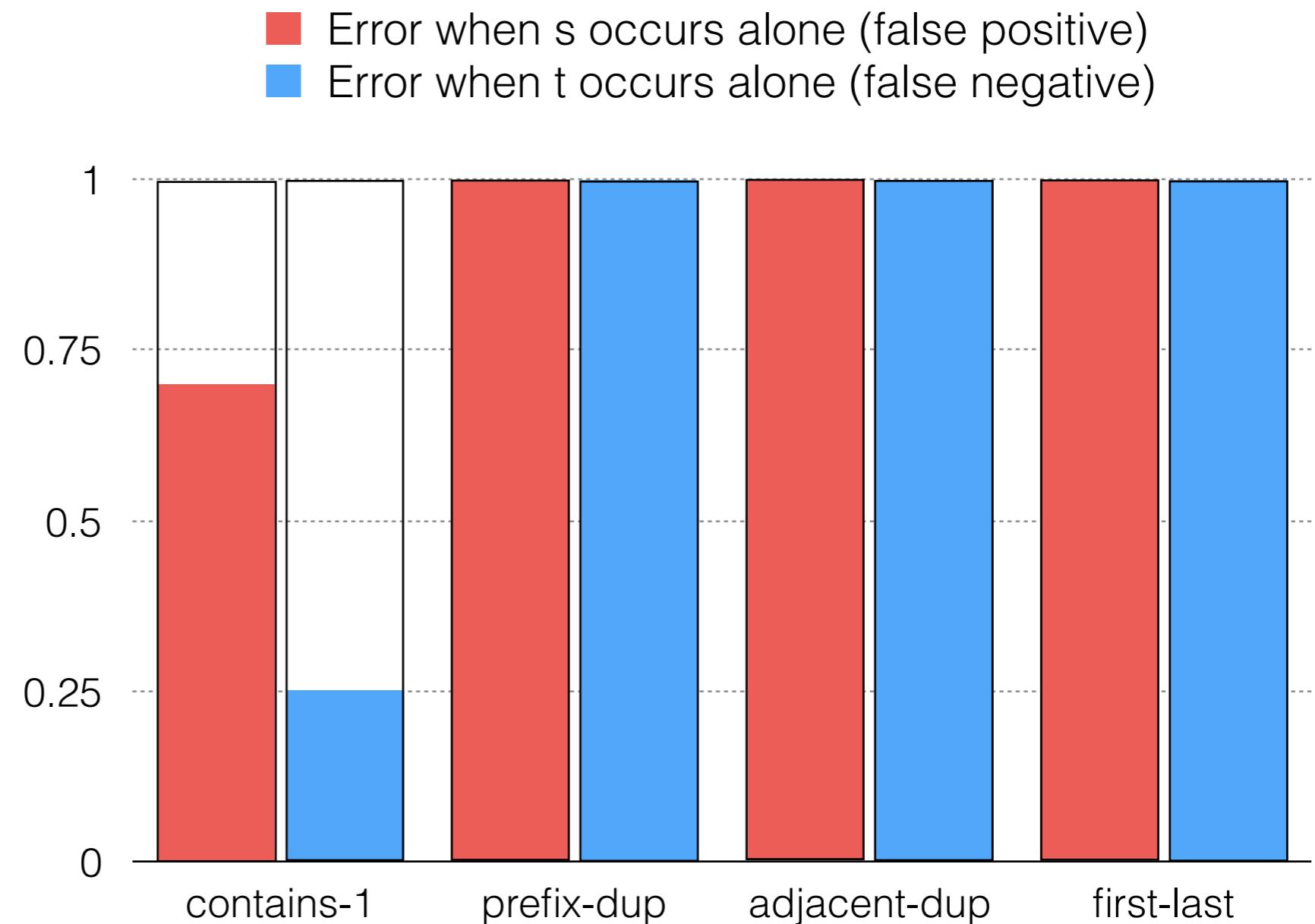
Perfect co-  
occurrence  
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# Out-of-Distribution Test Error



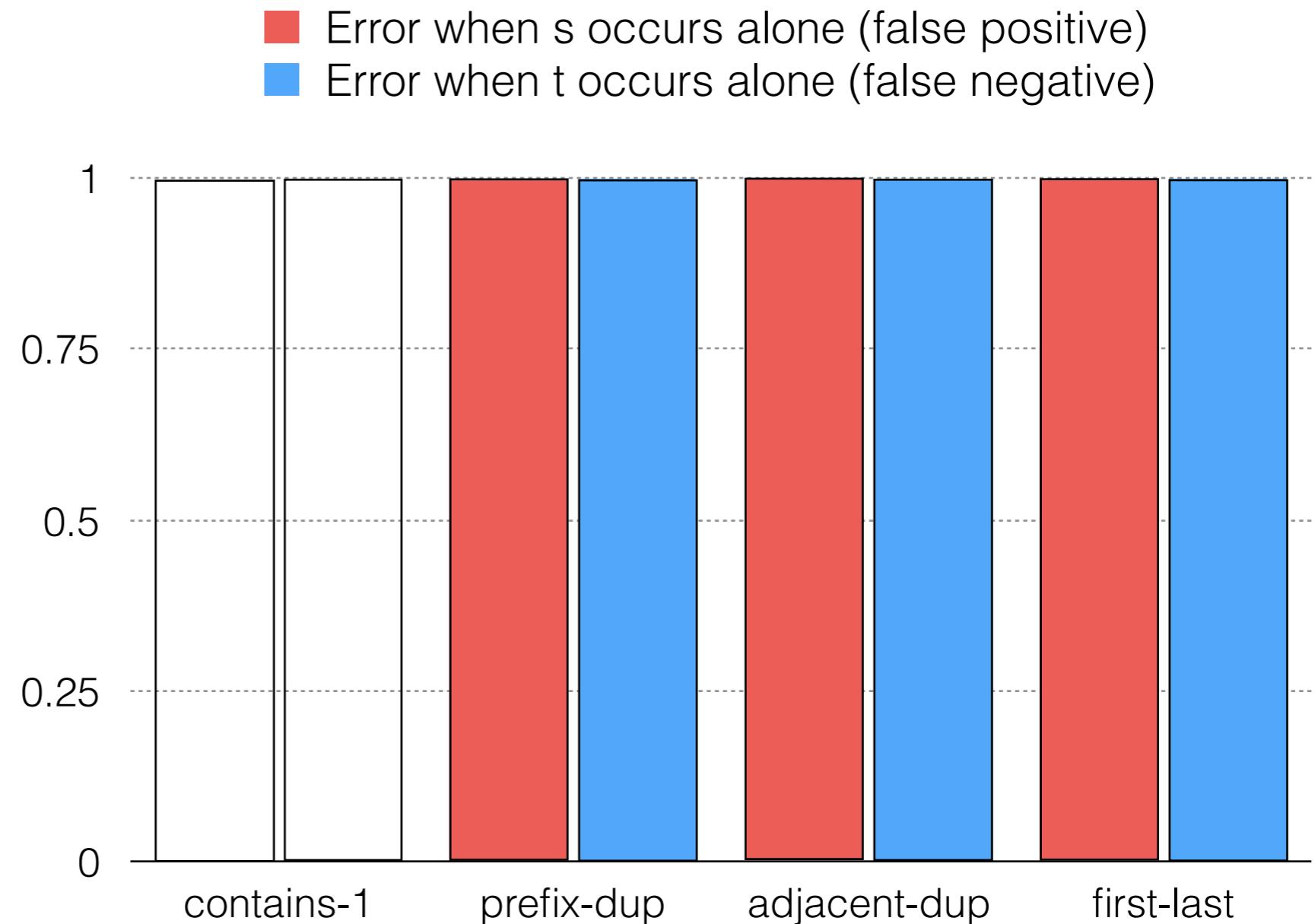
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# Out-of-Distribution Test Error



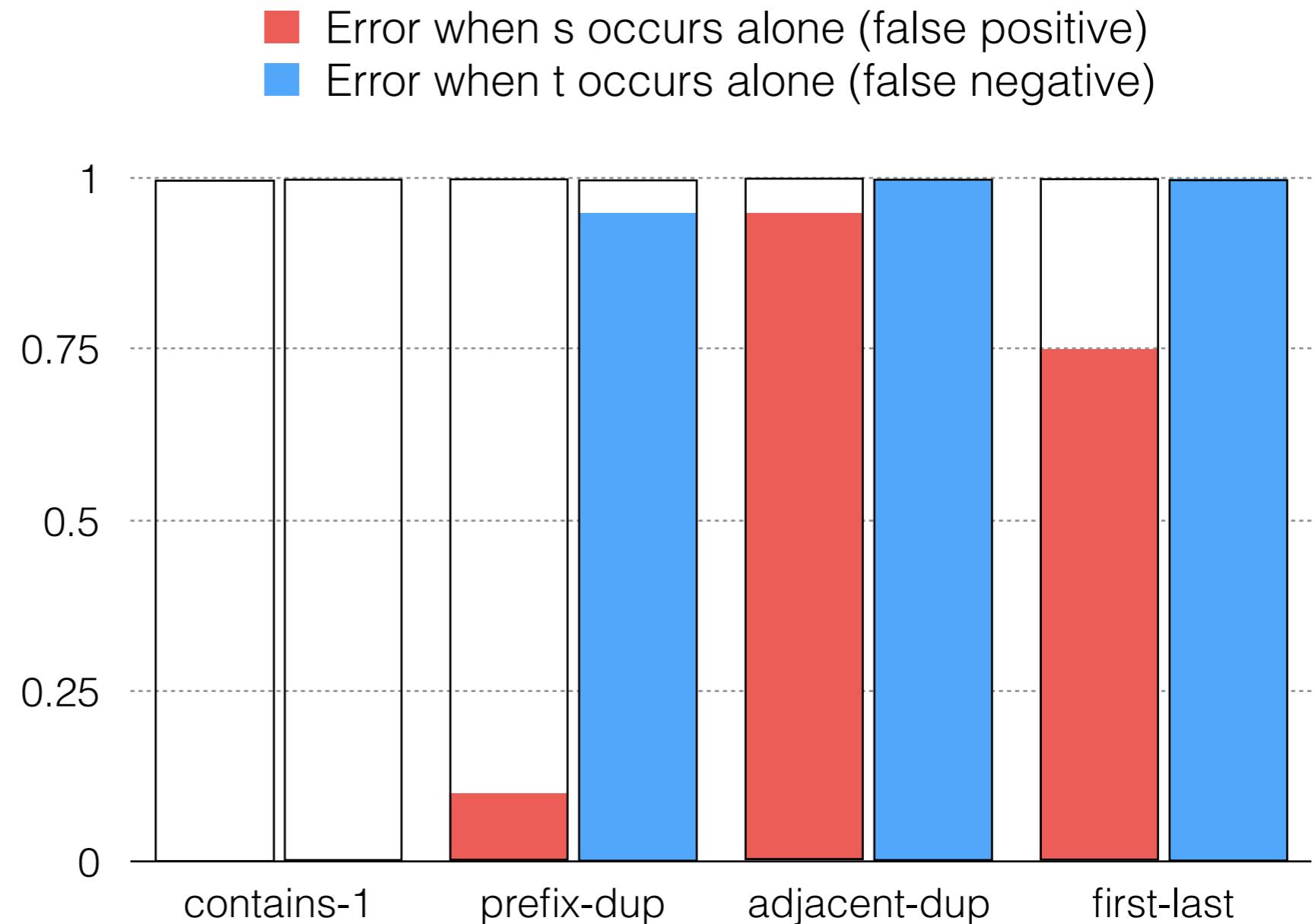
Spurious occurs without target in **0.1%** of training examples



# Out-of-Distribution Test Error



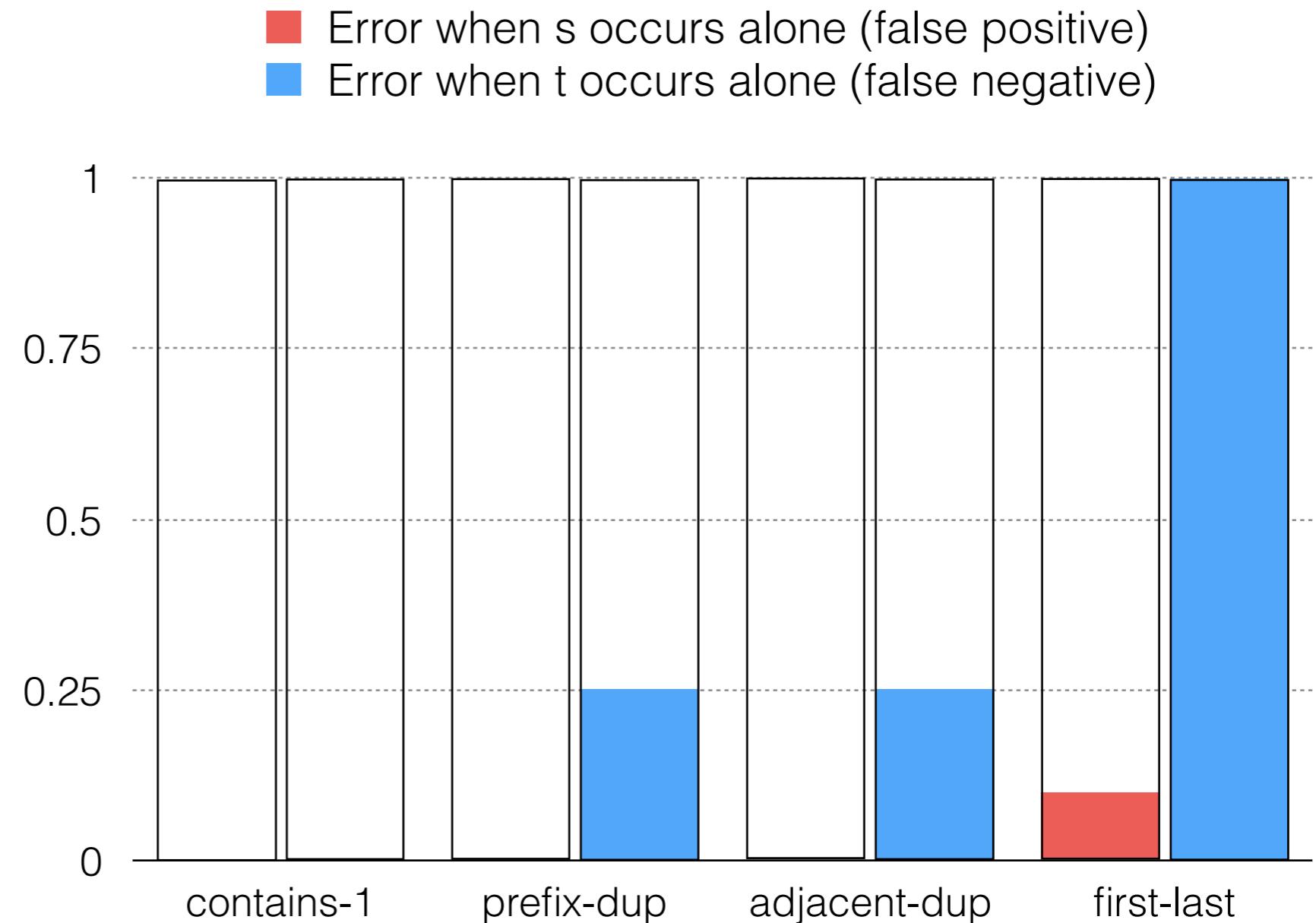
Spurious occurs without target in **10%** of training examples



# Out-of-Distribution Test Error

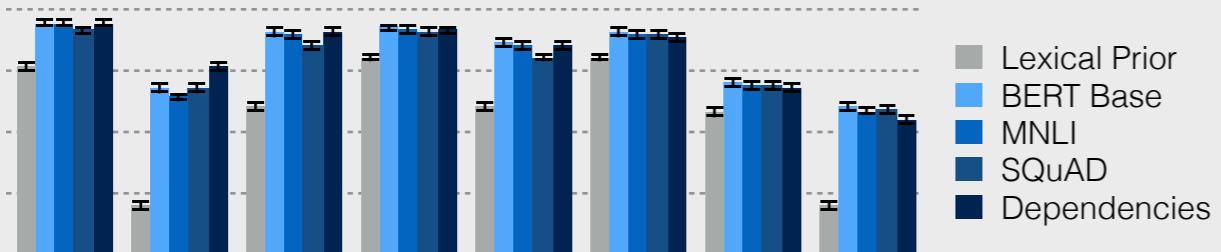


Spurious occurs without target in **50%** of training examples



Linguistic features seem to be “there” after pretraining, but fine-tuned models don’t use them... why?

Maybe the features are erased during finetuning?

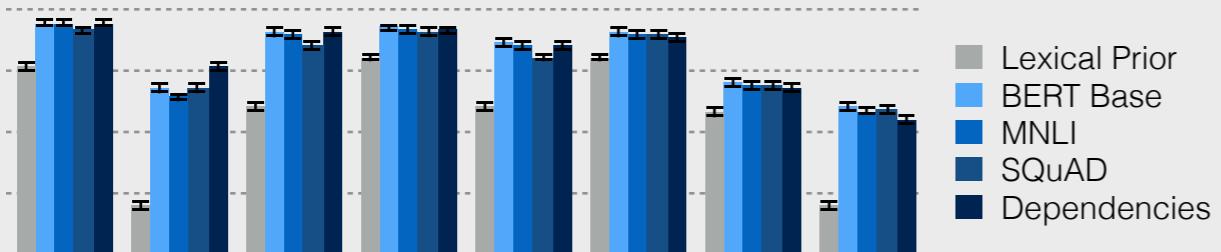


No obvious drop in probing accuracy after fine-tuning.

Maybe there just isn't enough signal in training?

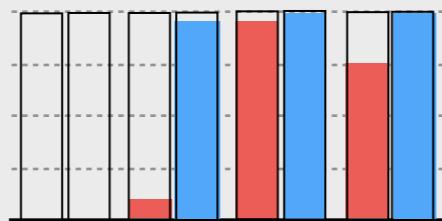
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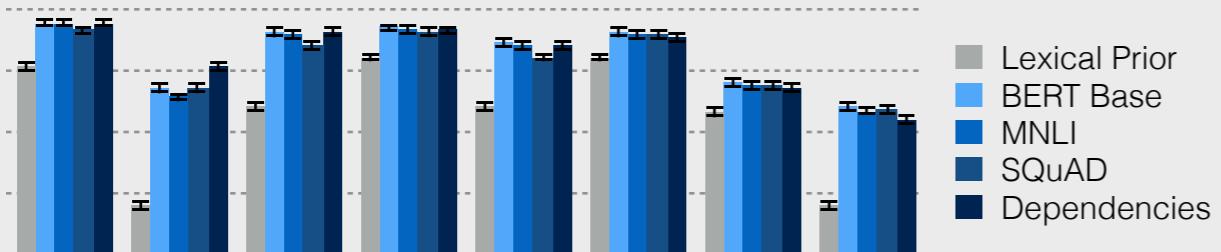
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Different features behave differently given the same training data.

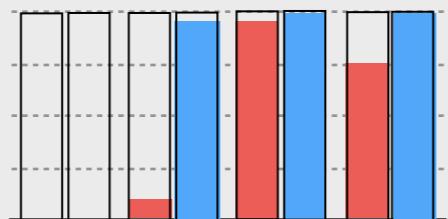
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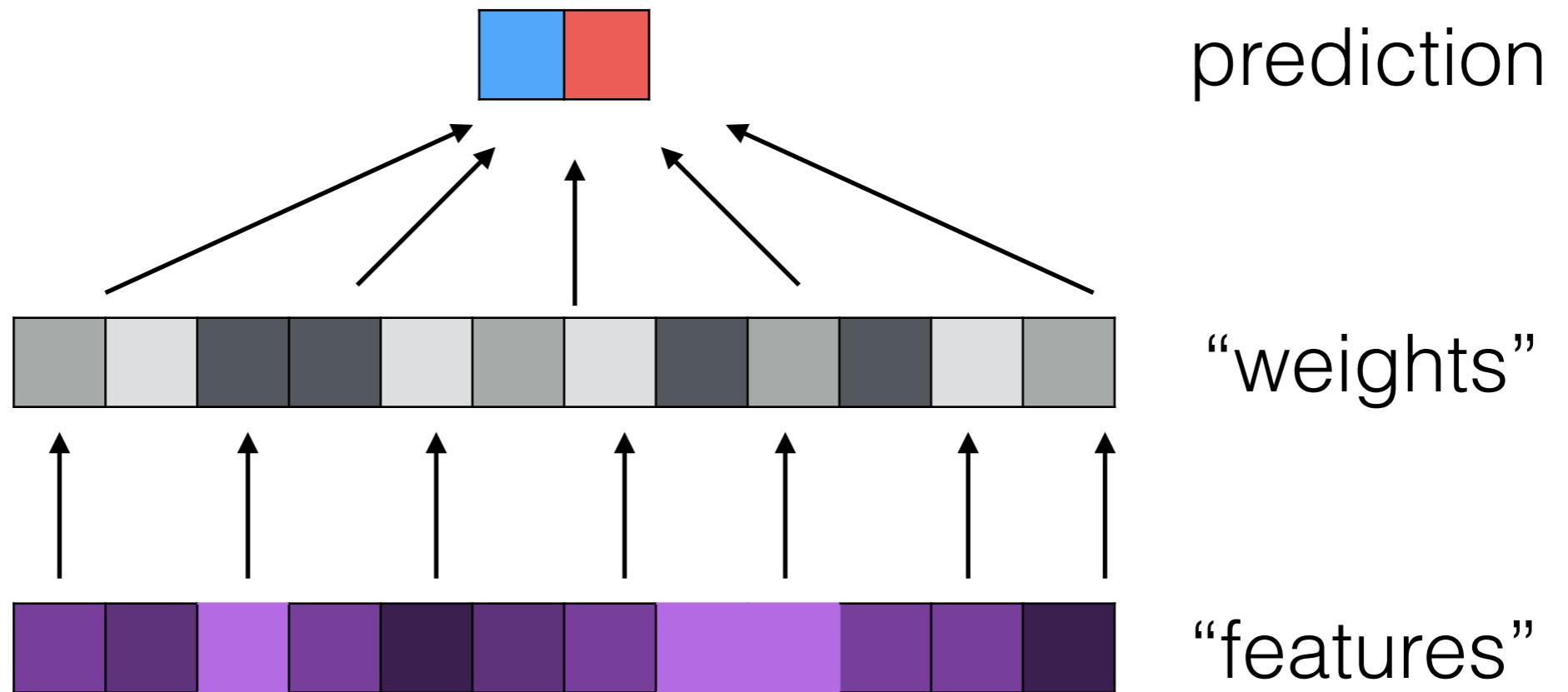
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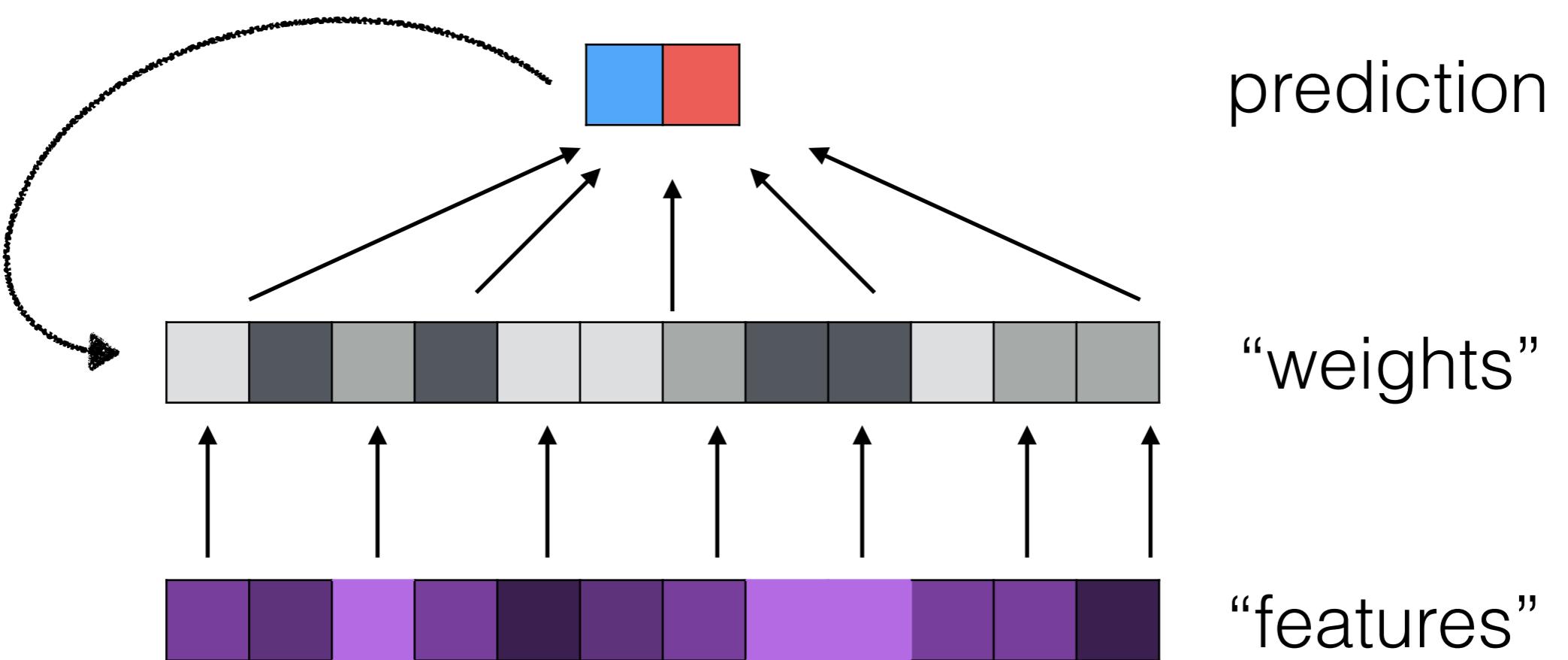
Different features behave differently given the same training data.

Maybe it's not just a matter of features being “there” or “not there”...?

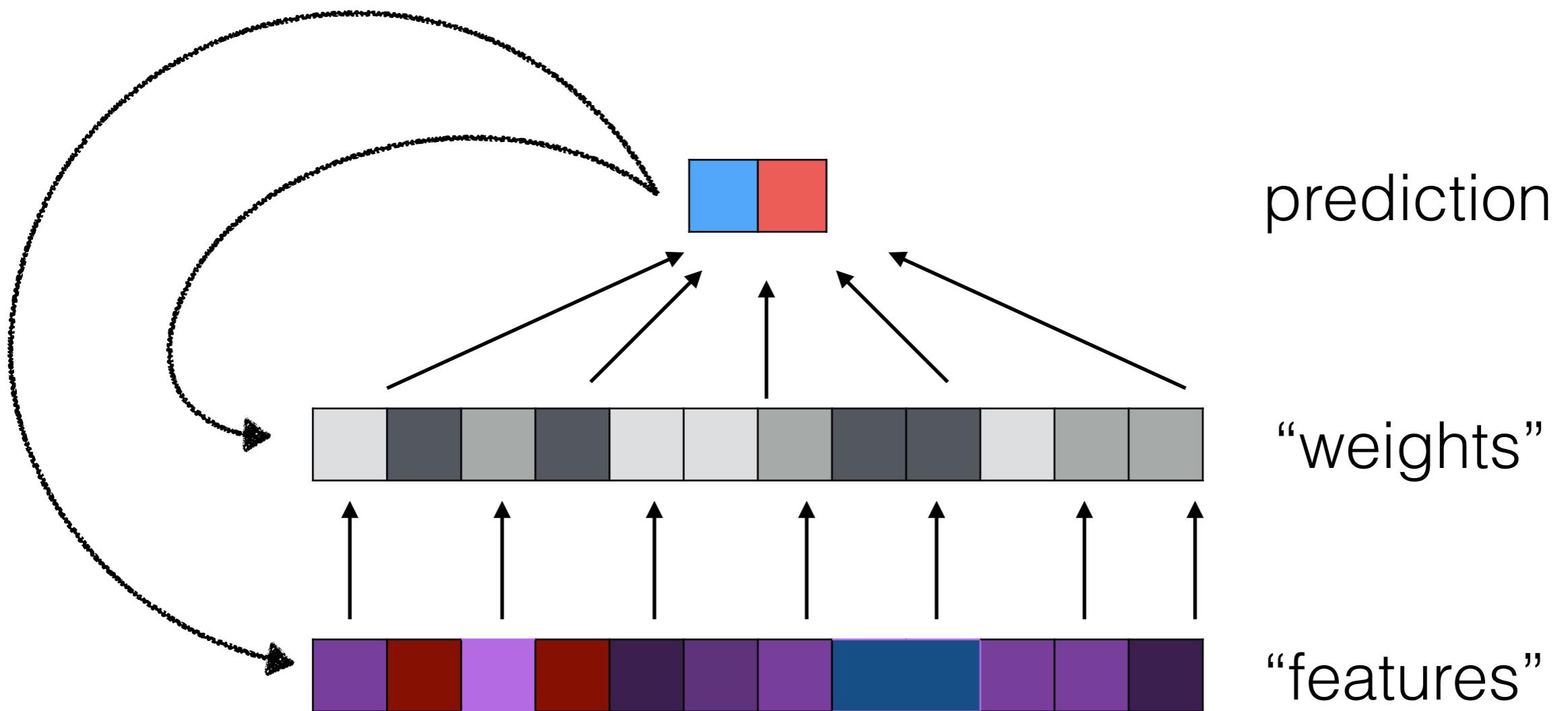
# Learning Features vs. Learning Classifiers



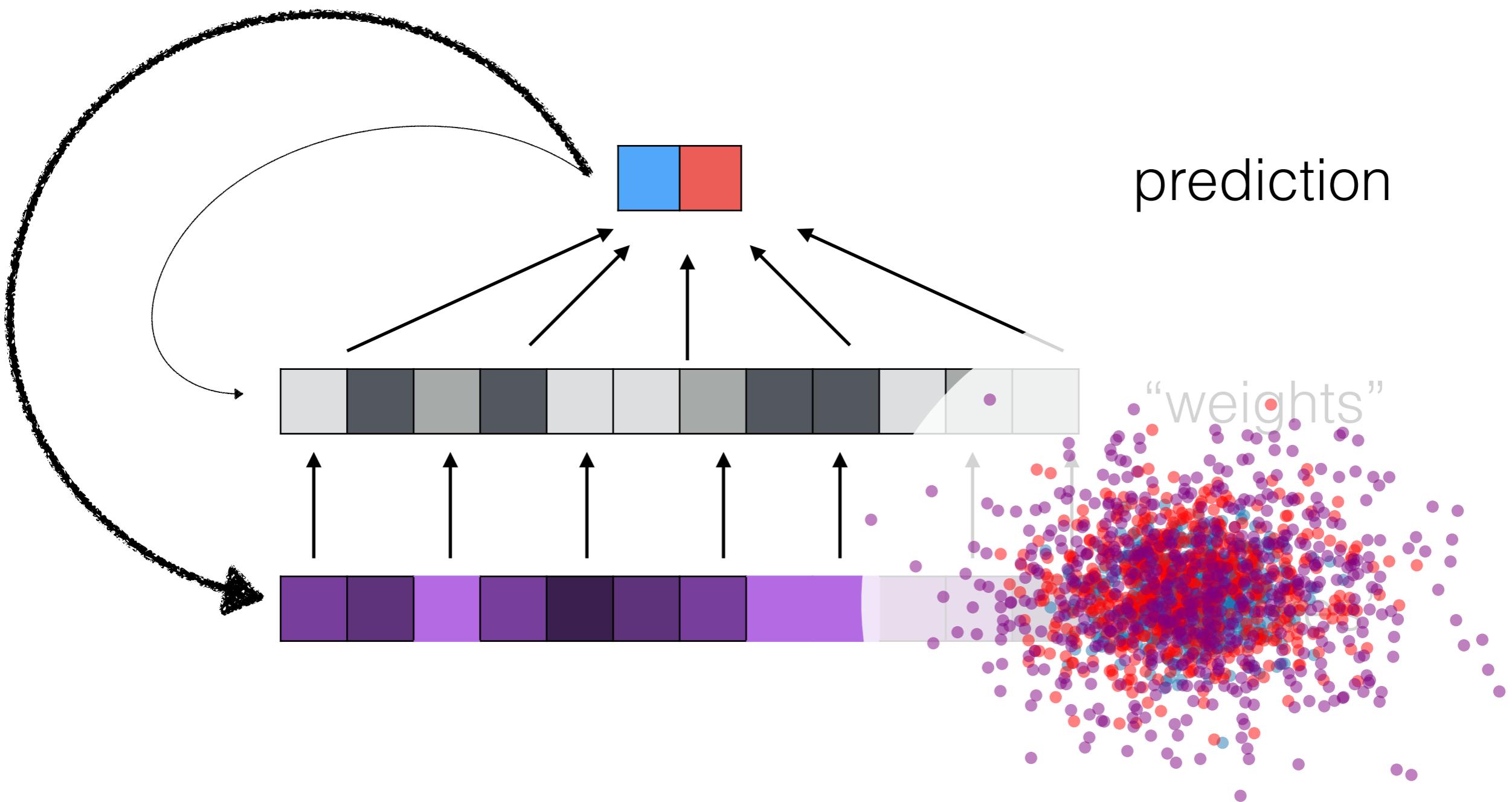
# Learning Features vs. Learning Classifiers



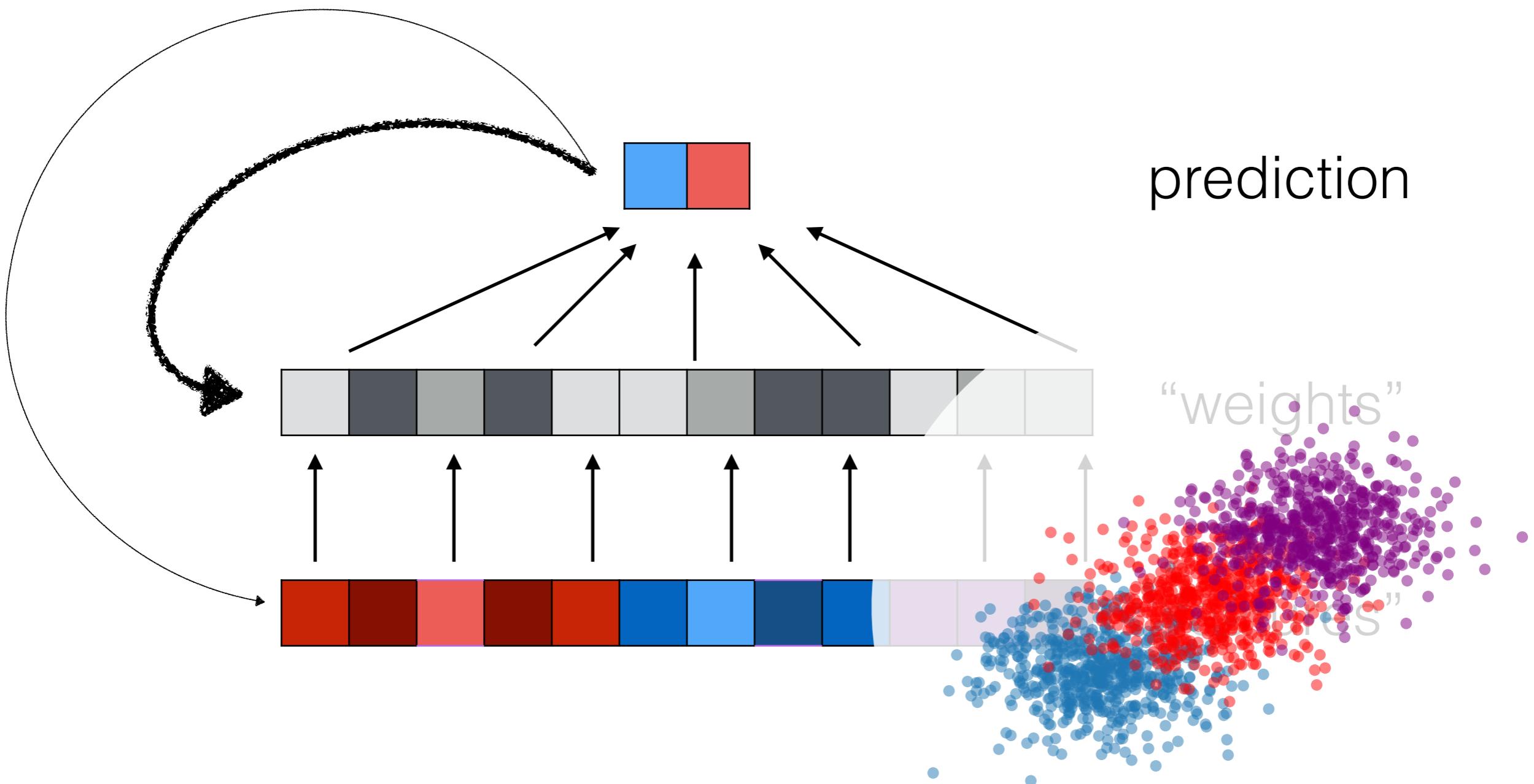
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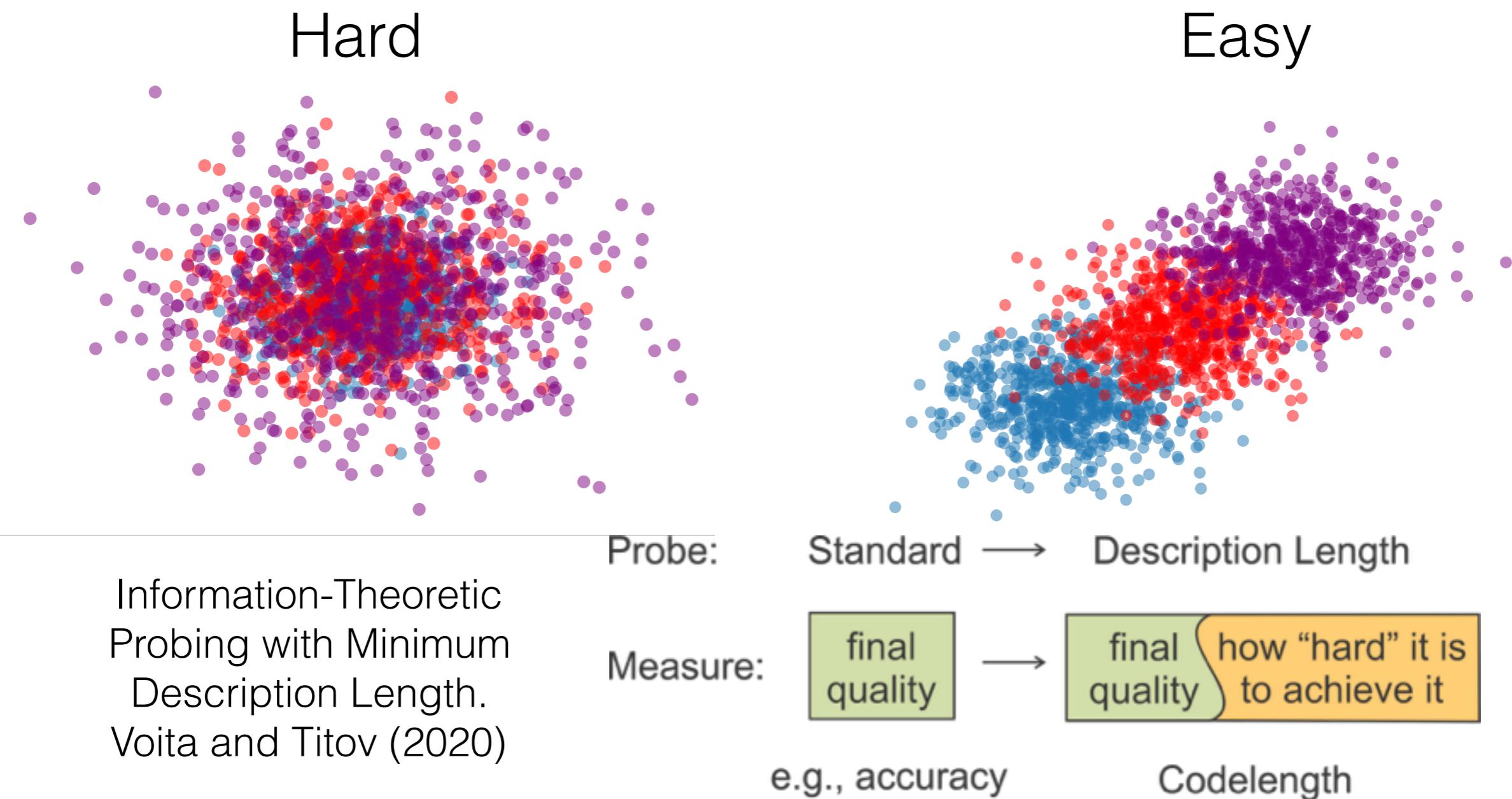
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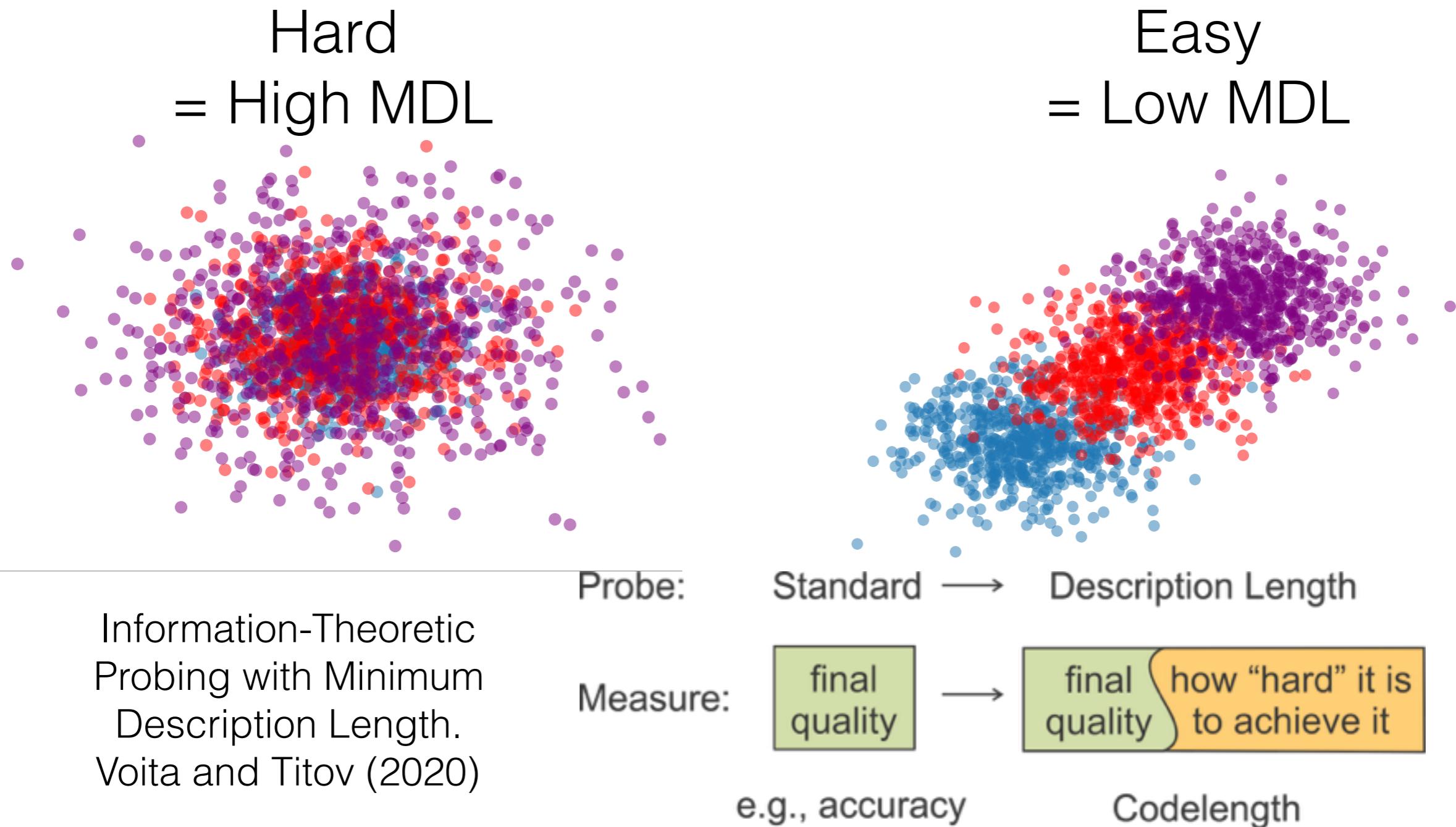
# Features differ in how “hard” they are to extract



# Features differ in how “hard” they are to extract



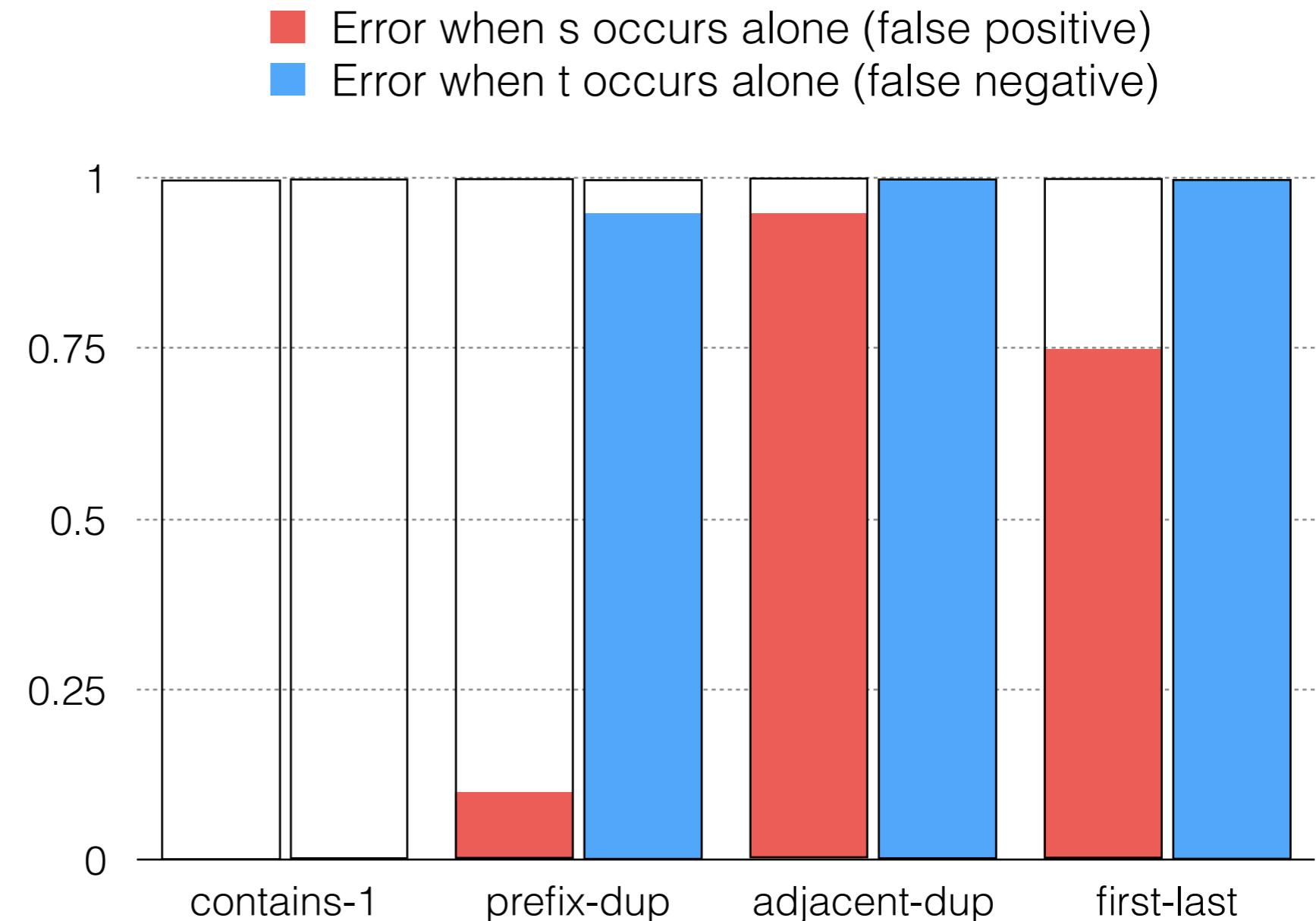
# Features differ in how “hard” they are to extract



# Features differ in how “hard” they are to extract



Spurious occurs without target in **10%** of training examples



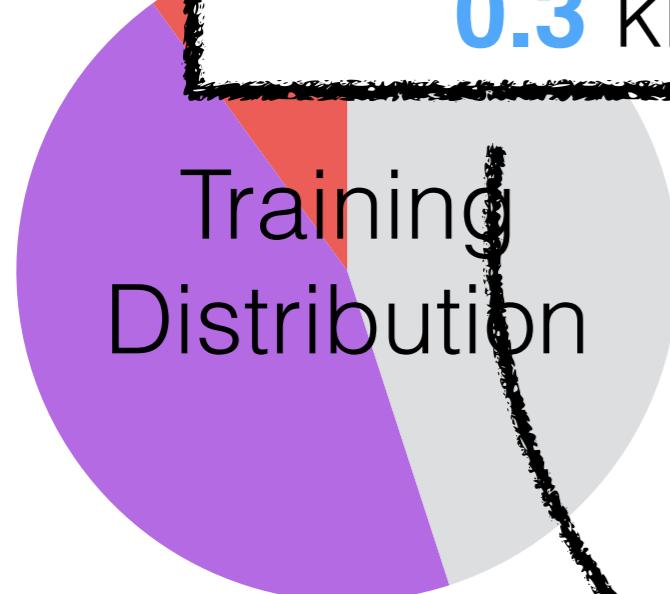
Information-Theoretic Probing Explains Reliance on Spurious Heuristics  
Jha, Lovering, Linzen, and Pavlick (2020)

# Features differ in how “hard” e to extract

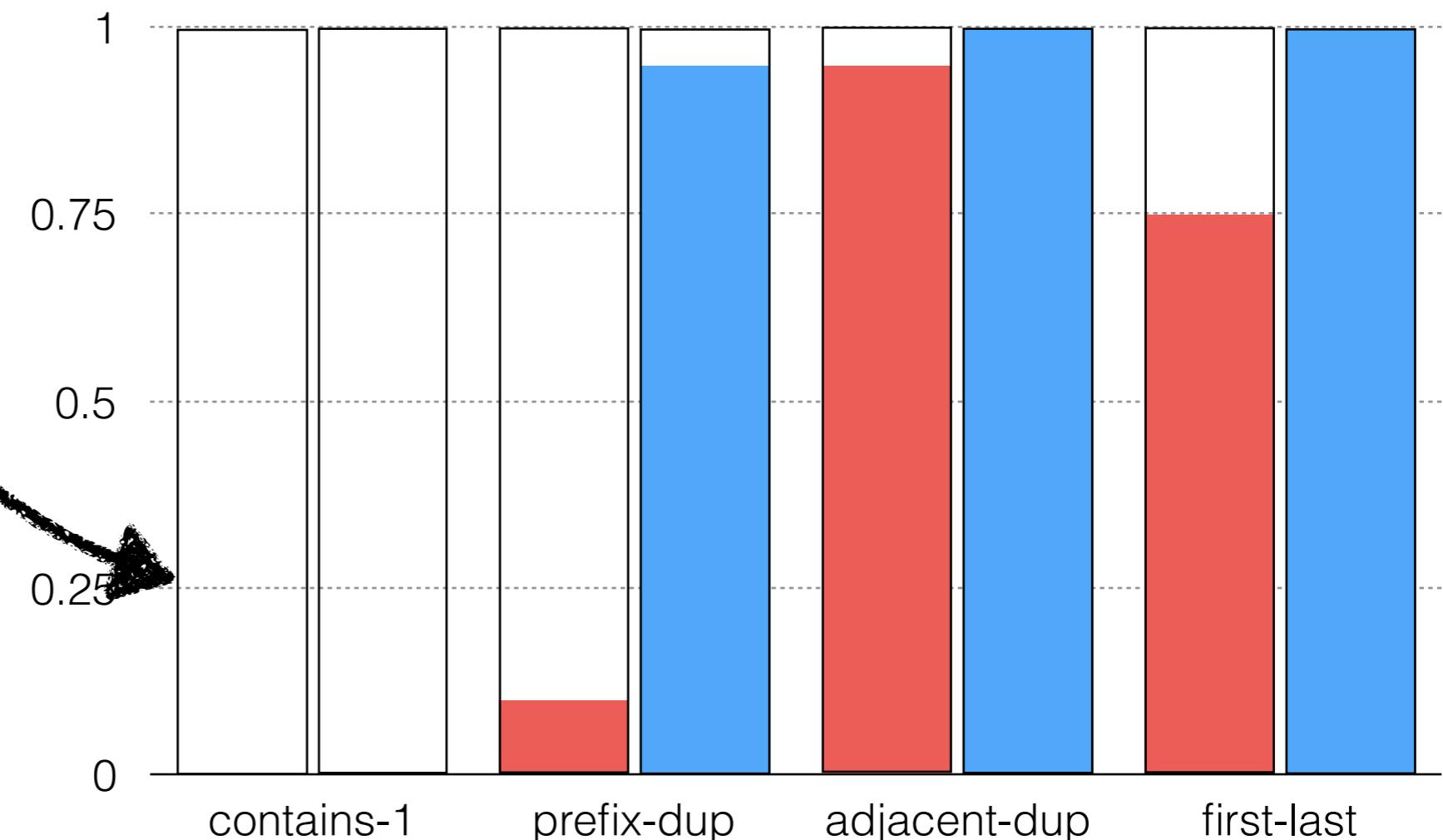
MDL of Spurious =  
**0.4** kbits

MDL of Target =  
**0.3** kbits

- Error when s occurs alone (false positive)
- Error when t occurs alone (false negative)



Spurious occurs  
without target in  
**10%** of training  
examples



# Features differ in how “hard”

MDL of Spurious =  
**0.4** kbits

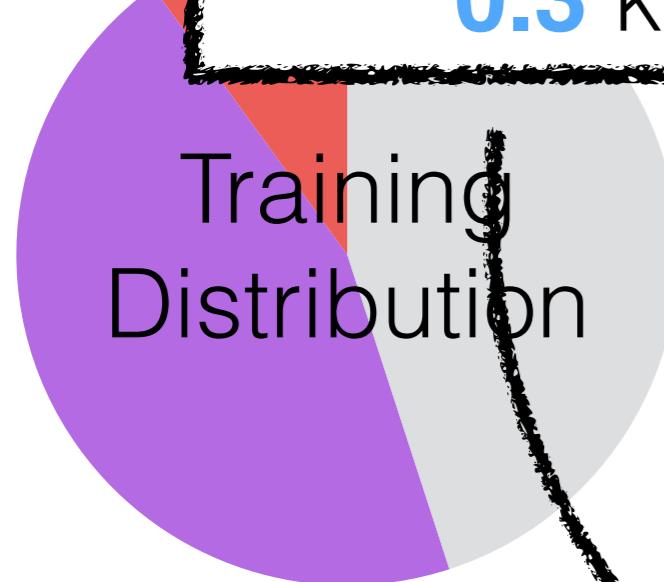
MDL of Target =  
**0.3** kbits

e to ex

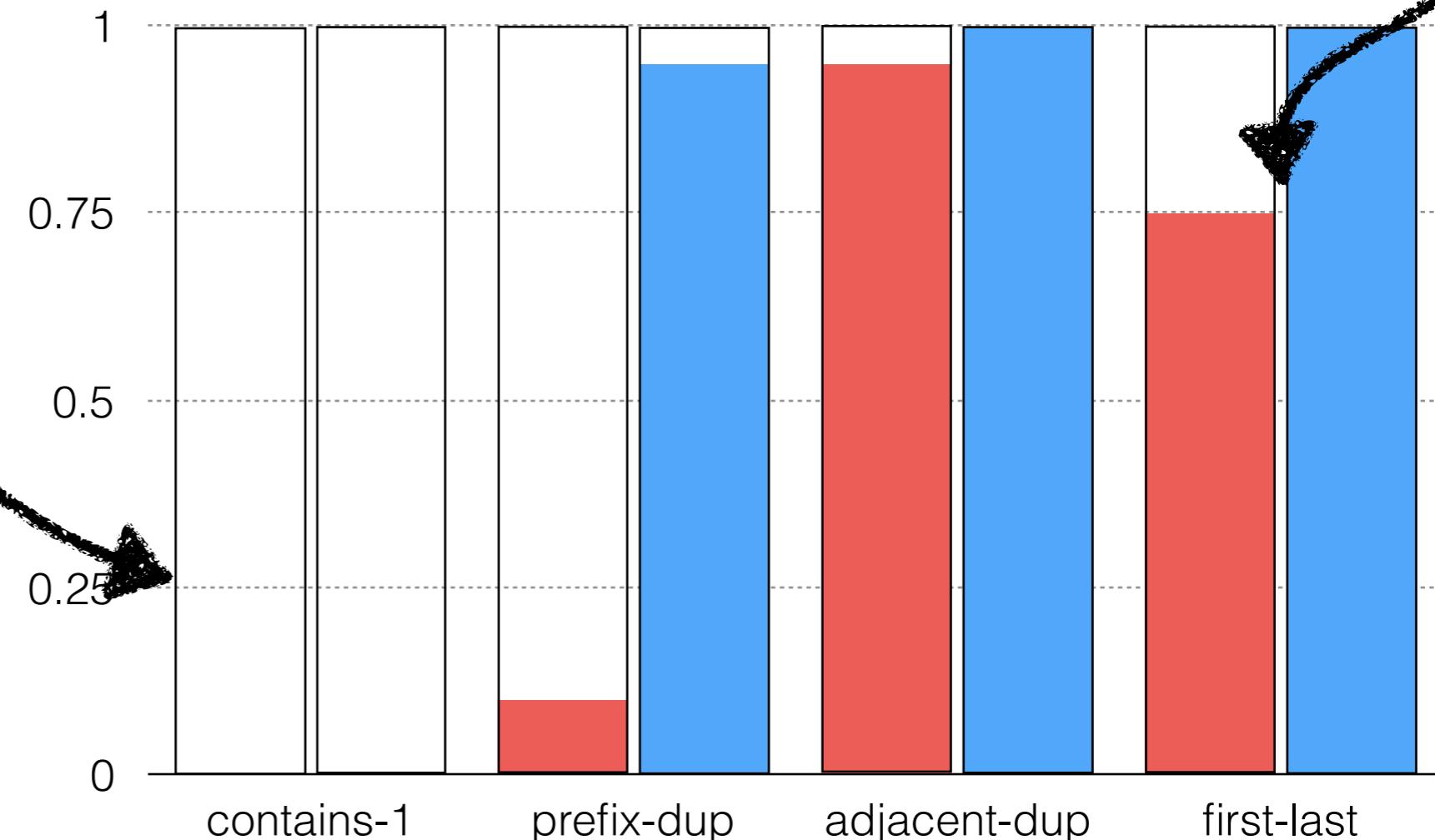
MDL of Spurious =  
**0.4** kbits

MDL of Target =  
**400** kbits

Error when s odd  
Error when t odd



Spurious occurs  
without target in  
**10%** of training  
examples



# Hypothesis

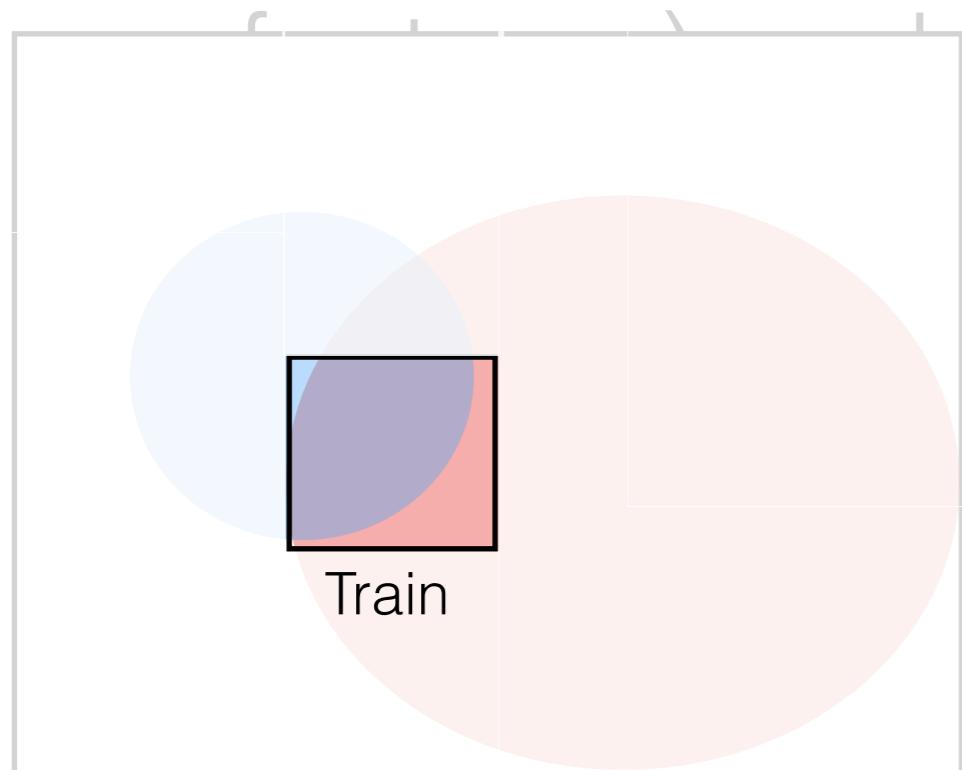
A fine-tuned model’s use of a feature (the “target”) is a function of both the difficulty of extracting the feature (relative to competing “spurious” features) and the training evidence against the competing spurious features.

# Hypothesis

A fine-tuned model's use of a feature (the “target”) is a function of both the difficulty of extracting the feature (relative to competing “spurious”

the **training evidence** competing spurious features.

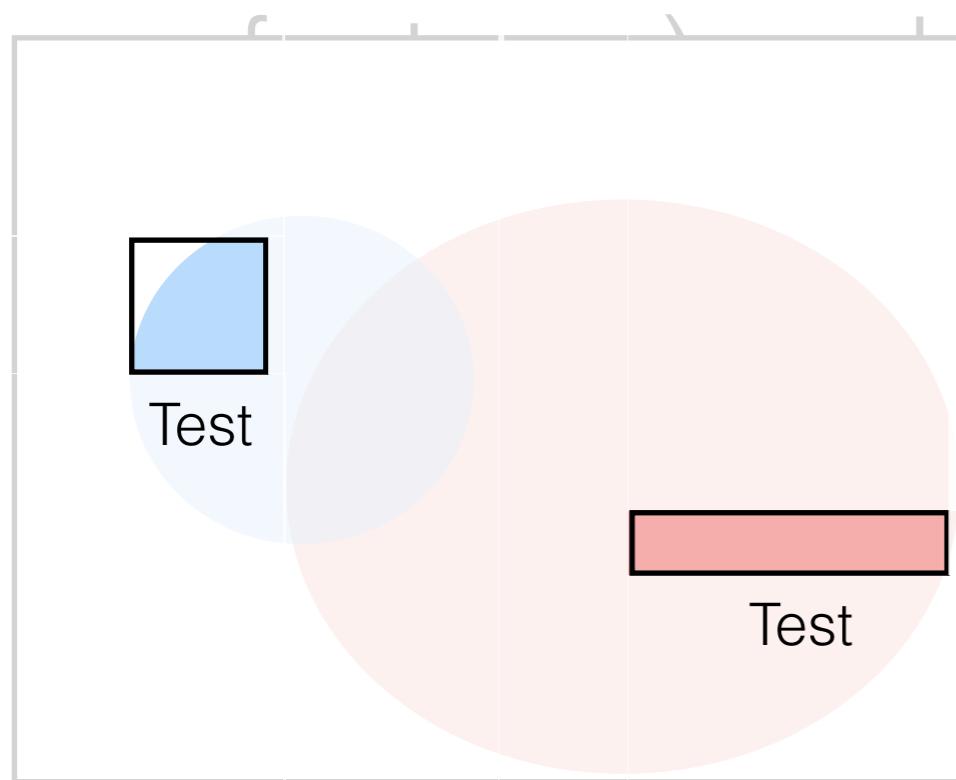
(Lack of) co-  
occurrence between  
spurious and target  
during training



# Hypothesis

A fine-tuned model's **use of a feature** (the “target”) is a function of both the difficulty of extracting the feature (relative to competing “spurious”

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Performance on out-of-distribution test set

# Hypothesis

A fine-tuned model's **use of a feature** (the "target") is a function of both the **difficulty of extracting the feature** (relative to competing "spurious" features) and the **training evidence** against the competing spurious features.

$$\frac{\text{MDL of spurious}}{\text{MDL of target}}$$

 Higher  $\rightarrow$  Target is comparatively easier extract

# Experimental Set Up

Information-Theoretic Probing Explains Reliance on Spurious Heuristics  
Jha, Lovering, Linzen, and Pavlick (2020)

# Experimental Set Up

Task: Sentence Acceptability

The piano teachers see the handyman.



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# Experimental Set Up

Task: Sentence Acceptability

Target Feature: Subject-Verb Agreement

The piano teachers of the lawyer see the handyman.



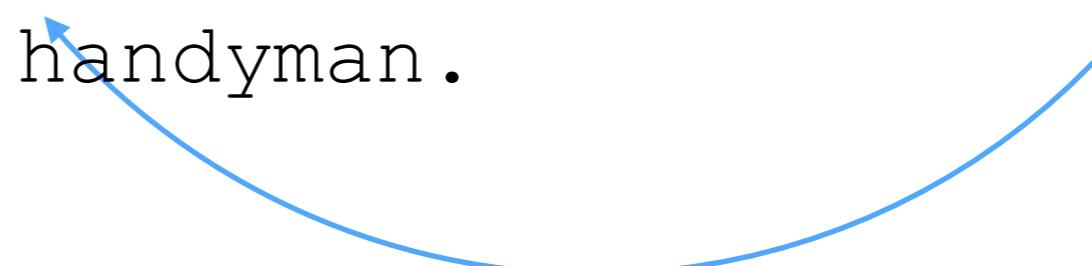
# Experimental Set Up

Task: Sentence Acceptability

Target Feature: Subject-Verb Agreement

Spurious Feature #1: Lexical Item

Often, the piano teachers of the lawyer see the  
handyman.



# Experimental Set Up

Task: Sentence Acceptability

Target Feature: Subject-Verb Agreement

Spurious Feature #2: Sentence Length

The piano teachers of the lawyer who works in the  
city across the river see the handyman.

# Experimental Set Up

Task: Sentence Acceptability

Target Feature: Subject-Verb Agreement

Spurious Feature #3: Plural Nouns

The piano teachers of the lawyers see the handyman.



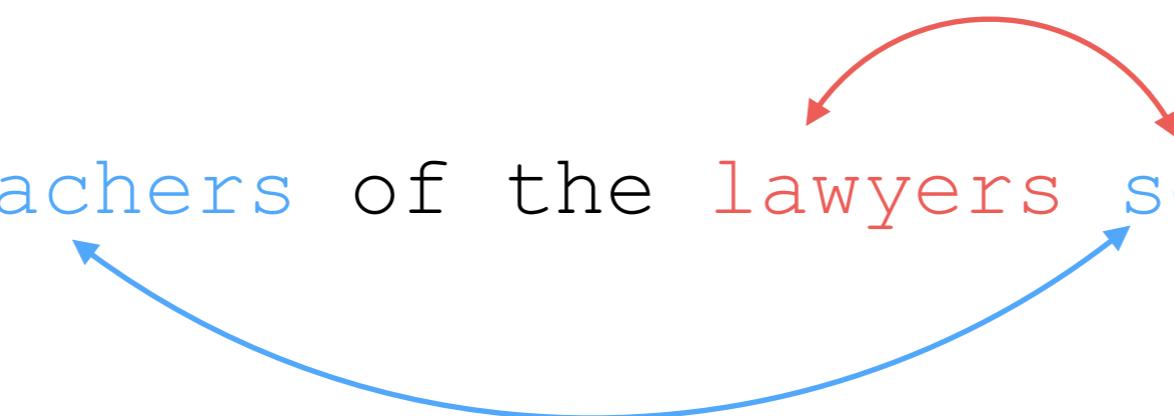
# Experimental Set Up

Task: Sentence Acceptability

Target Feature: Subject-Verb Agreement

Spurious Feature #4: Closest Noun Agreement

The piano teachers of the lawyers see the handyman.



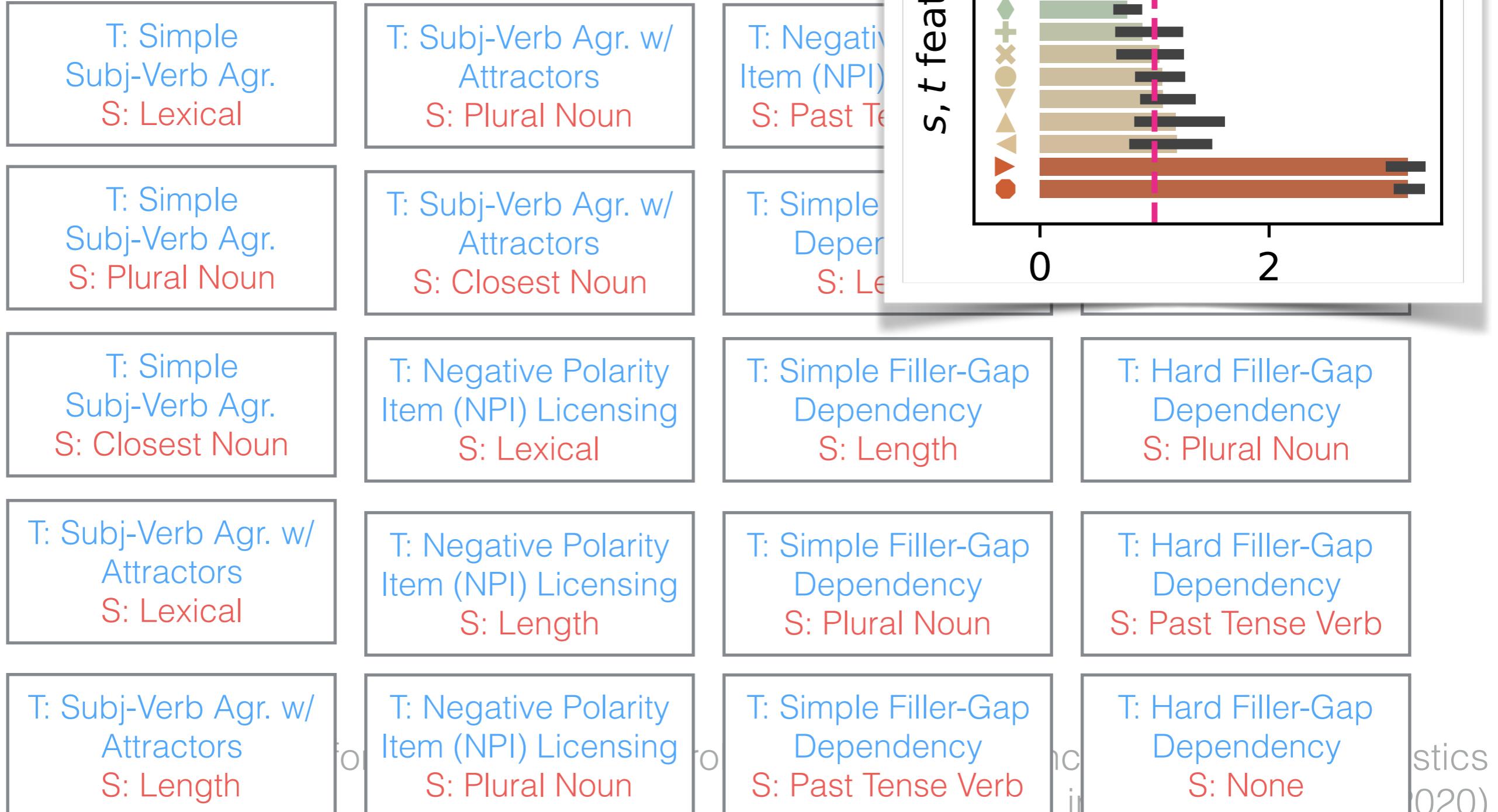
# Experimental Set Up

## 20 Target-Spurious Feature Pairs

T: Simple Subj-Verb Agr. S: Lexical	T: Subj-Verb Agr. w/ Attractors S: Plural Noun	T: Negative Polarity Item (NPI) Licensing S: Past Tense Verb	T: Hard Filler-Gap Dependency S: Lexical
T: Simple Subj-Verb Agr. S: Plural Noun	T: Subj-Verb Agr. w/ Attractors S: Closest Noun	T: Simple Filler-Gap Dependency S: Lexical	T: Hard Filler-Gap Dependency S: Length
T: Simple Subj-Verb Agr. S: Closest Noun	T: Negative Polarity Item (NPI) Licensing S: Lexical	T: Simple Filler-Gap Dependency S: Length	T: Hard Filler-Gap Dependency S: Plural Noun
T: Subj-Verb Agr. w/ Attractors S: Lexical	T: Negative Polarity Item (NPI) Licensing S: Length	T: Simple Filler-Gap Dependency S: Plural Noun	T: Hard Filler-Gap Dependency S: Past Tense Verb
T: Subj-Verb Agr. w/ Attractors S: Length	T: Negative Polarity Item (NPI) Licensing S: Plural Noun	T: Simple Filler-Gap Dependency S: Past Tense Verb	T: Hard Filler-Gap Dependency S: None

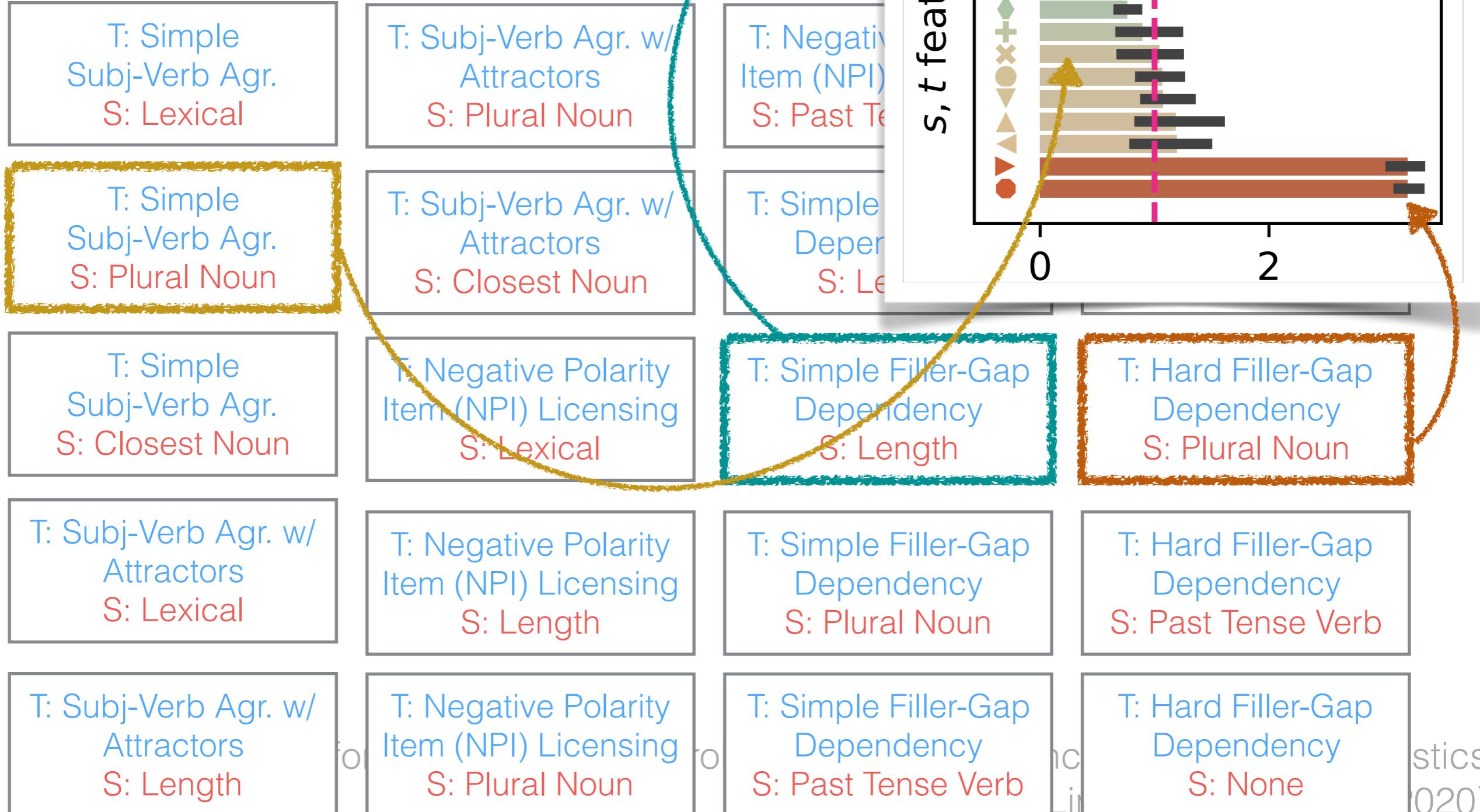
# Experimental

## 20 Target-Spurious Feature Pairs

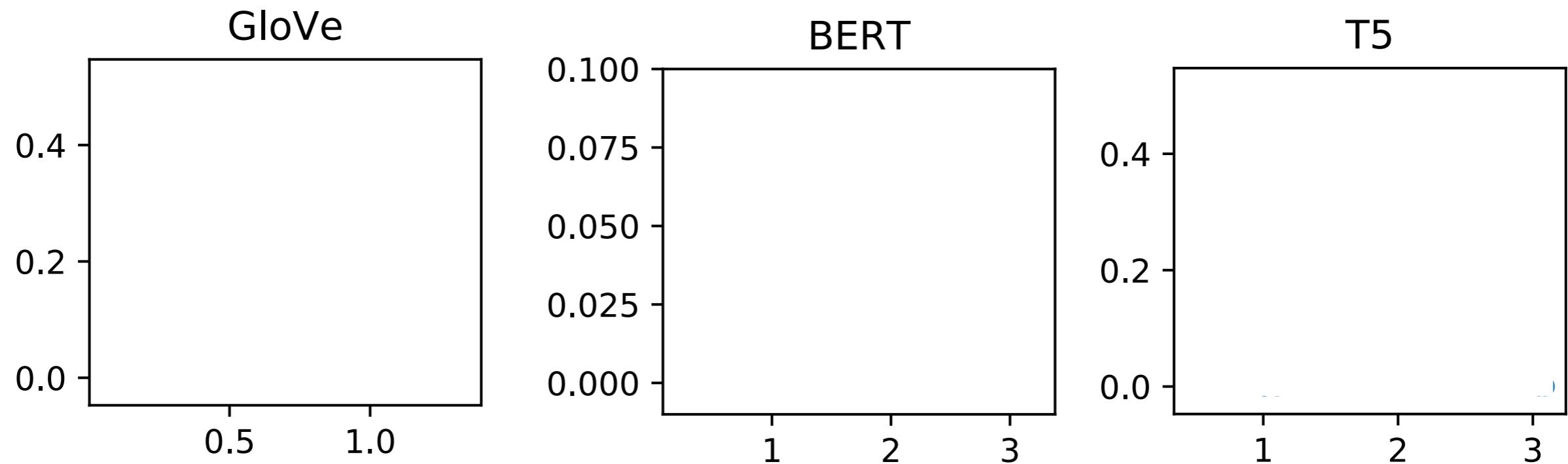


# Experimental

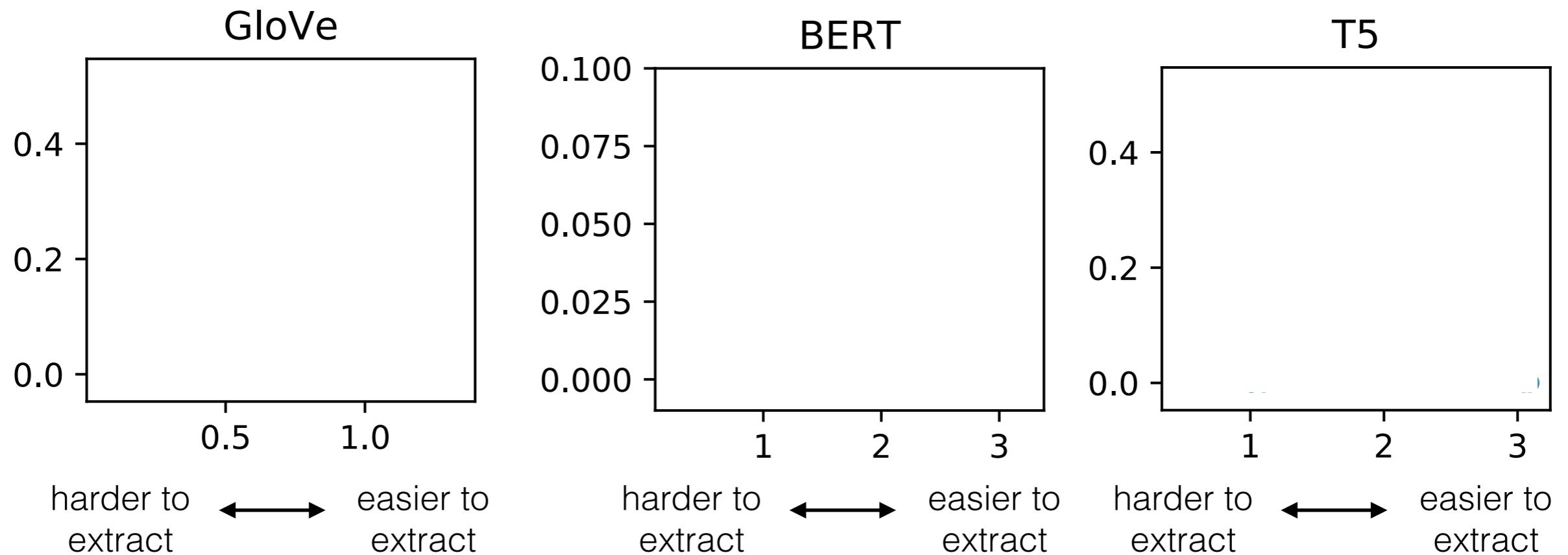
## 20 Target-Spurious Feature Pairs



# Results



# Results



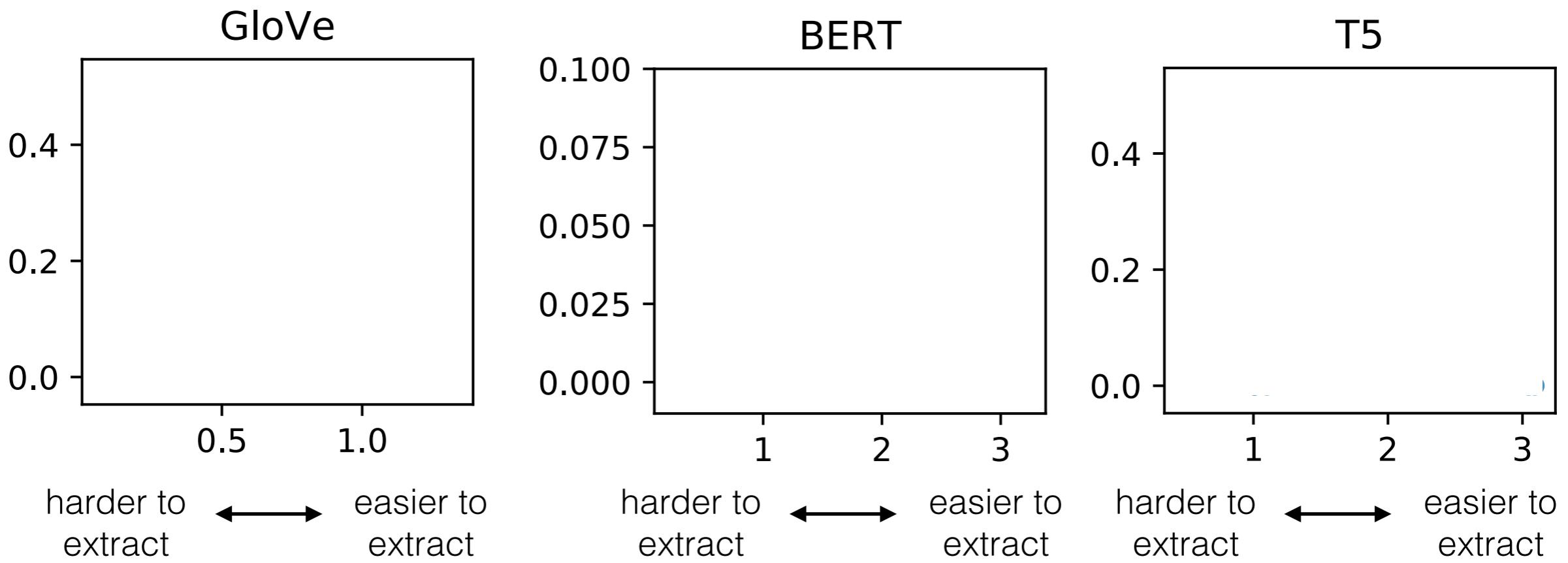
Extractability of Target (relative to Spurious)  
MDL(s)/MDL(t)

Jha, Lovering, Linzen, and Pavlick (2020)

bus Heuristics

# Results

Training Evidence Required



Extractability of Target (relative to Spurious)  
 $MDL(s)/MDL(t)$

↳us Heuristics  
Jha, Lovering, Linzen, and Pavlick (2020)

Training Evidence Required

(S-rate\*)

Extractability of Target (relative to Spurious)  
 $MDL(s)/MDL(t)$

Test F-Score

1.0

0.8

0.4

0

0.001

0.01

0.05

0.5

Spurious-only Ex. Rate

harder to extract

easier to extract

harder to extract

easier to extract

harder to extract

easier to extract



Training Evidence Required

(S-rate\*)

harder to extract

easier to extract

Extractability of Target ( $\frac{\text{MDL}(s)}{\text{MDL}(t)}$ )

Test F-Score

1.0

0.8

0.4

0

0.001

0.01

0.05

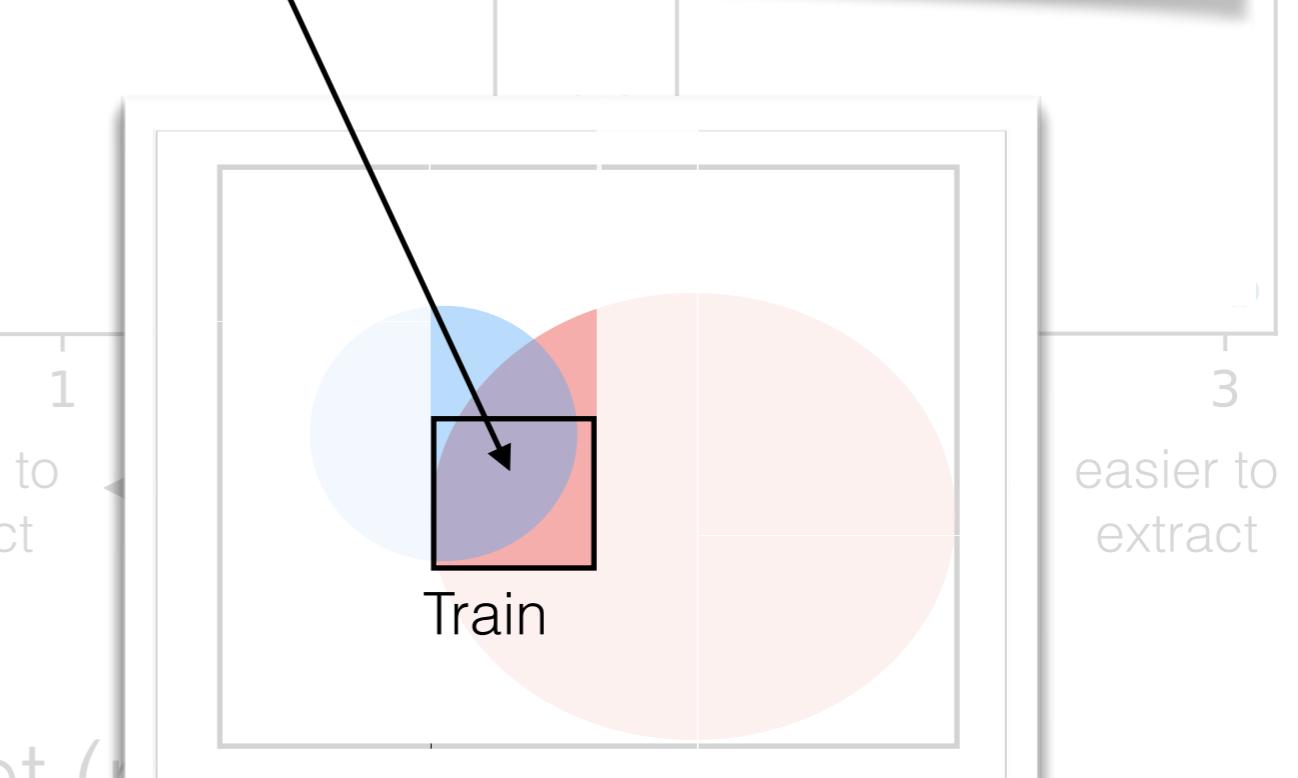
0.5

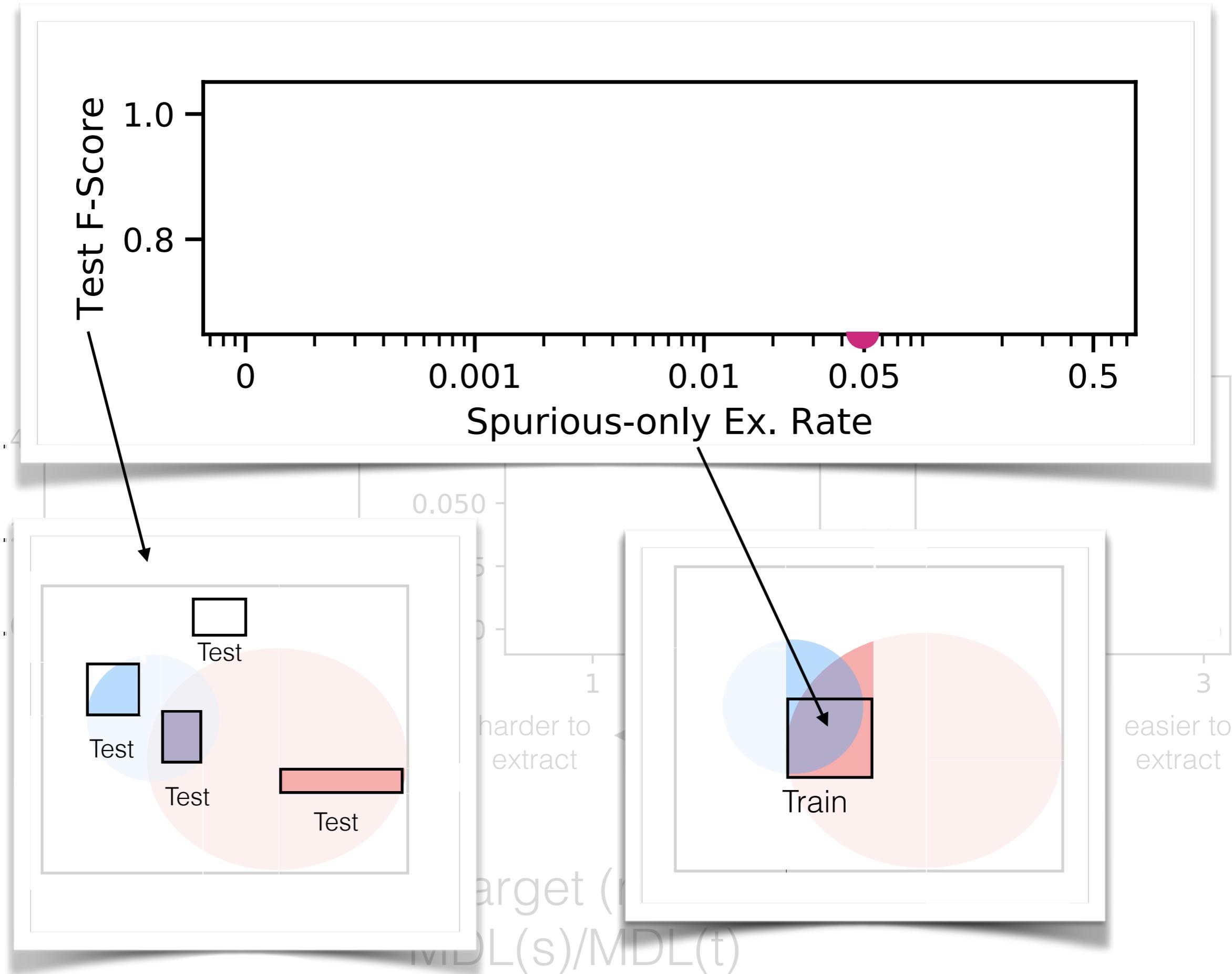
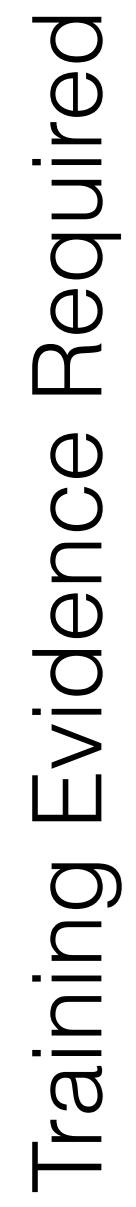
Spurious-only Ex. Rate

harder to extract

easier to extract

Train





Training Evidence Required

(S-rate\*)

Test F-Score

1.0

0.8

0.6

0.4

0.2

0.0

0

0.001

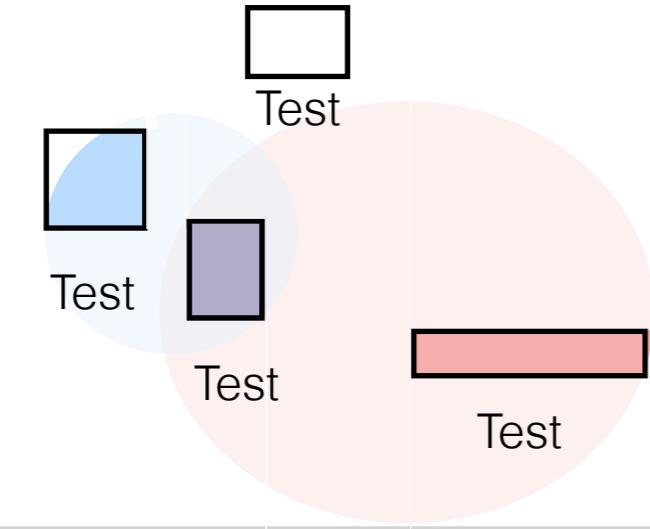
0.01

0.05

0.5

Spurious-only Ex. Rate

s-only  
rate★



target ( $\text{MDL}(s)/\text{MDL}(t)$ )

harder to extract

Train

easier to extract

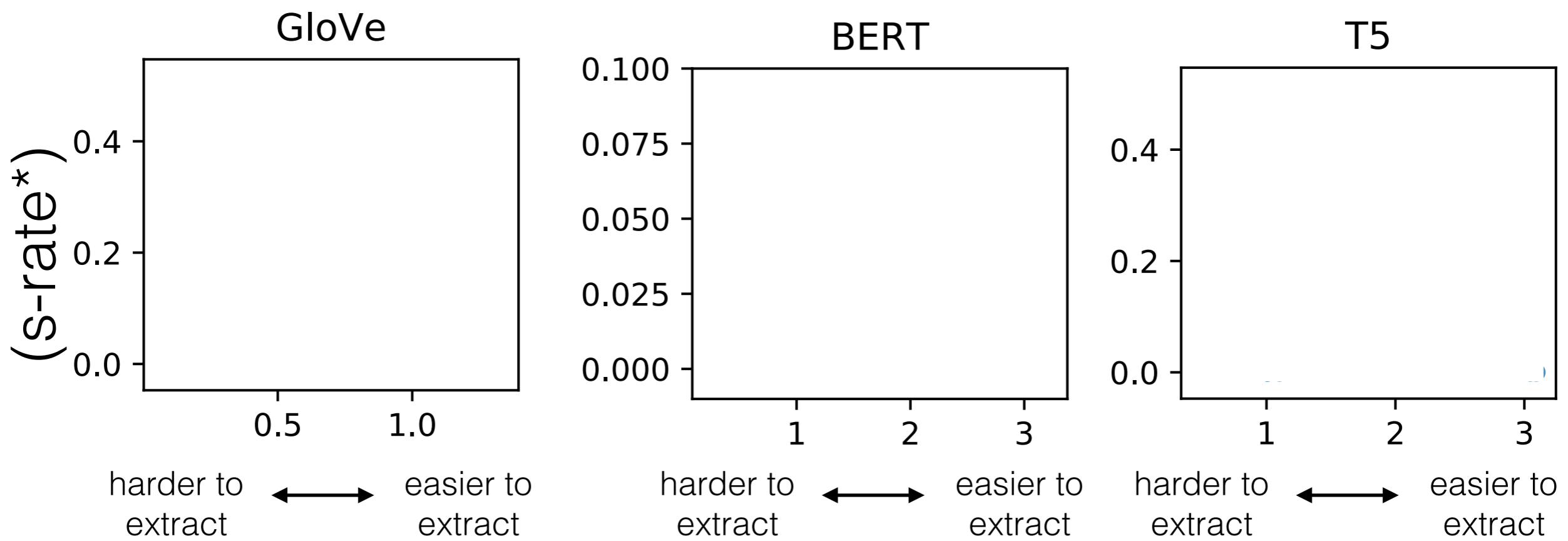
0.050

0.01

0.001

# Results

Training Evidence Required

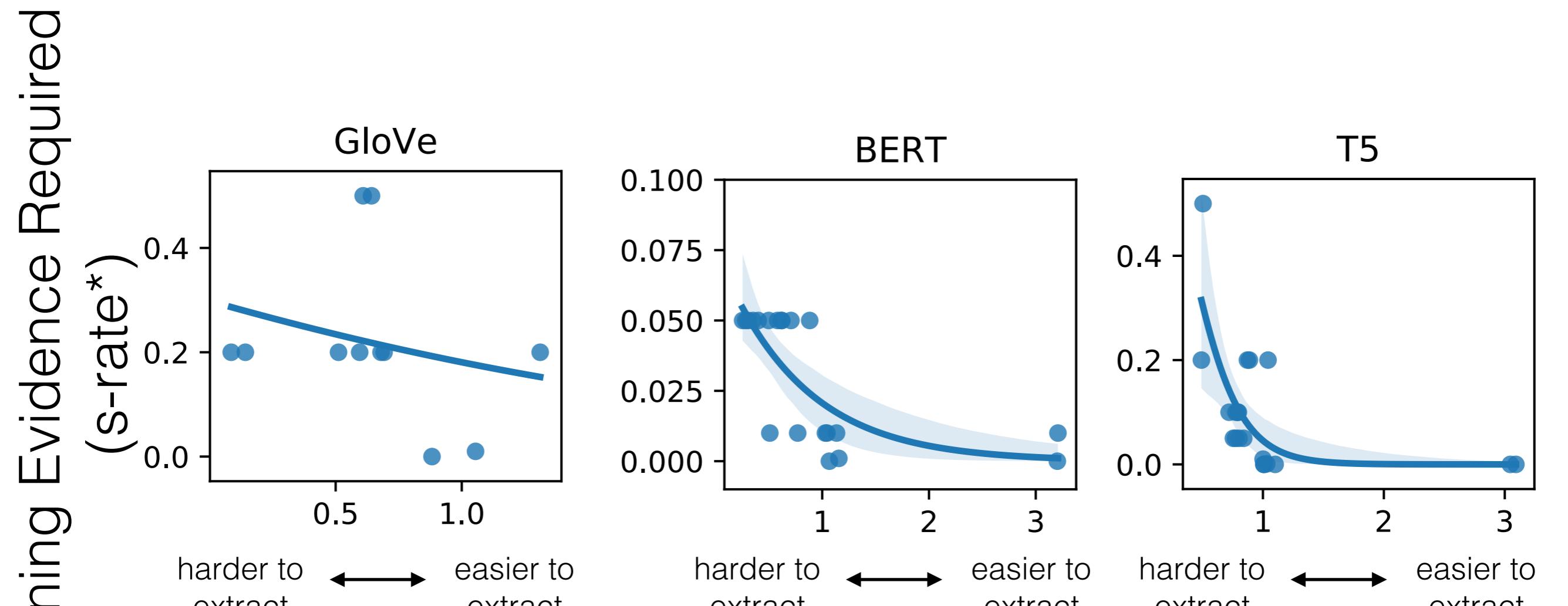


Extractability of Target (relative to Spurious)  
MDL(s)/MDL(t)

Jha, Lovering, Linzen, and Pavlick (2020)

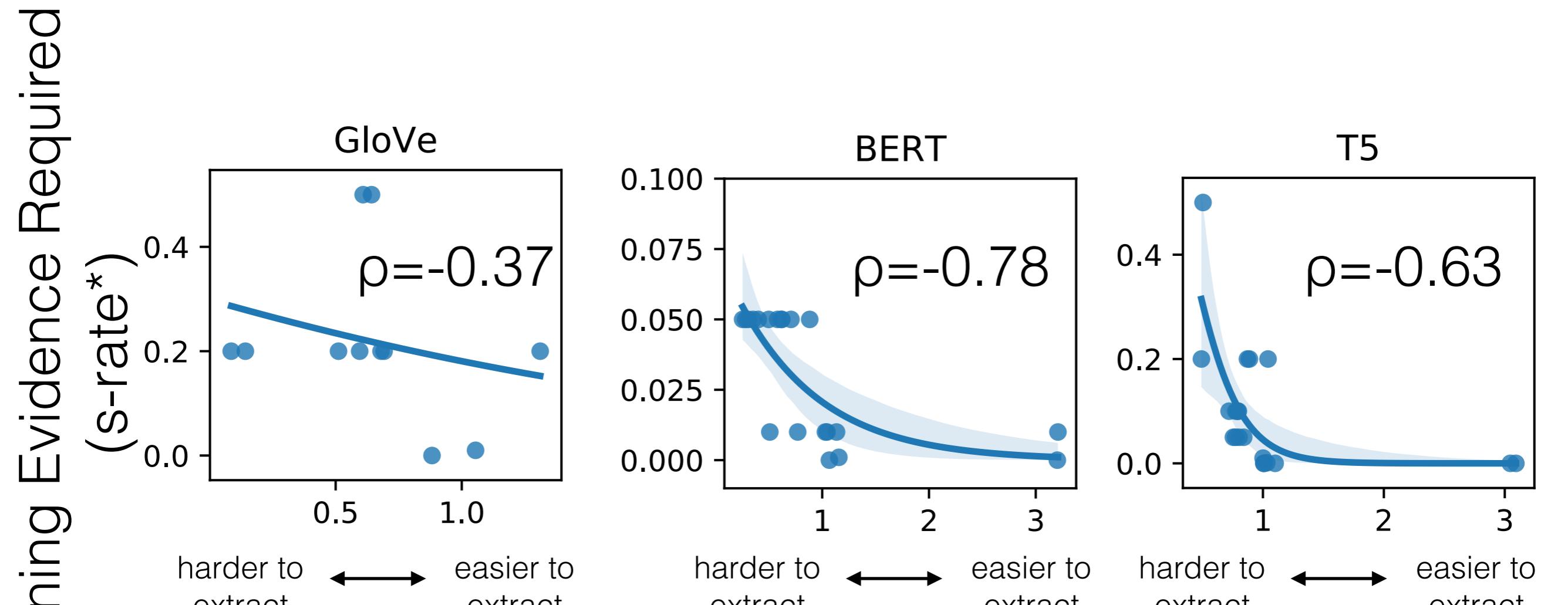
plus Heuristics

# Results



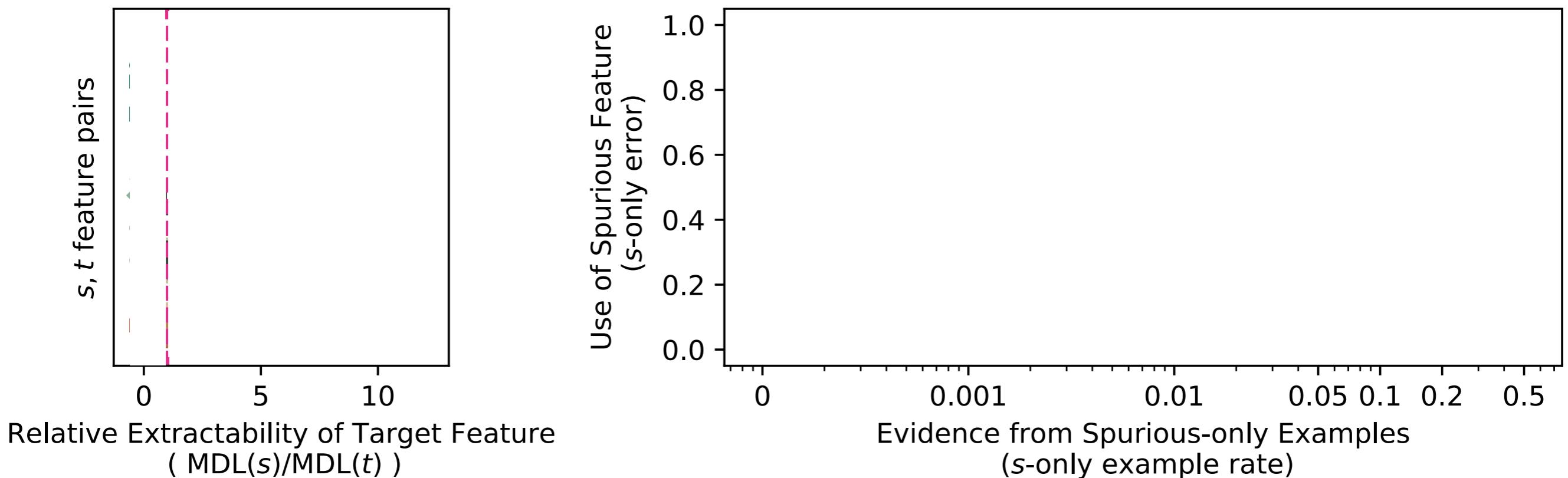
# Extractability of Target (relative to Spurious) $MDL(s)/MDL(t)$

# Results



# Extractability of Target (relative to Spurious) $MDL(s)/MDL(t)$

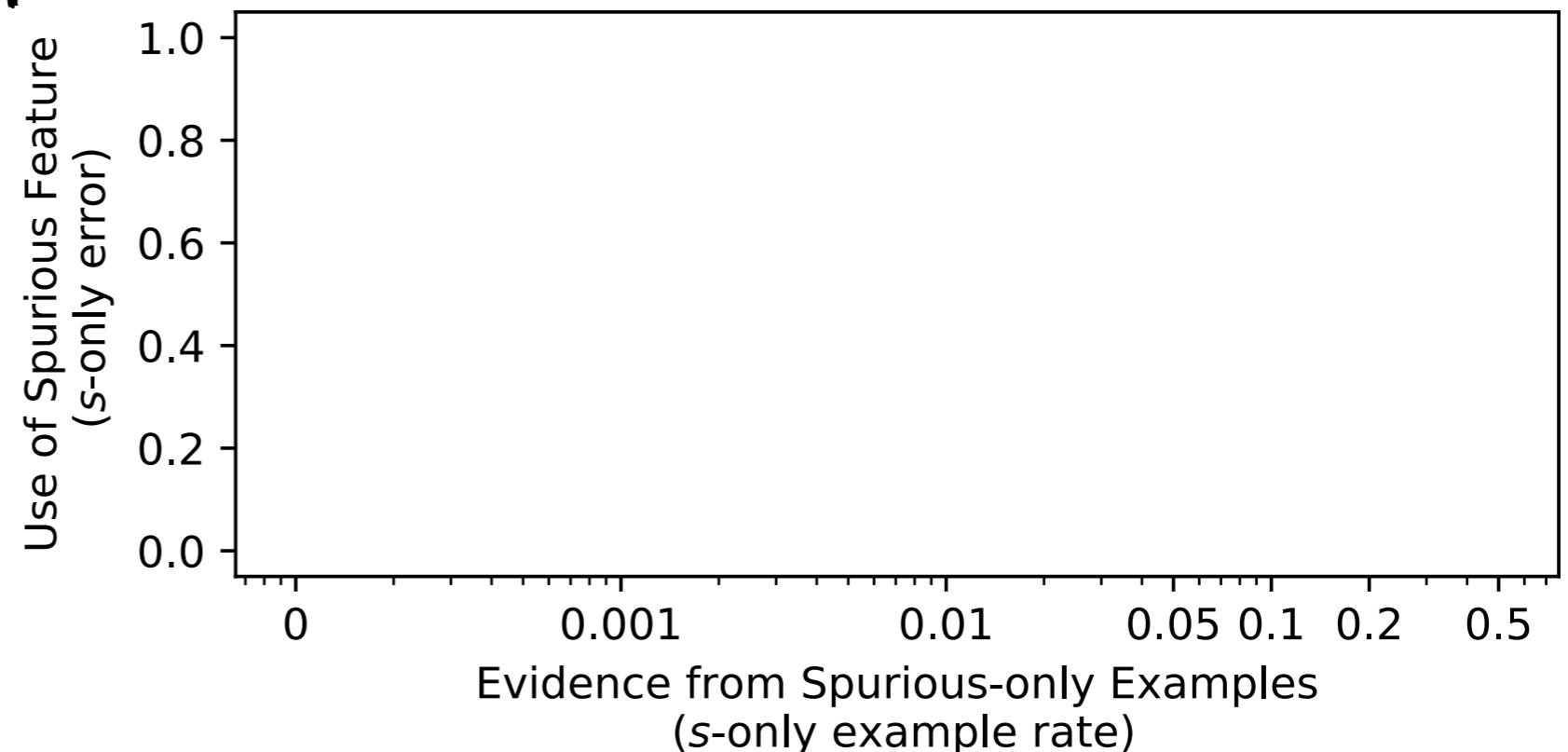
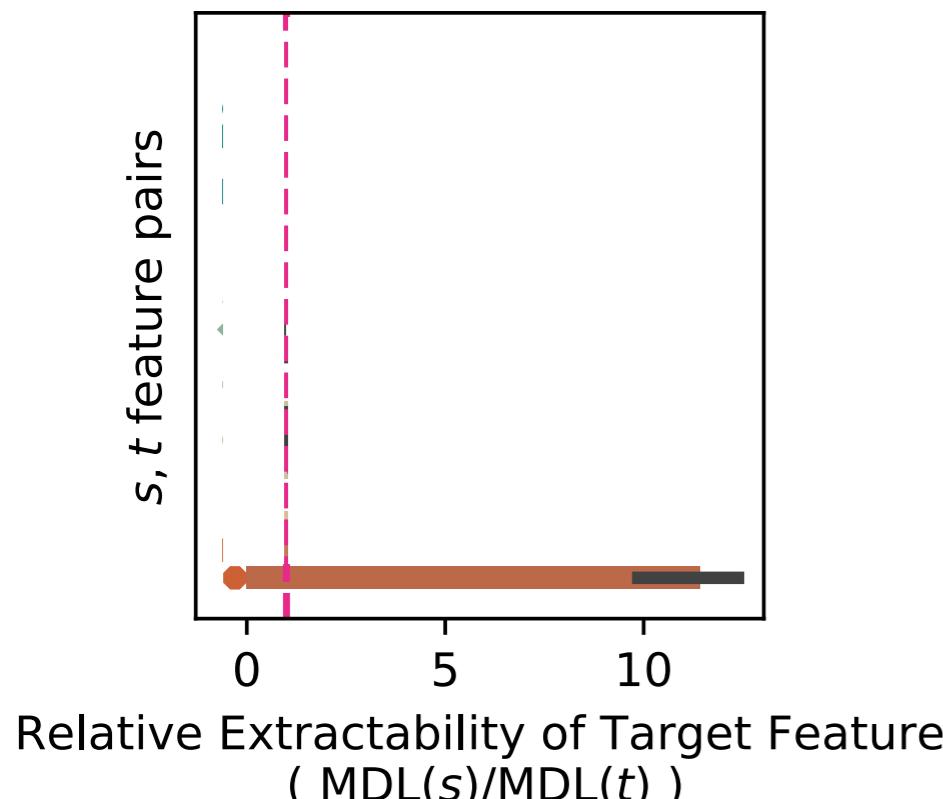
# Results



Information-Theoretic Probing Explains Reliance on Spurious Heuristics  
Jha, Lovering, Linzen, and Pavlick (2020)

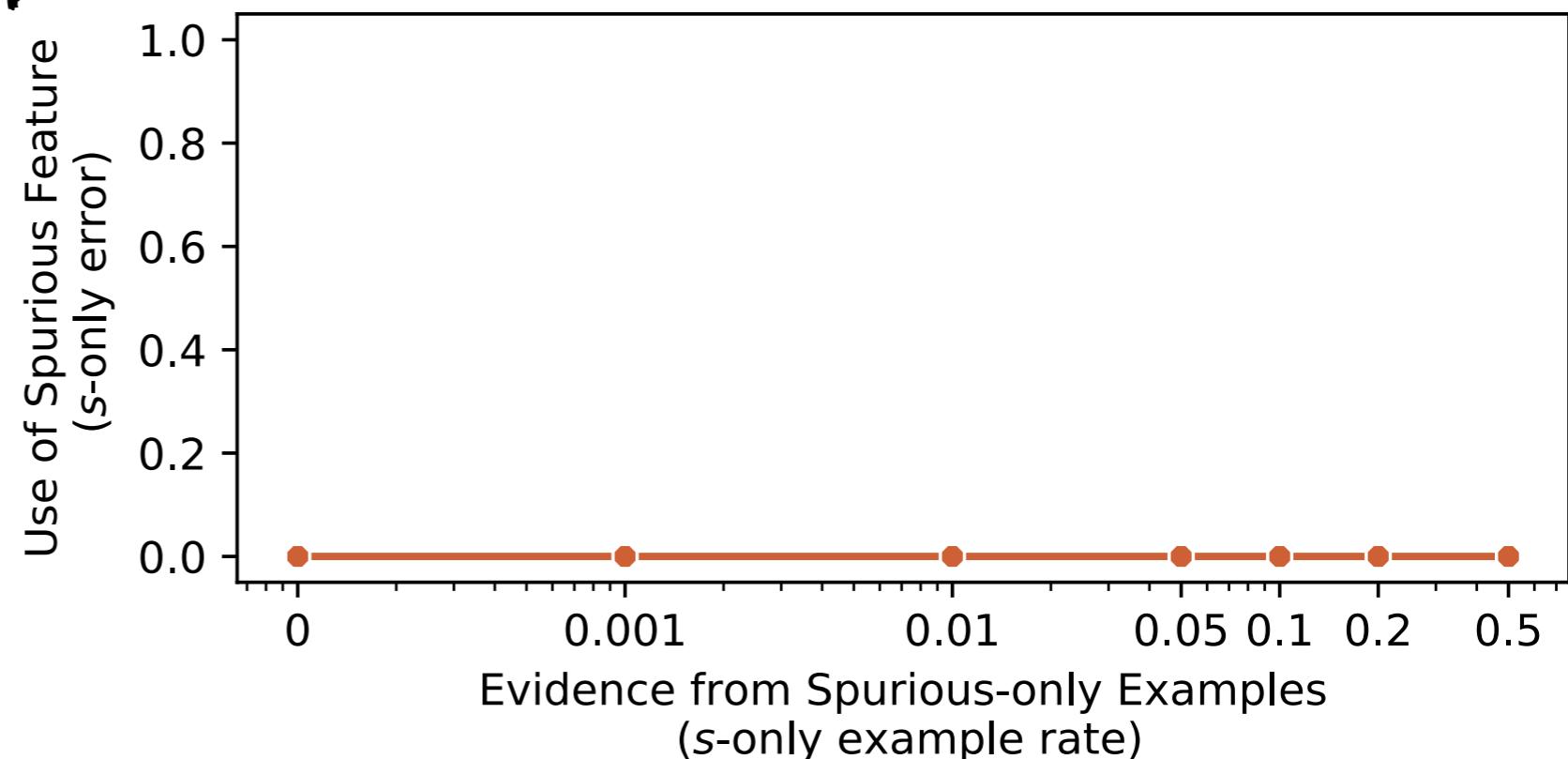
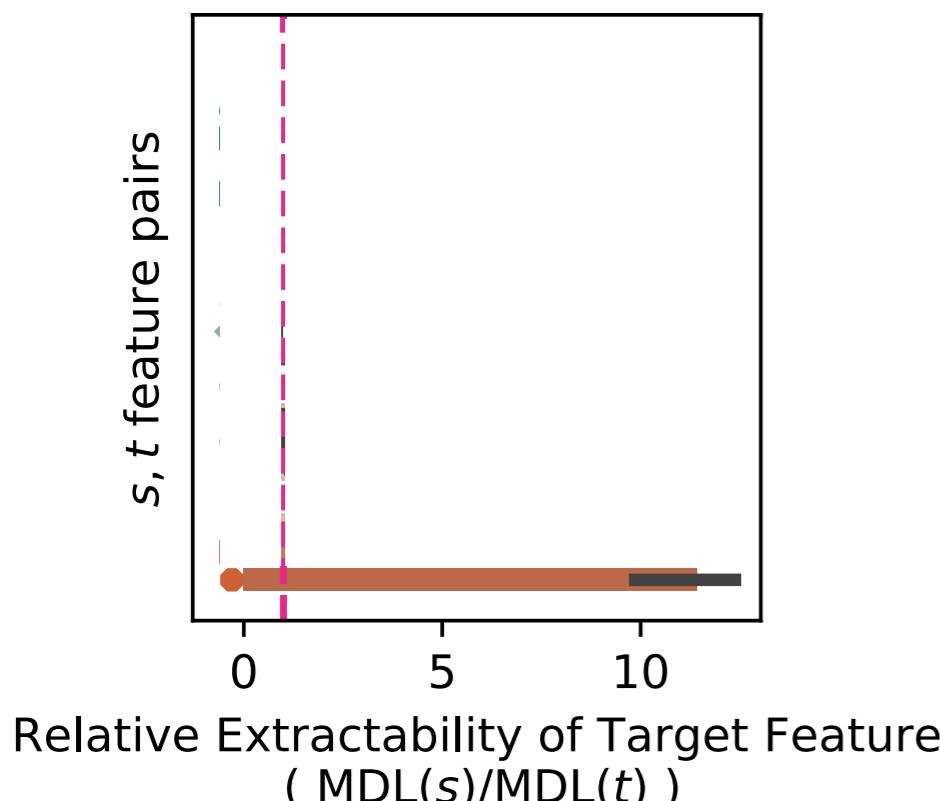
# Results

When target is much easier  
to extract than spurious...



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to extract than spurious...

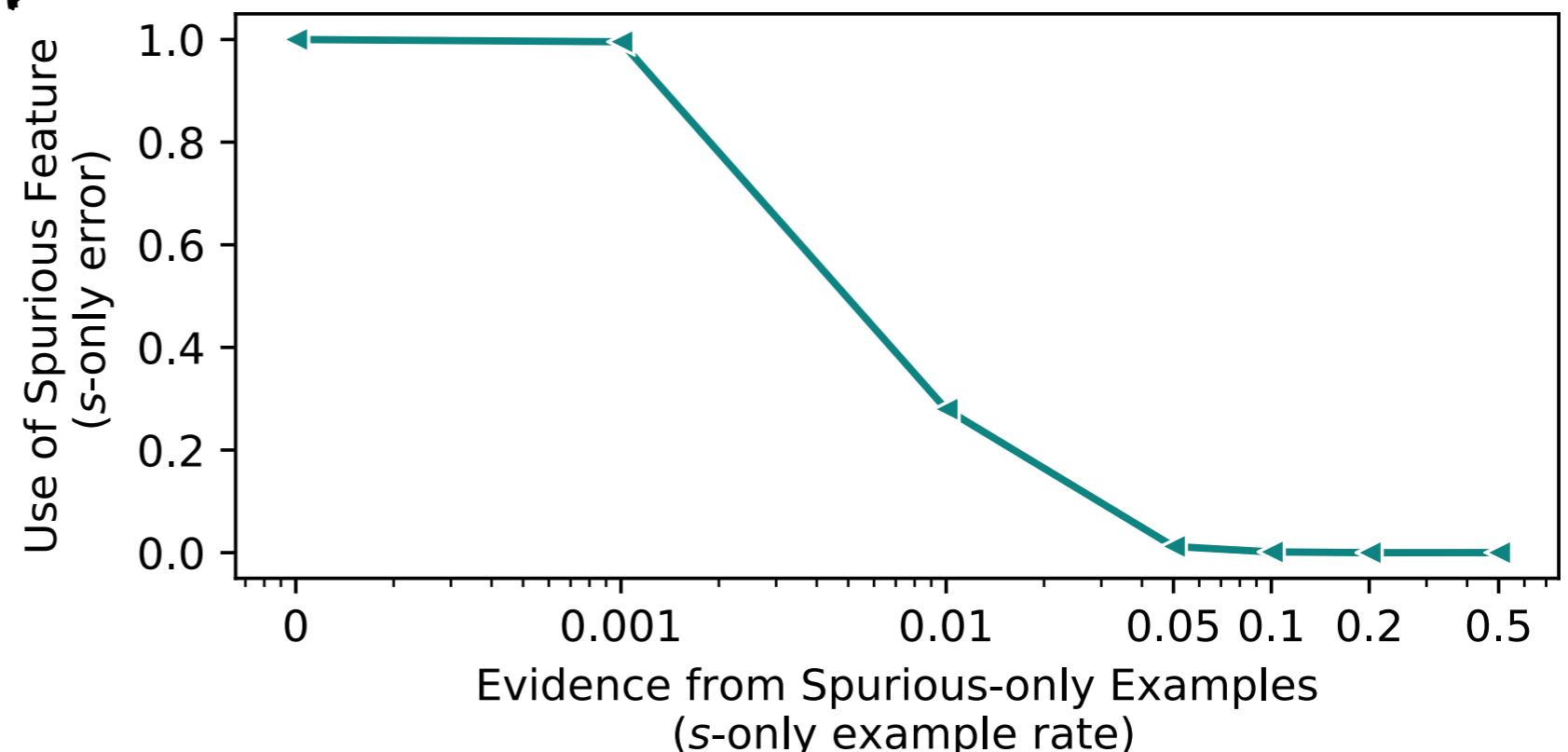
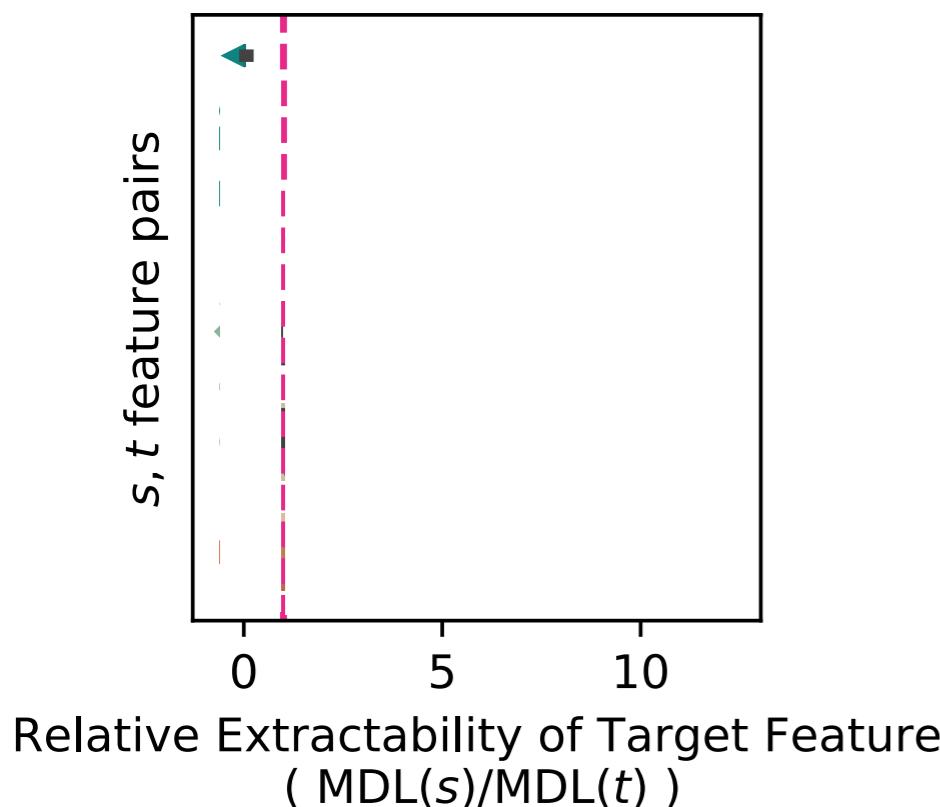


...model learns the right thing  
despite no training incentive to do so.

Jia, Lovering, Linzen, and Ravfuss (2020)

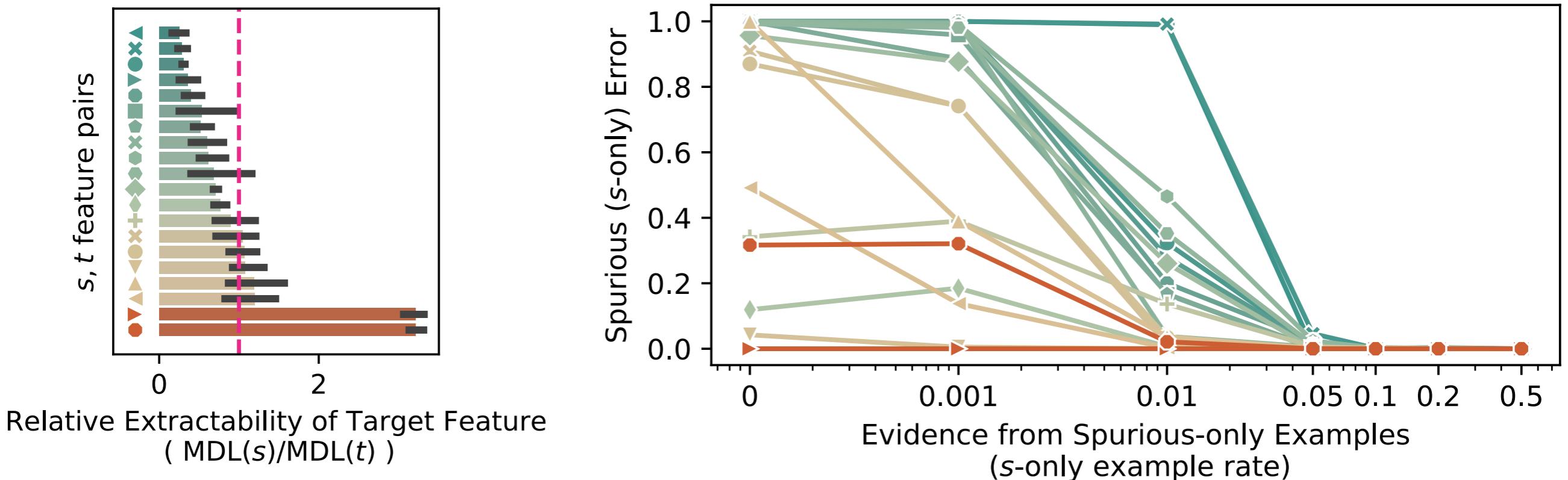
# Results

When target is much harder  
to extract than spurious...



...model requires substantial training  
incentive (e.g., 5% of training examples).

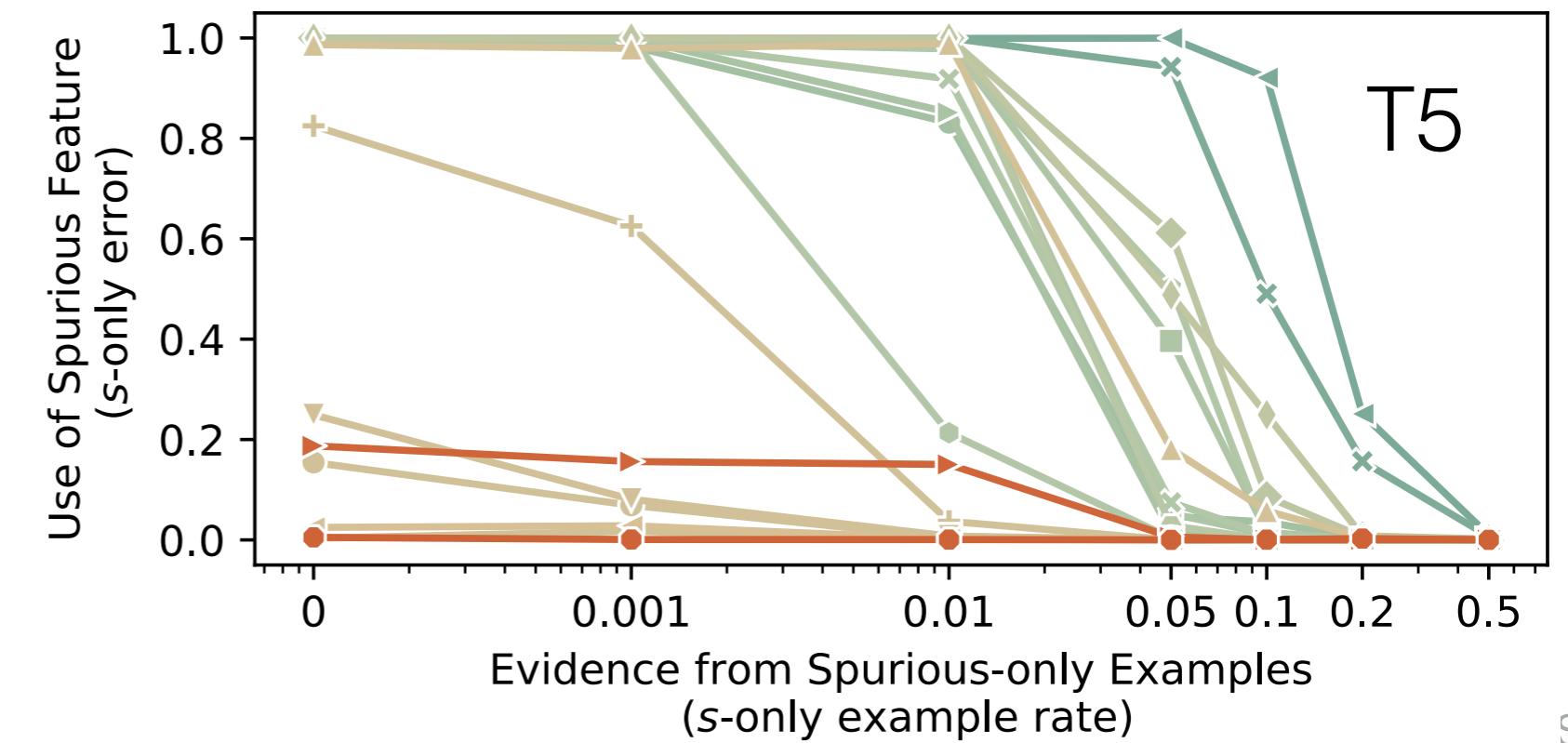
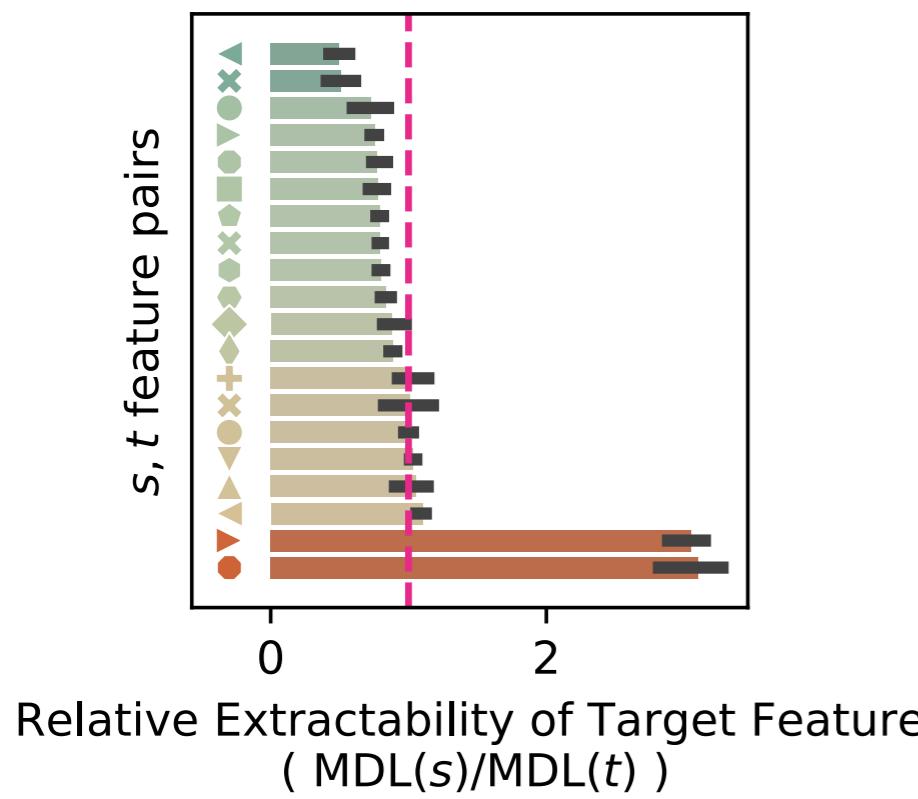
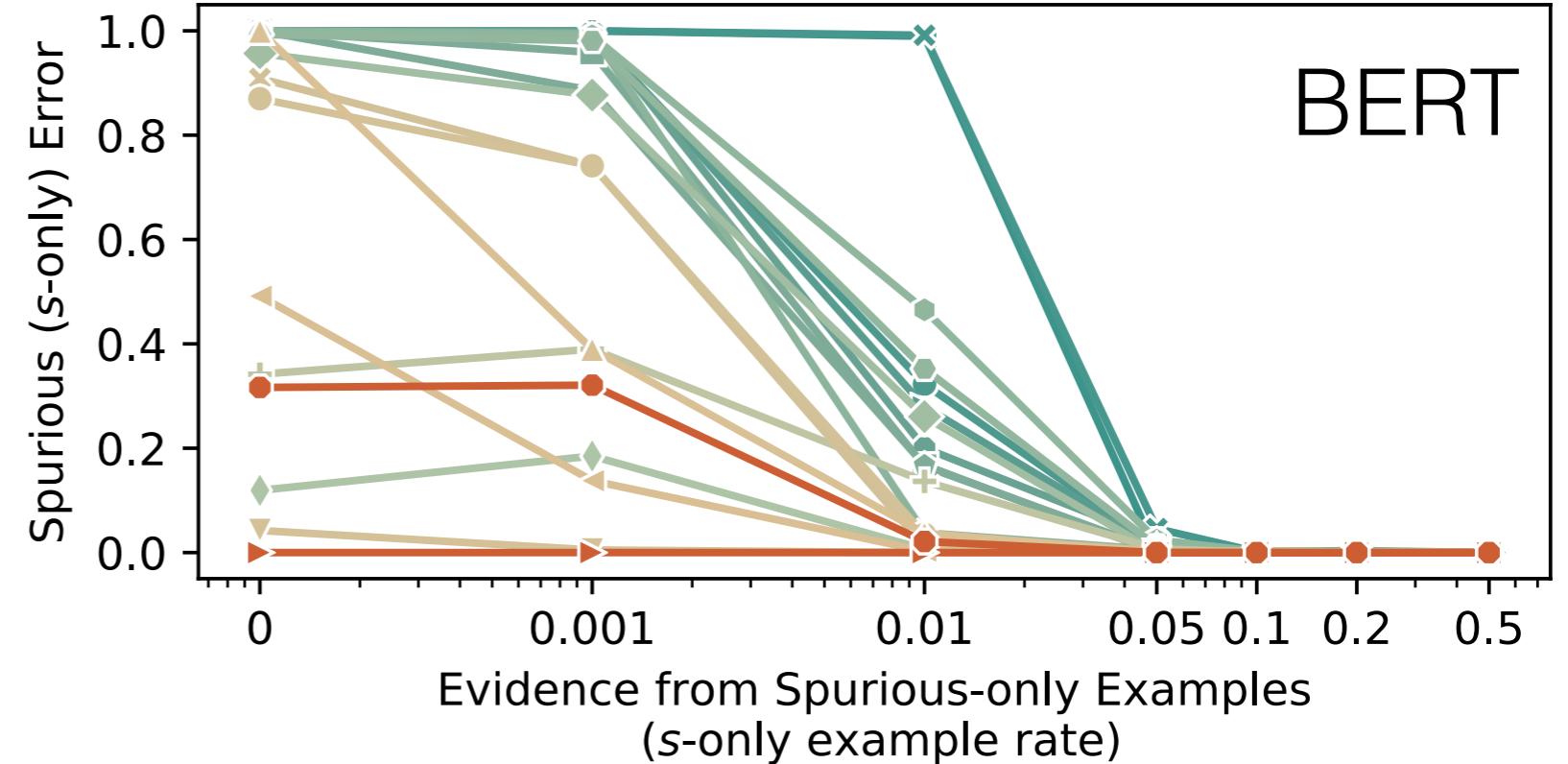
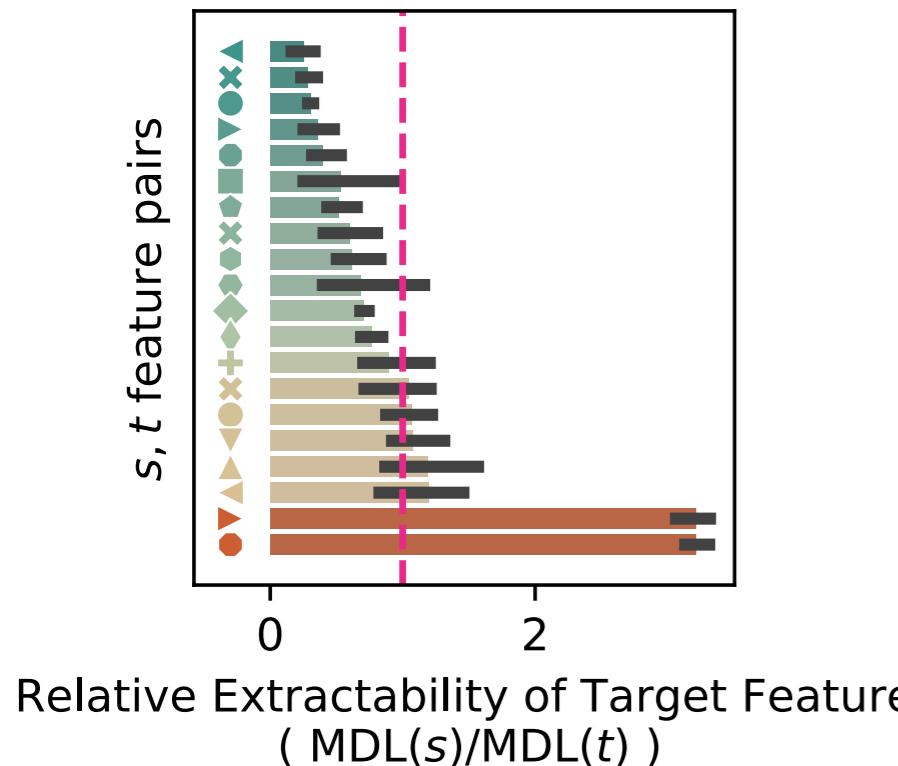
# Results



In general, learning curves track order  
predicted by relative MDL metric

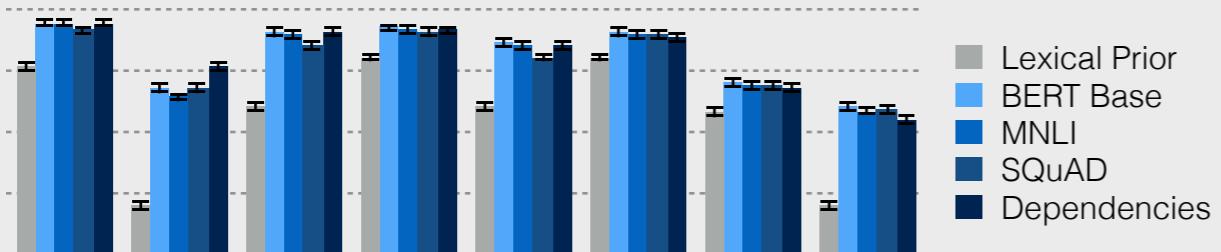
Information-theoretic training explains reliance on spurious heuristics

Jha, Lovering, Linzen, and Pavlick (2020)



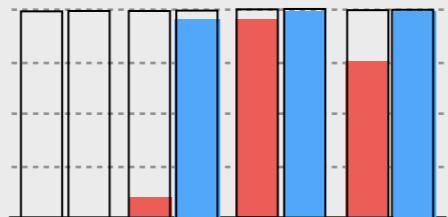
Linguistic features seem to be “there” after pretraining, but fine-tuned models don’t use them... why?

Maybe the features are erased during finetuning?



No obvious drop in probing accuracy after fine-tuning.

Maybe there just isn't enough signal in training?

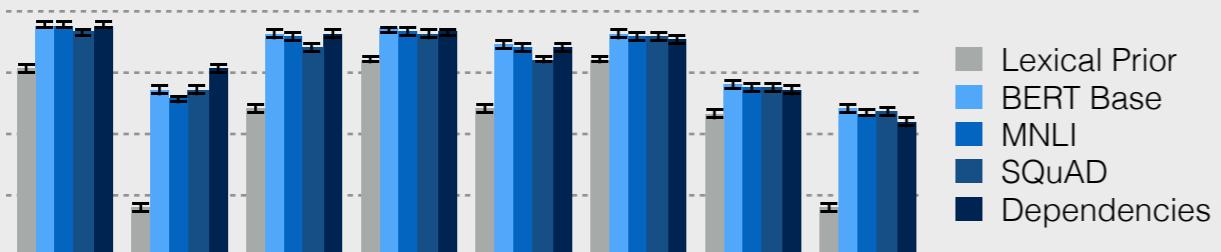


Different features behave differently given the same training data.

Maybe it's not just a matter of features being “there” or “not there”...?

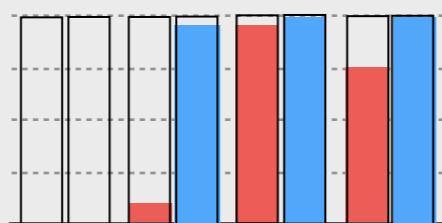
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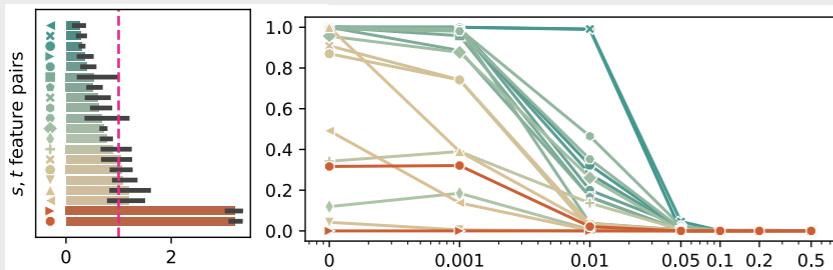
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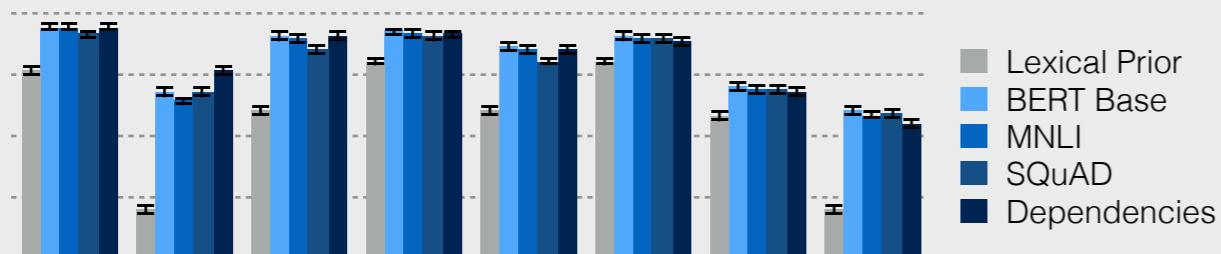
Maybe features aren't just “there” or “not there”?



Training data alone can't explain model behavior; models need little incentive when features are easy to extract.

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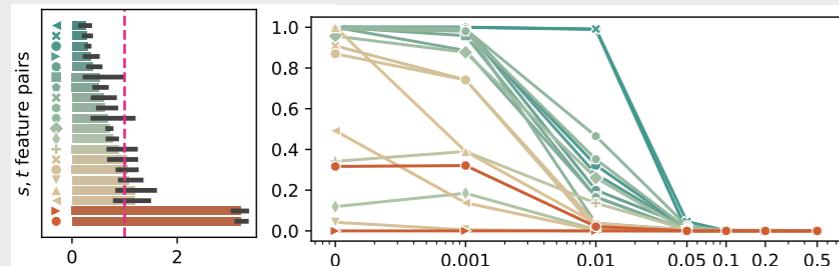
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...so...?

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- Implications: Innate structure via distributional pretraining? A happy solution to poverty of the stimulus that everyone can get behind? ;)
- Implications: Innate structure from non-language pre-training? E.g., objects and agents by modeling the physical world?

Thank you!