Large Language Models are not Models of Natural Language: they are Corpus Models.

CSABA VERES

1Department of Information Science and Media Studies, University of Bergen, Norway (e-mail: csaba.veres@uib.no)

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ABSTRACT Natural Language Processing (NLP) has become one of the leading application areas in the current Artificial Intelligence boom. Transfer learning has enabled large deep learning neural networks trained on the language modeling task to vastly improve performance in almost all language tasks. Interestingly, when the models are trained with data that includes software code, they demonstrate remarkable abilities in generating functioning computer code from natural language specifications. We argue that this creates a conundrum for claims that neural models provide an alternative theory to generative phrase structure grammars in explaining how language works. Since the acceptable syntax of programming languages is determined by phrase structure grammars, successful neural models are apparently uninformative about the theoretical foundations of programming languages, and by extension, natural languages. We argue that the term language model is misleading because deep learning models are not theoretical models of language and propose the adoption of corpus model instead, which better reflects the genesis and contents of the model.

INDEX TERMS natural language processing, deep learning, syntax, linguistics, language model, automatic programming, neural networks

I. INTRODUCTION

Deep-learning Artificial Neural Networks (ANNs), a multi-layered machine learning architecture which enables sophisticated representation learning ([39]), have significantly changed the technological, societal and commercial landscape in the past decade ([4, 15]). In this article we focus on deep learning models for Natural Language Processing (NLP). Recent transformer based deep learning models ([60]) have recorded significant improvements in various natural language tasks, and have entered service in industrial applications that have a significant linguistic component ([50, 58]). As an engineering artefact, these models have clearly enjoyed significant success. What is less clear is how much they have contributed to our understanding of natural language. While the most powerful systems have shown remarkable abilities to answer questions and write prose about arbitrary topics ([14]), there are contrary claims that ANNs are nothing but giant stochastic parrots, with many hidden dangers if mis-represented as systems that understand language in any non trivial sense ([5, 6]).

Language models are joint probability distributions over sequences of words, or alternatively, functions that return a probability measure over strings drawn from some vocabulary ([45, 9]). Large neural LMs learn probability functions for sequences of real valued, continuous vector representations of words rather than discrete lexical items. Continuous representations are effective at generalising across novel contexts, resulting in better performance across a range of tasks ([9]). The probability distribution is learned through a form of language modeling, where the task is to predict the next word given the previous words” ([44], p.191) in word strings drawn from a corpus.

Neural LMs can be contrasted with the Classical symbolic ([25]) view dominant in Linguistics since at least the beginning of the 20th century, when language scholars began to study the structural and grammatical properties of languages([52, 37]). The rigorous formal study of language was pioneered by Noam Chomsky who introduced Generative Phrase Structure Grammars ([19, 18]) as the rule structures underlying linguistic competence. In subsequent years a number of challenges and modifications to Gen-
erative Grammar emerged, both from within and without the research program\(^1\) ([22]). Nevertheless, in the midst of technical controversies researchers have all agreed that "... linguistic knowledge is couched in the form of rules and principles." ([55], p.74).

The recent success of deep learning ANNs on wide ranging linguistic tasks have revitalised proponents who hold that statistical models are preferable to generative phrase structure grammars as theories of linguistic competence. Manning and Schütze argue in their classic text "Foundations of Statistical Natural Language Processing" that cognition in general and language in particular are "best formalized as probabilistic processes" ([44], p.15). A similar position is more vigorously expressed by Peter Norvig in the context of a debate with Noam Chomsky at MIT\(^2\): "Many phenomena in science are stochastic, and the simplest model of them is a probabilistic model; I believe language is such a phenomenon and therefore that probabilistic models are our best tool for representing facts about language" ([53]). Perhaps most dramatically, Geoff Hinton has proclaimed in his Turing Award acceptance speech that the success of "machine translation was the final nail in the coffin of symbolic AI" ([36], 32'30').

In this paper we will counter these attacks with an argument analogous to an indirect proof in logic, where the assumed truth of a premise leads to an absurd conclusion, thereby proving the falsehood of the premise. We present the argument as follows. In section 2 we briefly explain what is meant by a rule based, generative phrase structure grammar in natural language and highlight similarities with software code. Section 3 details of how deep learning ANN models can be construed as an alternative to explicit rule based grammar. This is the assumed premise, namely that ANN models are good explanatory models of natural language. In section 4 we describe recent successes using ANN models - especially language models - to automatically generate software code. But this is where the contradiction arises. If ANN models can be construed as explanatory theories for natural language then, in the absence of counter arguments, they should be good explanatory theories for computer language as well. We see no such argument and therefore arrive at the absurd conclusion, because we know that the acceptable syntax of computer languages is determined by their grammar. Therefore, successful ANN models of natural language cannot be used as evidence against generative phrase structure grammars in natural language. In section 5 we present additional evidence that in fact language models are most accurately described as corpus models. The paper then concludes.

\(^{1}\)Chomsky describes his early work as an attempt to create a theoretical apparatus which was rich enough to describe the data. But it was always understood that the initial machinery had to be wrong because such a rich, complex system couldn’t meet the criterion for biological evolution. The subsequent years were spent by reducing the complexity of the theoretical machinery https://youtu.be/pUWmTXkpHJE?t=3520

\(^{2}\)MIT150: Brains, Minds and Machines Symposium, June 16, 2011. Transcript available at https://chomsky.info/20110616/
with a finite set of rules, and for the hearer to assign linguistic structure to each of those sentences. Performance, on the other hand, includes the many psychological processes underlying actual linguistic productions, including effects of attention, memory, and so on. The multitude of psychological processes are often little understood and can result in productions mired in errors from interference by a range of unpredictable, non language specific processes. For this reason Chomsky advocated using intuitions about grammatical acceptability as the primary data for linguistic theories rather than speech or text corpora.

One of the pioneers of high level computer programming languages, John W. Backus who led the Applied Science Division of IBM’s Programming Research Group\(^3\) took inspiration from Chomsky’s work on PSGs and conceived a meta-language that could describe the syntax of languages that was easier for programmers to write than the machine languages of the time. The meta language later became known as Backus-Naur form (BNF), so called partly because it was originally co-developed by Peter Naur in a 1963 IBM report on the ALGOL 60 programming language\(^4\). The BNF is a notation for context free grammars consisting of productions over terminal and nonterminal symbols, used to provide the precise syntax of programming languages which is required for writing compilers and interpreters for the language ([1]). The original syntax described in the technical report included the meta characters

\[
< > ::= |\]

Symbol names were enclosed in the brackets and productions or rewrite rules were expressed with the ::= marks. The | mark expressed alternative replacements, as shown in the following example productions

\[
<ab> ::= ( | [ | <ab> ( | <ab> <d>
<ab> ::= ( | [ | <ab> ( | <ab> <d>
</d> ::= 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9
\]

where <ab> can be replaced with concrete strings such as

\[
[(137(12345[37(86

The BNF productions can be used to construct phrase structure descriptions of program expressions, as we saw with a natural language example. For example given a simple grammar that includes the following production,

\[
<\text{statement}> ::= 
| \text{if}<\text{expression}>\text{then}<\text{statement}> 
| \text{if}<\text{expression}>\text{then}<\text{statement}> 
| \text{else}<\text{statement}> 
| \text{other}
\]

one can generate the following statement where \(E_i\) are expressions and \(S_i\) are statements

\[
\text{if } E_1 \text{ then if } E_2 \text{ then } S_1 \text{ else } S_2
\]

In turn the statement can be parsed to return the tree in figure 2 (example from [1], p. 211)

![FIGURE 2. A parse of the statement if E1 then if E2 then S1 else S2.]

Chomsky’s context free grammars were designed to handle the inherent ambiguities in natural languages, and the BNF inherited this property which is undesirable for programming languages. One solution was proposed by Bryan Ford who introduced Parsing Expression Grammars (PEGs) which eliminated ambiguity with several new devices including ordered choice ((26)). In fact the current specifiication for Python 3.9 uses a mixture of BNF and PEG\(^5\).

### III. LANGUAGE WITHOUT RULES

The story of modern ANNs begins with the Logical Calculus of McCulloch and Pitts ([47]) who demonstrated that it is possible to perform logical operations with “all-or-none” neural events. The current generation of neural networks, the Deep Learning Networks ([40]) can learn complex non linear transformations that can be used to solve problems in image recognition, language, and other domains. It is indeed enticing to think that such models can explain complex cognitive phenomena such as language without the need for the abstract symbol manipulating machinery such as Generative Grammar, particularly because of their appeal as promised models of neural architecture.

Churchland argued that cognitive behaviour can be reduced to brain states, vis-à-vis parallel neural computations. Citing the work of Pellionis et. al. on the Tensorial approach to the geometry of brain function ([54]), she asks us to imagine that “... arrays of neurons are interpretable as executing vector-to-vector transformations because that is what they really are doing – the computational problems a nervous system has to solve are fundamentally geometrical problems” ([21], p.418). That is, transformations of real valued tensors is just what it is to be a cognitive agent.

Pinker and Prince ([55]) described this idea as eliminative connectionism which describes neural systems where it is impossible to find a principled mapping between “... the components of a PDP\(^6\) model and the steps or memory structures implicated by a symbol-processing theory ...”.

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\(^3\)https://betanews.com/2007/03/20/john-w-backus-1924-2007/

\(^4\)https://www.masswerk.at/algl60/report.htm

\(^5\)https://docs.python.org/3.9/reference/grammar.html

\(^6\)Parallel Distributed Processing
Computations are performed at a non symbolic level, and any corresponding symbolic descriptions would only serve as short-hand approximations that could be used, for example, to make intuitive predictions ([55], p.77). The authors further distinguished eliminative connectionism from implementational connectionism which is a class of systems in which the computations carried out by collections of neurons are isomorphic to the structures and symbol manipulations of a symbolic system. For example, recurrent neural networks with long short-term memory have been shown to learn very simple context free and context sensitive languages [28]. More specifically the language which generates sentences of the form a^n b^n is learned with gate units acting as counters that can keep track of the number of terminal strings in simple sequences ([28]). It is therefore crucial to establish which kind of system deep learning models are, because eliminative neural systems are the only ones that offer a theoretical alternative to traditional grammar. Implementational systems would be fully compatible with a rules based linguistic theory and would therefore be theoretically uninteresting.

According to [46], a clear criterion for recognising a genuinely eliminative connectionist system is its treatment of compositionality. Compositionality is a characteristic of Classical symbolic architectures, in which the representation-bearing computational units are structured expressions whose operation depends on the structure of the expressions ([25]). For example, $P \land Q$ follows from $P \& Q$ because of an operation which applies to the formula by virtue of the constituent structure of the representation. The $P$ and $Q$ in the formula can be of arbitrary complexity and the operation will apply in exactly the same way. ANNs are not Classical architectures because the operation that is responsible for transforming the network state from one which represents $P \land Q$ to one which represents $P$ does not operate by virtue of the constituent structure of the formula. Instead, the computation involves the network settling on an activation state representing $P$ following the presentation of $P \& Q$ because of the values of the model parameters which were adjusted to match the statistical association between $P \& Q$ and $P$ in the training data. If we additionally wanted to infer $P \& Q$ from $P$ and $Q$, we would need additional training.

There are good reasons to believe that deep learning networks are to be understood as non compositional, eliminative connectionist models. Bengio et. al. argue that it is the non-linear transformations between the vectors in a deep learning architecture that allows the network to perform its functions, which sets them apart from symbolic systems. As an example, "If Tuesday and Thursday are represented by very similar vectors, they will have very similar causal effects on other vectors of neural activity." [8] p.59. In a Classical system there is no inherent similarity between the two symbols "Tuesday" and "Thursday". Overlapping patterns of inference are only possible by asserting explicit axioms in the system to establish that the concepts are members of a collection that behave equivalently in certain circumstances. In a deep learning network, by contrast, the inferences are licensed by the similarity between the vectors themselves, which emerges through the learning process. "Tuesday" and "Thursday", on this account, have similar effects because they have overlapping representations learned from the sentences in the training corpus and not because they share common relations in an axiomatic system.

Additionally [63] detail proofs that deep learning transformers are universal approximators of continuous sequence-to-sequence functions\(^7\) with compact support, but a critical assumption of the proof is contextual mapping of words in a sentence, such that the representation of individual words depends on the whole sentence. The proof requires, for example, that the "I" must be mapped to different vector embeddings in "I am happy" and "I am Bob". The semantic contribution of the constituent to the whole is a function of the whole, a direct contradiction to compositionality.

A. NEURAL LANGUAGE MODELS

The most successful neural models for NLP are very large deep learning models that are trained on some version of the language modeling task, using vast amounts of text. This training allows the models to capture intricate statistical generalisations in the training corpus which can subsequently be exploited in task specific training with much smaller data sets, a paradigm called transfer learning ([13]). These models can be probed in various ways to display aspects of their linguistic competence. For example [34] argue that vector based representations in deep learning neural networks can capture syntactic tree dependencies between words without an explicit mechanism for constructing parse trees. Using structural probes with a learned, linear transformation, they argue that syntax trees are embedded "implicitly" in the deep learning model’s vector geometry. Furthermore, they suggest that subject-verb agreement can be solved by using L2 distance metrics, since the verb that has to agree in number is closer to the subject than it is to any of the irrelevant attractor nouns following the transformation.

[29] reports a similar finding, that the BERT ([23]) model with no additional fine tuning does remarkably well on predicting the subject appropriate number marking on the focus verb in sentences, even if there are mismatching distractors between the subject and the verb. He concludes that "exploring the extent to which deep purely attention based architectures such as BERT are capable of capturing hierarchy-sensitive and syntactic dependencies — as well as the mechanisms by which this is achieved — is a fascinating area for future research". In fact a sub field of machine learning that has affectionately come to be known as Bertology ([157]), is attempting to do just that.

In summary, neural language models display some of the representations that are found in symbolic rule based theories, but it is not clear how they emerge or how they participate in computation. A potential explanation is sug-

\(^7\)An additional condition is that the function must be permutation equivariant, unless positional encodings are used.
suggested by [51] who proposed a refinement to the idea of compositionality with a distinction between Process- and Output- Compositionality. A system is process compositional if the procedures it computes have meaningful parts, and those parts are in principle knowable. The meaningful parts are composed procedurally to give increasingly complex meaningful expressions. This is essentially the sense we have been using. State compositionality on the other hand describes representations in the system that can be decomposed into smaller meaningful units even though they were not generated by a known compositional process. For example there are many analyses for ways in which lexical items might be decomposed into meaningful constituents (e.g. bachelor = unmarried + man), but the decomposition does not necessarily exhaust the range of potential inferences the lexical item can enter into, nor is there a compositional process to explain how the constituents can be combined in learning ([24]). Output compositionality takes a functional view in which for any input tokens $t$ there is a function $f$ which produces an output $o$ that is state compositional. Neural language models would on this account exhibit output compositionality, such that various structured states can be observed, but these states do not reveal meaningful constituents which are causally responsible for the evolution of the system. This interpretation is consistent with the use of compositionality in the deep learning literature ([7, 59, 8]).

It is interesting to speculate that the lack of process compositionality is largely responsible for problems of explainability in modern AI systems ([42, 51]). Most analysis techniques can only make use of state or outcome compositionality which might provide clues about the intermediate representations but not the procedures by which conclusions are drawn. This is an intrinsic property of deep learning networks and potentially limits efforts to understand the computations responsible for any conclusions.

### IV. NEURAL NETWORK MODELS AND SOFTWARE CODE

[35] proposed that the majority of software that people write can be described as natural programs which are relatively simple, repetitive code that is used for communication with other programmers as much as it is to provide machine instructions. They trained $N$-gram language models on software code to investigate the relative predictability of natural language and software code, and made some insightful observations about the relationship between natural and computer languages. They then used the trained model as a code suggestion plugin for the Eclipse Interactive Development Environment, resulting in keystroke savings of up to 61% over the built in suggestion engine ([35]).

Subsequent research expanded on this work by training significantly larger language models for mining source code repositories and providing new complexity metrics ([2], and using deep learning networks for code completion ([62]).

In a popular blog post Andrej Karpathy drew our attention to the Unreasonable Effectiveness of Recurrent Neural Networks with some illustrations of RNNs learning from character level data. He showed that models could learn to generate natural language prose, prose which includes markdown, valid XML, LaTeX, and source code in the C programming language. The RNN generated both LaTeX and C code with remarkable syntactic fidelity including spacing, matching brackets, variable declarations and so on. Observed errors were principally semantic. For example, one example of LaTeX code had a 13 line environment beginning with \begin{proof} and ending with \end{lemma}. That is, the coreference dependency is partially broken; while the \begin{} block is closed as required by the syntax, the RNN has not correctly remembered the exact identity of the block. Similarly the C code contains very few syntactic errors, but contains semantic errors such as variable names not being used consistently, or using undefined variables.

### A. NEURAL LANGUAGE MODELS AND CODE SYNTHESIS

[33] released APPS, an ambitious dataset and benchmark for measuring the effectiveness of machine learning models in a realistic code generation framework, involving natural language problem specifications and functional test cases. The problems have three levels of difficulty; introductory, interview, and competitive. The following example is the natural language description in an "interview" level problem.

You are given two integers $n$ and $m$. Calculate the number of pairs of arrays $(a, b)$ such that: the length of both arrays is equal to $m$; each element of each array is an integer between 1 and $n$ (inclusive); $a_i \leq b_i$ for any index $i$ from 1 to $m$; array $a$ is sorted in non-descending order; array $b$ is sorted in non-ascending order. As the result can be very large, you should print it modulo $10^9 + 7$.

Input: The only line contains two integers $n$ and $m$ ($1 \leq n \leq 1000$, $1 \leq m \leq 10$). Output: Print one integer - the number of arrays $a$ and $b$ satisfying the conditions described above modulo $10^9 + 7$.

---Examples---

Input: 2 2, Output: 5
Input: 10 1, Output: 55
Input: 723 9, Output: 157557417

The authors gathered 10,000 coding problems with 131,836 test cases for checking the generated solutions, and 232,444 gold-standard solutions written by humans. They tested four models for their ability to generate code that could solve the test cases; code which is both syntactically well formed and semantically correct. The models they tested were GPT-2 (two versions, with 0.1 and 1.5 Billion parameters) ([56]), GPT-Neo (2.7B parameters) ([11]) and GPT-3 (175B parameters) ([14]). The GPT-2 models received additional pre-training with 30 GB of Python code from GitHub.

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8 http://karpathy.github.io/2015/05/02/rnn-effectiveness/ The title is a play on The Unreasonable Effectiveness of Mathematics in the Natural Sciences, a 1960 article by the Nobel Prize winning physicist Eugene Wigner.
GPT-Neo was trained on the Pile ([27]) which already contains code from GitHub. GPT-3 had no prior training on code. All but GPT-3 were then further fine tuned on the APPS dataset, while GPT-3 was tested in a few-shot scenario.

The results showed that in general bigger models were better than the smaller models, and pre-training on code is critical since the largest GPT-3 model without pre-training (or fine tuning) was outperformed by the smallest GPT-2 model.

In general this proved to be a difficult task and the best model passed only 14.68% of test cases on the introductory problems, and 6.54% for the “competitive” problems. On a strict criterion where success was defined as passing all of the test cases, these figures dropped to 3.9% and 0% respectively. However, an important finding was the extremely low rate of syntax errors in the code. Remarkably, the GPT-Neo generated code that could not be interpreted because of syntax errors on 3% of its solutions on the “introductory” problems, increasing to approximately 5% for the “competition” problems. Even the GPT-3 model without training on code had a 59% error rate which demonstrated some ability to produce syntactic (though non functional) Python code after just a few exposures.

Listing 1 shows a machine synthesized solution for the the example problem. The code returns a result on each run, but the result is either the integer 1 or 0. The solution attempts to build arrays as described, to return a result which depends on those arrays, and to provide the answer as modulo $10^9 + 7$. However the logic it uses to build and compare the arrays is faulty.

```python
n, m = map(int, input().split())
mod = 10**9+7
fact = [1, 1]
factinv = [1, 1]
inv = [0, 1]

for i in range(2, n+1):
    fact.append((fact[-1] * i) % mod)
    inv.append((-inv[mod % i] * (mod//i)) % mod)
    factinv.append((factinv[-1] + factinv[-1]) % mod)

def cmb(n, r, mod):
    if (r < 0) or (n < r):
        return 0
    r = min(r, n - r)
    return fact[n] * factinv[r] * factinv[n-r] % mod

print((cmb(n, m, mod) * cmb(m-1, n-1, mod)) % mod)
```

Listing 1. Example solution from a model tested on APPS. This solution passes 0 test cases but it is a legal Python program.
They evaluate a 12B parameter vanilla GPT-3 model, Codex, which is GPT-3 fine-tuned on 159GB of code collected from GitHub, and Codex-S which is further fine-tuned on correctly implemented standalone functions. When looking at single solutions the plain GPT-3 model was unable to solve any HumanEval problems, while the 300M parameter Codex solved 13.2% of the problems and the 12B parameter Codex solved 28.8%. Fine-tuning this model on function solutions produced Codex-S which solved 37.7% of the problems, which was a bigger gain from fine-tuning than observed on the other studies. When considering multiple solutions, Codex-S was able to find at least one correct solution 72.31% of the time from among 100 candidate solutions, and 46.81% of the time among 10 solutions. 

Probing error points once again provided some interesting insights. The authors created “building blocks” which were simple tasks such as “convert the string $s$ to lowercase”, “remove all vowels from the string”, and “replace spaces with triple spaces”. When the building blocks were systematically concatenated to form increasingly complex function descriptions, model performance decreased exponentially with increasing problem complexity. This pattern is not likely to be observed with human programmers, as the task is simply to link simple discrete functions together.

In summary, deep learning neural network models are beginning to have impressive success in generating syntactically correct code from natural language specifications. The various models demonstrate not only a knowledge of programming constructs like variable declaration and operation signatures, but also constructs that depend on constituency structure like long distance dependencies (e.g. matching brackets, matching if-then imperatives). On the other hand the knowledge of semantics is either absent or very limited.

Semantic competence in software is easier to operationalise than it is in natural language, by using unit tests, for example. Can this help understand how neural networks process language? As [6] note, the appearance of discourse coherence in a GPT-3 generated narrative is an illusion caused by human expectations about communicative intent. It is, as it were, the human judge who puts meaning into the strings produced by the model. But this is not possible in the case of computer code where coherence is judged by execution. The results so far point to interesting similarities. For example code depends on a co-ordinated chain of smaller computations just as a text passage does, and, perhaps the failures of generated code can inform us about the less well defined natural language output.

V. NEURAL LANGUAGE MODELS ARE CORPUS MODELS

The surprising success of neural language models to synthesise computer code has resulted in some puzzling claims. For example [3] speculate that for models “it is not necessary to explicitly encode the grammar of the underlying language — they learn it from data.” Taken literally the claim would be that the neural network is implementational after all, since
it is learning the grammar of a programming language. But in that case a neural model could equally be implementing natural language grammars, which would make ANNs significantly less interesting for language theorists, and indeed anyone who wishes to propose neural architectures as an alternative to Classical ones.

If we accept that acceptable productions of natural language and software are both determined by a grammar, then the evidence that neural network representations can encode hierarchical components in language ([34, 59]) suggests that the same representations are used in encoding structural relationships in software code. Some support for this comes from [20] who developed a novel method for probing neural LMs for their ability to encode natural language syntax. In order to validate their method they used neural models trained on a synthetic language for arithmetic expressions with a simple syntax, drawing on a long tradition of using synthetic data for neural network research, where it can be advantageous to control the statistical characteristics of the generated data (see references in [20]). In other words the accepted conclusion is that the neural network encodings of the structural patterns generated by an artificial grammar are analogous to their encoding of natural language structures.

This is just one finding which suggests that the same neural network representations are responsible for encoding software code and natural language. We have also described the exponential decrease in performance when simple problems are chained together, and the seemingly complete lack of 'reading' the code in simulated execution. Analogous observations have been made in natural language question answering tasks, where evidence is emerging that neural systems can only perform well if the answer has a structural relationship to the question, but not when semantic reasoning is involved. For example [32] introduced a dataset where the task is to choose the correct warrant, which is a hidden assumption in an argument. For example if the claim "3-D printing will change the world" is supported with the reason "Economic growth needs innovation." then the task is to pick which of the following two potential warrants is assumed in the argument: "There is no innovation in 3-d printing since it’s unsustainable" or "There is much innovation in 3-d printing and it is sustainable". A selection of state-of-the-art systems performed barely above chance on this task. In another study, [31] used an artificially constructed question set, BiQuAD, in which they systematically varied the relationship between a question and the text. They found overall poor performance, but showed that the worst case was when the answer could only be found by chaining together multiple connected facts in the story, which the neural models could not do. A similar problem was observed in code synthesis, as previously described.

It is clear that large LMs are able to generate syntactically well formed productions in domains where they receive large amounts of training data, whether that be natural language or software code. Since the data is their only resource for learning, they can be susceptible to the characteristics of the data set. For example, [6] documented many different selection biases which can bias utterances that are included in corpora. Perhaps even more problematic is that the performance of language models on language tasks is strongly influenced by the diversity of the training corpora ([27, 49]), which shows that what is modeled is not language per se, but the training corpora. Similarly [14] used a filtered version of the Common Crawl dataset\textsuperscript{11}, a collection of text based on 12 years of web crawling, and found that the unfiltered version gave poorer results on language tasks than the higher quality version which was filtered in part through a comparison with text in books.

If the quality of a dataset can influence the quality of the model, then how can we define a high quality dataset? To the best of our knowledge the answer to this in the neural LM literature is rather vague. Take for example the Pile, a dataset specifically designed to be a large, diverse and high-quality resource for machine learning ([27]). Unfortunately the authors are not explicit about what they regard as "high-quality", even though they use the descriptor 33 times in their paper. Some clues emerge through the description of individual data sources such as Wikipedia which "... a source of high quality, clean English text ..." (p.4), suggesting as one criterion a text written in complete English sentences with some editorial control. Also mentioned is the Common Crawl web content where "... difficulty of cleaning and filtering the Common Crawl data ...", which has low level problems such as presence of non text characters, segmentation problems, capitalization, etc. ([44]). Common Crawl data also contains duplicate lines which often signals highly repetitive "boilerplate text", which can reduce performance on downstream tasks ([41]). [30] tried to filter Common Crawl by using Wikipedia "because the articles are curated, the corresponding text is of high quality". Another technique for increasing quality by comparing against Wikipedia was used by [61] who measured the perplexity score of target web pages against a language model trained on Wikipedia, and took the perplexity as a measure of quality. Again the trend is to assume Wikipedia is high quality and use it to filter other content.

The practice is problematic in our view because it is important to be specific about what should be accepted as appropriate input to a "language model", as the data is literally the "language" in the model. In linguistic theory, as we saw earlier, Chomsky proposed grammatical acceptability judgement as a way to decide which utterances counted as valid data for linguistic enquiry. But this view is normally not accepted in statistical NLP. For example [43] argued against the Chomskyan notion of grammar and proposed probabilistic syntax largely on the strength of examples which purportedly show the non categorical nature of grammar. [53] argued even more forcefully that "... people have to continually understand the uncertain, ambiguous, noisy speech of others ... Chomsky for some reason wants to avoid this, and

\textsuperscript{11}https://commoncrawl.org/the-data/
therefore he must declare the actual facts of language use out of bounds and declare that true linguistics only exists in the mathematical realm ... Chomsky dislikes statistical models in that they tend to make linguistics an empirical science (a science about how people actually use language) ..." So for Norvig the data for the study of language is the "actual use" of language which are the noisy and uncertain utterances of the everyday. But this view makes it difficult to justify eliminating any "low quality" utterances reflecting how people "actually use language" from the corpus. If we are going to judge dataset quality by comparing it against the edited and grammatical text in "high quality" sources such as Wikipedia, then we need to be careful with our theoretical assumptions. The problem is that we might be smuggling grammaticality in by the back door.

For the preceding reasons we would suggest a clarification in terminology, and propose a change from the theory-laden term language model to the more objectively accurate term corpus model. Not only does the term corpus model better reflect the contents of models, it also provides transparency in discussing issues such as model bias. One might be surprised if a language model is biased, or if there is different bias in two different language models, but a bias in corpus models and different biases in different corpus models is almost an expectation. Natural language is not biased. What people say or write can be biased.

VI. CONCLUSION
We considered the challenge that deep learning neural models present to traditional generative phrase structure theories of natural language, and showed the challenge to be invalid since the arguments could equally and absurdly be applied against phrase structure in software code. We claim our argument to be more powerful and long lived than more traditional attempts to prove that neural networks cannot perform certain tasks or explain certain phenomena. This style of argument has an illustrious history in the field, where research activity was drastically reduced for decades by the publication of Minsky and Pappert, which showed fundamental computational limitations of the contemporary neural models ([48]). More sophisticated models were eventually devised to overcome these limitations. Our argument is more powerful because it shows the demonstration of high performance on arbitrary NLP tasks to be irrelevant to claims about linguistic competence in general and generative grammar in particular, because the same arguments apply equally to programming languages which are clearly the product of a generative grammar.

In addition we argued that the term "language model" is misleading. A more accurate and useful term would be "corpus model". We find this clarification useful for scientific discovery, and look forward to theoretical insights that can be gained by exploring the similarities between the statistical epiphenomena created by natural languages and computer software in shared corpus models.
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CSABA VERES was born in Budapest in 1964. Csaba received the Ph.D. degree in cognitive science from the University of Arizona, Tucson. His thesis was in the field of Psycholinguistics, where he studied the role of meaning on sentence parsing and representation. He soon migrated to computer science soon after moving to Melbourne, Australia.

He is currently Full Professor at the Department of Information Science and Media Studies at the University of Bergen, Norway. His areas of expertise include NLP, machine learning, and semantic web technologies. He has experience as an Academic and Practitioner. He founded a Norwegian company called LexiTags, and consulted as Head of AI with the London based edutech startup, Flooved. He has published a wide assortment of original research articles, and has had popular linked data apps on the Apple store, called MapXplore and AutoMind. He has also held positions as a Research Scientist at the Australian Defence Science and Technology Organisation, and as a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Information Systems, Melbourne University.

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