How to age BERT Well: Continuous Training for Historical Language Adaptation

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Abstract

As the application of computational tools increases to digitalize historical archives, automatic annotation challenges persist due to distinct linguistic and morphological features of historical languages like Old English (OE). Existing tools struggle with the historical language varieties due to insufficient training. Previous research has focused on adapting pretrained language models to new languages or domains but has rarely explored the modeling of language variety across time. Hence, we investigate the effectiveness of continuous language model training for adapting language models to OE on domain-specific data. We compare the continuous training of an English model (EN) and a multilingual model, and use POS tagging for downstream evaluation. Results show that continuous pre-training substantially improves performance. More concretely, EN BERT initially outperformed mBERT with an accuracy of 83% during the language modeling phase. However, on the POS tagging task, mBERT surpassed EN BERT, achieving an accuracy of 94%, which suggests effective performance to the historical language varieties.¹

1 Introduction

Applying Natural Language Processing (NLP) techniques to historical archives is a complex undertaking exacerbated by data scarcity (Biagetti et al., 2024). The limited availability of historical training data has impeded the advancement of NLP applications in archives such as OE due to the laborintensive task required for manual annotation, leaving this domain relatively underexplored (Wunderlich et al., 2015b). Efforts to reduce the cost and human labor in sequence labeling tasks, such as POS tagging through semi-automation, have fallen short of capturing the full complexity of morphosyntactic alignment, highlighting the need for manually

¹Code and language model will be made public upon acceptance.

annotated corpora to obtain meaningful insights in NLP tasks involving historical archives (Moon and Baldridge, 2007).

Despite the capabilities of automated techniques in handling different levels of linguistic annotation (Bollmann, 2013; Hardmeier, 2016; Hämäläinen et al., 2021), manual annotation, though tedious, is an effective method to handle the complexities of varying dialects and the intricate linguistic phenomena of historical language (Beck et al., 2020). Furthermore, orthographic inconsistencies in historical archives pose significant challenges to corpusbased analytical linguistic techniques, including automated tagging, which can sometimes diminish the effectiveness and reliability of the analytical outcome (Baron and Rayson, 2008). One approach to overcome this issue is to normalize the OE data to modern English, thereby enhancing the accuracy of POS tagging (Bollmann, 2019), with manual normalization shown to improve performance across the nuanced historical linguistic features and spelling variations of ancient text (Moon and Baldridge, 2007; Scheible et al., 2011). However, normalization models require annotated training data, which is not available for all varieties of historical languages.

In this paper, we focus on re-training a discriminative language model (i.e. BERT) on OE, a West Germanic language related to Old Frisian and Old Saxon (Yang and Eisenstein, 2016), and demonstrate the refinement of historical archives with the ISWOC corpus (ISWOC, 2014), Complete Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Poetry (Hidley and Macrae-Gibson, 2014), and the Plaintext Wikipedia dump 2018 (Rosa, 2018). Our paper focuses on OE, an earlier stage (mid-fifth century), of the language with unique morphological patterns and features (Baker, 2012). We use POS tagging as a downstream evaluation, to evaluate the effectiveness of the re-training procedure. An example of sentences annotated with POS tags can be seen in Figure 1.

ac	hi	wunedon	on	clænnysse	oð	heora	lifes	ænde	mid	mycclum	geleafan
but	they	lived	in	purity	until	their	lives	end	with	great	faith
C-	Рр	V-	R-	Ν	R-	Ps	Nb	Nb	R-	Ру	Ν

Figure 1: Annotated example from the dataset, including a literal translation. First row: original OE data, Second row: literal English translation, last row: POS tags

Text	# words
Unlabeled OE	
Wikipedia	311,793
Anglo-Saxon Poetry	1,810,636
ISWOC OE corpus	
Orosius	1,728
Ælfric's Lives of Saints	3,137
Apollonius of Tyre	5,541
Anglo-Saxon Chronicles	5,939
West-Saxon Gospels	13,061
Total	29,406

Tabl	e 1	: ()E	data

Our contributions can be summarized as follows:

- Adaptation of English BERT-Base-Uncased and Multilingual Bert-Base-Uncased models to OE through language modeling to enhance the generalization of the unique linguistic structures inherent in the OE language.
- A downstream evaluation of POS tagging tasks assessed the effectiveness of the BERT models on the historical archives.
- In-depth analysis and interpretation of the performance metrics, providing insights into the capabilities of the BERT models.

2 Old English

Historical OE is a West-Germanic language connected to Old Frisian and Old Saxon within the Ingvaeonic language used in England following the settlement of the Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and Frisians from Britain (Brigada Villa and Giarda, 2024). During the mid-fifth century, English-speaking settlers known as the Anglo-Saxons established themselves in Britain until the Norman Conquest. OE was inflected across various POS to denote first, second, and third person, singular and plural forms, and for mood, indicative, subjunctive, and imperative. (Fischer et al., 2017) The OE alphabet (Figure 2) consists of 24 letters (Wunderlich et al., 2015a).

Split	unannotated	annotated
Train	2,039,393	1,000
Dev	41,772	615
Test	41,264	615
Ælfric's Lives of Saints (Out-of-domain)	-	200
Orosius (Out-of-domain)	-	111

Table 2: Dataset splits

As time progressed, OE evolved into four dialects -Northumbrian, spoken north of the river Humber; Mercian, spoken in the Midlands; Kentish, spoken in Kent; and West Saxon, spoken in the southwest (Baker, 2012; Yang and Eisenstein, 2016). These dialects played a critical role in shaping the development of the English language. American regional dialects also have origins in OE dialects, with Standard Modern English primarily influenced by the Mercian dialect (Baker, 2012).

aæbcdðefg/ghilmnoprs/ſtþup/wxy

Figure 2: The OE alphabet

2.1 Data

For the language modeling step, we collected an unlabelled OE corpus (Table 1) using the Complete Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, which includes nine collections of unlabeled OE historical archives (Hidley and Macrae-Gibson, 2014) with the Plaintext Wikipedia dump 2018 (Rosa, 2018), comprising over two million words combined. We excluded fully capitalized texts to prevent potential misrepresentation of the data during pre-training. The ISWOC corpus (Table 1), which includes 2,541 human-annotated sentences in the West Saxon OE dialect, was utilized for supervised learning during our experiment, combining a total of 2,230 sentences for the training and development split and 311 combined sentences from Ælfric's Lives of Saints and Orosius (smallest files) for an out-ofdomain dataset to assess and compare the learning capability of the BERT models (Table 2). The monolingual OE corpus contains morphosyntactic annotation at the sentence segmentation level, listing POS, grammatical features, and lemma form for each token (ISWOC, 2014).

3 Related Work

Research on historical text processing has spanned various low-resourced languages, with efforts dedicated to refining NLP methodologies for better handling ancient and historical data. Previous studies have concentrated on overcoming the unique challenges posed by historical archives, such as developing tools and techniques to improve POS tagging accuracy. The preliminary efforts have paved the way for more effective NLP applications in historical linguistics, offering new opportunities for studying and preserving invaluable linguistic resources (Rayson et al., 2007; Scheible et al., 2011). Prior work included (Rögnvaldsson and Helgadottir, 2008) study on morphosyntactic tagging for Old Norse texts. Sanchez-Marco et al. (2011) also adapted methods for Old Spanish by enhancing dictionaries with word variants and retraining taggers with limited annotated data, demonstrating some applied NLP techniques. Sukhareva and Chiarcos (2014) mapped annotations from English to ancient Germanic languages highlighting the potential to advance our understanding of ancient texts (Yang and Eisenstein, 2016). The Qiu and Xu (2022) study concluded that incorporating historical data during training improved the capacity of BERT for diachronic semantic analysis.

In our experiments, we rely on the domainspecific pre-training technique with unlabeled data using masked language modeling (MLM) to enable BERT and mBERT to learn general language patterns from the unannotated OE archives for the digitization of important works like the OE Beowulf (Brodeur, 1959) poem to preserve historical records (Gururangan et al., 2020).

4 Method

Language Modeling In the first stage of the experiment, the BERT models underwent training to predict masked tokens (Figure 3) using an unlabeled OE corpus following the original procedure proposed by Devlin et al. (2019). The unsupervised learning process enabled the models to learn underlying patterns from the raw OE data without the constraints of pre-existing labels (Berg-Kirkpatrick et al., 2010). The goal of the pre-training phase was to provide the models with a foundational understanding of OE language patterns and morphologi-



Figure 3: Learning curves on OE test data

Model	POS	LM-POS
EN BERT	86.37	92.16
mBERT	88.79	93.70

Table	3:	Accuracy	scores
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cal features for downstream evaluation supervised tasks. We compared batch sizes of 8, 16, and 32 (best performance with 16 batch_size) with a set peak learning rate of 1e-3 (Appendix A) during the language modeling phase to optimize the learning ability of the model to generalize the intricate linguistic patterns of the archives.

We train both the English trained bertbase-uncased, and the multilingual bert-basemultilingual-uncased to evaluate the effect of multilingual training. Upon inspection of the vocabulary of the tokenizers, we find that the special characters used in OE (Section 2) are present in both tokenizers. However, for the English model, they are often only used as separate characters, whereas for the multilingual model, they are only used for subwords from other languages (e.g. Danish, Icelandic), so the tokenizers are likely not trained on much OE data.

POS Tagging The second stage of the experiment involved fine-tuning the BERT models for POS tagging on a manually annotated OE corpus (Table 1) containing 29,406 tokens (ISWOC, 2014). The supervised learning process also involved fine-tuning the BERT models on batch sizes of 8, 16, and 32 (best performance with 8 batch_size) with a set learning rate of 2e-5 (Appendix A) for a controlled evaluation of the learning capacity of the model across tasks.

5 Results

Language Modeling Before the unsupervised task, EN BERT and mBERT demonstrated closely

Metric	A-	C-	Df	Du	F-	G-	I-	N-	Nb	Ne	Pd	Pi	Рр	Ps	Px	Ру	R-	V-
								Е	N BER	Т								
Recall	0.52	0.96	0.76	0	0	0.88	0	0	0.93	0.72	0.91	0.57	0.98	0.98	0.15	0.85	0.97	0.95
Precision	0.49	0.96	0.83	0	0	0.82	0	0	0.85	0.90	0.98	0.50	0.97	0.90	0.50	0.83	0.92	0.95
F1 Score	0.50	0.96	0.79	0	0	0.85	0	0	0.89	0.80	0.95	0.53	0.97	0.95	0.23	0.84	0.95	0.95
								1	nBERT									
Recall	0.66	0.96	0.82	0.07	0	0.83	0	0.30	0.92	0.82	0.94	0.86	0.98	0.94	0.35	0.94	0.97	0.95
Precision	0.59	0.97	0.80	1.00	0	0.81	0	1.00	0.89	0.78	0.96	0.43	0.98	0.94	0.64	0.93	0.94	0.98
F1 Score	0.62	0.97	0.81	0.13	0	0.82	0	0.46	0.91	0.80	0.95	0.57	0.98	0.94	0.45	0.94	0.95	0.96

Table 4: Performance scores on OE test data

comparable performance on the OE archives (Table 3). During language modeling, EN BERT exhibited stable accuracy across various configurations, with minor deviations suggesting consistent learning and effective convergence on the linguistic structures within OE (Figure 3). The stability underscored the capacity of EN BERT to adapt to historical linguistic patterns during the unsupervised phase, forming a robust basis for subsequent tasks. Although mBERT started with a higher accuracy, the model was quickly outperformed by EN BERT when training on more data, suggesting differing adaptation capabilities (Figure 3).

POS Tagging Results from the downstream POS tagging task revealed that, despite lower performance in the language modeling phase, mBERT outperformed EN BERT in the fine-tuning stage, demonstrating better generalization across linguistic features in OE. In the POS tagging task, a reversal in model performance patterns emerged compared to the language modeling task. mBERT achieved higher accuracy, ultimately reaching optimal performance (Appendix B). EN BERT, in contrast, which exhibited progressively improving accuracy and a stable learning trajectory during language modeling, achieved lower performance in the supervised POS tagging task (Appendix C). The shifted learning trend suggested that, although EN BERT adapted effectively to historical linguistic patterns in the unsupervised language modeling phase, mBERT proved more adaptable to generalize the unique linguistic historical OE archives (Figure 3). mBERT also outperformed EN BERT on the out-of-domain data, demonstrating its ability to handle diverse linguistic variations. (Appendix D & E). Based on the results (Table 3, 4 & 5), we hypothesize that mBERT outperformed EN BERT in the downstream POS tagging task due to its multilingual training (both for language modeling and the tokenizer), which allowed the model to general-

Out	-of-dom	ain
Model	POS	LM-POS
EN BERT	71.96	76.71
mBERT	77.87	84.13

Table 5: Out-of-domain accuracy scores

ize the unique linguistic features of the OE archives to achieve optimal results.

6 Analysis

Performance The personal pronouns (Pp) label attained the highest F1 scores, with mBERT recording 0.98, closely followed by EN BERT achieving 0.97 (Table 4) on the unique OE POS labels. A breakdown of the findings revealed that the EN and ML models demonstrated similar trends in capturing the same distribution of three of the 18 POS categories - proper noun (Ne), demonstrative pronoun (Pd), and preposition (R-). mBERT outperformed EN BERT across most of the 18 categories, particularly for personal pronouns (Pp), common nouns (Nb), quantifiers (Py), conjunctions (C-), and verbs (V-). mBERT demonstrated lower performance on the interrogative adverb (DU) and infinitive marker (N-) labels, while EN BERT did not identify the labels. Both models failed to recognize the foreign word (F-) and interjection (I-) labels during the downstream task (Figure 4).

Tagging Discrepancies In some instances, although the BERT models indicated a high confidence level in predicting the POS label for some tokens, the predictions were incorrect, while in a few cases, lower confidence levels aligned with correct classifications (Appendix F).

Misclassifications Tagging discrepancies observed throughout the corpus showed the predicted frequency for adjectives (A-) indicated an over-



Figure 4: F1 results on the OE test data

prediction, manual inspection revealed that this is mainly due to contextual ambiguities in the Ælfric's Lives of Saints archive. Other notable discrepancies included challenges predicting the conjunctions (C-) label, misclassifications for subjunctions (G-) and pronouns (Pp), and underpredictions for adverbs (Df) and possessive pronouns (Ps) (Appendix G).

Low Predictions Underrepresentation of labels in the West Saxon Gospels, particularly for foreign words (F-) and interjections (I-), recorded zero predictions in a few instances despite having actual labels, indicating the challenges of the models to recognize less common POS categories (Appendix H). The EN BERT model also failed to make any predictions for interrogative adverbs (Du) despite 53 representations of the label throughout the biblical archive (Appendix G).

Contextual Errors The POS interjection (I-) label demonstrated a 100% error rate due to the nuanced characteristics of the label to exhibit considerable variability in context and form, which likely obstructed the tagging process. Similarly, the interrogative adverb (DU) also exhibited 100% error, with its syntactic complexity reflecting morphological challenges (Appendix I).

7 Conclusion and Future Work

In this paper, we introduced, to the best of our knowledge, the first historical language model specifically developed for OE. We demonstrated that retraining on limited data can lead to substantial improvements in performance, as evidenced by state-of-the-art scores in part-of-speech (POS) tagging (Eiselen and Gaustad, 2023). The pre-training of the BERT models on raw historical OE

archives enhanced the POS tagging performance. The fine-tuning of the BERT models on a manually annotated OE corpus allowed the models to refine predictions to achieve high accuracy (Figure 3). The findings underscored the value of combining unsupervised and supervised training techniques to enhance POS tagging for historical languages. Nevertheless, our analysis highlighted that employing NLP techniques on historical OE archives is a difficult task. Future research should address the misclassification errors while developing strategies to enhance the generalization of the unique grammatical structures inherent in OE, including testing different models to optimize performance.

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A Hyperparameters

Model	dropout rate	learning rate	weight decay	batch size	steps / epochs	optimizer
LM	0.1	1e-3	0.01	8 , 16, 32	10k	adamw
POS	0.1	2e-5	0.1	8 , 16, 32	10	adamw

Table 6: Training hyperparameters, best in bold.

B mBERT Metrics



Figure 5: mBERT accuracy and loss metrics across different batch sizes

C EN BERT Metrics



Figure 6: EN BERT accuracy and loss metrics across different batch sizes

D mBERT Out-of-domain Metrics



Figure 7: mBERT Out-of-domain accuracy and loss metrics across different batch sizes

E EN BERT Out-of-domain Metrics



Figure 8: EN BERT Out-of-domain accuracy and loss metrics across different batch sizes

F Tagging Errors

POS	Summary	Actual FQ	Bert FQ	mBERT FQ	Error
А	adjective	168	174	195	misclassification
Du	interrogative adverb	53	0	0	no prediction
F-	foreign word	12	0	0	no prediction
G-	subjunction	111	128	131	misclassification
I-	interjection	10	0	0	no prediction
Nb	common noun	264	311	368	misclassification

Table 7: Most frequent POS tagging errors

G Lowest Predicted Frequency

H OE POS Tags

POS	Actual FQ	Bert FQ	mBERT FQ	POS	Summary
A-	331	184	189	A-	adjective
C-	1141	382	383	C-	conjunction
Df	1076	379	365	Df	adverb
Du	53	0	0	Du	interrogative adverb
F-	12	0	0	F-	foreign word
G-	528	287	284	G-	subjunction
I-	10	0	0	I-	interjection
N-	10	6	7	N-	infinitive marker
Nb	1830	1011	969	Nb	common noun
Ne	341	182	176	Ne	proper noun
Pd	765	356	354	Pd	demonstrative prono
Pi	57	21	22	Pi	interrogative pronou
Рр	1836	993	1002	Рр	personal pronoun
Ps	326	192	194	Ps	possessive pronoun
Px	40	8	9	Px	indefinite pronoun
Py	412	221	244	Ру	quantifier
R-	895	508	503	R-	preposition
V-	2835	1524	1553	V-	verb

Table 8: West-Saxon Gospels

Table 9: A list of the POS labels in the ISWOC Corpus

POS	Actual FQ	Bert FQ	mBERT FQ	POS	Actual FQ	Bert FQ	mBERT FQ
A-	175	170	171	A-	78	65	77
C-	587	330	330	C-	121	85	85
Df	518	409	410	Df	164	131	129
F-	6	3	4	Du	2	0	0
G-	136	126	126	G-	78	85	85
N-	2	2	2	Nb	264	311	268
Nb	1042	1042	1041	Ne	97	75	89
Ne	630	629	629	Pd	151	134	134
Pd	478	450	450	Pi	3	2	1
Pi	1	1	0	Рр	132	122	119
Рр	274	273	272	Ps	29	29	31
Ps	76	76	77	Px	11	6	7
Px	12	11	12	Ру	125	119	127
Ру	280	278	277	R-	174	161	161
R-	653	647	647	V-	272	265	277
V-	858	850	849				
	(a) Angle	o-Saxon Chro	onicles			(b) Orosius	
POS	Actual FQ	Bert FQ	mBERT FQ	POS	Actual FQ	Bert FQ	mBERT FQ
POS A-	Actual FQ 237	Bert FQ 225	mBERT FQ 226	POS A-	Actual FQ 168	Bert FQ 174	mBERT FQ 195
POS A- C-	Actual FQ 237 317	Bert FQ 225 222	mBERT FQ 226 221	POS A- C-	Actual FQ 168 211	Bert FQ 174 147	mBERT FQ 195 144
POS A- C- Df	Actual FQ 237 317 531	Bert FQ 225 222 418	mBERT FQ 226 221 420	POS A- C- Df	Actual FQ 168 211 245	Bert FQ 174 147 193	mBERT FQ 195 144 193
POS A- C- Df Du	Actual FQ 237 317 531 9	Bert FQ 225 222 418 0	mBERT FQ 226 221 420 4	POS A- C- Df Du	Actual FQ 168 211 245 7	Bert FQ 174 147 193 0	mBERT FQ 195 144 193 0
POS A- C- Df Du F-	Actual FQ 237 317 531 9 16	Bert FQ 225 222 418 0 14	mBERT FQ 226 221 420 4 14	POS A- C- Df Du F-	Actual FQ 168 211 245 7 20	Bert FQ 174 147 193 0 0	mBERT FQ 195 144 193 0 4
POS A- C- Df Du F- G-	Actual FQ 237 317 531 9 16 267	Bert FQ 225 222 418 0 14 261	mBERT FQ 226 221 420 4 14 257	POS A- C- Df Du F- G-	Actual FQ 168 211 245 7 20 111	Bert FQ 174 147 193 0 0 128	mBERT FQ 195 144 193 0 4 131
POS A- C- Df Du F- G- I-	Actual FQ 237 317 531 9 16 267 9	Bert FQ 225 222 418 0 14 261 0	mBERT FQ 226 221 420 4 14 257 0	POS A- C- Df Du F- G- I-	Actual FQ 168 211 245 7 20 111 7	Bert FQ 174 147 193 0 0 128 0	mBERT FQ 195 144 193 0 4 131 0
POS A- C- Df Du F- G- I- N-	Actual FQ 237 317 531 9 16 267 9 3	Bert FQ 225 222 418 0 14 261 0 3	mBERT FQ 226 221 420 4 14 257 0 3	POS A- C- Df Du F- G- I- N-	Actual FQ 168 211 245 7 20 111 7 1	Bert FQ 174 147 193 0 0 128 0 0 0	mBERT FQ 195 144 193 0 4 131 0 1
POS A- C- Df Du F- G- I- N- Nb	Actual FQ 237 317 531 9 16 267 9 3 852	Bert FQ 225 222 418 0 14 261 0 3 838	mBERT FQ 226 221 420 4 14 257 0 3 838	POS A- C- Df Du F- G- I- N- Nb	Actual FQ 168 211 245 7 20 111 7 1 575	Bert FQ 174 147 193 0 0 128 0 0 589	mBERT FQ 195 144 193 0 4 131 0 1 529
POS A- C- Df Du F- G- I- N- Nb Ne	Actual FQ 237 317 531 9 16 267 9 3 852 171	Bert FQ 225 222 418 0 14 261 0 3 838 140	mBERT FQ 226 221 420 4 14 257 0 3 838 140	POS A- C- Df Du F- G- I- N- Nb Ne	Actual FQ 168 211 245 7 20 111 7 1 575 169	Bert FQ 174 147 193 0 0 128 0 0 589 149	mBERT FQ 195 144 193 0 4 131 0 1 529 145
POS A- C- Df Du F- G- I- N- Nb Ne Pd	Actual FQ 237 317 531 9 16 267 9 3 852 171 434	Bert FQ 225 222 418 0 14 261 0 3 838 140 400	mBERT FQ 226 221 420 4 14 257 0 3 838 140 401	POS A- C- Df Du F- G- I- N- Nb Ne Pd	Actual FQ 168 211 245 7 20 111 7 1 575 169 256	Bert FQ 174 147 193 0 0 128 0 0 589 149 242	mBERT FQ 195 144 193 0 4 131 0 1 529 145 239
POS A- C- Df Du F- G- I- N- Nb Ne Pd Pi	Actual FQ 237 317 531 9 16 267 9 3 852 171 434 27	Bert FQ 225 222 418 0 14 261 0 3 838 140 400 22	mBERT FQ 226 221 420 4 14 257 0 3 838 140 401 20	POS A- C- Df Du F- G- I- N- Nb Ne Pd Pi	Actual FQ 168 211 245 7 20 111 7 1 575 169 256 3	Bert FQ 174 147 193 0 0 128 0 0 589 149 242 2	mBERT FQ 195 144 193 0 4 131 0 1 529 145 239 3
POS A- C- Df Du F- G- I- N- Nb Ne Pd Pi Pp	Actual FQ 237 317 531 9 16 267 9 3 852 171 434 27 645	Bert FQ 225 222 418 0 14 261 0 3 838 140 400 22 606	mBERT FQ 226 221 420 4 14 257 0 3 838 140 401 20 606	POS A- C- Df Du F- G- I- N- Nb Ne Pd Pi Pp	Actual FQ 168 211 245 7 20 111 7 1 575 169 256 3 220	Bert FQ 174 147 193 0 0 128 0 0 128 0 0 589 149 242 2 2 232	mBERT FQ 195 144 193 0 4 131 0 1 529 145 239 3 215
POS A- C- Df Du F- G- I- N- Nb Ne Pd Pi Pp Ps	Actual FQ 237 317 531 9 16 267 9 3 852 171 434 27 645 166	Bert FQ 225 222 418 0 14 261 0 3 838 140 400 22 606 162	mBERT FQ 226 221 420 4 14 257 0 3 838 140 401 20 606 162	POS A- C- Df Du F- G- I- N- Nb Ne Pd Pi Pp Ps	Actual FQ 168 211 245 7 20 111 7 1 575 169 256 3 220 85	Bert FQ 174 147 193 0 0 128 0 0 128 0 0 589 149 242 2 2 232 55	mBERT FQ 195 144 193 0 4 131 0 1 529 145 239 3 215 84
POS A- C- Df Du F- G- I- N- Nb Ne Pd Pi Pp Ps Px	Actual FQ 237 317 531 9 16 267 9 3 852 171 434 27 645 166 13	Bert FQ 225 222 418 0 14 261 0 3 838 140 400 22 606 162 14	mBERT FQ 226 221 420 4 14 257 0 3 838 140 401 20 606 162 13	POS A- C- Df Du F- G- I- N- Nb Ne Pd Pi Pp Ps Px	Actual FQ 168 211 245 7 20 111 7 1 575 169 256 3 220 85 3	Bert FQ 174 147 193 0 0 128 0 0 128 0 0 589 149 242 2 2 242 2 2 232 55 2	mBERT FQ 195 144 193 0 4 131 0 1 529 145 239 3 215 84 4
POS A- C- Df Du F- G- I- N- Nb Ne Pd Pi Pp Ps Px Py	Actual FQ 237 317 531 9 16 267 9 3 852 171 434 27 645 166 13 124	Bert FQ 225 222 418 0 14 261 0 3 838 140 400 22 606 162 14 123	mBERT FQ 226 221 420 4 14 257 0 3 838 140 401 20 606 162 13 123	POS A- C- Df Du F- G- I- N- Nb Ne Pd Pi Pp Ps Px Py	Actual FQ 168 211 245 7 20 111 7 1 575 169 256 3 220 85 3 92	Bert FQ 174 147 193 0 0 128 0 0 128 0 0 589 149 242 2 232 55 2 80	mBERT FQ 195 144 193 0 4 131 0 1 529 145 239 3 215 84 4 73
POS A- C- Df Du F- G- I- N- Nb Ne Pd Pi Pp Ps Px Py R-	Actual FQ 237 317 531 9 16 267 9 3 852 171 434 27 645 166 13 124 412	Bert FQ 225 222 418 0 14 261 0 3 838 140 400 22 606 162 14 123 380	mBERT FQ 226 221 420 4 14 257 0 3 838 140 401 20 606 162 13 123 380	POS A- C- Df Du F- G- I- N- Nb Ne Pd Pi Pp Ps Px Py R-	Actual FQ 168 211 245 7 20 111 7 1 575 169 256 3 220 85 3 92 303	Bert FQ 174 147 193 0 0 128 0 0 128 0 0 589 149 242 2 232 55 2 80 298	mBERT FQ 195 144 193 0 4 131 0 1 529 145 239 3 215 84 4 73 297

I Actual Frequency vs. Predicted Frequency

(c) Apollonius of Tyre

(d) Ælfric's Lives of Saints

Table 10: Actual and predicted POS frequencies