Abstract

The extensive surviving corpus of the ancient scholar Plutarch of Chaeronea (ca. 45-120 CE) also contains several texts which, according to current scholarly opinion, did not originate with him and are therefore attributed to an anonymous author Pseudo-Plutarch. These include, in particular, the work Placita Philosophorum (Quotations and Opinions of the Ancient Philosophers), which is extremely important for the history of ancient philosophy. Little is known about the identity of that anonymous author and its relation to other authors from the same period. This paper presents a BERT language model for Ancient Greek. The model discovers previously unknown statistical properties relevant to these literary, philosophical, and historical problems and can shed new light on this authorship question. In particular, the Placita Philosophorum, together with one of the other Pseudo-Plutarch texts, shows similarities with the texts written by authors from an Alexandrian context (2nd/3rd century CE).

1 Introduction

Authorship attribution through some form of statistical inference dates at least half of a century back, when Mosteller and Wallace used statistics of short, frequent words to estimate authorship of Federalist Papers, disputed by Mosteller and Wallace (1963). The physicist Fucks (1968) was the first who systematically developed the methods that relied on statistical patterns like word or sentence length that have been found to be able to distinguish between different authors. While undeniably successful in many cases, they do not require any deeper understanding of the texts in question and therefore have their natural limitations. For a detailed review of various authorship attribution methods developed further, we refer the reader to (Stamatatos, 2009). These methods rely on statistical patterns like word or sentence length that have been found to be able to distinguish between different authors. While undeniably successful in many cases, they do not require any deeper understanding of the texts in question and therefore have their natural limitations.

Transformer artificial neural networks have shown spectacular success in machine translation and answering search queries by internally extracting, after extensive pretraining, abstract patterns, and long-range dependencies in human language samples through encoder hierarchies (Vaswani et al., 2017). Therefore, it seems natural to apply such schemes to other tasks that traditionally depended on human language understanding. Thus, this paper uses versions of BERT to investigate questions of authorship in Ancient Greek literature. Such models have already been used for authorship attribution, but the actual number of cases is still limited. Fabien et al. (2020) demonstrate that fine-tuning of a pretrained BERT language model with an additional dense layer and a softmax activation allows performing authorship classification. Polignano et al. (2020) use BERT for author profiling in social media and conclude that despite encouraging results in terms of reliability, the computational power required for running such a model is too demanding for the task. These results show that transformers could be successfully used for authorship attribution, yet the application of these models to historical texts is still limited. Specifically, Bamman and Burns (2020) develop BERT
for Latin and (Assael et al., 2019) train an LSTM language model of Ancient Greek. There is also a char-BERT implementation\(^1\), but we do not know of any public full BERT model trained to work with Ancient Greek. We are also unaware of any examples when BERT was used successfully for authorship attribution of historical documents.

For this paper, we focus on Plutarch of Chaeronea (ca. 45-120 CE), a Greek philosopher and biographer. His parallel biographies (one Greek and one Roman) and his philosophical-ethical writings, which he wrote in the tradition of Plato, intending to establish a coherent system, have been widely read in ancient and modern times. This paper addresses the authorship attribution of three manuscripts attributed in antiquity to Plutarch: "De Fluviis", "De Musica", and "Placita Philosophorum" (abstracts and quotations from the now lost works of the ancient philosophers or schools). Classicists argue that these three texts were not written by Plutarch himself, yet the actual author(s) of these manuscripts is/are not known, and in particular, the question of authorship of the Placita Philosophorum has been widely discussed (Mansfeld and Runia, 1997, 2009a, 2018, 2020). So far, no decisive philological proof could resolve this question, and therefore evidence achieved through modern language processing techniques constitutes a valuable addition to this debate.

The contributions of this paper are as follows:

- we use a transfer learning approach to train BERT for Ancient Greek;
- we demonstrate that this language model is useful for authorship attribution of Ancient Greek texts;
- we obtain results that may be used as evidence in the process of authorship attribution of the Pseudo-Plutarchean texts;
- we obtain new insights into the paths along which the reception of ancient philosophy was developed.

3 **Ancient Greek BERT**

The resulting amount of data was too small to train Ancient Greek BERT from scratch. However, data sets of smaller sizes are routinely used for transfer learning and fine-tuning of transformers. Thus, we suggest obtaining BERT for Ancient Greek via transfer learning on a Masked Language Modelling (MLM) task. One could either use Multilingual BERT\(^5\) or Greek BERT\(^6\) as a starting model for knowledge transfer. The resulting model could then further be fine-tuned for the task of authorship attribution in Ancient Greek.

3.1 **Tokenizers**

The tokenization of words into sub-word tokens is a crucial preprocessing step that can affect the performance of the model. Up to this point, we were using "words" as a linguistic term, whereas we understand tokens as the output of a tokenization algorithm. Thus, there would be one or more tokens that represent every word. Counting the number of tokens used on average to represent a word or, conversely, an average number of words per token gives an estimate of how fit the tokenization is for the data set. In particular, the average number of words per token varies from 0 to 1, and the closer it is to 1, the more words are represented with one token. Various researchers have shown that corpus-specific tokenization could be beneficial for an NLP task. For example, Sennrich et al.\(^2\)

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\(^1\)https://github.com/brennannicholson/ancient-greek-char-bert

\(^5\)102 languages including Modern Greek, 110M parameters, see https://github.com/google-research/bert/blob/master/multilingual.md

\(^6\)Modern Greek language, 110M parameters, see https://huggingface.co/nlpaueb/bert-base-greek-uncased-v1
(2016b) show that optimal vocabulary is dependent on the frequencies of the words in the target corpus. Lakew et al. (2019) and Aji et al. (2020) partially discuss the tokenization in the setting of cross-language transfer. Though Aji et al. (2020) demonstrate that there is no clear evidence that one parent is better than another for cross-lingual transfer learning, they also show that token matching and joint vocabulary (Nguyen and Chiang, 2017) are the best ways to handle the embedding layer during transfer learning.

Since each model has its own specific tokenizer before pretraining, one wants to measure how well each of them works with Ancient Greek. To do that, one could take two sample data sets: a sample of Modern Greek Wikipedia (referred to in Table 1 as “modern”) and a comparable sample of Ancient Greek (“ancient” in Table 1). Each data sample is tokenized with both the Modern Greek BERT tokenizer7 and the Multilingual BERT tokenizer8. One can speculate that the model uses shorter tokens to adopt grammatical information and deal with longer, rarely observed words. In contrast, the representations with longer tokens could be useful for semantically intensive problems. These longer, semantically charged tokens may vary significantly on various downstream tasks. Thus, the average length of a token and the average number of words per token, shown in Table 1, could be coarsely used as an estimate of the resulting tokenization. One could claim that the higher these values, the more apt the tokenizer is for the task. Indeed, higher average length of a token and number of words per token mean that longer, more semantically charged tokens could be matched for transfer; see (Singh et al., 2019; Aji et al., 2020; Samenko et al., 2021) for a detailed discussion of various tokenization properties.

It is hard to compare the resulting tokenizations that we obtain for the same vocabulary size. Some of the tokens occur in both tokenizations, yet have different frequencies, and some are unique for one of the tokenizations. We want to emphasize that direct token matching would not be relevant for comparing the models. Indeed, a frequent token not matching might significantly influence the downstream performance, while several low-frequency non-matching tokens might not have any noticeable effect on the downstream performance. For a detailed comparison, we publish the resulting vocabularies along with relative frequencies of the tokens obtained9.

Looking at Table 1, one could conclude that the tokenizer of Modern Greek BERT is a preferable solution for Ancient Greek. However, the higher number of symbols or words per token does not automatically guarantee that the overall performance of the model after fine-tuning would be superior in terms of performance on a downstream task.

3.2 Training Ancient Greek BERT via Transfer Learning

If related tasks are available, we can fine-tune the model first on a related task with more data before fine-tuning it on the target task, see (Ruder et al., 2019). This helps particularly for tasks with limited data (Phang et al., 2018) and improves sample efficiency on the target task (Yogatama et al., 2019). Since we have a limited amount of Ancient Greek texts, we want to do language transfer from Modern Greek to Ancient Greek training a masked language model (MLM)10 of the Ancient Greek text.

After splitting the original documents in Ancient Greek into semi-sentences with nltk.sent_tokenize() we obtain 162 490 lines of text for MLM training. With a learning rate of $1e^{-4}$ and a block size of 512 we ran MLM on the obtained data set once to avoid any overfitting. As mentioned, the models use different tokenizers, so we cannot compare their performance directly regarding the MLM loss. Since the ultimate goal of this project is authorship attribution, it makes sense to compare the resulting models in terms of the accuracy of the resulting author classifiers that one could build on top of the BERT after MLM transfer learning of Ancient Greek.

3.3 Authorship Attribution with Ancient Greek BERT

Let us now check whether BERT after transfer learning via MLM on Ancient Greek texts can be further fine-tuned for authorship attribution. For that purpose, we build an authorship attribution data set using the sixteen most prolific authors of the period in question, the 1st-3rd century CE: Galenus, Origenes, Plutarch, Cassius Dio, Flavius Josephus, Philo Judaeus, Athenaeus,
Claudius Ptolemaeus, Aelius Aristides, Strabo, Lucianus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Appianus, Pausanias, Sextus Empiricus, Dio Chrysostomus. Texts by Pseudo-Plutarch are not included in the authorship attribution data set, yet the obtained classifier would be further used to analyze these impersonated documents.

From Dio Chrysostomus we had only 5580 sentences available for training, but this amount of data could be sufficient (Zhang et al., 2020) to train a well-performing BERT-based classifier. For the author classifier, to avoid bias from different sentences, we sample 5 580 sentences from every author in this list. We also include the label "Others" for 5 580 random sentences by less prolific authors who were not included in this shortlist. The choice of the number of authors balances the requirement to have enough data to train the classifier and the wish to include as many authors in the authorship attribution classifier as possible.

We thus have seventeen categories (sixteen authors and one extra category denoted as "Others") with 5 580 sentences in each. Five thousand eighty sentences out of every category are used for fine-tuning, while five hundred random sentences in every category are set aside for validation.

We use this data set to train BERT Classifiers similarly to (Fabien et al., 2020). Table 2 shows the validation accuracy for Modern Greek and Multilingual BERTs after MLM on Ancient Greek and 10 epochs of classifier training. Table 2 also shows a standard NLTK Naive Bayes Classifier trained on the 2 000 most frequent unigrams as a reference point for authorship attribution accuracy.

Table 1: In comparison with multilingual BERT, Greek BERT tokenizer shows a higher number of symbols and words per token for both Modern and Ancient Greek

| Tokenizer         | Symbols per Token | Words per Token |
|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Modern Greek      | 4.52              | 0.72            |
| Ancient Greek     | 2.98              | 0.46            |

Table 2: After MLM training and ten epoch of fine-tuning for authorship attribution, the validation accuracy of Modern Greek BERT is slightly higher than that of the Multilingual BERT after similar fine-tuning procedures. Modern Greek BERT fine-tuned for authorship attribution without MLM transfer learning phase shows lower validation accuracy. All BERT-based classifiers significantly outperform the Naive Bayes Classifier that uses the two thousand most frequent unigrams. Another baseline attributes one of seventeen labels to the text at random.

Though all BERT-based classifiers show comparable validation accuracy, Modern Greek BERT after MLM on ancient texts is slightly better than Multilingual BERT in terms of validation accuracy. Fine-tuning Modern Greek BERT for authorship attribution without MLM transfer learning phase also provides lower validation accuracy in comparison with the combination of MLM transfer and

11AdamW, LR = 2e-5, eps = 1e-8, linear_schedule

fine-tuning.

Since Modern Greek BERT fine-tuned for authorship attribution after MLM shows the best validation accuracy, we use it for the subsequent analysis. Table 3 shows the confusion matrix of the resulting classifier on 500 validation sentences by every author.

Table 3 shows that the authorship attribution model works rather well. The errors mostly happen in sentences that have a topical affinity to another author or on authors with similar regional backgrounds. That observation suggests developing a separate regional classifier that might help authorship attribution. This classifier is described in detail in the next Subsection.

3.4 Regional Attribution with Ancient Greek BERT

Since Ancient Greek was used in various regions and territories, one might expect that the texts also show regional peculiarities. Such peculiarities then should also be detectable by a dedicated regional BERT Classifier. We constructed three coarse regions for the origins of the authors in the data set:
Table 3: The confusion matrix of the obtained authorship classifier. Every horizontal line sums up to 500 sentences by the corresponding author that were set aside for validation. Every column shows the number of sentences labelled by classifier as sentences authored by the corresponding author.

Figure 1: A map showing relative position on three potential regions relevant for authorship attribution of Pseudo-Plutarch documents.

a region surrounding Delphi, where Plutarch was working, a region in the proximity of Alexandria, and the region of ancient Ionia, namely the ancient region on the central part of the western coast of modern Anatolia, see Figure 1. After balancing texts written by authors in these three regions with the fourth label that includes random sentences from authors outside of these regions, we train another BERT-based classifier to achieve a 0.79 validation accuracy for the region of the author. Table 4 shows the results of the obtained classifier on the validation set.

With the author classifier having 80% validation accuracy on eighteen author categories and the regional classifier having 79% validation accuracy on four regional categories, we can try to get some insights into the origins of the Pseudo-Plutarch texts.

4 Classifying Pseudo-Plutarch

Our stated aim was to obtain further insights into the authorship attribution of three manuscripts attributed to Plutarch in antiquity: "De Fluviis", "De Musica", and "Placita Philosopherorum". Though classicists argue that these three texts were not written by Plutarch himself, the actual author(s) of these manuscripts is/are not known. Thus any new insights into the authorship of these documents might be useful to advance classical philology and ancient history.

Let us now split these three Pseudo-Plutarchean texts into the separate sentences and apply the author classifier described above to these texts. Table 5 shows the authors that are most frequently attributed within a particular document, along with the share of sentences attributed to them. We have double-checked these results using an alternative scoring method. Instead of classifying every sen-

Table 3

| Author          | G  | O  | P  | CD | FJ | PJ | A  | CP | AA | S  | L  | CA | Ap | P  | SE | DC | other |
|-----------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|-------|
| Galenus         | 416| 7  | 5  | 1  | 1  | 4  | 5  | 5  | 6  | 3  | 3  | 5  | 1  | 0  | 6  | 10  | 22   |
| Origenes        | 396| 0  | 1  | 6  | 4  | 5  | 12 | 1  | 3  | 0  | 24 | 0  | 0  | 6  | 5   | 35   |
| Plutarchus      | 390| 3  | 9  | 8  | 17 | 2  | 2  | 5  | 2  | 5  | 12 | 1  | 6  | 13 | 16   |
| Cassius Dio     | 1  | 0  | 8  | 428| 5  | 2  | 2  | 0  | 7  | 8  | 2  | 1  | 17 | 6   | 0    | 7    |
| Flavius Josephus| 3  | 10 | 5  | 418| 2  | 4  | 6  | 8  | 9  | 6  | 1  | 8  | 0  | 4   | 9    | 4    |
| Philo Judeaicus | 5  | 10 | 3  | 16 | 403| 3  | 3  | 2  | 3  | 3  | 12 | 0  | 0   | 11   | 8    | 5    |
| Athenaeus       | 11 | 6  | 17 | 4  | 4  | 2  | 368| 4  | 7  | 11 | 9  | 7  | 2   | 6    | 6    | 14   | 22   |
| Claudius Ptolemaeus | 3 | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 1  | 480| 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0   | 5    | 0    | 3    |
| Aelius Aristides| 7  | 6  | 6  | 6  | 7  | 2  | 5  | 0  | 368| 8  | 10 | 6  | 1   | 3    | 3    | 40   | 22   |
| Strabo          | 4  | 5  | 9  | 0  | 3  | 2  | 7  | 1  | 9  | 432| 4  | 1  | 3   | 6    | 4    | 4    | 6    |
| Lucianus        | 2  | 3  | 6  | 1  | 5  | 4  | 9  | 0  | 13 | 9  | 360| 12 | 5   | 6    | 6    | 30   | 29   |
| Clemens Alexandrinus | 8 | 28 | 3  | 4  | 10 | 14 | 4  | 1  | 6  | 5  | 349 | 0  | 5   | 17   | 11   | 27   |
| Appianus        | 1  | 0  | 10 | 18 | 8  | 2  | 2  | 1  | 3  | 2  | 5  | 3  | 437 | 0    | 0    | 3    | 5    |
| Pausanias       | 0  | 1  | 1  | 2  | 0  | 0  | 2  | 0  | 4  | 3  | 2  | 3  | 2  | 472  | 0    | 3    | 5    |
| Sextus Empiricus| 2  | 4  | 6  | 0  | 1  | 1  | 4  | 1  | 2  | 2  | 11 | 0  | 0   | 446  | 7    | 12   |
| Dio Chrysostomus| 2  | 4  | 12 | 9  | 5  | 3  | 7  | 0  | 9  | 10 | 10 | 9  | 6   | 4    | 2    | 398  | 10   |
| other           | 17 | 23 | 22 | 7  | 6  | 15 | 32 | 14 | 10 | 6  | 12 | 18 | 6   | 9    | 40   | 21   | 242  |
Table 4: Results of the BERT-based regional classifier on 4000 sentences set aside for validation.

| Predicted Region | Pergamon Region | Alexandria Region | Delphi Region | Other Regions |
|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Pergamon         | 83%             | 3%                | 3%            | 7%            |
| Alexandria       | 5%              | 77%               | 7%            | 10%           |
| Delphi           | 4%              | 5%                | 81%           | 8%            |
| Other            | 8%              | 15%               | 9%            | 75%           |

tence in a document and then averaging the classifier’s results across all sentences, one could obtain probability scores for every author that the model estimates for every sentence. Averaging those probabilities throughout the document, one could obtain the three most-probable author candidates. These three most-probable authors turn out to be exactly the same for all three documents as the ones in Table 5. Moreover, the resulting probabilities of the authorship are also the same for all three most probable authors across all three documents under examination.

Table 5 demonstrates that the resulting authorship profiles differ for all three documents. However, the sample size for De Fluvii and De Musica is smaller than the sample size for Placita Philosophorum. Plutarch ends up being in the top three of the most frequently predicted authors only in De Musica. For De Fluvii and De Musica Athenaeus ends up being the most frequent guess of the BERT authorship classifier, while for Placita Philosophorum "other" is the most frequent attribution. Claudius Ptolemaeus and Sextus Empiricus are, respectively, the second and the third most frequent guesses.

Figure 2 shows the regional profile obtained with the BERT-based regional classifier. Once again, all three works show different structural properties. While the model associates every second sentence from De Fluvii and De Musica with the Delphi region, it only attributes 15% of the sentences from Placita Philosophorum to Delphi. The model is far more uncertain about the third document. Every fourth sentence in Placita Philosophorum is associated with the Alexandrian region, while almost half is labeled as "other".

All in all, the result shows that the Placita Philosophorum is closely related to a philosophical-scientific tradition from the 1st century CE to ca. 220/250 CE. Possibly one could even see an embedding into a specifically Alexandrian context, which despite very different contents of the works (Strabo as a geographer, Ptolemy as mathematician and geographer, Athenaeus as an anthologist, and Sextus as a skeptic), is related to the Pseudo-Plutarckian Placita. The parallels between Pseudo-Plutarck and Sextus Empiricus have already been pointed out several times in the literature (Mansfeld and Runia, 2020); connections to Claudius Ptolemaeus have not been considered so far. It is fascinating that in this group of three (Pseudo-Plutarck, Claudius Ptolemaeus, and Sextus Empiri-
Table 5: The most frequently attributed authors in the three Pseudo-Plutarchean texts.

|                  | Sample Size | Top 1 Share | Top 2 Share | Top 3 Share |
|------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| De Fluviis       | 310         | Athenaeus   | Others      | Strabo      |
| De Musica        | 285         | Athenaeus   | Plutarch    | Empiricus   |
| Placita Philosophorum | 928     | Others      | Ptolemaeus  | Empiricus   |

5 Discussion

Koppel et al. (2009) classify fundamental problems that arise when researchers try to establish authorship via statistical inference. One of the fallacies associated with such research is the so-called "needle in a haystack" fallacy. This may arise when the number of potential author candidates is exceedingly large, yet these authors are not necessarily represented in the training data. We are aware of this problem converting authorship attribution of Pseudo-Plutarchean texts with regard to the complicated and often fragmentary transmission of ancient texts as well as the complex research discussion (Mansfeld and Runia, 1997, 2009a,b, 2018, 2020). However, this paper provides new meaningful insights into the possible relationships and background of these texts. In particular, we have obtained evidence that the pseudo-Plutarchian texts investigated here did not originate from Plutarch himself, and we could narrow down the intellectual context, both concerning the time and the region, from which they most likely arose, although none of the other authors that we have used for comparison emerges as Pseudo-Plutarch. We have also detected systematic relations between authors from the 1st-3rd century CE that should merit closer philological analysis.

We publish the weights of the obtained BERT for Ancient Greek and hope it will facilitate further applications of modern language models to ancient texts. We are also working on a detailed follow-up that analyzes results obtained using classicist expertise. One has to remember that ancient linguists typically are facing the so-called problem of "small data". Dead languages can have limited data sets available for research. The paper demonstrates that sometimes transfer learning could be a feasible workaround.

Since we are interested in a particular histori-
cal time-span around Plutarch, we did not provide details on other potential applications for the resulting model. However, one could list several further applications that might interest historians and, to our knowledge, are not developed to this day. Stylistic attributes of text include author-specific attributes (see (Xu et al., 2012) or (Jhamtani et al., 2017) on ‘shakespearization’), politeness (Sennrich et al., 2016a), gender or political slant (Prabhumoye et al., 2018), formality of speech (Rao and Tetreault, 2018) but most importantly for the scope of this work the ‘style of the time’ (Hughes et al., 2012). Using the provided approach for the historical dating of the documents is a feasible option that might bring new historical insights. It is only the question of data and their quality. For example, one could try to use a corpus spanning several hundreds of years, fine-tune the developed model for the task of date attribution and see if it could work reasonably well. This is a possible further line of work to pursue, yet it is outside of the scope of this contribution.

6 Conclusion

This paper develops BERT for Ancient Greek. It demonstrates that Modern Greek BERT after transfer learning via MLM on Ancient Greek texts could be further fine-tuned as an authorship attribution classifier for ancient texts. The validation accuracy of authorship attribution is shown to be 80%. The model is then used to analyze text attributed to Pseudo-Plutarch. It shows that three documents have distinctly different statistical properties, and while De Musica and De Fluviis might originate with the same author, Placita Philosophorum has a different authorship and regional profile. Thus, the classification of authorship allows the search for the authors of the 3 works gathered under Pseudo-Plutarch to be narrowed down to the 1st-3rd century CE, suggesting that at least one of the authors may have come from the vicinity of Alexandria.

Limitations

The research relies on the pre-trained mBERT model as well as the Greek BERT. Yet we believe the proposed fine-tuning procedure could be applicable to other low-resource languages. GPU is preferable to achieve results within a reasonable time.

Ethics Statement

This paper complies with the ACL Ethics Policy.

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A Appendix

We have studied two different ways of data splitting to address possible questions on the validity of the proposed machine learning pipeline. The first preprocessing described above splits the texts into sentences and then randomly splits them into training, validation, and testing. This splitting might create some dependencies in the evaluation sets since sentences from the same text could be in training, validation, and testing sets. This potentially could lead to higher evaluation scores, so here we briefly discuss another way of splitting data that could not be prone to such data’ leak’. Let us refine our data set leaving only the authors that have produced several documents. Let’s do the test-train split so that whole documents end up in the train or the test set. This split limits the list of authors even further, yet it is not a problem in this context. Table 6 summarizes the result on the test set.

|                          | Validation Acc. |
|--------------------------|-----------------|
| Greek BERT with MLM      | 83.8%           |
| Greek BERT without MLM   | 83.4%           |
| **M-BERT with MLM**      | **83.8%**       |
| M-BERT without MLM       | 81.6%           |
| Naive Bayes              | 75.8%           |
| Random Author Assignment | 11.2%           |

Table 6: Accuracy of the authorship classifier on the test set for the document-balanced splitting.

Once again, the models fine-tuned with MLM and then trained on the downstream classification show the highest accuracy. The accuracy is even higher than with the document-agnostic sentence-based train-test split. This further illustrates that the sentence-base split is a valid method to train the classifiers.