

Mandarin Tonal Adaptation: How English Loanwords in Mandarin Get Tone

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Loanwords and Loanword Adaptation

- **Loanwords:** words borrowed from one language into another
 - English borrowed *entrepreneur* from French
- **Loanword adaptation:** process by which borrowed words made to fit into grammar of borrowing language
- **Phonological adaptation:**
 - French [ɑ̃tʁɛpʁənœʁ] → English [ɑntɹɛpɹənɹ] ‘entrepreneur’
 - English [kɹɪm] → Hawaiian [kalima] ‘cream’¹

¹Parker Jones 2009

Tonal Adaptation in Mandarin

- Mandarin is a lexical tone language
- Words borrowed from English into Mandarin must be assigned tones
- English lacks tone → tonal adaptation different
- On what basis should Mandarin assign tones to English loanwords?

Today's Talk

- Background on Mandarin tonal adaptation
- Corpus study of established English loanwords in Mandarin
- Loanword adaptation experiment

The Tones of Mandarin

- Mandarin has four lexical tones:

Tone	Pinyin	Gloss
High (1)	<i>mā</i>	‘mother’
Rising (2)	<i>má</i>	‘hemp’
Low (3)	<i>mǎ</i>	‘horse’
Falling (4)	<i>mà</i>	‘scold’

Mandarin Tonal Adaptation

- Tonal adaptation of English loanwords in Mandarin is famously complex and problematic
- Cf. relatively straightforward tonal adaptation in Cantonese
 - Stressed syllables → high tone, pretonic unstressed syllables → mid tone, posttonic unstressed syllables → low tone¹

süt M ka H ‘cigar’²

kit M t^ha H ‘guitar’

pow M fey H ‘buffet’

¹Hao 2009, ²Silverman 1992

Mandarin Tonal Adaptation

- Tonal adaptation of English loanwords in Mandarin is famously complex and problematic
- English loanwords in Mandarin:

bāsōng

‘bassoon’

kēlóng

‘cologne’

bùfěi

‘buffet’

tǎbù

‘taboo’

Mandarin Tonal Adaptation

- Numerous studies have sought to account for tones of English loanwords in Mandarin, but nearly all fail to fully explain the considerable variation
- Chang (2020): Tonal assignment mostly non-phonological, based on **lexical tone probabilities**^{1, 2}
 - In running Mandarin text, probability of syllable *da* bearing falling tone is 0.653
 - So 65% of *da* syllables in English loanwords (e.g. *dáěrwén* ‘Darwin,’ *dǎ* ‘dozen’) should have falling tone

¹Chang 2020, ²Zheng & Durvasula 2016

Mandarin Tonal Adaptation

- Other studies propose (sometimes conflicting) **phonological determinants**^{1, 2, 3, 4, 5}
- “Stress-to-tone” effects
 - Initial stressed syllables → high tone: *kāli* ‘curry’ ✓
 - Cantonese tonal adaptation exhibits stress-to-tone
- Onset effects: English or Mandarin sonority, voicing, aspiration, etc. favor adaptation with X tone
 - Syllables with sonorant onsets → rising tone: *módēng* ‘modern’ ✓

¹Zheng & Durvasula 2016, ²Chang & Bradley 2012, ³Wu 2006, ⁴Mar & Park 2012, ⁵Glewwe 2016

Mandarin Tonal Adaptation

- Phonological effects have many exceptions
- “Stress-to-tone” effects
 - Initial stressed syllables → high tone: *kǎnóng* ‘canon’ X
- Onset effects
 - Syllables with sonorant onsets → rising tone: *màikè* ‘marker’ X

Mandarin Tonal Adaptation

- Meanwhile, **standard syllables** interfere
 - Chinese state institutions issue official adaptation guidelines for foreign words
 - 达 *dá* is the standard character/syllable for English /dɑː/, /dæ/, /dʌ/
 - Standard syllable use is a confound in studies of Mandarin tonal adaptation
 - 达尔文 *dáěrwén* ‘Darwin’

The Present Study

- Research question: What are the phonological determinants, if any, of tonal assignment in English loanwords in Mandarin?
- The data: Corpus of 2,644 syllables from 1,200+ loanwords drawn from dictionaries

Word	Syllable/ String	Stress	Onset Sonority	Onset Voicing	Onset Aspiration	Adapted Syllable	Tone
<i>aspirin</i>	æ	Stressed	NA	NA	NA	\bar{a}	High
<i>aspirin</i>	s	NA	Obstruent	Voiceless	NA	$s\bar{i}$	High
<i>aspirin</i>	pə	Unstressed	Obstruent	Voiceless	Unaspirated	$p\check{i}$	Low
<i>aspirin</i>	rm	Unstressed	Sonorant	Voiced	NA	$l\acute{i}n$	Rising

How to Analyze?

- Analysis must be able to:
 - Model (and thus control for) lexical tone probabilities
 - Control for standard syllable use
 - Handle variation

Maximum Entropy Harmonic Grammar (MaxEnt)^{1,2}

candidates
= 4 tones

English syllable: /'dɑ:/		<i>Constraints</i>			Predicted Probs.
a. dā					
b. dá		<i>Violations</i>			
c. dǎ					
d. dà					

predicted
probability
of each tone

¹Goldwater & Johnson 2003, ²Hayes & Wilson 2008

Maximum Entropy Harmonic Grammar (MaxEnt)^{1,2}

candidates
= 4 tones

English syllable: /'dɑː/	STRESSED1 weight = ↑	Predicted Probs.
a. dā				
b. dá	1			↓
c. dǎ	1			↓
d. dà	1			↓

predicted
probability
of each tone

¹Goldwater & Johnson 2003, ²Hayes & Wilson 2008

Maximum Entropy Harmonic Grammar (MaxEnt)^{1,2}

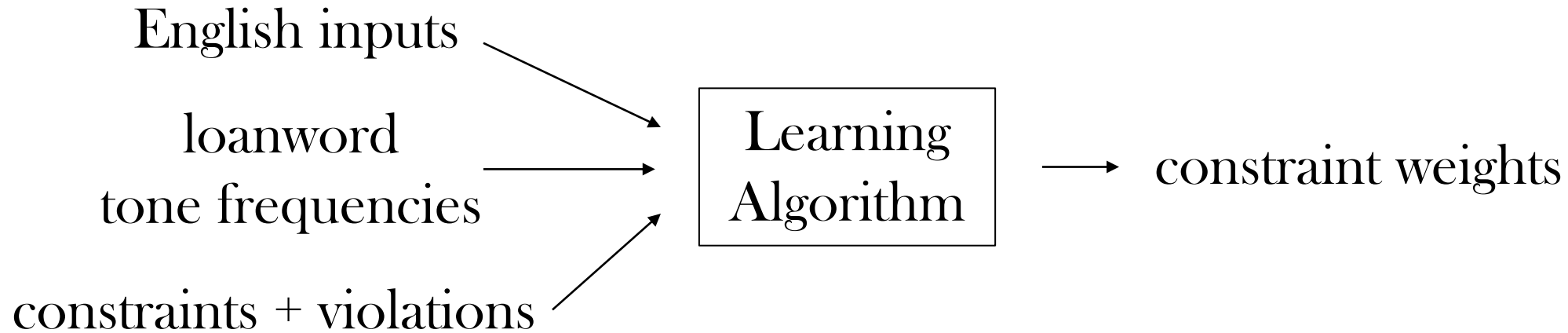
candidates
= 4 tones

English syllable: /'dɑː/	STRESSED1 weight = ?	Predicted Probs.
a. dā				
b. dá	1			
c. dǎ	1			
d. dà	1			

should
match
corpus data

¹Goldwater & Johnson 2003, ²Hayes & Wilson 2008

Maximum Entropy Harmonic Grammar (MaxEnt)



- Learning algorithm determines constraint weights that yield best match between predicted and observed tone frequencies

Overview of Analysis

- Step 1: Establish model that predicts tones of loanword syllables based solely on lexical tone probabilities
- Step 2: Add constraints to capture additional effects of standard syllable use
- Step 3: Add constraints to uncover any phonological determinants of tone

MaxEnt Analysis

<i>da</i> -NON-FINAL-STRESSED- VOICED STOP/AFFRICATE ONSET (representing /'dæ/, /'dɑ:/, /'dʌ/, etc.)	Observed Counts in the Corpus		<i>Constraints</i>			Predicted Probs.
a. dā	0					
b. dá	12		<i>Violations</i>			
c. dǎ	1					
d. dà	0					

- Input to model consisted of tableaux, each of which corresponded to one Mandarin segmental syllable (e.g. *da*) associated with various properties of the English input

达尔文 *dáěrwén* 'Darwin' (['dɑ:wɪn])

Step 1: Baseline Lexical Model

<i>da</i> -NON-FINAL-STRESSED-VOICED STOP/AFFRICATE ONSET (representing /'dæ/, /'dɑ:/, /'dʌ/, etc.)	Observed Counts in the Corpus	Lexical Tone Probs.	*DA1	*DA2	*DA3	*DA4	Predicted Probs.
a. dā	0	0.039	1				
b. dá	12	0.185		1			
c. dǎ	1	0.123			1		
d. dà	0	0.653				1	

- Lexical constraints' weights fit to **lexical tone probabilities**

Step 1: Baseline Lexical Model

<i>da</i> -NON-FINAL-STRESSED-VOICED STOP/AFFRICATE ONSET (representing /'dæ/, /'da:/, /'dʌ/, etc.)	Observed Counts in the Corpus	Lexical Tone Probs.	*DA1	*DA2	*DA3	*DA4	Predicted Probs.
a. dā	0	0.039	1				0.039
b. dá	12	0.185		1			0.185
c. dǎ	1	0.123			1		0.123
d. dà	0	0.653				1	0.653

- Lexical constraints' weights fit to **lexical tone probabilities**
- Model's predicted probabilities exactly replicate lexical tone probabilities

Step 1: Baseline Lexical Model

<i>da</i> -NON-FINAL-STRESSED-VOICED STOP/AFFRICATE ONSET (representing /'dæ/, /'da:/, /'dʌ/, etc.)	Observed Counts in the Corpus	Lexical Tone Probs.	*DA1 2.815	*DA2 1.263	*DA3 1.669	*DA4 0	Predicted Probs.	Predicted Counts
a. dā	0	0.039	1				0.039	1
b. dá	12	0.185		1			0.185	2
c. dǎ	1	0.123			1		0.123	2
d. dà	0	0.653				1	0.653	8

- Predicted probabilities converted to predicted counts
- Predicted counts compared to observed counts in corpus
- Across all syllables, square of the correlation (r^2) between observed counts and predicted counts = 0.585

Step 2: Standard Syllables Model

<i>da</i> -NON-FINAL-STRESSED-VOICED STOP/AFFRICATE ONSET (representing /'dæ/, /'da:./, /'dʌ/, etc.)	Observed Counts in the Corpus	*DA1 2.815	*DA2 1.263	*DA3 1.669	*DA4 0	DA2	Predicted Probs.	Predicted Counts
a. <i>dā</i>	0	1						
b. <i>dá</i>	12		1			1		
c. <i>dǎ</i>	1			1				
d. <i>dà</i>	0				1			

- How might use of standard syllables cause assigned tones to deviate from lexical tone probabilities?
- Added standard syllable constraints like DA2 (for standard syllable *dá*)

Step 2: Standard Syllables Model

<i>da</i> -NON-FINAL-STRESSED- VOICED STOP/AFFRICATE ONSET (representing <i>/ˈdæ/, /ˈdɑː/, /ˈdʌ/, etc.)</i>)	Observed Counts in the Corpus	*DA1 2.815	*DA2 1.263	*DA3 1.669	*DA4 0	DA2	Predicted Probs.	Predicted Counts
a. <i>dā</i>	0	1						
b. <i>dá</i>	12		1			1		
c. <i>dǎ</i>	1			1				
d. <i>dà</i>	0				1			

- Standard syllable constraints' weights fit to **observed counts**

Step 2: Standard Syllables Model

<i>da</i> -NON-FINAL-STRESSED-VOICED STOP/AFFRICATE ONSET (representing /'dæ/, /'dɑ:/, /'dʌ/, etc.)	Observed Counts in the Corpus	*DA1 2.815	*DA2 1.263	*DA3 1.669	*DA4 0	DA2 -3.276	Predicted Probs.	Predicted Counts
a. <i>dā</i>	0	1					0.007	0
b. <i>dá</i>	12		1			1	0.857	11
c. <i>dǎ</i>	1			1			0.022	0
d. <i>dà</i>	0				1		0.114	2

- Predicted counts vs. observed counts : $r^2 = 0.952$
- Suggests lexical tone probabilities and standard syllable use explain nearly all tonal assignment in corpus

Step 3: Phonological Model

<i>da</i> -NON-FINAL-STRESSED-VOICED STOP/AFFRICATE ONSET (representing /'dæ/, /'da:/, /'dʌ/, etc.)	Observed Counts in the Corpus	*DA1 2.815	*DA2 1.263	*DA3 1.669	*DA4 0	DA2 -3.276	VCD OBS2	...	Predicted Probs.	Predicted Counts
a. dā	0	1								
b. dá	12		1			1	1			
c. dǎ	1			1						
d. dà	0				1					

- How might phonological determinants further shape tonal adaptation?
- Added phonological constraints like VOICEDOBS2 to test various phonological effects

Step 3: Phonological Model

<i>da</i> -NON-FINAL-STRESSED-VOICED STOP/AFFRICATE ONSET (representing /'dæ/, /'dɑ:/, /'dʌ/, etc.)	Observed Counts in the Corpus	*DA1 2.815	*DA2 1.263	*DA3 1.669	*DA4 0	DA2 -3.276	VCD OBS2	...	Predicted Probs.	Predicted Counts
a. dā	0	1								
b. dá	12		1			1	1			
c. dǎ	1			1						
d. dà	0				1					

- Phonological constraints' weights fit to **observed counts**

Step 3: Phonological Model

<i>da</i> -NON-FINAL-STRESSED-VOICED STOP/AFFRICATE ONSET (representing /'dæ/, /'da:./, /'dʌ/, etc.)	Observed Counts in the Corpus	*DA1 2.815	*DA2 1.263	*DA3 1.669	*DA4 0	DA2 -3.276	VCD OBS2 -2.425	...	Predicted Probs.	Predicted Counts
a. <i>dā</i>	0	1							0.004	0
b. <i>dá</i>	12		1			1	1		0.933	12
c. <i>dǎ</i>	1			1					0.008	0
d. <i>dà</i>	0				1				0.055	1

- Predicted counts vs. observed counts : $r^2 = 0.967$
- Adding phonological constraints significantly improves model's fit

Top Phonological Constraints

- Three phonological constraints that contributed most to model:

Constraint	Weight
VOICEDOBS2	-2.425
VOICED2	-0.799
VOICELESS1	-0.857

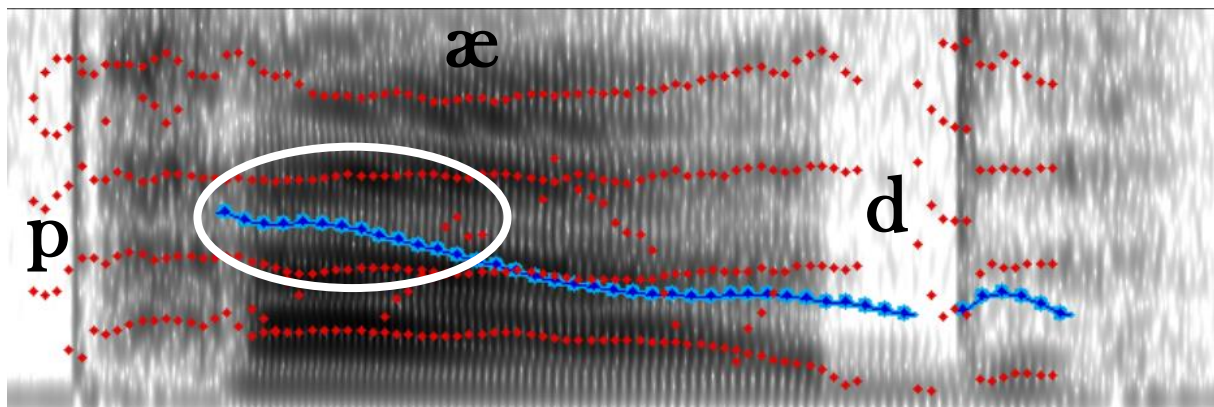
- Reveals a voicing effect

The Voicing Effect

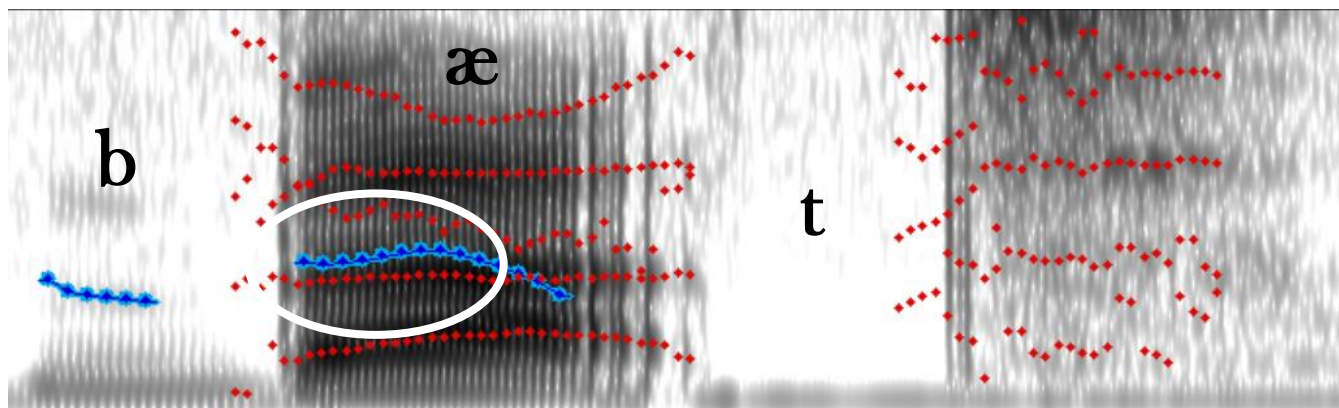
- VOICELESS1
➤ *tūnná* ‘tuna’
- VOICED2
➤ *módēng* ‘modern’
- VOICED OBS2
➤ *báituō* ‘butter’

Source of the Voicing Effect

- F0 (pitch) is higher after voiceless obstruents than after voiced obstruents in English



pad



bat

Source of the Voicing Effect

- F0 (pitch) is higher after voiceless obstruents than after voiced obstruents in English
- Voicing effect = perceptual mapping from English pitch perturbations to Mandarin tone
 - Higher F0 after voiceless consonants → high tone
 - Lower F0 after voiced consonants → rising tone

Corpus Study Takeaways

- Final MaxEnt model explains almost all tonal assignment in corpus
- Lexical tone probabilities and standard syllable use account for vast majority of patterning
- Small but significant phonological effect of English voicing

A Loanword Adaptation Experiment

- Participants: 15 native Mandarin speakers from mainland China
- 80 made-up English words: ['tʃ^habə], [bə'p^hi]...
- Participants listened to each word and produced their adaptation out loud
- Oral responses recorded and transcribed by native Mandarin speakers
- Data: 2,182 syllables

Analysis of the Experiment

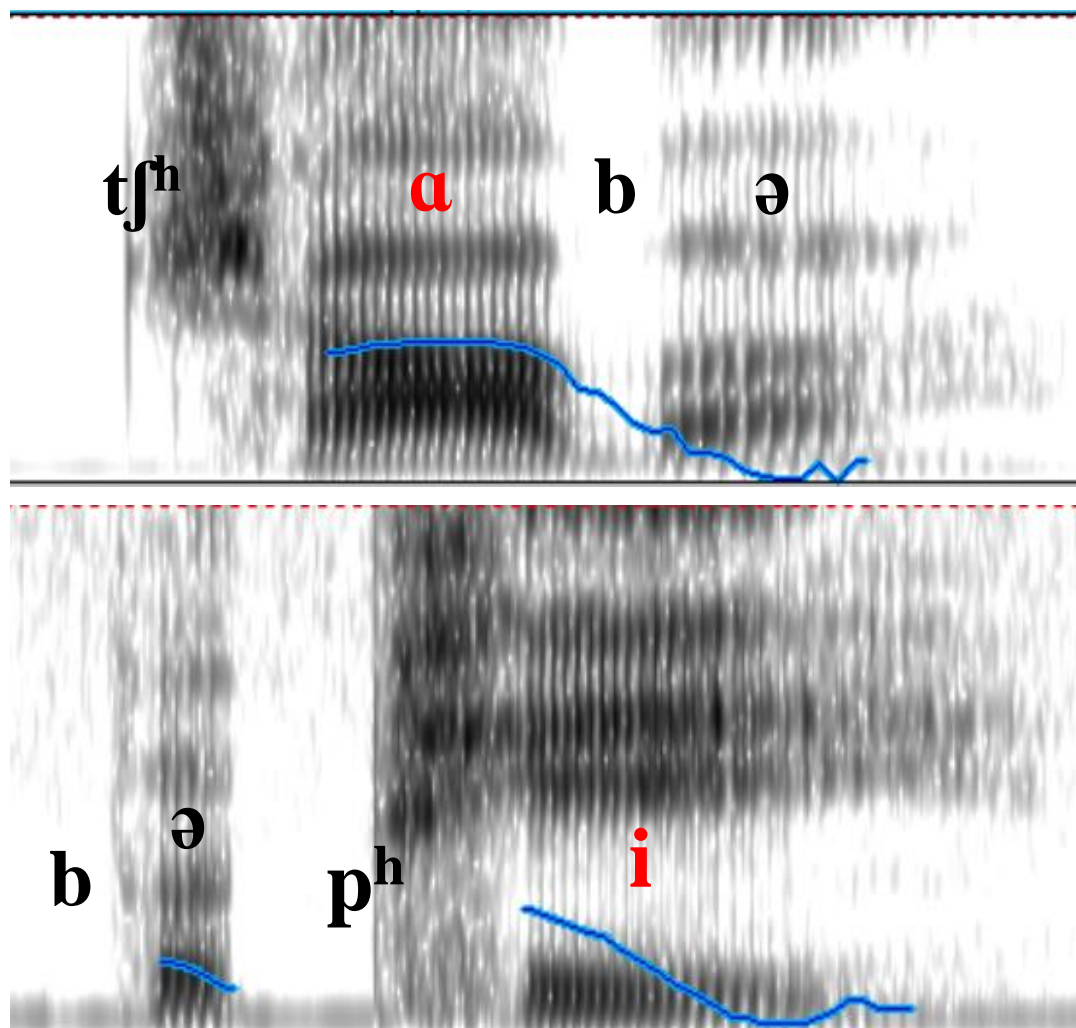
- Step 1: Baseline Lexical Model
 - $r^2 = 0.574$
- Step 2: Standard Syllables Model
 - $r^2 = 0.722$
- Step 3: Phonological Model
 - $r^2 = 0.837$

Top Phonological Constraints

Constraint	Weight
INITIAL1	-0.823
STRESSEDINITIAL1	-1.112
STRESSEDFINAL4	-0.997

- Initial syllables → high tone
- Stressed initial syllables → high tone
- Stressed final syllables → falling tone
- Stress-to-tone!

Source of Stress-to-Tone



[^htʃʰ a b ə]

initial stressed syllables → high tone

[b ə ^hpʰ i]

final stressed syllables → falling tone

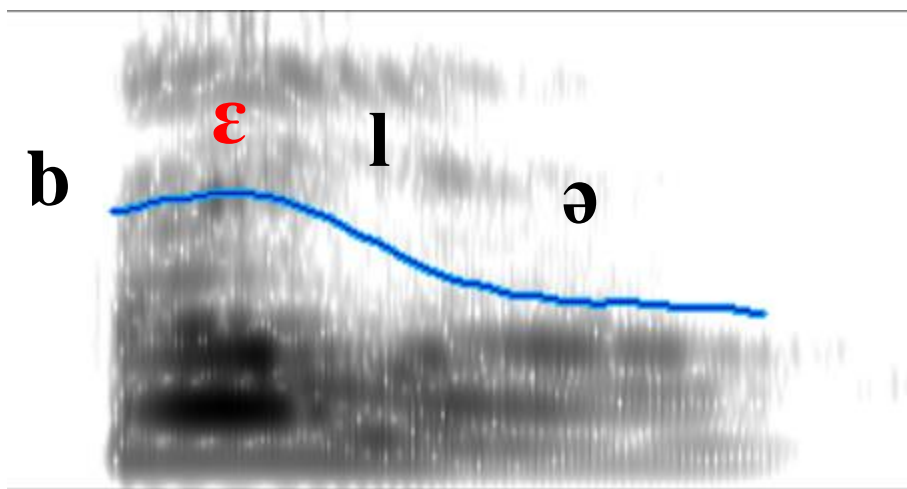
Experiment Takeaways

- Lexical tone probabilities and standard syllable use influence Mandarin speakers' live adaptations of English words
- But phonological effects play a larger role
- Mandarin speakers choose tones based on English stress

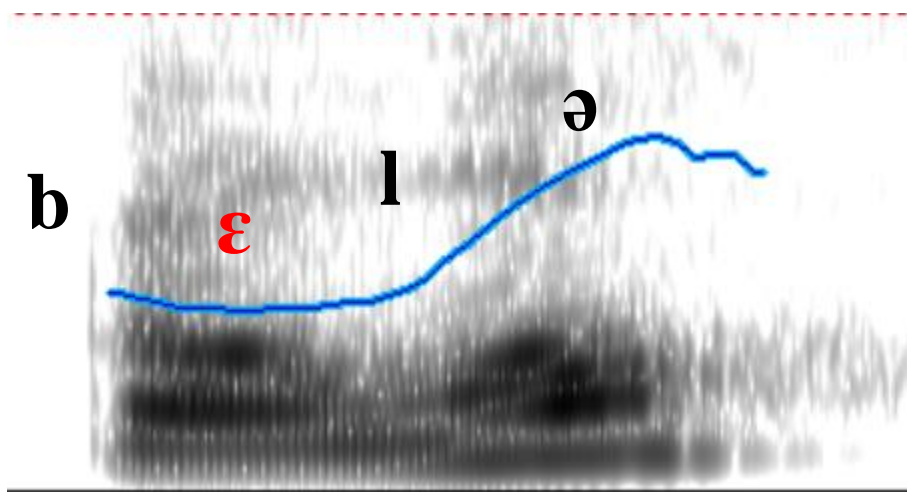
Established Loanwords vs. Live Adaptations

- Established loanwords: minor pitch perturbations → tone
- Live adaptations: overall intonation (driven by stress) → tone
- Pitch perturbations more consistent than pitch contours associated with stress
 - Pitch lower after voiced obstruents than after voiceless obstruents across contexts
 - Pitch contours associated with stress vary with context

Variable Pitch Contours on Stressed Syllables



Citation form: *Bella* ['bɛlə]
initial stressed syllable = high pitch



Question: *Bella?* ['bɛlə]
initial stressed syllable = low pitch

Established Loanwords vs. Live Adaptations

- In experiment, made-up English words all in citation form
- Stressed syllables had consistent pitch contours participants could map to Mandarin tones
- In real life, stress-pitch link inconsistent while onset voicing-induced pitch perturbations consistent
- Pitch perturbations = reliable pattern on which to base mapping to tone

Cantonese vs. Mandarin

- Cantonese established loanwords exhibit stress-to-tone
- Why Cantonese but not Mandarin?
- Different borrowing contexts:
 - Cantonese: British colonial rule of Hong Kong → English and Cantonese in direct, sustained contact
 - Mandarin: 19th c. translation of English written works and late 20th c. opening to the West
- Close contact needed to extract canonical stress-driven pitch patterns
 - Stress-to-tone: Cantonese ✓ Mandarin ✗

Is More Stress-to-Tone in Mandarin's Future?

- Lettered words: English loanwords that remain in Latin alphabet even in written Chinese (e.g. *NASA*, *wi-fi*)^{1, 2}
- Tonal assignment in lettered words exhibits more robust stress-to-tone
- Closer contact between English and Mandarin → more stress-to-tone in next wave of borrowings

Thank you!

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Step 1: Baseline Lexical Model

<i>da</i> -NON-FINAL-STRESSED-VOICED STOP/AFFRICATE ONSET (representing /'dæ/, /'dɑ:/, /'dʌ/, etc.)	Observed Counts in the Corpus	Lexical Tone Probs.	*DA1 2.815	*DA2 1.263	*DA3 1.669	*DA4 0	Harmony Scores	Predicted Probs.	Predicted Counts
a. <i>dā</i>	0	0.039	1				2.815	0.039	1
b. <i>dá</i>	12	0.185		1			1.263	0.185	2
c. <i>dǎ</i>	1	0.123			1		1.669	0.123	2
d. <i>dà</i>	0	0.653				1	0	0.653	8

- $r^2 = 0.585$

Step 2: Standard Syllables Model

<i>da</i> -NON-FINAL-STRESSED- VOICED STOP/AFFRICATE ONSET (representing <i>/ˈdæ/, /ˈdɑː/, /ˈdʌ/, etc.)</i>)	Observed Counts in the Corpus	*DA1 2.815	*DA2 1.263	*DA3 1.669	*DA4 0	DA2 -3.276	Harmony Scores	Predicted Probs.	Predicted Counts
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b. <i>dá</i>	12		1			1	-2.014	0.857	11
c. <i>dǎ</i>	1			1			1.669	0.022	0
d. <i>dà</i>	0				1		0	0.114	2

- $r^2 = 0.952$

Step 3: Phonological Model

<i>da</i> -NON-FINAL-STRESSED-VOICED STOP/AFFRICATE ONSET (representing /'dæ/, /'dɑ:/, /'dʌ/, etc.)	Observed Counts in the Corpus	*DA1 2.815	*DA2 1.263	*DA3 1.669	*DA4 0	DA2 -3.276	VCD OBS2 -2.425	...	Harmony Scores	Predicted Probs.	Predicted Counts
a. <i>dā</i>	0	1							0.050	0.004	0
b. <i>dá</i>	12		1			1	1		-5.421	0.933	12
c. <i>dǎ</i>	1			1					-0.673	0.008	0
d. <i>dà</i>	0				1				-2.595	0.055	1

- Predicted counts vs. observed counts : $r^2 = 0.967$

Improvement in Model Predictions

<i>da</i> -NON-FINAL-STRESSED-VOICED STOP/AFFRICATE ONSET (representing /'dæ/, /'dɑ:/, /'dʌ/, etc.)	Observed Counts in the Corpus	Predicted Counts (Baseline Lexical)	Predicted Counts (Standard Syllables)	Predicted Counts (Phonological)
a. <i>dā</i>	0	1	0	0
b. <i>dá</i>	12	2	11	12
c. <i>dǎ</i>	1	2	0	0
d. <i>dà</i>	0	8	2	1

76 Phonological Constraints

- STRESSED1-4
- UNSTRESSED1-4
- NONFINAL1-4 (INITIAL1-4)
- FINAL1-4
- STRESSEDNONFINAL1-4
- UNSTRESSEDNONFINAL1-4
- STRESSEDFINAL1-4
- UNSTRESSEDFINAL1-4
- OBSTRUENT1-4
- SONORANT1-4
- VOICED1-4
- VOICELESS1-4
- ASPIRATED1-4
- UNASPIRATED1-4
- MANDARINASPIRATED1-4
- MANDARINUNASPIRATED1-4
- VOICEDOBSTRUENT1-4
- VOICED&MANDARINASPIRATED1-4
- TONE1-4

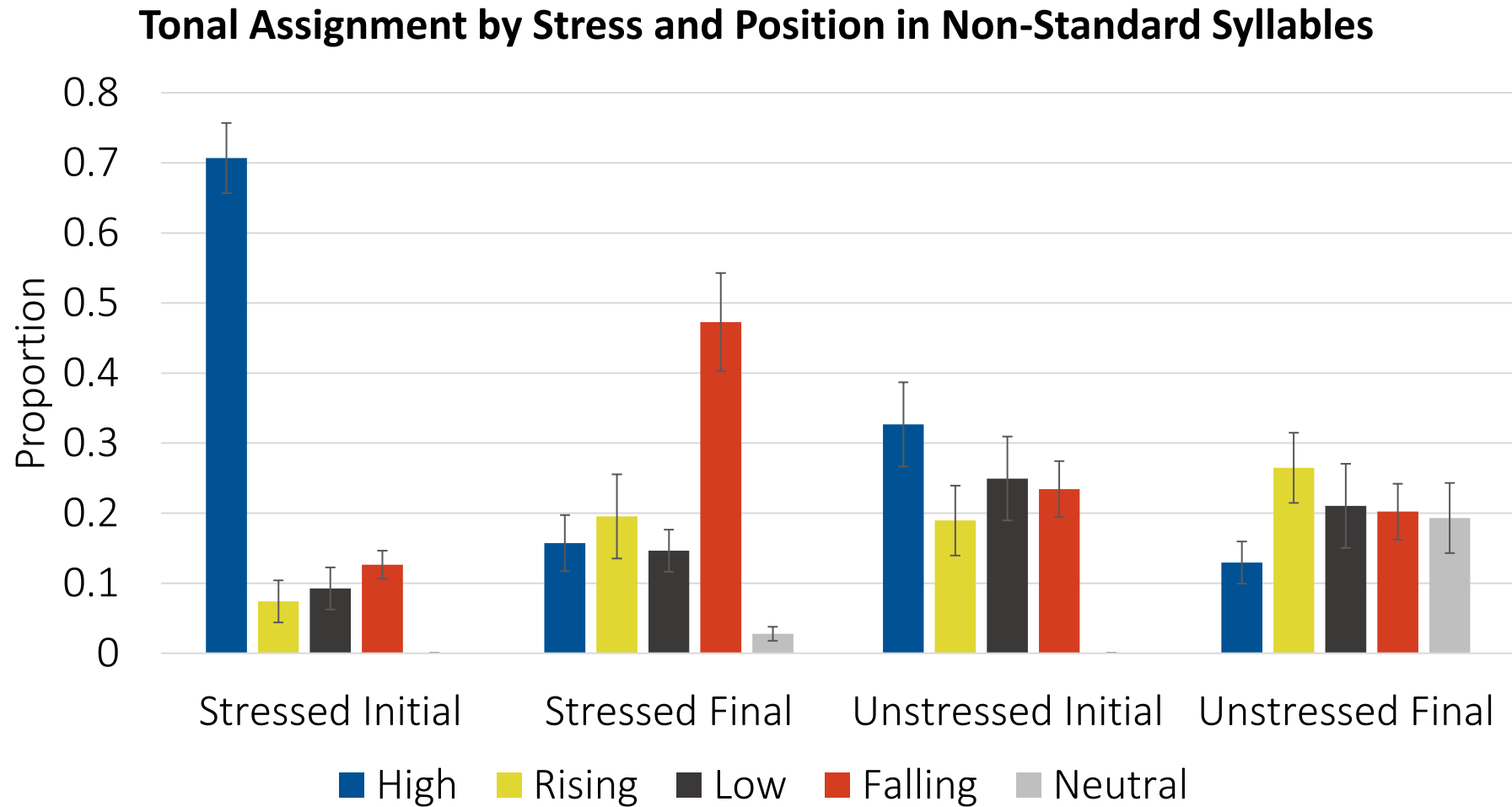
Phonological Constraints of Pruned Phonological Model - Corpus

	Constraint	Weight	Delta Log Likelihood	Predicted Rate: Standard Syllables Model	Predicted Rate: Phonological Model	Observed Rate
1.	VOICEDOBS2	-2.425	134.496	35.7%	44.4%	44.9%
2.	VOICED2	-0.799	40.931	38.3%	40.8%	41.1%
3.	VOICELESS1	-0.857	19.627	39.0%	43.1%	42.4%
4.	MANDUNASP1	-0.973	18.972	40.2%	39.4%	38.5%
5.	UNASP4	-1.085	17.376	18.1%	17.3%	16.3%
6.	OBS3	-0.806	16.959	16.0%	15.5%	15.3%
7.	TONE4	-0.354	16.682	27.0%	27.1%	27.7%
8.	VOICED1	-0.752	14.272	19.3%	18.5%	18.6%
9.	OBS1	-0.577	13.331	38.6%	38.9%	38.3%
10.	VOICELESS4	-0.582	11.964	23.9%	26.4%	27.5%
11.	SON1	-1.078	10.562	9.3%	10.9%	11.3%
12.	MANDUNASP3	-0.975	9.739	11.1%	10.5%	11.0%

Phonological Constraints of Pruned Phonological Model - Corpus

	Constraint	Weight	Delta Log Likelihood	Predicted Rate: Standard Syllables Model	Predicted Rate: Phonological Model	Observed Rate
13.	VOICELESS3	-0.749	9.647	20.0%	20.2%	19.6%
14.	SON4	-0.305	8.734	31.0%	29.3%	30.5%
15.	MANDUNASP4	-0.914	6.960	19.3%	20.8%	20.8%
16.	MANDASP2	-0.957	5.781	22.9%	22.0%	20.8%
17.	VOICED3	-0.561	5.771	16.5%	16.7%	15.6%
18.	STRESSED4	-0.242	5.059	26.0%	25.9%	26.7%
19.	TONE2	-0.184	4.680	28.7%	28.0%	28.4%
20.	STRESSED1	-0.252	3.761	28.8%	30.6%	30.6%
21.	STRESSEDNONFINAL1	-0.211	2.915	29.9%	31.7%	32.4%
22.	FINAL4	-0.260	2.749	27.1%	28.6%	28.9%
23.	SON3	-0.530	1.940	20.0%	21.0%	19.2%

Experiment Results



Phonological Constraints of Pruned Phonological Model - Experiment

	Constraint	Weight	Delta Log Likelihood	Predicted Rate: Standard Syllables Model	Predicted Rate: Phonological Model	Observed Rate
1.	UNASP2	-1.084	59.789	25.6%	29.9%	29.5%
2.	INITIAL1	-0.823	47.695	28.4%	46.6%	45.9%
3.	STRESSEDINITIAL1	-1.112	46.635	30.9%	63.6%	62.2%
4.	STRESSEDFINAL4	-0.997	45.552	23.2%	32.7%	32.4%
5.	UNASP4	-1.003	36.667	23.6%	17.7%	16.1%
6.	VOICEDOBS1	-0.622	30.839	46.3%	48.1%	50.0%
7.	UNSTRESSED3	-0.768	30.527	15.8%	23.5%	23.9%
8.	OBS1	-0.444	30.371	34.8%	39.5%	39.9%
9.	STRESSED1	-0.582	25.073	32.9%	46.9%	46.2%
10.	VOICED3	-0.480	15.370	16.5%	18.3%	19.2%
11.	TONE2	-0.292	13.737	28.8%	27.8%	27.9%
12.	VOICEDOBS3	-0.617	11.685	7.0%	10.5%	11.3%
13.	ASP4	-0.599	9.500	14.7%	14.0%	15.4%
14.	MANDASP2	-0.411	9.087	52.1%	48.4%	48.2%

Phonological Constraints of Pruned Phonological Model - Experiment

	Constraint	Weight	Delta Log Likelihood	Predicted Rate: Standard Syllables Model	Predicted Rate: Phonological Model	Observed Rate
15.	VOICED1	-0.237	7.040	34.5%	38.3%	39.4%
16.	UNSTRESSEDFINAL3	-0.640	6.465	17.1%	25.2%	25.0%
17.	STRESSED2	-0.227	6.167	28.1%	21.7%	22.4%
18.	OBS3	-0.329	6.117	12.1%	13.4%	13.7%
19.	VOICELESS4	-0.343	6.097	21.3%	18.4%	18.7%
20.	MANDUNASP2	-0.354	5.298	18.1%	19.3%	19.5%
21.	ASP3	-0.879	4.625	10.9%	12.2%	11.1%
22.	INITIAL2	-0.179	3.764	29.2%	23.4%	24.0%
23.	UNSTRESSED2	-0.267	3.744	29.7%	34.4%	33.8%
24.	TONE3	-0.198	3.737	16.2%	17.0%	17.4%
25.	SON2	-0.317	3.413	26.1%	26.6%	26.6%
26.	FINAL2	-0.217	2.941	28.4%	32.2%	31.7%
27.	MANDUNASP4	-0.439	2.857	26.4%	20.2%	17.9%
28.	SON4	-0.395	2.266	27.4%	20.6%	20.1%