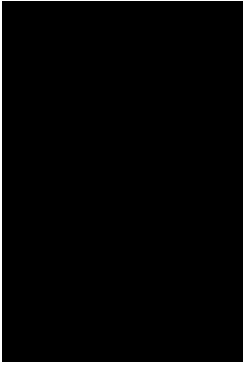


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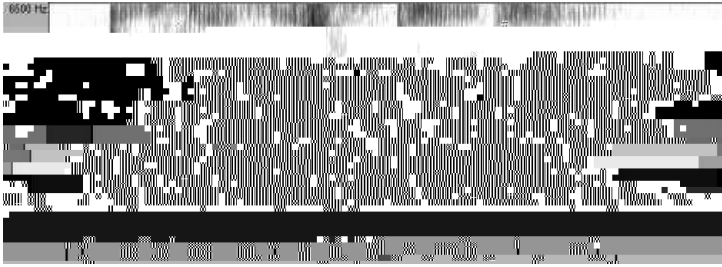
(٨ ٧)

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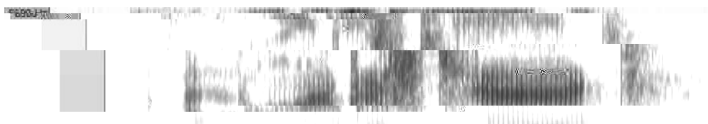
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Upper Saxon (O *sa* /ə po sɛksʃ/) refers to a group of dialects spoken by over two million people in the Free State of Saxony in eastern Germany. It is considered one of the eastern branches of Central German (Wiesinger 1983, Lewis 2009), with major phonological, morphological, and lexical differences from Standard German and other regional dialects.

The transcriptions below reflect the speech of middle-aged speakers from Chemnitz, speaking an urban variety of the local *V* /fo tskəbɔ ʃ/ dialect, which is described in Bergmann (1990: 292) as transitional between the Meissen (*M*), Vogtland (*V*), and Ore Mountain (*E*) dialects. Due to both this transitional nature and a lesser degree of influence from Standard German (*H*) than what is seen in other urban centers (e.g. Leipzig, Dresden), the Chemnitz dialect is largely intelligible to



1 Spectrogram of the phrase /ti ɛ/



2 Spectrogram of the phrase /ən ʁə təs tle t/ *ein rote Kleid* 'a red dress', showing full voicing of /t/ in / ʁə təs/ *rote* 'red' and aspiration of the final /t/ in /tle t/ *Kleid* 'dress', as well as the coronal articulation of the pre-lateral consonant.

<i>B</i>	<i>a</i>		
p ʁapm	<i>Ra</i>	'black horses'	cf. German ʁapm
p kʁapm	<i>Ka</i>	'shrimps'	cf. German kʁapm
t pe tɪ		'to pray'	cf. German be tɪ
t pe tɪ		'both'	cf. German bædn
k dəkə	<i>D</i>	'doll'	cf. German dəkə
k dəkə	<i>D</i>	'mastiff'	cf. German dɔgə
s ʁæʁə		'(I) rip'	cf. German ʁæʁə
s ʁæʁə		'(I) travel'	cf. German ʁæzə

<i>W</i>	<i>a</i>		
p mɛp	<i>M</i>	'mop'	cf. German mɛp
p mɛp	<i>M</i>	'mob'	cf. German mɛp
t saɛt		'since'	cf. German zaɛt
t saɛt		'(you PL) are'	cf. German zaɛt

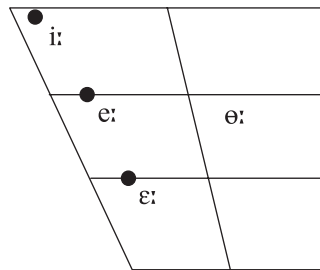
Cl ɛr

Neither voicing nor aspiration is contrastive in clusters (Bergmann 1965: 110), even in the velar place of articulation, producing homophones where Standard German has (near-) minimal pairs of voicing as in the examples below. In initial clusters with /l/, stops /t k/ do not contrast and can vary freely, e.g. /klʌ s/

p	p̣aɛ	B	↙	‘porridge’	cf. German ḅaɛ
p	p̣aɛs	P	↙	‘price’	cf. German p̣aɛs
t	ṭəχə	D	↙	‘drug’	cf. German ḍəχə
t	ṭəχ	T	↙	‘trough’	cf. German ṭəχ
k	ḳi s	G	↙	‘semolina’	cf. German ɡ̣i s
k	ḳi ʃ	K	↙	‘war’	cf. German ḳi k



Spectrogram of the phrase /hast tu vΛ kləʃ ʁɛʃt/ *hast du wirklich Recht* 'do you think you're really right?', showing full voicing of /k/ in /vΛ kləʃ/ *wirklich* 'really' and retraction of the final /t/ in /ʁɛʃt/ *Recht* 'right' due to the preceding /ʃ/.



vowels optionally shortened before coda clusters (see Swabian, Hiller 1995); compare /fa t/ [fɛ p t] *a* ‘goes’ with /fa tʃ/ [fa tʃ] *ʃ* ‘ready’. The remaining pharyngealized vowel is short unstressed /o /, which can be variously analyzed as pharyngealized high-mid rounded vowel /ø /, pharyngealized schwa /ə /, a sequence of a schwa-like vowel and the rhotic /əʁ/ (/ɔʁ/ in Bergmann 1965), or a syllabic rhotic /ɹ/ (vocalic /r/ in Bremer 1968: 171).⁴ This is the counterpart of the Standard German lower-mid central vowel /ɐ/. Acoustically, pharyngealization in Upper Saxon is characterized by a significantly lowered F2 frequency and a slightly raised F3 frequency, similar to pharyngealization in other languages, such as Arabic (Obrecht 1968, Laufer & Baer 1988, McCarthy 1994, Yeou 2001, Al-Masri & Jongman 2003, among others), Hebrew (Laufer & Baer 1988), and Hongyan Qiang (Evans 2006).⁵ The vowel chart reflects mean formant values collected via spectrographic analysis.



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