Upper Saxon (Chemnitz dialect)

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Upper Saxon (*Obersächsisch* /ɐːpoˀˈsɛksʃ/) 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 *Vorerzgebirgisch* /foˀːˈaˀːtskəbʌˀːʃ/ dialect, which is described in Bergmann (1990: 292) as transitional between the Meissen (*Meißnisch*), Vogtland (*Vogtländisch*), and Ore Mountain (*Erzgebirgisch*) dialects. Due to both this transitional nature and a lesser degree of influence from Standard German (*Hochdeutsch*) than what is seen in other urban centers (e.g. Leipzig, Dresden), the Chemnitz dialect is largely intelligible to speakers of other varieties of Upper Saxon while still preserving the most salient phonological and phonetic features recognizable to speakers of other varieties of German as defining characteristics of Upper Saxon.

Of course, as the degree of influence from regional dialects and from Standard German varies greatly across speakers and contexts, this illustration should not be taken to be representative of all speakers in Chemnitz, let alone of all varieties of Upper Saxon. See Bergmann (1965) for a detailed historical description of this *Vorerzgebirgisch* variety, Keller (1960), Bergmann (1990: 312), Kügler (2005: 18; 2007: 11), and Rues et al. (2007: 91–99) for descriptions of and references on other varieties of Upper Saxon, and Kleber (2011) for the pronunciation of Standard German by Upper Saxon speakers. Examples of Standard German are given for comparison of selected forms, and are based on Rues et al.'s (2007) transcription scheme.

Consonants

	Bi-labial	Labio-dental	Dental	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	p		t			k kʰ		
Nasal	m		n			ŋ		
Fricative		f	s	ʃ			χ	h
Approximant		ʊ			j		ʁ̞	
Lateral approximant			l					

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p	ˈpʌsə	*passe*	‘(I) pass’			
t	ˈtʌsə	*Tasse*	‘cup’			
kʰ	ˈkʰʌsə	*Kasse*	‘cash register’			
k	ˈkʌsə	*Gasse*	‘lane’			
m	tʌm	*Damm*	‘dam’			
n	tʌn	*dann*	‘then’			
ŋ	tʌŋ	*Tang*	‘seaweed’			
f	faɐ̯n	*fein*	‘fine’			
s	saɐ̯n	*sein*	‘his’	ʊʌs	*was*	‘what’
ʃ	ʃaɐ̯n	*Schein*	‘shine’, ‘light’	ʊʌʃ	*wasch*	‘Wash!’
χ				ʊʌχ	*wach*	‘awake’
h	haɐ̯n	*Hain*	‘grove’			
ʊ	ʊɔˤː	*war*	‘was’			
j	jɔˤː	*Jahr*	‘year’			
ʁ̞	ʁ̞aɐ̯	*rau*	‘rough’			
l	laɐ̯	*lau*	‘lukewarm’			

Voicing and aspiration

Unlike Standard German, Upper Saxon lacks a voicing contrast. Underlyingly, obstruents are voiceless and sonorants are voiced (Becker 1942: 104, 127–128; Bergmann 1965: 43, 1987: 18, 1990: 309–310; Zimmermann 1992: 102–107; Rues et al. 2007: 94; Kleber 2011). Unaspirated stops /p t k/ can be partially or fully voiced [b d g] between sonorants, as in Figure 1 and Figure 3 below; word-finally, they can vary widely from fully voiced stops to voiceless aspirated stops [pʰ tʰ kʰ], as in Figure 2, but are most commonly realized as voiceless unaspirated stops (Bergmann 1965: 43; Albrecht 1983: 11), as in Figure 3. The sole aspiration distinction /kʰ k/ is restricted to initial position (Bergmann 1965: 43), e.g. /ˈkʰʌsə/ *Kasse* ‘cash register’ vs. /ˈkʌsə/ *Gasse* ‘lane’ above. Neighboring varieties of Central and Upper German are also described as having a similar lack of a contrast in either voicing or aspiration (i.e. fortis vs. lenis) outside of velars, e.g. Thuringian (Spangenberg 1990: 270), East Franconian (Rowley 1990: 400), and Swabian (Hiller 1995: 34–35).

Word-initially

p	pɛln	*bellen*	‘to bark’	cf. German ˈbɛlṇ
t	taɐ̯ʃ	*Teich*	‘pond’	cf. German taɐ̯ç
k	ˈkʉ̟ːχŋ̩	*Kuchen*	‘cake’	cf. German ˈkuːxŋ̩

Between sonorants

p	ˈtɛmpl̩n	*Tempel*(*n*)	‘temples’	cf. German ˈtɛmpl̩[1]
t	ˈlɔɤ̯tə	*Leute*	‘people’	cf. German ˈlɔɐ̯tə
k	ˈʁ̞ɛkə	*Röcke*	‘skirts’	cf. German ˈʁœkə

Word-finally

p	koˤːp	*Korb*	‘basket’	cf. German kɔɐ̯p
t	laɐ̯t	*laut*	‘loud’	cf. German laɔ̯t
k	ʁ̞ɔ̯k	*Rock*	‘skirt’	cf. German ʁɔ̯k

[1] The Upper Saxon word *Tempeln* /ˈtɛmpl̩n/ is composed of the root *Tempel* plus plural suffix -(*e*)*n*, while the Standard German equivalent of the word is *Tempel* /ˈtɛmpl̩/, with a null suffix -*Ø* marking the plural.

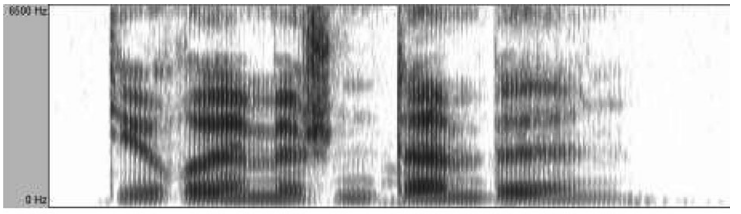


Figure 1 Spectrogram of the phrase /tiː ˈʁøːmɪʃn̩ ˈtɛmpl̩n/ *die römischen Tempeln* 'the Roman temples', showing full voicing of /t p/ in *Tempeln* /ˈtɛmpl̩n/ (Standard German *Tempel* /ˈtɛmpl̩/).

Fricatives /f s ʃ χ/ can be partially or fully voiced [v z ʒ ʁ] between sonorants, but remain largely voiceless elsewhere. Fricatives /χ h/ occur in complementary distribution: /h/ occurs as the onset of stressed syllables and word-initially while /χ/ occurs elsewhere.

Word-initially

f	faɐ̯n	*fein*	'fine'	cf. German faɐ̯n
s	saɐ̯n	*sein*	'his'	cf. German zaɐ̯n
ʃ	ʃaɐ̯n	*schein*	'shine'	cf. German ʃaɐ̯n
h	haɐ̯n	*Hain*	'grove'	cf. German haɐ̯n

Between sonorants

f	ˈʊʌfə	*Waffe*	'weapon'	cf. German ˈvafə
s	ˈʊʌsoˤ	*Wasser*	'water'	cf. German ˈvasʁ
ʃ	ˈʊʌʃə	*wasche*	'(I) wash'	cf. German ˈvaʃə
χ	ˈʊʌχə	*wache*	'(I) am awake'	cf. German ˈvaxə

Word-finally

f	pɵf	*Puff*	'brothel'	cf. German pʊf
s	pɵs	*Bus*	'bus'	cf. German bʊs
ʃ	pɵʃ	*Busch*	'bush'	cf. German bʊʃ
χ	pʉːχ	*Buch*	'book'	cf. German buːx

Due to the lack of a voicing contrast, Upper Saxon has many homophone pairs whose Standard German cognates form minimal pairs, as illustrated in the list below. The only vestige of a voicing distinction in Upper Saxon is the aspiration contrast /kʰ k/, which often corresponds to /k g/ in Standard German; however, there are instances of Upper Saxon 'lenis' /k/ corresponding to Standard German 'fortis' /k/ instead of to 'lenis' /g/, e.g. Upper Saxon /koˤːp/ *Korb* 'basket' and Standard German /kɔɐ̯p/ ([kʰɔɐ̯p]). Like most varieties of German, Upper Saxon exhibits only voiceless obstruents word-finally; in Standard German, this is due to final devoicing (Brockhaus 1995), while in Upper Saxon, this is due to the lack of a voicing contrast to begin with.

Word-initially

p	pɛln	*pellen*	'to skin'	cf. German ˈpɛln̩
p	pɛln	*bellen*	'to bark'	cf. German ˈbɛln̩
t	tɪʃ	*Tisch*	'table'	cf. German tɪʃ
t	tɪʃ	*dich*	'you'	cf. German dɪç
kʰ	ˈkʰʌsə	*Kasse*	'cash register'	cf. German ˈkasə
k	ˈkʌsə	*Gasse*	'lane'	cf. German ˈgasə

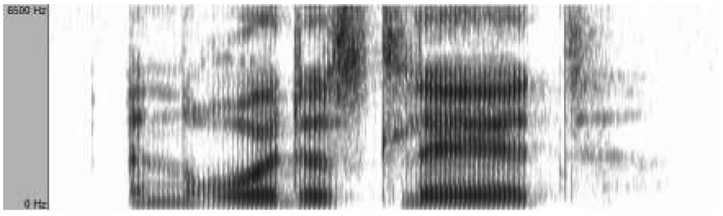


Figure 2 Spectrogram of the phrase /ən ˈʁɐ̯ːtəs tleːt/ *ein rotes Kleid* 'a red dress', showing full voicing of /t/ in /ˈʁɐ̯ːtəs/ *rotes* 'red' and aspiration of the final /t/ in /tleːt/ *Kleid* 'dress', as well as the coronal articulation of the pre-lateral consonant.

Between sonorants

p	ˈʁʌpm̩	*Rappen*	'black horses'	cf. German ˈʁapm̩
p	ˈkʁʌpm̩	*Krabben*	'shrimps'	cf. German ˈkʁabm̩
t	ˈpeːtn̩	*beten*	'to pray'	cf. German ˈbeːtn̩
t	ˈpeːtn̩	*beiden*	'both'	cf. German ˈbaɐ̯dn̩
k	ˈdɵkə	*Docke*	'doll'	cf. German ˈdɔkə
k	ˈdɵkə	*Dogge*	'mastiff'	cf. German ˈdɔgə
s	ˈʁaɐ̯sə	*reiße*	'(I) rip'	cf. German ˈʁaɐ̯sə
s	ˈʁaɐ̯sə	*reise*	'(I) travel'	cf. German ˈʁaɐ̯zə

Word-finally

p	mɵp	*Mopp*	'mop'	cf. German mɔp
p	mɵp	*Mob*	'mob'	cf. German mɔp
t	saɐ̯t	*seit*	'since'	cf. German zaɐ̯t
t	saɐ̯t	*seid*	'(you PL) are'	cf. German zaɐ̯t

Clusters

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. /klʌːs/~/tlʌːs/ *Glas* 'glass' (Goepfert 1878: 25; Sievers 1885: 160; Bergmann 1965: 110; Blevins & Grawunder 2009); the /tl/ variant is a salient marker of Chemnitz speakers (Wallner-Zimmer 1999; Blevins & Grawunder 2009: 271–272), although it is widespread throughout eastern variants of Central German and Upper German.[2] In Figure 2, the spectrogram of the phrase /ən ˈʁɐ̯ːtəs tleːt/ *ein rotes Kleid* 'a red dress' reveals a high-frequency (~5 kHz) concentration of burst energy in the onset of /tleːt/ *Kleid* 'dress', indicating a coronal articulation. Final /ʃ/, including the suffixes spelled *-ig/-ich/-isch* (e.g. /hɔˤːʃ/ *haarig* 'hairy'), can create clusters not found in Standard German, e.g. /ɛsʃ/ *Essig* 'vinegar', /sɛksʃ/ *Sächsisch* 'Saxon', and /sɵnstʃ/ *sonstig* 'other' (Bergmann 1965: 115; Albrecht 1983: 19; Gilles 2005: 70).

[2] Even within the Upper Saxon dialect region, there is wide variation in the use of /tl/ instead of /kl/, with strongest usage in Chemnitz and the Ore Mountains (*Erzgebirge*). Blevins & Grawunder (2009) report that 'though the TL-region includes … Riesa, Meißen, Plauen, and Zwickau, it is not a general feature of speech in Leipzig, Borna, or Altenburg' (p. 270), and that '[i]ndividuals from Chemnitz, Dresden, and Leipzig show evidence of the KL > TL sound change, with the highest rates … in speakers from Chemnitz' (p. 271).

p	pʁaẹ̯	*Brei*	‘porridge’	cf. German bʁaẹ̯
p	pʁaẹ̯s	*Preis*	‘price’	cf. German pʁaẹ̯s
t	ˈtʁʊːχə	*Droge*	‘drug’	cf. German ˈdʁʊːgə
t	tʁʊːχ	*Trog*	‘trough’	cf. German tʁʊːk
k	kʁiːs	*Grieß*	‘semolina’	cf. German gʁiːs
k	kʁiːʃ	*Krieg*	‘war’	cf. German kʁiːk

Rhotic

As in Standard German (Kohler 1999: 87–88), the rhotic /ʁ/ occurs only in onsets. In Upper Saxon, it freely varies between a voiced approximant [ʁ̞], a voiced fricative [ʁ], a devoiced fricative [ʁ̥] or trill [ʀ], and a voiceless unaspirated uvular stop [q], e.g. /ʁʊk/ [ʁ̞ʊkʰ] *Rock* ‘skirt’, /ʁʊm/ [ʁ̞ʊ̯m]~[ʁʊ̯m] *Rum* ‘rum’, and /ʁaʊ̯/ [ʁ̞aʊ̯]~[qaʊ̯] *rau* ‘rough’. What was historically its coda counterpart only surfaces in Upper Saxon as pharyngealization on the preceding vowel, e.g. /ˈmaˤːʁ̞ə̯ʁ̞ə ˈlʊɣ̞tə/ *mehrere Leute* ‘more people’ vs. /ɪʃ keː nɪʃ maˤː tsʉː ˈʃʉːlə/ *ich gehe nicht mehr zu Schule* ‘I don’t go to school anymore’; in other German varieties known to exhibit pharyngealization, such as Swabian, the coda rhotic is treated as either a pharyngeal approximant [ʕ̞] or pharyngealization on the preceding vowel [ˤ] (Frey 1975: 15–16; Hiller 1995: 35; Rues et al. 2007: 95–98), but consistently as a surface realization of an underlying consonant /ʁ/. See section ‘Vowels and diphthongs’ below for details of pharyngealization.

Syllabic consonants

As in other colloquial varieties of German, final nasals and laterals can be produced as syllabic /m̩ n̩ ŋ̩ l̩/ following a stop or fricative (Albrecht 1983: 19), e.g. /ˈɔˤːpaẹ̯tn̩/ *arbeiten* ‘to work’, /ˈmʌntl̩/ *Mantel* ‘cloak’. Syllabic nasals share the same place of articulation as the preceding consonant, e.g. /ˈhɛlfm̩/ *helfen* ‘to help’, /ˈtʊkŋ̩/ *ducken* ‘to duck’, and /ˈmʌχn̩/ [ˈmʌχɴ̩] *machen* ‘to make’. Due to this obligatory assimilation, syllabic nasals can be considered underlyingly underspecified for place. When the syllabic nasal is preceded by another nasal, the two are produced as a single consonant, sometimes with lengthening (Bergmann 1965: 102), e.g. /kəˈkʊmm̩/ *gekommen* ‘come’, /kəˈʊʊnn̩/ *gewonnen* ‘won’, and /kəˈkʌŋŋ̩/ *gegangen* ‘gone’. When the vowel before the two final consonants is long, it is common for the oral consonant to be deleted, e.g. /ˈpɛːpm̩/ *beben* ‘to shake’ pronounced [pɛːm]. Similar phenomena are also described in colloquial Standard German (Lemke 1998; Rues et al. 2007: 72).

Glottal stop

As in Standard German (Kohler 1999: 86; Rues et al. 2007: 37), a glottal stop [ʔ] is typically inserted before stressed onset-less vowels both within words, e.g. /teːˈʌːtoˤ/ [teːˈʔɔˤːtoˤ] *Theater* ‘theater’, /foˤːˈaˤːtskəpʌˤːʃ/ [foˤːˈʔɛːɒ̯ˤtskəpɪːɒ̯ˤʃ] *Vorerzgebirgisch*, and word-initially regardless of stress, e.g. /ʌm ʊːmt ʊʌˤːt ˈʊːmpʁʊːt kəˈkɛsn̩/ [ʔʌm ʔʊːmt ʊʌˤːt ˈʔʊːmbʁ̥ʊːt kəˈkɛzn̩] *Am Abend wird Abendbrot gegessen* ‘Supper is eaten in the evening’.

Sibilants

Due to various mergers, Upper Saxon /ʃ/ can correspond to Standard German /k g ʃ ç/, e.g. /ʊaˤːʃ/ *Werk* ‘work’, /tsʊaˤːʃ/ *Zwerg* ‘dwarf’, /tɪʃ/ *Tisch* ‘table’, and /tɪʃ/ *dich* ‘you’, cf. Standard German /vɛɐ̯k/, /tsvɛɐ̯k/ (underlyingly final /g/, cf. plural /tsvɛɐ̯g-ə/ *Zwerge*), /tɪʃ/, and /dɪç/ (Spangenberg 1990: 274). Its retracted articulation carries over into a following /t/, audible in words such as /ʊʊˤːʃt/ [ʊʊˤːʃt̠] *Wurst* ‘sausage’. In Figure 3, the spectrogram of the word /ʁ̞ɛʃt/ *Recht* ‘right’ reveals the lower-frequency burst energy (< 3 kHz) of the /t/ following /ʃ/.

Vowels and diphthongs

Upper Saxon has six long non-pharyngealized vowels /iː eː ɛː ʉː əː ʌː/. The vowel chart reflects mean formant values collected via spectrographic analysis.

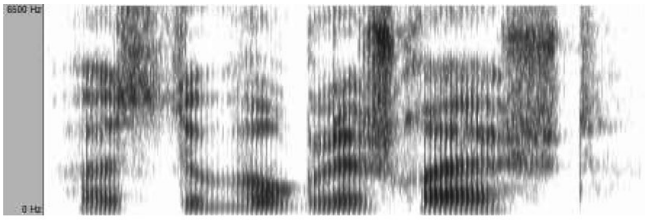
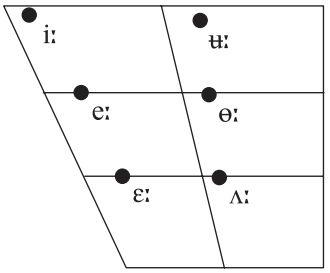


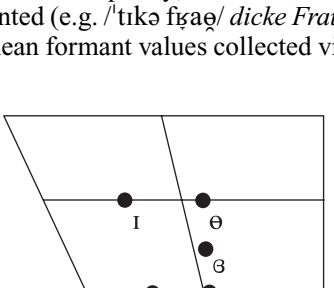
Figure 3 Spectrogram of the phrase /hʌst tʉː ˈʊʌˤːkləʃ ʁ̟ɛʃt/ *hast du wirklich Recht* '(do you think) you're really right?', showing full voicing of /k/ in /ˈʊʌˤːkləʃ/ *wirklich* 'really' and retraction of the final /t/ in /ʁ̟ɛʃt/ *Recht* 'right' due to the preceding /ʃ/.

iː	ˈpiːtn̩	*bieten*	'to offer'
eː	ˈpeːtn̩	*beiden*	'both'
ɛː	ˈpɛːtn̩	*bäten*	'(if they) requested'
ʉː	ˈpʉːtn̩	*Buden*	'booths'
ɵː	ˈpɵːtn̩	*Boden*	'floor'
ʌː	ˈpʌːtn̩	*baten*	'(they) requested'



There are also five short non-pharyngealized vowels /ɪ ɛ ɵ ɐ ʌ/. When unstressed, these vowels optionally reduce to [ə]. Because of the varied formant values reduced vowels can take, no attempt is made in assessing their phonemic quality; all reduced vowels are simply transcribed /ə/. Utterance-final /ə/ is often fronted (e.g. /ˈtɪkə fʁ̟aə̯/ *dicke Frau* 'fat woman' vs. /ˈtɪkə/ *dicke* 'fat'). The vowel chart reflects mean formant values collected via spectrographic analysis.

ɪ	ʊɪnt	*Wind*	'wind'
ɛ	ʊɛn	*wenn*	'when', 'if'
ɵ	ˈʊɵn(t)oˤ	*Wunder*	'wonder'
ɐ	ˈʊɐnə	*Wonne*	'bliss'
ʌ	ˈʊʌnə	*Wanne*	'tub'

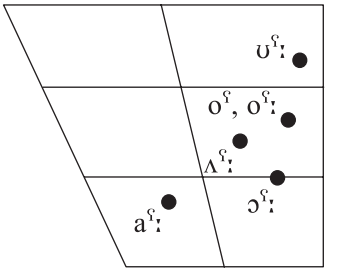


Pharyngealization is described in various regional dialects of German (e.g. Swabian, see Frey 1975: 15–16; Hiller 1995) as well as in variants of Standard German (Lodge 2003). Upper Saxon has six pharyngealized vowels, five of which are long /aˤː ʌˤː ʊˤː oˤː ɔˤː/ and often pronounced as pharyngealized diphthongs [ɛːɐ̯ˤ ɪːɐ̯ˤ ʊːɐ̯ˤ oːɐ̯ˤ ɔːɐ̯ˤ] in careful speech; compare /aˤː/ [ɛːɐ̯ˤ] *er* 'he' in isolation versus in the phrase /jə maˤː aˤː ˈpʉːstətə/ [jə mɛːɐ̯ˤ ʔaˤː ˈpʉːstətə] *je mehr er pustete* 'the more he blew'.[3] The monophthongal pronunciation is common in

[3] Diphthongal pronunciation [ɛːɐ̯ˤ ɪːɐ̯ˤ ʊːɐ̯ˤ oːɐ̯ˤ ɔːɐ̯ˤ], which more closely resembles Standard German [ɛɐ̯ ɪɐ̯ ʊɐ̯ ɔɐ̯ aɐ̯], may be associated with upper class speech (Bergmann 1965: 54), and has become the dominant pronunciation in the urban centers of Leipzig and Dresden (Rues et al. 2007: 98), e.g. [ɦiəˤ] *hier* 'here'.

vowels optionally shortened before coda clusters (see Swabian, Hiller 1995); compare /faˤːt/ [fɛːɒ̯ˤt] *fährt* ‘goes’ with /faˤːtʃ/ [faˤtʃ] *fertig* ‘ready’. The remaining pharyngealized vowel is short unstressed /oˤ/, which can be variously analyzed as pharyngealized high-mid rounded vowel /ɵˤ/, pharyngealized schwa /əˤ/, a sequence of a schwa-like vowel and the rhotic /əɻ/ (/ɔr/ in Bergmann 1965), or a syllabic rhotic /ɻ̩/ (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.

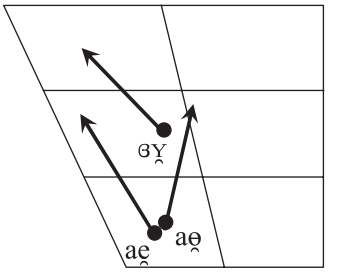
aˤː	ʃtaˤːm	*sterben*	‘to die’
ʌˤː	ʃʌˤːm	*Schirm*	‘umbrella’
ʊˤː	ʃʊˤːf	*Schurf*	‘blight’
oˤː	ʃoˤːf	*Schorf*	‘scab’
ɔˤː	ʃɔˤːf	*scharf*	‘sharp’



As in analyses of the Dresden variety of Upper Saxon (Rues et al. 2007: 92–99), Swabian (Frey 1975: 15–16; Hiller 1995), and Standard German (Lodge 2003), these vowels can alternatively be analyzed as sequences of non-pharyngealized vowels followed by a rhotic consonant (Bergmann 1965) of either uvular /eːɻ̩ iːɻ̩ ʉːʁ ɵːɻ̩ ʌːɻ̩/ or pharyngeal /eːʕ̯ iːʕ̯ ʉːʕ̯ əːʕ̯ ʌːʕ̯/ articulation. The latter analysis follows that of the pharyngealized short vowels of Swabian [ɛʕ̯ əʕ̯ ʊʕ̯ ɔʕ̯ ɑʕ̯], which are interpreted as surface realizations of underlying sequences /eɻ̩∼ɛɻ̩ iɻ̩ uɻ̩ oɻ̩ ɑɻ̩/ (Hiller 1995: 45–46). While the current description of Upper Saxon treats pharyngealization as a vocalic feature, it can be easily reinterpreted as the realization of an underlying consonant following German linguistic tradition.

In addition to the pharyngealized diphthongs, Upper Saxon has three non-pharyngealized diphthongs /ɵɣ̯ aɐ̯ aɒ̯/. The vowel chart reflects mean formant values collected via spectrographic analysis.

ɵɣ̯	ˈlɵɣ̯tn̩	*leuten*	‘to ring’
aɐ̯	ˈlaɐ̯tn̩	*leiten*	‘to lead’
aɒ̯	ˈlaɒ̯tn̩	*lauten*	‘to be’, ‘to read’



[4] On page 171, Bremer (1968) notes that ‘man zB in Thüringen-Obersachsen neuerdings ein silbisches, vokalisches (also nicht gerolltes) Zäpfchen-r spricht, ohne vorhergehenden Vokal’ [‘for example, currently in Thuringia and Upper Saxony, a syllabic, vocalic (and thus not trilled) uvular *r* is produced, without a preceding vowel’ – our translation]

[5] Many languages show changes in F1 as well as F2 due to pharyngealization, but the direction of F1 effects is strongly affected by underlying vowel height. The effect of pharyngealization on F3 is more variable across languages.

Anticipatory pharyngealization and retraction

Vowels are allophonically pharyngealized when the vowel in the following syllable is underlyingly pharyngealized /aˤː ʌˤː ʊˤː oˤ oˤː ɔˤː/; Rues et al. (2007: 97–98) transcribes the Dresden variety with pharyngealization spreading in both directions onto consonants and vowels alike (e.g. [fʊˤlˤo̤ˤnˤ] *verloren* 'lost', [v̤ˤdn̤ˤ] *worden* 'been', [ʃˤb̤ˤo̤ˤdˤ] *Sport* 'sports'). In a separate but superficially similar process, vowels are somewhat retracted when followed by dorsals /k kʰ ŋ χ ʁ̞/, with strongest retraction preceding uvulars. Contrastive pharyngealization, allophonic pharyngealization, and allophonic retraction are illustrated in the list below. Some retraction is also seen in vowels following dorsal consonants (e.g. /nʉː/ [nʉː] *nun* 'now' vs. /kʰʉː/ [kʰʉ̟ː] *Kuh* 'cow'), with the strongest such retraction seen following /ʁ̞/ (e.g. /ʁ̞ʉːm/ [ʁ̞uːm] *Ruhm* 'glory').

Contrastive pharyngealization

ʌː	ʃʌːf	*Schaf*	'sheep'	cf. German ʃaːf
ʌˤː	ʃʌˤːm	*Schirm*	'umbrella'	cf. German ʃɪ̯e̯m
ɵː	tɵːf	*doof*	'stupid'	cf. German doːf
oˤː	toˤːf	*Dorf*	'village'	cf. German dɔ̯e̯f
ɔˤː	tɔˤːf	*darf*	'may'	cf. German da̯e̯f

Allophonic pharyngealization

ʌ	ʊʌs	*was*	'what'	cf. German vas
ʌ	ˈʊʌsoˤ	*Wasser*	'water'	cf. German ˈvasɐ
ɞ	ˈsɞnə	*Sonne*	'sun'	cf. German ˈzɔnə
ɞ	ˈsɞntoˤn	*sondern*	'except'	cf. German ˈzɔndɐn

Allophonic retraction

ʌ	ʊʌn	*wann*	'when'	cf. German van
ʌ	ʊʌχ	*wach*	'awake'	cf. German vax

Front rounded vowels

As is also reported in other Central German varieties such as those of Berlin (Peters 2004: 209) and Thuringia (Spangenberg 1990: 270), as well as in Upper German varieties (Chambers & Trudgill 1998: 168) such as Swabian (Frey 1975: 47; Russ 1990a: 346–347; Hiller 1995: 36–40), the Upper Saxon counterparts of Standard German front rounded vowels /yː øː ʏ œ/ historically merged with the unrounded vowels /iː eː ɪ ɛ/, e.g. /ˈfeːʃl̩/ *Vögel* 'birds', /ˈkiːə/ *Kühe* 'cows', cf. Standard German /ˈføːgl̩/, /ˈkyːə/ (Bergmann 1965: 57–64, 1990: 309; Albrecht 1983: 7–8; Zimmermann 1992: 103–104; Rues et al. 2007: 93). However, Upper Saxon speakers fluent in Standard German occasionally produce front rounded /yː ʏ øː œ/ in cognates of particular Standard German words, e.g. /ˈpʁ̞yːtoˤ/~/ˈpʁ̞iːtoˤ/ *Brüder* 'brothers', contrasting them with central rounded vowels /ʉː ɵ ɵː ɞ/, e.g. /ˈløːfm̩/ *Löwen* 'lions' vs. /ˈlɵːfm̩/ *laufen* 'to walk', /tʏn/ *dünn* 'thin' vs. /ˈtɵnsl̩/ *Dunsel* 'idiot', cf. Standard German /ˈbʁ̞yːdɐ/, /ˈløːvn̩/, /ˈlao̯fn̩/, /dʏn/, /ˈdʊnzl̩/.

Stress

As in Standard German (Kohler 1999: 87), stress in native roots can be considered primarily initial or penultimate (see Wiese 1996: Section 8), while borrowed and polymorphemic words can exhibit other stress patterns. Because of this potential for ambiguity, stress is transcribed in all polysyllabic examples in this entry. For a detailed account of how stress interacts with intonation in other varieties of Upper Saxon, see Kügler (2005, 2007) for the Leipzig dialect and Selting (2002a, b), Peters (2004), and Gilles (2005) for the Dresden dialect.

Transcription of recorded passage

Broad transcription

ˈeːnəs ˈtʌːχəs hʌmʃ toˤ ˈnoˤːtʊɪnt ɵnt tə ˈsɞnə kəˈtsʌŋt, ʊaˤː fɞn ˈpeːtn̩ tɛn nʉː toˤ ˈʃtaˤːkɸə ɪs, ɛls ə ˈʊʌntɸoˤ mɪt nəm ˈʊɔˤːmən ˈmʌntl̩ ʌn foˤˈpeːkʰʌːm. toˤ ˈnoˤːtʊɪnt ɵnt tə ˈsɞnə ʊɔˤːnʃ aęnʃ tʌs toˤ ˈʃtaˤːkɸə fɞn ˈpeːtn̩ tɛn ˈmʌntl̩ fɞm ˈʊʌntɸoˤ ˈkɸiːʃn̩ sɞl. toˤ ˈnoˤːtʊɪnt ˈpʉːstətə ʊʌs tʌs tsɞχʃ hiːlt ˈʌːpoˤ jə maˤː aˤː ˈpʉːstətə ɵm sɵː maˤː foˤˈkɸiːʃtə sɪʃ toˤ ˈʊʌntɸoˤ ɪn ˈsaęnn̩ ˈmʌntl̩. toˤ ˈnoˤːtʊɪnt kʌːp ɞf. tʌn hʌts tə ˈsɞnə ɵːχ foˤˈsʉːχt mɪt ʌˤːn ˈʊɔˤːmm̩ ˈsɞnn̩ʃtɸɔˤːln. ɵnt ɪm nʉː ʃmɪs toˤ ˈʊʌntɸoˤ ˈsaęnn̩ ˈmʌntl̩ ʊɛʃ. tɔˤː ˈmøstə toˤ ˈnoˤːtʊɪnt ˈtsʉːkɛːpm̩ tʌs tə ˈsɞnə toˤ ˈʃtaˤːkɸə fɞnn̩ ˈpeːtn̩ ɪs.

Orthographic version (Standard German)

Eines Tages haben sich der Nordwind und die Sonne gezankt, wer von den beiden denn nun der Stärkere ist, als ein Wanderer mit einem warmen Mantel an, vorbeikam. Der Nordwind und die Sonne waren sich einig, dass der Stärkere von den beiden den Mantel vom Wanderer kriegen soll. Der Nordwind pustete was das Zeug hielt, aber je mehr er pustete, um so mehr verkriechte sich der Wanderer in seinen Mantel. Der Nordwind gab auf. Dann hat es die Sonne auch versucht mit ihren warmen Sonnenstrahlen. Und im Nu schmiss der Wanderer seinen Mantel weg. Da musste der Nordwind zugeben, dass die Sonne die Stärkere von den beiden ist.

English translation

One day the North Wind and the Sun were disputing which of the two is the stronger, when a traveler came along in a warm cloak. The North Wind and the Sun agreed that the stronger of the two should take away the cloak from the traveler. The North Wind blew as hard as he could, but the more he blew, the more the traveler held onto his cloak. The North Wind gave up. Then the Sun tried it with her warm rays. And in an instant the traveler took off his cloak. Thus the North Wind had to concede that the Sun is the stronger of the two.

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