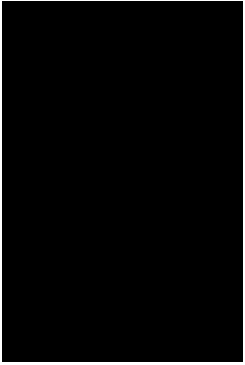


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Upper Saxon (*Obersächsisch* /*ø po sɛksʃ*/) refers to a group of dialects spoken by over two million people in the Free State of Saxony in eastern Germany. It is considered one of the eastern branches of Central German (Wiesinger 1983, Lewis 2009), 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 *Vogtländisch* /*fo a tskəbɔ ʃ*/ 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

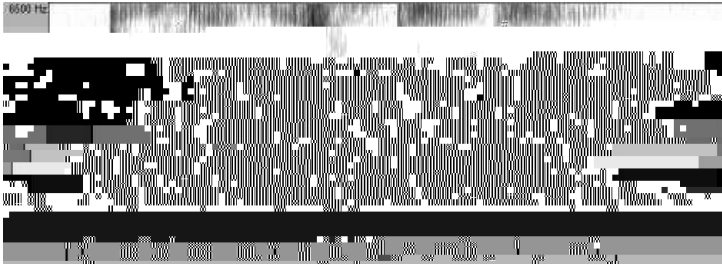
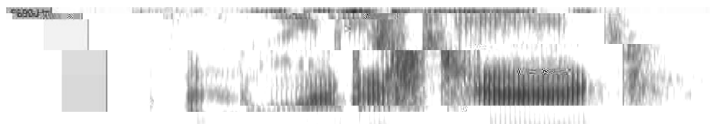


Figure 1 Spectrogram of the phrase /ti ɛ/



2 Spectrogram of the phrase /ən ʁəʦ tɛ tle t/ *ein rotes Kleid* 'a red dress', showing full voicing of /t/ in / ʁəʦ tɛ t/ *rotes* '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 ʁʌpɪ	<i>Ra</i>	'black horses'	cf. German ʁʌpɪ
p ʁʌpɪ	<i>Ka</i>	'shrimps'	cf. German ʁʌbɪ
t pɛ tɪ		'to pray'	cf. German bɛ tɪ
t pɛ tɪ		'both'	cf. German bʌɐ̯tɪ
k dəkə	<i>D</i>	'doll'	cf. German dəkə
k dəkə	<i>D</i>	'mastiff'	cf. German dɔgə
s ʁʌɛsə		'(I) rip'	cf. German ʁʌɛsə
s ʁʌɛsə		'(I) travel'	cf. German ʁʌɛzə

<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 sʌɛt		'since'	cf. German zʌɛt
t sʌɛt		'(you PL) are'	cf. German zʌɛt

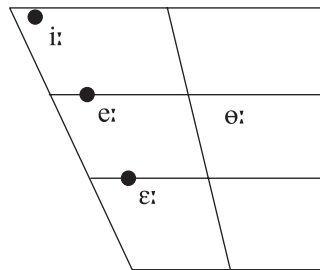
Cl ɛr

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	pkaɐ	B	↙	'porridge'	cf. German bkaɐ
p	pkaɐs	P	↙	'price'	cf. German pkaɐs
t	tʁəχə	D	↙	'drug'	cf. German dʁoɡə
t	tʁəχ	T	↙	'trough'	cf. German tʁoχ
k	kvi s	G	↙	'semolina'	cf. German ɡvi s
k	kvi ʃ	K	↙	'war'	cf. German kvi 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] *r* '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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