NORTH SAXON INFLUENCES
IN THE PHONOLOGY OF STANDARD GERMAN
AS SPOKEN IN KIEL

by
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It is assumed that the Low German substratum has influenced the colloquial form of standard German as spoken in Kiel, on the level of phonetics and phonemics.  

The correlation hypothesis is tested by comparing the phonology of standard German and North Saxon (the Low German dialect under consideration), and examining whether in the cases of divergence the colloquial standard German of Kiel shows the North Saxon peculiarities. The hypothesis is found to be correct. The innovations in standard German in Kiel are minor, since the Low German and High German phonological systems are similar. Only in one case is the phonemic inventory changed: /ä/ is replaced by /e/. Besides this we find influences only on the purely phonetic level (mainly in the colouring of vowels), in the allophonic pattern (i.e. differences in the distribution of allophones - causing overlapping of phonemes in several cases), and differences in the combination of phonemes and allophones (mainly in clusters - a number of them brought about through elisions, assimilations and contractions). 20 phonological rules are formulated to account for the changes of standard German in its colloquial form spoken in Kiel. The application and non-application of these 20 rules is found to be more or less in free variation.

1) As was confirmed to me by correspondence with the "Germanistisches Seminar der Universität Kiel, Niederdeutsche Abteilung", no investigation touching on this problem exists so far.
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The Low German dialects

(according to W. Foerste, 1952, p.1832)
INTRODUCTION

I. Hypothesis and goals

The line running west-east between Benrath and Magdeburg marks the division between the Low German and High German dialect areas: south of it the second High German sound shift took place between the fourth and seventh century.

In the North, Low German was the official and literary language until the sixteenth century. The Hanseatic League used a commercial koine with features of Lübeck usage. With the decline of the Hanseatic League and Luther's translation of the Bible - he used the East Middle German language of the Upper Saxon Chancellory - High German became the prestige language also in the (protestant!) North, while Low German was considered more and more the dialect of the uneducated and rural population, as an indication of social inferiority. In North German schools, High German was taught as the undisputed first foreign language. Around 1700, significantly, in North German theatres the local dialect was used only in clown scenes, the dignified and important persons spoke High German. ¹) The nobility and the patriciate of the North German cities had completely abandoned Low German by 1800, the bourgeoisie followed in the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century even the working class in the industrial areas and the wealthier farming communities, especially near the cities, have abandoned their local dialect, and only the more remote farming areas and fishing villages still cling to Low German, at

least in their colloquial speech. The progress of modern transportation and mass communication favoured the general use of the standard language, a tendency which was largely accelerated by the vast population movements after World War II, by the influence of refugees and exiles from the East. Today, with the generation born during and after the war, Low German is threatened with extinction. There are movements for the preservation and protection of Low German, but the members of these associations and clubs (Low German theatres etc.) are mainly intellectuals and townspeople who do not normally speak Low German themselves. Neither in Kiel, an industrial city with a population of roughly 300,000, nor in the surrounding villages, is pure Low German heard any more, but communication, on all levels, is conducted in the standard language.

Yet it seems evident to me that the dialect substratum has had an effect on the phonology, morphology, syntax and lexis of the colloquial High German standard of Kiel. Low German and High German did not merge together, but Low German was replaced by High German, a High German tinged with local dialect features.

I have restricted my investigation to the level of phonetics and phonemics, i.e., sound influences of Low German in the standard High German of Kiel. The Low German dialect under consideration is North Saxon, the dialect variety spoken between the Ems river and the line running southward from the Baltic coast near Lübeck. Though it might seem most convenient to take into account only the varieties around Kiel, this is rendered difficult by the fact that in the villages round Kiel—maybe with the exception of a few old people—the standard language is spoken. I therefore consider only those Low German dialect
features that are consistent throughout the North Saxon area, or at least the Holstein varieties.

The paper has three parts: a description of standard German (hereafter referred to as SG), a description of North Saxon (referred to as NS), thirdly, a test of the hypothesis of a correlation between North Saxon and standard German as spoken in Kiel (referred to as K), examining those cases where North Saxon sounds differ from standard German ones and therefore might have caused peculiarities in the colloquial form of standard German in Kiel. The analysis will be purely synchronic, i.e. I shall compare the sounds of present day North Saxon (without taking into consideration their historical development) to those of the local form of the standard language in Kiel, looking for possible influence. In the conclusion of this paper I shall try to set up phonological rules for the changes occurring for standard German in Kiel, caused by the North Saxon substratum.

II. Methodology

Before collecting the data in Kiel city, a questionnaire was developed, consisting of 150 words. This questionnaire, however, proved to be of limited usefulness, since the informants, when reading the isolated words, were influenced by the spelling of SG and pronounced them far less "Kielerisch" than when talking freely. Besides this, the language of an individual has several levels (or "registers") suitable for a variety of social situations; when put into a reading situation (especially knowing that I was recording) most informants automatically adopted a formal register. (One of my informants, a civil servant who
has to dictate on tape a lot in his profession, used his best, well-pronounced standard German as soon as he saw the microphone!). I therefore rely mostly on the data received through picture stimuli - I used the photographs of the *Luftbildatlas von Schleswig-Holstein* 2) - and on free conversation, which was sometimes recorded without the informants' knowledge.

I chose 12 informants who had to fulfill certain specified qualifications: they are all monolingual SG speakers, born in Kiel, and at least 45 years of age. My main informant, a housewife, was born in 1888 and has lived in Kiel all her life. 3)

In the classification of the socio-linguistic strata of Kiel, one can, I believe, follow the three types of W. Kurath (1939):

Type I  Little formal education, little reading and restricted social contacts.
   For Kiel: workers of the docks and ship-yards, fish-market, factories etc.

Type II  Better formal education (usually high school) and/or wider reading and social contacts.
   For Kiel: middle class (employees, businessmen, artisans etc.)

Type III Superior education (usually college), cultured background, wide reading and/or extensive social contacts.
   For Kiel: university education (teachers, lawyers, doctors etc.)

2) 1968. Karl Wachholtz Verlag, Neumünster.
3) I chose her as my main informant, since she showed the least shyness or bias in front of the tape recorder; in fact she quite fulfilled W. Kurath's notion that the ideal informant is the one who cannot help talking the way he does. (See R. Pickford, 1956).
I chose my 12 informants from Types II and III\(^4\), i.e. all have relatively good schooling and education. I did not select them according to specific geographical parts of Kiel city, because the population within Kiel is rather mobile; there are extensive new satellite towns and suburban developments.

III. Terminology

Unless otherwise stated and defined explicitly upon introduction, I use the terms which have become conventional in descriptive linguistics. For the terms dialect, dialect continuum and koine I refer to T. Hill (1958): a dialect continuum comprises mutually intelligible vernaculars or dialects; a koine can designate (a) any tongue, distinct from his own vernacular, that a person shares with the speakers of some other vernaculars or (b) a common tongue used for more restricted purposes (poetry, business etc.). The term colloquial speech is my translation (following the use of F. W. Leopold, 1959) of the German term Umgangssprache (or better Alltagssprache\(^5\)), which F. W. Twaddell (1959) defines as "easy going every day use", i.e. the non-dialectal speech of every day life.

IV. Transcription

For the phonetic transcription I use the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association, adding the following diacritic marks:

---

4) I suspect that the speech of Type I, the lower class, would reveal the most Low German influence. However, I did not have the opportunity to find enough informants of that group.

5) In the second edition of Das Wunder der Sprache (Basel, 1962), W. Porzig changed the vague term "Umgangssprache" (which may also designate a commercial koine) into "Alltagssprache", meaning the informal speech used at home and in familiar circles.
length
relative length of the first element in diphthongs
nasalization of vowels
fronting of vowels
glottal stop
aspiration for p t k
lenition (lessening of the energy of articulation; lenition of
the voiceless fortis p t k results in voiceless lenis ʙ d ɡ)
syllabicity

For the phonemic transcription I remain (following W. G. Moulton, 1962) closer to the spelling alphabet of German, using as diacritics only:

/ ./ tenseness (closedness)     \ for vowels
/ɛ/ laxness (openness)
/+/ open juncture and /-/ a pause at open juncture
/'/ stress

6) Strictly speaking, syllabicity should not be marked in phonetic transcription, as [ˌ] does not change the pronunciation of a vowel. I add this diacritic, however, as it facilitates the reading of the phonetic texts.
7) The terms tense and closed as well as lax and open are considered synonymous: presence or absence of muscular tension in the articulator corresponds to relative closed- or openness of the oral passage (relative raising of the tongue toward the palate).
8) The term open juncture refers to juncture within words (open internal juncture) or between words (open external juncture). In the Appendix, I only mark open juncture at audible pauses by /-/ . Open juncture between words is indicated by a blank.
9) Stress is marked only for words with more than one syllable. In the Appendix, the word-stress (for polysyllabic words) and the sentence-stress are indicated.
A. STANDARD GERMAN

I. Standardized High German - the "Siebs"

As T. Hill (1958) defines it, the standard language is a koine standardized under a state authority (an academy, a generally accepted dictionary etc.). It becomes possible and usual for the population at large to write and also speak the standard language in a uniform manner at the grammatical and lexical levels, but not, or at least not entirely, at the phonetic level.

An approximate written standard has existed in Germany since Luther, who familiarized most of the speakers of German with the East Middle German language as a proper medium for communication in print. A need for a phonological uniformity to match the emerging graphic uniformity was first expressed by Goethe, who, as director of the Weimar Court Theatre, was displeased at a cast of actors, allegedly members of the same family on the stage, whose pronunciations proclaimed their widely divergent childhood homes in various German dialect areas. Thus the problem that the spoken language was anything but uniform, and that no geographical part had the prestige of a "correct" pronunciation, became first a matter of concern for the theatre. In 1898, on the request of the "Deutscher Bühnenverein", Theodor Siebs published the first edition of Deutsche Pünkenauussprache. Its aim was maximal efficiency in acoustic intelligibility, combined with the least expense in physiological energy. He based his rules on existing pronunciation habits of the stage by

taking phonetic notes in the theatres of all parts of Germany, then levelling out the differences according to the most widely spread usage. This resulted in a satisfactory solution for North, Middle and South Germany. The pronunciation as standardized by T. Siebs is meant to be the highest norm, "kein starres Gesetz...., sondern ein Ideal, das als Ziel und Maßstab für alles gebildete Sprechen aufgestellt ist". Siebs' book gradually came to assert itself a wider sphere of influence, because a need for a common spoken German became more urgent in areas other than the theatre. In 1922, the title changed to Deutsche Hochsprache and in 1969 the 19th edition (edited by H. Moser, H. de Boor and Ch. Winkler) appeared, replacing the imprecise term "Hochsprache" (which can designate all levels of the language) by "Hochlautung". The Siebs has been criticised as artificial, hypercorrect and stilted (see A. Littmann, 1965), as the codified pronunciation is realized only by small circles, and by those only for special occasions: actors in serious drama, speech therapists and some trained radio announcers. No German actually speaks "Bühnendeutsch" in his daily usage. The 1969 edition of the Siebs therefore allows a "gemässigte Hochlautung" (modified standard pronunciation) at the side of the "reine Hochlautung" (pure standard pronunciation). The "reine Hochlautung" remains the ideal, the received standard German norm.

2) The North German sounds were often preferred. Several times we find the pronunciation instruction "...wie es in Norddeutschland üblich ist". T. Siebs defined nowhere, however, to which North German dialect or dialects he referred. (The Low German phonological systems within the Low German dialect continuum vary to a considerable extent.)

3) See T. Siebs 181661, p. 6.

4) The Duden Aussprachewörterbuch (1962) was the first to distinguish three levels of the pronunciation of German: "Hochlautung" (the norm according to the Siebs), "gemässigte Hochlautung" (defined as being (Cont'd)
Though the latest edition of the Siebs contains a paragraph on the phonology of "pure" and "modified" standard German, the Siebs transcription system is not a phonemic one, but rather is based on a relatively broad transcription of German. There exist various phonological descriptions of SG, mainly W. G. Moulton (1947 and 1962), G. Heike (1961), H. Pilch (1966), M. Adamus (1967) and H. Kučera (1968) - all basing their phonological analysis essentially on the Siebs norm, the "reine Hochlautung", because it is - though in some ways an artificiality - the form of German having the broadest range of intelligibility.

II. Phonology of Standard German

The phonemic analysis of SG is controversial in many cases. However, I shall not discuss those problems at length here, but limit this section to essentials, since in this paper the presentation of SG phonology is of concern only as a frame of reference by which to gauge the influence of North Saxon on the "Alltagslautung" of Kiel.

1. Vowels

The Siebs distinguishes two sets of SG vowels, long and short ones:

i: y: u: e: e: ø: o: a:

I: y: u: e: æ: e: a

For a phonemic analysis, I take the view of W. G. Moulton (1962) less clearly articulated and more tolerant) and "Umgangslautung" (defined as containing a vast amount of individual, regional and social colourings).

The 1969 edition of the Siebs contains the following diagram (p. 8):
and W. O. Droscher (1964), which provides the most economic pattern: length is considered a secondary, non-phonemic feature of SG vowels. The distinctive features are tenseness and laxness (corresponding to open- and closedness), tenseness coinciding automatically with decenteralisation, laxness with centralisation. All tense vowels are capable of being lengthened when stressed; (in unstressed syllables the tense vowels occur always unlengthened). Also the lax vowels may occasionally be lengthened through emphasis. Thus length is phonetically, but not phonemically relevant.

Moulton, contrary to Siebs, states that SG practice clearly indicates a qualitative as well as a quantitative distinction of the two a-sounds: /a/ = [a:] versus /ɔ/ = [ɔ] (there are minimal pairs). This opposition, however, is suspended in unstressed position, where only the lax member, /ɔ/, occurs.

Moulton assumes furthermore the neutral mid central vowel /ə/, which occurs in unstressed position only, as a distinct phoneme; (for a contrary view see Kucera, 1968, who considers [ə] to be an allophone of the lax /ɛ/).

We can thus plot the 15 vowel phonemes (according to Moulton) as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front unrounded</th>
<th>Front rounded</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tens</td>
<td>ɪ</td>
<td>ũ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lax</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>ŏ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tens</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>ŏ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lax</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>ŏ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tens</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ň</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to the Siebs we must then assume a sixteenth vowel phoneme, /ã/ phonetically [ɛː], which distinguishes forms that otherwise would become homonymous (as in 'Ahre - Ehre'). Possibly because /ã/ is not well integrated into the SG vowel system (it does not take part in the tense - lax opposition), it is more and more replaced by /ɛ/, especially in the North (see p. 37). Kučera takes it to be a hypercorrect spelling pronunciation of the letter ā and does not list it as a separate phoneme.

There are three diphthongs in SG: /ai/ /oi/ /au/, /ai/ and /au/ begin in low central position, /oi/ in mid back rounded position. The Siebs transcribes them as [æ ɛ əʊ], but v. Essen (1959) stated, on the basis of experimental data, that in educated SG the diphthongs rise in fact to [ɛ] and [ɔ]. (Besides these three, the marginal diphthong /ui/ occurs. I disregard it here, as it only exists in the interjections 'hui' and 'pfui').

The Siebs also lists the French nasals [ã ë ð ø] as sounds of SG. I omit them in the phonological analysis, since they only occur in loan words of French origin.

The distribution of the SG vowel phonemes is as follows: lax vowels occur, with the exception of a few interjections (like 'ha!' etc.), only before consonants, i.e. in checked position, tense vowels and diphthongs can also occur before vowels or at the end of a word, i.e. in free position. I add a list of their distribution with examples:

5) I agree with Kučera's opinion (1968): "We realise, of course, that it is not easy to decide which foreign words should be included in the data serving as the basis of the phonological analysis. But unassimilated morphemes of foreign origin must be excluded if the resulting phonemic system is to be realistic" (p. 31).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phoneme</th>
<th>checked position</th>
<th>free position</th>
<th>phonetic realisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/i/ in/</td>
<td>/zi/ you/</td>
<td>[ i (ː) ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/i/ in/</td>
<td></td>
<td>[ i ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/e/ whom/</td>
<td>/ze/ lake/</td>
<td>[ e (ː) ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/e/ when/</td>
<td></td>
<td>[ e ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o/</td>
<td>/o/ oven/</td>
<td>/zo/ so/</td>
<td>[ o (ː) ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o/</td>
<td>/o/ open/</td>
<td></td>
<td>[ o ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u/</td>
<td>/u/ glory/</td>
<td>/du/ you/</td>
<td>[ u (ː) ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u/</td>
<td>/u/ rum/</td>
<td></td>
<td>[ u ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ü/</td>
<td>/ü/ to feel/</td>
<td>/frü/ early/</td>
<td>[ y (ː) ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ü/</td>
<td>/ü/ to fill/</td>
<td></td>
<td>[ y ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ö/</td>
<td>/ö/ cave/</td>
<td>/bö/ gust/</td>
<td>[ ø (ː) ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ö/</td>
<td>/ö/ hell/</td>
<td></td>
<td>[ ø ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə/</td>
<td>/ə/ frenzy/</td>
<td>/da/ there/</td>
<td>[ ə (ː) ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə/</td>
<td>/ə/ when/</td>
<td></td>
<td>[ ə ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a/</td>
<td>/a/ cheese/</td>
<td>/ja/ sudden/</td>
<td>[ eː ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə/</td>
<td>/ə/ to discuss/</td>
<td>/bɪə/ please/</td>
<td>[ ə ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a/</td>
<td>/a/ hurry/</td>
<td>/frə/ free/</td>
<td>[ aː ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o/</td>
<td>/o/ owl/</td>
<td>/hoi/ hay/</td>
<td>[ oː ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au/</td>
<td>/au/ loud/</td>
<td>/frau/ woman/</td>
<td>[ au ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally it should be noted that several phonologists (e.g. H. Mueller, 1958) have assumed a length phoneme called Überlänge, contrasting the phonetically long tense vowels to "overlong" tense vowels (in pairs like 'Ruth' - 'ruht', 'fliesst' - 'fliest'). Spectrographic investigations of W. R. Babcock et al. (1965), however, have shown clearly that there is no phonemic "Überlänge" in SG. It is only
in the frame provided by a sentence that two homonyms become unambiguous. "Overlength" is not attached to a vowel of a certain word, but all tense vowels can be long, or even "overlong", under special stress.

2. Consonants

The number of consonant phonemes of SG depends on the interpretation of SG sounds. The phonemic status of [x] [ç] [ɔ] [ŋ] [ʔ] and of the affricates [tʃ] [ts] [pf] is controversial. I distinguish 19 consonant phonemes: /p b t d k q f v s z s z x j h m n l r/.

**Distribution of their allophones:**

/p/   [p] unaspirated voiceless bilabial stop

1. in the clusters /pf/ and /ps/

2. syllablefinal if the next syllable

   a) begins with a stop (if it is a homorganic stop, the first stop is not released)

   b) is a derivational affix, beginning with a voiced consonant (-sam, -lich etc.)

   /pfɔl/   [pfɔ:l] 'post'

   /psɔlm/   [psɔlm] 'psalm'

   /pɔplain/   [pɔpˈlain] 'little doll'

/p̚/ aspired voiceless bilabial stop elsewhere

/p̚s/   [p̚s] 'passport'

/raupɔ/   [rauˈpɔ] 'caterpillar'

/b/ [b] voiced bilabial stop initially and medially
[p] voiceless bilabial stop syllable-final (singly or in clusters)

[b] does not occur syllable-final, neither singly nor in clusters, but in this position only [p] occurs, i.e. the voiceless counterpart of [b]. This phenomenon of SG, which applies for all stops and fricatives, is generally called "Auslautverhärtung." 6)

For this syllable-final [p] then Siebs' aspiration rules for /p/ apply:

/g rib/ / [grəp]/ 'rough'
/gibt/ / [gi:tp]/ 'gives'
/libelx/ / [li:pIX]/ 'lovely'

/t/ / [t] unaspirated voiceless alveolar stop in the cluster /ts/

6) N. S. Trubetzkoy (1939) considered the SG "Auslautverhärtung" a case of neutralization ("Aufhebung") of a phonological opposition. Here the opposition /b/ / p/, relevant in other positions, is neutralized under the voiceless member of the opposition. According to Trubetzkoy, we would have to transcribe /p/ or better /P/, the "archiphoneme", i.e. the bilabial stop in general.

I prefer the view of v. Essen (1964), that in phonemic transcription we have to maintain /b/ , since the inflected forms (which yield the base forms) indicate the phoneme /b/, e.g. 'Liebe', 'lieber', hence /l iblx/. /b/ is automatically changed to [p] in final position, i.e. it is a positional variant of /b/ . V. Essen (1964, p. 15) says: "Vertritt man den Standpunkt, dass in solchen Fällen die längeren Wortformen das zu Grunde liegende Phonem verraten, so wird man die betreffenden Laute als positionsbedingte Realisierungsvarianten deklarieren müssen". Thus in the so-called "neutralized" position, an opposition is not really annihilated ("aufgehoben"), but positional variants of a phoneme occur, which may or may not coincide with other phonemes. If they do coincide with the realisation of other phonemes, (like here /b/ in final position ⇒ [p]), coinciding with the realisation of /p/, we have a case of overlapping of phonemes.

I adopt in the following this conception of v. Essen (1964, p. 15)
and in the cases (2) listed for /p/.

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{tsam}/ & \quad [\text{tsa:m}] & \quad \text{'tame'} \\
/'\text{zitzam}/ & \quad [\text{zitzam}] & \quad \text{'decent'} \\
[t^c] & \quad \text{aspirated voiceless alveolar stop elsewhere} \\
/\text{tal}/ & \quad [t^c:a:] & \quad \text{'valley'} \\
/\text{ratn}/ & \quad [\text{ra:t^n}] & \quad \text{'to guess'} \\
/\text{hat}/ & \quad [\text{hat^c}] & \quad \text{'has'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[d\] voiced alveolar stop initially and medially

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{dax}/ & \quad [\text{dax}] & \quad \text{'roof'} \\
/\text{cda}/ & \quad [\text{c:da}] & \quad \text{'noble'} \\
[t] & \quad \text{voiceless alveolar stop syllable-final, singly or in clusters. For [t] the aspiration rules for /t/ apply.} \\
/\text{rad}/ & \quad [\text{ra:t^c}] & \quad \text{'wheel'} \\
/\text{redlix}/ & \quad [\text{re:t^liz}] & \quad \text{'honest'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[k\] unaspirated voiceless velar stop in the cluster /ks/

which is based on the model of generative grammar, more specifically of generative phonology (see e.g. N. Chomsky, 1968). R. W. Langacker (1967) gives the following diagram of "the linguistic system man possesses" (p. 90):

```
CONCEPTUAL STRUCTURE (meaning)

Semantic and Syntactic Systems (choice of lexical items; syntactic rules)

SURFACE STRUCTURE

Phonological Rules

PHONETIC MANIFESTATION
```

The Surface Structure - the string of morphemes constituting a sentence - is the underlying phonological representation. The Phonological Rules assign the precise phonetic shape to these underlying (abstract!) forms.

Whereas the Chomskyan school does not accept a proper phonemic level (they talk of "underlying segments"), v.Eessen uses the terms "underlying phoneme" ("zu Grunde liegendes Phonem") and "positional variant" (= allophone); ("positionsbedingte Realisierungsvariante").
and in the cases (2) listed for /p/.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{/laks/} \quad [\text{laks}] \quad \text{"salmon"} \\
\text{/\text{k}i\text{k}l\text{i}x/} \quad [\text{\text{k}i\text{k}l\text{i}x}] \quad \text{"convenient"} \\
\end{array}
\]

[kʰ] aspirated voiceless velar stop elsewhere

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{/kain/} \quad [\text{kain}] \quad \text{"no"} \\
\text{/hakən/} \quad [\text{hakən}] \quad \text{"hook"} \\
\text{/dik/} \quad [\text{dik}] \quad \text{"fat"} \\
\end{array}
\]

/g/ [g] voiced velar stop initially and medially

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{/gros/} \quad [\text{gros}] \quad \text{"big"} \\
\text{/regən/} \quad [\text{regən}] \quad \text{"rain"} \\
\end{array}
\]

[k] voiceless velar stop syllable-final, singly or in clusters. For [k] the aspiration rules for /k/ apply.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{/burg/} \quad [\text{burg}] \quad \text{"castle"} \\
\text{/zagə/} \quad [\text{zagə}] \quad \text{"says"} \\
\end{array}
\]

The Siebs makes an exception for the ending /iːɡ/, which should be pronounced [ɪːɡ], (see p. 44).

/f/ [f] voiceless labio-dental fricative in all occurrences

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{/fon/} \quad [\text{fon}] \quad \text{"from"} \\
\text{/hafon/} \quad [\text{hafon}] \quad \text{"harbour"} \\
\text{/rif/} \quad [\text{rif}] \quad \text{"called"} \\
\end{array}
\]

/v/ [v] voiced labio-dental fricative initially and medially

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{/vo/} \quad [\text{vo}] \quad \text{"where"} \\
\text{/\text{l}ø\text{v}ə/} \quad [\text{\text{l}ø\text{v}ə}] \quad \text{"lion"} \\
\end{array}
\]

[f] voiceless labio-dental fricative syllable-final, singly or in clusters.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{/\text{l}ø\text{n}ən/} \quad [\text{\text{l}ø\text{n}ən}] \quad \text{"little lion"} \\
\end{array}
\]
/s/  [s]  voiceless alveolar fricative in all occurrences
   /skæt/   [skæ:t']   'skat'
   /väșar/  [väșar]   'water'
   /väș/    [väș]   'what'

/z/  [z]  voiced alveolar fricative initially and medially
   /zöno/   [zöno]   'sun'
   /'väaza/  [väaza]  'vase'
   /'väș/    [väș]   'what'

/s/  [s]  voiceless alveolar fricative syllable-final, singly
   or in clusters.
   /raizt/  [raizt']   'travels'

/s/  [s]  voiceless alveo-palatal fricative (with lip rounding)
   in all occurrences
   /sön/    [sø:n]  'beautiful'
   /'təşə/  [təʃə]  'bag'
   /'räʃ/   [räʃ]  'quick'

/z/  [z]  voiced apico-palatal fricative, occurring in loan-
   words only?
   /zur'nal/  [zurna:l]  'journal'
   /'gaʒə/  [gaʒə]  'pay'

/x/  [x]  voiceless velar fricative after low and back vowels
   /dax/    [dax]  'roof'
   /loξ/    [loξ]  'hole'
   /buξ/    [buξ]  'book'

[ɕ]  voiceless palatal fricative elsewhere

7) G. Heike (1961) does not list it in his analysis of SG.
/i.k/ [i^] 'I'

/m.e.l.x/ [m.1^] 'milk'

The morpheme -chen (occurring after open internal juncture) always has [^]: /'k.y+x.o^/[k'y:çan]'little cow' opposed to /'k.y+x.o^/[k'y:çan]'cake'.

/j/ [j] voiced palatal fricative in all occurrences

/ja.kô/ [ja.kô] 'jacket'

/kô.jô/ [ko:jô] 'berth'

/h/ [h] glottal aspirate

/he.ô/ [he.ô] 'light'

/m/ [m] voiced bilabial nasal in all occurrences

/me.ô/ [me.ô] 'flour'

/da.mô/ [da:mô] 'lady'

/lâm/ [lâm] 'lamb'

/n/ [n] voiced velar nasal in the phoneme-sequence /ng/ → [n] and /nk/ → [nk]^)

/he.nô.ô/ [he.nô.ô] 'to hang'

/jyâôst/ [jyâôst] 'recently'

/lânô/ [lânô] 'long'

/dâôkô.nô/ [dâôkô.nô] 'to thank'

8) Moulton (1962), disregarding juncture before the morpheme [çan], assumes two separate phonemes /x/ and /^/.  
9) Moulton (1962) considers [n] an autonomous phoneme. I follow W. M. Austin (1968), who shows that [n] has the underlying phonemic sequence /ng/ or /nk/ and that [n] is merely a result of regressive assimilation: /ng/ → ([ŋg]) → [ŋ], /nk/ → [ŋk]. Thus [n] is the only case of assimilation tolerated in the "reine Hochlautung". It does not apply, however, if open juncture lies between the nasal and the velar stop, e.g. /an+gebôn/ → [ange:bo:n], /an+kôman/ → [ankôman].  
10) Note that there is no "Auslautverhärtzung" for /j/ in the sequence /ng/.
[n] voiced alveolar nasal elsewhere

/ŋɔx/ [ŋɔx] 'still'
/'lainə/ [lainə] 'rope'
/ain/ [ain] 'a'

/l/ [l] voiced alveolar lateral in all occurrences

/liːd/ [liːt] 'song'
/ko:la/ [ko:la] 'coal'
/fiːl/ [fiːl] 'much'

/r/ [r] apico alveolar trill or
[R] uvular trill

Both are, according to the Siebs equally accepted and
occur in free variation in SG.

/redən/ [reːdən] ~ [Reːdən] 'to talk'
/fəɾən/ [faːɾən] ~ [faːɾən] 'to drive'
/viːr/ [viːr] ~ [viːR] 'we'

Experimental phonetic investigations of E. M. Krech (1968) show
that we cannot consider the glottal stop [ʔ] in SG to be a separate
phoneme, but rather that it is a facultative phonetic variant of the
realisation of a vowel without the glottal stop. It usually occurs for
a vowel after open juncture. Within a consistent, linked utterance it
can be absent, especially with unstressed vowels, e.g. /ˈfɔn+oɪx/ →

11) Syllabic [l] (as well as syllabic [n ɹ ɾ]) is not accepted in
the "reine Hochlautung".
12) [ɔ] in final postvocalic position, listed by Moulton (1962), is
not recognized in the Siebs:

/Siebs/ [aːbɔɾ] ~ [aːbɔɾ]
/Moulton/ [aːbɔɾ]

The 1969 edition of the Siebs allows [ɛɾ] for the ending -er in
the "gemässigte Hochlautung".
[fən ˈriːts] ~ [fən ˈriːts] 'of you'. Siebs does not tolerate word or syllable initial vowels without the glottal stop. Following Siebs' rule, Moulton (1947) assumes the glottal stop not to be in free variation, but part of the allophone that any vowel shows after open juncture.

The affricates /ts/ /tʃ/ and /pf/ are interpreted here as two-phoneme sequences, i.e. as clusters. This agrees with the analysis of M. Morcinniec (1958), followed also by Moulton (1962) and Kučera (1968), who bases his conclusion on arguments of parallelism with other elements of the phonemic system (for a contrary interpretation see P. Delattre, 1965, and M. Adamus, 1968). There are no minimal pairs in SG distinguished solely by the contrast of an affricate and the corresponding phoneme pair, e.g. /ɛ/ versus /tʃ/. Moulton also gives the argument that there seems to be no good reason for singling out these affricates, since SG has a whole series of clusters of stop plus fricative or sibilant ( /ps/ /pʃ/ /ks/ /dʒ/ ).

Besides these affricates SG has numerous other clusters, with a maximum of three consonants in the onset of the syllable (e.g. [pʃlau ˈma] 'plum') and a maximum of four consonants in the coda (e.g. [həpʃt] 'autumn'). The most frequent syllable types of SG are CVC, VC, CV and CCV. Fifteen different structures are possible, from V to CCCV- and -VCCCC (see P. Delattre, 1965).

**Distribution of phonemes:**

There are certain phonemes (or allophones) and phoneme (or allophone) combinations, which are only admissible in certain positions.  

13) O'Conner (1953) defines the syllable as "a minimal pattern of phoneme combination, with a vowel unit as nucleus, preceded and followed by a consonant or permitted consonant combination". See also Trubetzkoy's (1939) "Grenzsignale", i.e. phonemes and phoneme combinations indicating open juncture.
As mentioned above, \([b d g v z j]\) never occur in the coda, but the coda is always devoiced ("Auslautverhärtung"). /h/ and /\?/ occur initially only, whereas /x/ never occurs in this position (except in some loan words). /z/ occurs initially only before vowels; /s/ can occur before consonants initially, but only in foreign words (e.g. /skëtsa/'sketch/). In words of German origin we find /\?/ instead of /s/ initially (e.g. /stënda/'hour/, /spïl/ 'game'). The clusters /st/ and /sp/ occur medially and finally only (e.g. /rest/ 'rest', /vesta/ 'vest'). The combinations /br/ /kv/ /sl/ - to mention only a few - can occur in the onset only, /xt/ /rs/ /ng/ /mp/ in the coda only. 14) For this paper only those clusters that vary in SG and K are of interest and will be discussed in chapter C.

14) For a complete list of syllabic position memberships in SG see H. Kučera (1968), p. 55.
B. NORTH SAXON

I. Absence of a standardized form of North Saxon

Since the decline of "Lübeck usage", going hand in hand with the decline of the Hanseatic League (see p. 1), there has been no standard form of Low German, for spelling or for pronunciation. Within the NS dialect area, various varieties are spoken, none of them having the prestige of being the "correct" form of NS. ¹)

Whereas there exist numerous phonological descriptions of SG, the descriptions of NS are scarce - unfortunately so, since phonological differences are bound to occur in such a relatively large area. The principal works in the field are O. v. Essen (1964), who describes the dialect of Kirchwerder near Hamburg, and R. E. Keller (1961), who gives a description of the Lower Elbe variety. There is, as far as I know, no phonological description of the Holstein varieties near Kiel. However, for noting divergencies from v. Essen and Keller, the tapes of the Deutsches Spracharchiv in Münster were of help. I used the recordings of the villages of Hutzfeld, Schülp, Lutterbek and Blekendorf. I base the following phonemic analysis of NS on v. Essen's description of Kirchwerder (abbreviated Kw). Significant differences in the Lower Elbe variety (LE) and the Holstein dialects will be mentioned.

¹) Modern writers, in their effort to revive Low German, write in various vernaculars. The spelling is generally not phonemic, nor a broad phonetic transcription, but the rules are adopted from the SG orthography, e.g. shortness of the vowel is indicated by doubling of the following consonant (see Keller, 1961, p. 25). In many cases we find etymological spelling, i.e. the spelling indicates the historical development of NS. As orthographical habits of NS are by no means uniform, I shall only use phonemic and phonetic transcription in this paper.
II. Phonology of North Saxon

1. Vowels

With the exception of the low vowels - there is only one a-quality in Kw, a lax front vowel - the vowels of Kw occur, like the vowels of SG, in a tense (closed) and lax (open) variety, tenseness correlated with length (under stress), laxness with shortness. The best solution for an analysis of the vowel phonemes of NS therefore seems to me here, corresponding to the analysis of SG, to consider laxness and tenseness as primary distinctive features, and length only as a secondary, prosodic feature, occurring for tense vowels under stress.

A problem, however, is then posed by long open [ɔː] , which Keller states for LE to contrast with short open [ɔ], e.g. /ɔp/ 'on', /ɔːˈɡiː/ 'day'. (Unfortunately he does not give minimal pairs). In cases where Kw has /ɔ/ (=[ɔː]), we find mostly /ɔː/ (=[ɔː]) in Keller's description of LE (e.g. Kw /ˈkʊn/, LE /kɔːn/ 'boat'), sometimes, however, /ɔ/ (e.g. Kw /brʊt/, LE /brʊt/ 'bread'). As I noticed on the tapes, the /ɔ/ of Kw is realised in the Holstein dialects as a low or mid back vowel with lip rounding, between [ɔː] and [oː], in cases where the Low German spelling usually indicates a or aa3), e.g. 'Kaan, Water, slapen', it is realised as [ɔː] or [ʌv]

2) V. Essen assumes that open- and closedness are dependent on quantity and therefore only sets up 8 phonemes /a ɛ i ɔ u ʌ ø ə/ and a phoneme length /–/. Looking through his phonemic transcription, however, we find that there are inconsistencies: he also marks openness by /e/ , and, parallel to his phonetic transcription, the open vowels also occur lengthened, e.g. /mæn/. On the other hand the closed vowels occur unlengthened in unstressed position, e.g. /dɔˈbɪ/, which means that quantity is only relevant under stress.

3) i.e. derived mainly from WÖmc < &>.
in cases where the spelling indicates o or oo

It seems to me that we have to assume a phoneme /ɔ/ 5), realised in most Holstein and Schleswig dialects as [ɔː] or [ɔː], in Kw as [ɔː], e.g. /kɔːn/ is [kɔːn] or [kɔːn], in Kw [kɔːn]. In Kw we have thus overlapping of the phonemes /ɔ/ and /ɔ/. The mid central vowel /ə/ only occurs, like in SG, in unstressed position. We can thus plot the fifteen vowel phonemes of NS as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unrounded</td>
<td>rounded</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tense</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ü</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lax</td>
<td>ɪ</td>
<td>ü̞</td>
<td>ü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tense</td>
<td>ɛ̞</td>
<td>ɛ̞</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lax</td>
<td>ɛ̞</td>
<td>ɛ̞</td>
<td>ɛ̞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lax</td>
<td>ɛ̞</td>
<td></td>
<td>ɛ̞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tense</td>
<td>ɛ̞</td>
<td></td>
<td>ɛ̞</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are, as in SG, the three diphthongs /ai/ /au/ /oi/ in NS6), but the initial element of the diphthong is relatively longer than in SG: [aːi] [aːu] and [ɔːi].

Where the Geest dialects have the long mid vowels [ɛː] [ɔː] [ɜː] for /ɛ/ /ɔ/ /o/ , the Holstein dialects diphthongize (usually with lengthening of the first element) to [ɛːɪ] [ɔːɪ] and [ʊːɯ] ; (occasionally the second element rises to tense [i] in [ɛːi] and [ɔːi], to [u] in [ʊːɯ]).

4) i.e. derived from WGmc <o> and <au>.
5) I phonemicise it /ɔ/ because of the symmetry of pattern, though phonetically it does not have a real a-colouring.
6) In Kw there is also a diphthong /əʊ/ , which Keller does not list for LE and which does not seem to exist in Holstein.
As in SG, lax vowels occur, except for some interjections, in checked position, tense vowels occur checked or free:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phoneme</th>
<th>checked position</th>
<th>free position</th>
<th>phonetic realisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/v i:t/</td>
<td>'far'</td>
<td>/j i/ 'you' (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>/v e k/</td>
<td>'week'</td>
<td>/h e/ 'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>/v e k/</td>
<td>'wake!'</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>/d o:n/</td>
<td>'to do'</td>
<td>/d o/ 'do!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td>/o s/</td>
<td>'ox'</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>/l u s/</td>
<td>'louse'</td>
<td>/nu/ 'now'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/y/</td>
<td>/l y s/</td>
<td>'pleasure'</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ü/</td>
<td>/s ū n/</td>
<td>'barn'</td>
<td>/zu/ 'look!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ü/</td>
<td>/z ū n/</td>
<td>'sun'</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʊ/</td>
<td>/z ʊ x/</td>
<td>'sow'</td>
<td>/n ʊ/ 'no'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/œ/</td>
<td>/z ɛ x/</td>
<td>'searches'</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aː/</td>
<td>/k a:n/</td>
<td>'boat'</td>
<td>/j aː/ 'yes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/</td>
<td>/k æ n/</td>
<td>'can'</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/œ/</td>
<td>/k æ tʃ æl/</td>
<td>'potatoes'</td>
<td>/ɔlæ/ 'old'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aɪ/</td>
<td>/draɪt/</td>
<td>'turns'</td>
<td>/draɪ/ 'turn!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/au/</td>
<td>/k lauːt/</td>
<td>'steals'</td>
<td>/g ɔ u/ 'quick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/oj/</td>
<td>/groɪn/</td>
<td>'green'</td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A peculiarity of the NS dialects is the occurrence of Überlänge or Schleifton. The voice "schleift" (meaning lengthening with pitch variation) over the sequence V - V, e.g. [stuːˌuv], in fast speech [stuːˌv] 'room'. Schleifton arises where an unstressed /ə/ has dropped after a vowel or the voiced consonants /b g z v/, preceded by a tense root vowel (after /ə/ has dropped, /b g z v/ become lenicized), e.g. /zdæ/ → [ziːd] 'silk'. Before fortis consonants Schleifton is found only if these consonants do not belong to the same morpheme, e.g. /he'bruːt/ → [he bruːt] 'he brews'. Schleifton may be regarded as an allophone of the unstressed phoneme /ə/.

Also typical for NS is the nasalization of a vowel or diphthong before /n/ in fast speech (at the same time the nasal consonant drops), e.g. /viːn'zeː/ → [viːzəː] 'if you'.

W. Foerste (1952) and Keller (1961) mention the NS tendency of rounding of front vowels, mainly /i/ in labial surroundings, e.g. /ik bɪn/ → [ik bɪn] 'I am'.

The strong accent concentration of NS on the root syllable results in weakening of the unstressed syllables. Except in foreign words and compounds only /ə/ and /i/ are at all frequent in unstressed position (see Keller, 1961).

2. Consonants

NS has 18 consonant phonemes: /p b t d k g f v s z ʃ x j h m n l r/. Distribution of their allophones:

/p/ [pʰ] aspirated voiceless bilabial stop initially

/paŋ/ [pʰaŋ] 'pan'
[b̪] voiceless lenis bilabial stop medially between vowels
/əpəl/ [əb̪əl] 'apple'
[p] unaspirated voiceless bilabial stop elsewhere?
/ɔp/ [ɔp] 'on'

/b/ [β] voiced bilabial fricative medially between vowels 8)
/'z̠aβəl/ [zaβəl] 'to talk'
[p] voiceless bilabial stop finally 9)
/ɬib/ [ɬiːp] 'body'
[b] voiced bilabial stop elsewhere
/biː/ [biː] 'by'

/t/ [t̚] aspirated voiceless alveolar stop initially
/tit/ [t̚iːt] 'time'
[d̠] voiceless lenis alveolar stop medially between vowels
/'l̠uθə/ [l̠iθə] 'little' (f.)
[t̚] unaspirated voiceless alveolar stop elsewhere
/v̠it/ [v̠iːt] 'white'

d̠ / [r̠] voiced alveolar flap (varying with [d̠]) medially between vowels 10)
/'v̠ɛdəɾ/ [v̠ɛɾəɾ] 'again'

7) Final and postconsonantal stops are often lenicized in consistent speech (e.g. /ɔp/ → [ɔb̪]), especially if a vowel follows.
8) Fricativisation of intervocalic voiced stops occurs mainly in the Holstein dialects. It is usually in free variation with the corresponding voiced stop.
9) Thus NS has, like SG, "Auslautverhärtung" for syllable-final voiced stops and fricatives (either singly or in clusters). Final /b/ is realised as [f], not as [p], in many NS dialects, e.g. /ɬib/ → [ɬiːf] 'body'.
10) Especially where it is the reflex of geminate -dd- (see Keller, 1961).
[t] voiceless alveolar stop finally
/rød/ [roːt] 'red'

[d] voiced alveolar stop elsewhere
/dık/ [diːk] 'pond'

/k/ [kʰ] aspirated voiceless velar stop initially
/kök/ [kʰɒk] 'kitchen'

[ɡ] voiceless lenis velar stop medially between vowels
/trækər/ [trɛɡər] 'tractor'

[k] unaspirated voiceless velar stop elsewhere
/iːk/ [ɪk] 'I'

[g] voiced velar fricative (varying with [ɡ]) medially between vowels
/'marə/ [məɡər] 'lean'

[x] after low and back vowels
[ɛ] elsewhere
/dag/ [dəɡ] 'day'
/klog/ [kloʊɡ] 'clever'
/he lʊɡt/ [he lɔɡt] 'he lies'

[ɡ] voiced velar stop elsewhere
/groin/ [ɡɾoɪn] 'green'

/f/ [f] voiceless labio-dental fricative in all occurrences
/fun/ [fʊn] 'from'
/hɔf/ [hɔf] 'yard'

/v/ [v] voiced labio-dental fricative initially and medially
/vat/ [væt] 'what'
/hivən/ [hiːvən] 'to lift'
[f] voiceless labio-dental fricative syllable-final, singly or in clusters

/he hɪv/ [he hɪ:f] 'he lifts'

/s/ [s] voiceless alveolar fricative in all occurrences

/sɛk/ [sɛk] 'bad'
/fos/ [fos] 'fox'
/'dʊə/ [dʊə] 'these'

/z/ [z] voiced alveolar fricative initially and medially

/zɛ/ [zɛ] 'she'
/'vɛzən/ [vɛzən] 'to be'

[ʃ] voiceless alveolar fricative syllable-final, singly or in clusters

/ʃɛt/ [ʃɛt] 'been'

/[ʃ] voiceless alveo-palatal fricative in all occurrences

(less liprounding than SG /ʃ/)

/juʃ/ [juʃ] 'drawer'
/dɪʃ/ [dɪʃ] 'table'

/[ʃ] voiced palatal fricative

[j] is in free variation with [ʒ], the voiced alveo-palatal fricative

/ji/ [ji:] ~ [ʒi:] 'you' (pl.)

/[x] voiceless velar fricative after back and low vowels

/axtər/ [axtər] 'behind'

11) In many local dialects [ʒ] is slightly affricated to [ʤ].
[s] voiceless palatal fricative elsewhere
/reːx/ [reːs] 'right'

/h/ [h] glottal aspirate
/hoːlt/ [hoːlt] 'wood'

/m/ [m] voiced bilabial nasal in all occurrences
/min/ [mi:n] 'my'
/he'kʊmt/ [he kʊmt] 'he comes'

/n/ [n] voiced velar nasal, resulting, as in SG, from regressive assimilation of the phoneme sequences /ng/ and /nk/.
/bɛŋɡəl/ [bɛŋɡəl] 'guy'
/məŋk/ [məŋk] 'among'

In final position we usually find "Auslautverhärtung":
/ng/ → [ŋk].
/dʒɪŋɡs/ [dʒɪŋɡs] 'thing'
/he'ɡʊŋɡ/ [he ɡʊŋɡ] 'he went'

[n] voiced alveolar nasal elsewhere
/nu/ [nu:] 'now'
/'uu'nər/ [ũnɜ] 'under'

/ən/ [ŋŋŋ] Through progressive assimilation of the former suffix /ən/ to the preceding consonant, syllabic [ŋ] [ŋ] and [ŋ] arise. Syllabic [ŋ] results from /ən/ after labials, e.g. /zupən/ → [zu:pm] 'to drink', syllabic [ŋ] from /ən/ after velars, e.g. /lɪkan/ → [lɪkŋ] 'to lick', syllabic [ŋ] after all other consonants. Stops before

12) As /h/ occurs only initially, /x/ only medially and finally, Keller interprets [h] [x] and [s] as allophones of one phoneme /h/.
13) This is the only case where final /ŋ/ is realised [k] and not [x] or [s].
syllabic [ŋ ɲ η] are not released through the oral, but through the nasal cavity. The result is a nasal explosion, e.g. [zuːpʰ].

[ŋ ɲ η] Through assimilative changes which affected former /ɔn/ after [ŋ] [m] and [ŋ], long syllabic [ŋː][ŋː] arise:\n
'/kʰɔmɔn/ → [kʰɔmʊŋ] → [kʰůŋ] 'to come'
'/bʰiŋən/ → [bʰiŋʊŋ] → [bʰuiŋ] 'in'
'/ziŋən/ → [ziŋʊŋ] → [ziŋ] 'to sing'

/1/ [t] voiced velarized lateral in final position
/ˈpɔt/ [ˈpoːt] 'post'

[ə] mid central vowel (varying with [t] ) in preconsonantal position
/ˈvekl/ [ˈveːək] 'which'

[1] voiced alveolar lateral elsewhere
/ˈɡliːks/ [ˈɡliːks] 'at once'

/'vədəl/ [ˈvədəl] 'carrot'

/ɹ/ [r] apico-alveolar trill in prevocalic position
/ˈɡrət/ [ˈɡrəvət] 'big'


14) Keller assumes [ŋː mː ηː] to have phonemic status, as they contrast with [ŋ m η]. This interpretation is not possible, if one considers (as I do in this paper) the underlying form to yield the string of phonemes; in this case /ɔn/ assimilated to a preceding homorganic nasal.

15) This form is audible in relatively slow speech.

16) V. Essen (1964) transcribes ['æ] and calls it "Keimvokal". He
The gottal stop [?] is, as in SG, not phonemic. It can occur with a vowel after open juncture. It also occurs with syllabic [ŋ], accompanying the nasal explosion after stops, e.g. /zępən/ → [zu:pɛm].

**Distribution of phonemes:**

The distribution of phonemes differs in several cases from SG. As onset we have always /s/, never /ʃ/ in front of a consonant: /sm sn sn sp st/. The SG cluster /pf/ (resulting from the second sound shift p→pf ) does not occur in NS; thus as onset in NS only CC and C are possible, not CCC. As coda the number of phonemes is CCCC, if we consider the underlying form. If we consider the phonetic manifestation, only CCC is possible, since /r/ and /l/ are vocalized in final clusters, e.g. /hɜːrvst/ → [hə:vst] 'autumn'.

The phonetic manifestation of phonemes is also changed through a number of elisions, assimilations and contractions:

**Elisions:** In rapid speech /t/ after /s/ (or occasionally after other voiceless consonants) drops, e.g.

/luːst/ → [luːs] 'pleasure'


Thus length of lax vowels is, like [3], a positional variant of /r/ . (Long lax vowels should not occur in phonemic transcription as they do in v. Essen, 1964). The spelling of NS indicates that NS speakers are still aware of the underlying /r/ , e.g. [k'ɑː:k] spelled 'kark'.

\[\text{\textit{CV}}:\text{\textit{lengthening of lax vowels}}^{17}\]

\[/\text{m}ər/ \quad [\text{meːɜ}]\quad \text{'more'}

\[/\text{wətər}/ \quad [\text{wɒtər}]\quad \text{'water'}

\[/[\text{v}:]\quad \text{lengthening of lax vowels}^{17}\]

\[/\text{zərtən}/ \quad [\text{zoːtən}]\quad \text{'species'}

\[/\text{kərk}/ \quad [\text{kərk}]\quad \text{'church'}\]
Final /l/ is frequently elided in unstressed syllables

/məl/ \(\rightarrow [\text{məː}]\) 'once'

Intervocalic /nd/ becomes /n/

/kīndəɾ/ \(\rightarrow [kīnəɾ]\) 'children'

**Assimilations:** At open juncture (unless there is an audible pause), the word or syllable final nasal /n/ is assimilated to the following point of articulation (regressive assimilation). /n/ before /pbv/ becomes [m]

(before /fv/ sometimes the labio-dental nasal [ŋ] )

/ˈənˈpepəɾ/ \(\rightarrow [vəmpəpəɾ]\) 'and pepper'

/ˈɡonvi/ \(\rightarrow [ˈɡəʊvɪ]\) 'go we'

/n/ is completely assimilated to the following /m/

/mənˈmʊt/ \(\rightarrow [mənˈmʊt]\) 'one must'

**Contractions:** If /s/ and /ʃ/ meet at open juncture, they are contracted into [ʃ]

/ˈjədəsʃəɾ/ \(\rightarrow [zədəʃəɾ]\) 'every year'

A homorganic voiceless and voiced stop are contracted and lenition occurs

/mɨt də/ \(\rightarrow [mɪˈdə]\) 'with the'

Two identical stops are contracted into one (without occurrence of aspiration):

/ˈənˈfæŋktəɾ/ \(\rightarrow [əmˈfæŋktəɾ]\) 'begins to'

Contraction applies for all identical consonants colliding at open juncture.

As unaccentuated syllables tend to be reduced in NS,

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18) These are, strictly speaking, cases of sandhi (creation of a third form from the juxtaposition of two other forms).
contractions extend sometimes over the unstressed syllable (especially with the form /ɪs/ 'is'):

/ˈdɑt ɪs jə/ → [dɑʃə] 'that is really'
/nuː ɪs jə/ → [nuʃə] 'now is really'
C. STANDARD GERMAN AS SPOKEN IN KIEL

In this chapter only the cases where SG and NS differ will be dealt with: I shall test whether in these cases the NS peculiarities are found in K. The examples are taken from my recordings of K. Excerpts of consistent speech are found in the Appendix.

I. Influence of North Saxon in the vowels

1. Low vowels

Whereas SG has two low centralized vowels, lax /a/ = [a] and tense /a/ = [a(:)], NS has a very clear front [a] and a back vowel /a/ , phonetically a low back vowel with slight lip rounding [o(:)], a mid vowel [o(:)] or even tense [o(:)].

The lax /a/ in K tends towards a very clear, higher low, fronted [a]:

/'bakan/ [ba:kn] 'to bake'
/'amzal/ [amzl] 'blackbird'
/'gans/ [gan:s] 'quite'

The tense /a/ is frequently realised in K as the back vowel [o:], phonetically intermediate between [o:] and [a:] :

/'malon/ [ma:lon] 'to paint'
/'ja/ [ja:] 'yes'
/'hafan/ [ha:fan] 'harbour'

[a] is in free variation with less fronted [a] , [o(:)] with the non-rounded low back [a(:)].

2. Lengthening of diphthongs

In the diphthongs /ai/ /au/ and /oi/ , a relative lengthening of the first element, as in NS, is often to be found in K:
3. Diphthongization

There are no tense mid vowels [ɛ ɔ ɔ̞] in Holstein NS, but the three diphthongs [ɛ:i ɔ:i ɔ:u] take their place. In K the phonemes /ɛ ɔ ɔ̞/ also show this tendency to diphthongize (often the diphthongs rise to [i] and [u], mainly under stress). As in the three diphthongs under (2), p. 35, it seems that the first element is relatively longer.

1) These diphthongs might be considered as new phonemes in K, since they change the system: loss of three tense vowels, gain of three diphthongs. However, as they are more or less in free variation with the non-diphthongized tense vowels, I rather prefer to consider them as phonetic realizations of the phonemes /ɛ ɔ ɔ̞/.

4. Rounding

As in NS, we find in K rounding of /ɛ/ in labial surroundings, especially in fast speech:

1) These diphthongs might be considered as new phonemes in K, since they change the system: loss of three tense vowels, gain of three diphthongs. However, as they are more or less in free variation with the non-diphthongized tense vowels, I rather prefer to consider them as phonetic realizations of the phonemes /ɛ ɔ ɔ̞/.

3...
5. Nasalization

In NS, vowels before /n/ are occasionally nasalized. This phenomenon is very rare in K and only occurs in fast speech:

'/mænɔmɔl/ [mæx mɔ] 'sometimes'
'/ɡæns/ [ɡæs] 'quite'
'/kænɔɾ/ [kæɾɔɾ] 'can I'

6. The phoneme /ɔ/.

The long mid open vowel /ɔ/, phonetically [ɛː], which does not occur in the NS dialects around Kiel, is also absent from K. It is replaced by tense /ɛ/, which is usually diphthongized to [ɛː]:

'/zæɡən/ [zeːɡən] 'to saw'
'/bəɾædicəɾ/ [bəɾædicəɾ] 'damaged'
'/kæzə/ [keːzə] 'cheese'

The non-occurrence of [ɛː] changes the phonemic system of K by reducing the number of vowel phonemes compared to SG as required by the Siebs. 2)

It is doubtful, however, whether we can explain this change in K through NS influence, since [ɛː] seems to have disappeared from the colloquial speech in most parts of Germany.

7. Vocalization of /r/.

Though phonemically this section should be dealt with under con-

2) It is also possible to interpret that the phonemes /ɔ/ and /ɛ/ overlap completely in K, being both realized as [ɛː].
sonants (positional variants of /r/), I discuss the post-vocalic /r/-realizations here, since phonetically they are vowels. 3)

(a) As in NS, /r/ after tense vowels (before consonants or word final)
and the sequence /翻身/ is realized as the open mid central vowel [3] 4):

/vrir/  [vri:3]  'we'
/nůr/  [nu:3]  'only'
/ziˈfrǔr/  [zi fyo:3t]  'she guides'
/fór/  [fo:3]  'before'
/bár/  [be:*r]  'bear'

This also applies before syllabic [ŋ] (though /r/ in this case precedes an underlying vowel):

/ˈfǔrən/  [fy:3ŋ]  'to guide'
/ˈbɔrən/  [bo:3ŋ]  'to drill'
/ˈɡɔrən/  [gɔ:3ŋ]  'kids'

After tense /ɔ/, /r/ is not vocalized to [3], but we hear one long (overlong? - see p. 41) low vowel:

/ˈjaːr/  [jaː]  'year'
/ˈvaːrən/  [vɔ:ŋ]  'were'
/ˈɡər niːt/  [gɔː niːt]  'not at all'

(b) Lax vowels are lengthened as a substitute for [ɔ], as in NS("Er-satzdehnung":) 5)

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3) Vocalization of post-vocalic /r/ in the "Umgangslautung" is not only limited to those areas of Germany where a Low German substratum can be assumed (see footnote 12, p. 19).
4) Some informants have the open front vowel [ɛ] instead of more central [3], e.g. [vi:ɛ] [ty:ɛ]. In fast speech the neutral schwa [ə] is frequent, e.g. [fy:3t]. This means an occasional overlapping of /r/ with /ɛ/ and /ə/.
5) We can find pairs of lengthened and non-lengthened lax vowels, e.g. [fon] < /fɔn/ 'of' - [fɔ:n] 'before' < /fɔrn/ (Cont'd)
/ˈdʊrfən/ [ˈdʊːfən] 'may'
/ˈʃtɛnəl/ [ˈʃtɛnəl] 'stars'
/ˈmɛrkvʊrdɪɡ/ [ˈmɛrkvʊrdɪɡ] 'strange'
/ˈmɔrgən/ [ˈmɔrgən] 'morning'
/ferˈdɔrt/ [ferˈdɔrt] 'dried up'
/ˈkɪrxe/ [ˈkɪrxe] 'church'
/ˈtʊrm/ [ˈtʊrm] 'tower'
/ˈvɔrm/ [ˈvɔrm] 'warm'

Sometimes /r/ is vocalized to [ɔ] (or [ɔ]) also after lax vowels:
/ˈʃtʊrm/ [ˈʃtʊrm] ~ [ˈʃtərm] 'storm'
/ˈkɪrxe/ [ˈkɪrxe] ~ [ˈkɪɾxe] 'church'

This is almost always the case in final position:
/ˈviɾ/ [ˈviɾ] 'confused'
/ˈdʊr/ [ˈdʊr] 'arid'

It is interesting to note that after lengthening of lax back
and low vowels the phoneme /x/ is pronounced [x]. If /r/ is voca-
lized to the central [ɔ] or [ɔ], /x/ is realised as [œ]. Thus
we find in free variation:
/ˈdʊrx/ → [ˈdʊːx] ~ [ˈdʊːɛ]7) 'through'
/ˈfɜ rxtbaɾ/ → [ˈfʊrxbaɾ] ~ [ˈfʊɜɾbaɾ] 'terrible'
/ˈsnɛrxeŋ/ → [ˈsnɛːɾxeŋ] ~ [ˈsnɛːɾɛŋ] 'to snore'

8. Vocalization of /l/

As in NS, we find /l/ vocalized to [ɔ] in preconsonantal

[kən] < /kən/ 'can' - [kəɾən] 'cart' < /kəɾən/
[kɛn] < /kɛn/ '(I) know' - [kɛɾən] 'pips' < /kɛɾən/
[ʰɑtə] < /ʰɑtə/ '(I) had' - [ʰɑɾə] 'hard' < /ʰɑɾə/
6) Lengthened lax /a/ sometimes tends to the low back [ɑː], e.g.
/ɑɾt/ → [ɑːɾt] 'species'.
7) After [v] the vocalized /r/ usually takes an i-like colour: [dʊɾɪç]
In these cases /l/ = [ə] overlaps with the phoneme /ɔ/.

9. Unstressed vowels

As the root syllable bears a strong accent, in K as in NS, unstressed syllables are weakened. The prefixes /ɛr/, /fɛr/ and /tseɛr/ are usually realized as [ɛ] [fɛ] [tɛɛ]. Thus in unstressed syllables the lax vowel is not lengthened as a substitute for /r/, e.g.

/fer'lısən/ [fɛləsn] 'left'
The suffixes /ər/ and /ərn/ are pronounced [ʒ] and [ʒn], as in NS:

/'vəsər/ [vəsə] 'water'
/'bəsər/ [bəsə] 'better'
/'kletərn/ [kletən] 'to climb'

The difference between the lax front [ɛ] and the more central vowel [ʒ] is often difficult to perceive. They seem to vary in prefixes as well as in suffixes. In fast speech the central schwa [ə] can be substituted for either of them.

Words of foreign origin likewise show the weakening of unstressed syllables:

/kɑr'to∫æml/ [katɔfme:l] 'potatoe flour'
/mərgə'ɾiŋə/ [magəriŋə] 'margarine'

10. Schleifton

As an influence of the NS "Schleifton", which occurs on tense vowels after the apocope of /ə/, we might expect forms where an in-
flectional /ə/ dropped, to be "overlong" in K. On the tapes forms like /ɪɻˈɡəʊ/ \rightarrow [ɪɻ ɡə] 'I go', /næˈməʊ/ \rightarrow [næ:m] 'I (I) take' occur, but as far as I can judge, the vowels are no longer than stressed tense vowels normally are, for instance in the inflected form [zi ɡə:t] 'she goes'. Therefore, "schleiftonf" resulting from an inflectional /ə/ in the following morpheme is improbable in K. 8)

However, theoretically, an overlong low [əː] or [bː] is possible in K, resulting from the vocalization of /r/ after tense /ɜː/, phonetically [əː] or [bː]:

\( /ər/ \rightarrow [ə:r] \rightarrow [əː] \)

We could find pairs, e.g.

/\jə/ = [jəː] 'yes' - [jaːː] 'year' < /jaːr/
\(/vən/ = [vən] 'frenzy' - [vaːn] 'were' < /vərən/

But it seems to me that usually, at least in fast speech, the phoneme sequence /ər/ is not longer than /ɜː/, though occasionally genuine "Schleiftonf" seems audible, i.e. lengthening of the tense vowel with pitch variation, e.g.

/\vərən/ \rightarrow [viɾ əːn] 'we were'

However, exact results on the relative length of /ɜː/ and /ər/ could only be obtained by measurements on the sound spectogram. In any case this occurrence of "Schleiftonf" in K would not be phonemic, as it is a positional variant of /r/ .

II. Influence of North Saxon in the consonants

1. Stops

(a) p t k

NS and SG differ in the realization of medial stops: SG
requires aspiration. NS has lenition. In K we find the voiceless
stops lenicized to [b d g] intervocalically; (after tense vowels
and diphthongs lenition varies with the unaspirated voiceless
stops):

/brʊkə/ [brvɡə] 'bridge'
/zɪpə/ [zɪbə] 'clan'
/muːtər/ [muːdə] 'mother'
/huːtə/ [hυdə] 'hut'
/oʊpə/ [oʊvɑ] 'grandpa'
/ˈvaiətər/ [vaɪdə] 'further'
/ˈauːtə/ [aʊdə] 'car'
/ˈsnakə/ [snɑːkə] 'midge'

Lenition also occurs in postconsonantal position, before unstressed
[ɔ] and [ə]:

/ˈhɪntər/ [hɪndə] 'behind'
/ɡəˈsalət/ [ɡəsəldət] 'switched'
/ɡəstərn/ [ɡɛsərn] 'yesterday'

As in NS, strong aspiration occurs only initially, especially after
an audible pause.

(b) b d g

In K medial /bdɡ/ show very rarely the tendency to become
fricatives as in NS. /b/ is occasionally realised as the bilabial
fricative [β]:

/ˈlebər/ [lɛβəɾ] 'liver'

8) Forms where a former medial /ə/ is syncopized are not considered
here, since these forms are obsolete in SG in general (e.g.
'blühête', 'ruhet') and do not occur on the tapes.
Only 4 of the 12 informants have occasional intervocalic /r/: 

/maŋər/  [mɔŋəʔ]  'lean'
/ga'ɛrgər/  [gəɛrət]  'bothered'
/ˈtʃøɡən/  [ʃoɡən]  '(they) flew'

Intervocalic /d/ is - rarely - an apical r-like flap or fricative: 

/ˈbudən/  [bʊdən]  'to dig'
/ˈodore/  [oʊdər]  'or'

(c) "Auslautverhärtung"

In syllable-final position, either singly or in clusters, the voiced-voiceless opposition of /b/ \(\rightarrow\) /p/ and /d/ \(\rightarrow\) /t/ is "neutralized" as in NS under the unaspirated voiceless stops. Occasional very weak aspiration can be observed, never the strong aspiration required for SG in final release:

/ˈmædən/  [me:tən]  'girl'
/bə'triːp/  [bətriːp]  'firm'
/ˈtʃəp/  [ʃəp]  'whether'
/ɪ ˈχəb(ə)/  [ɪχəp]  'I have'
/bɪld/  [bɪlt]  'picture'
/ˈstrənd/  [strənd]  'beach'

Sometimes, especially in fast speech, the neutralized position is lenicized; this is particularly the case, as in NS, before a voiced consonant or a vowel:

9) Unfortunately there is no example of [mʊˈlɪ] < /mytɪ/ 'Mum' on the tapes, as one can hear from children playing in the streets of Kiel - thus showing weakening of t \(\rightarrow\) d \(\rightarrow\) l.

10) For /b/ the positional variant [f] never occurs finally, as it does in NS.
The opposition /k\#g/, as in NS, is not "neutralized". Syllable-final /k/ is realized as unaspirated [k], e.g. /dik/ → [ dik] 'fat'. /g/ has the positional variants [x] after back and low vowels and [ç] elsewhere. 11) Thus we have here overlapping of /g/ and /x/.

In his attempt to level out the differences between South and North German pronunciation, Siebs adopted the North German form for the ending /q/, e.g. /rixtig/ → [riçtig] 'right'. 13)

The same articulation I mentioned for the phoneme /x/ after /r/, applies for [x] and [ç] as positional variants of /g/: if lax back and low vowels are lengthened, we have [x], if /r/ is vocalized to [3] or [ə], we have [ç]:

11) Some informants, when reading, have occasionally final [k] as in SG.
12) In K thus pairs like 'Flug - Flucht', 'mag - mach' are homonymous.
13) Swiss and Austrian theatres, like the "Burgtheater" of Wien, never accepted this [1ç], (see A. Littmann, 1965).
NS has the phoneme /j/ (occurring only initially), realized as [j] [z] or [d3], SG has two phonemes, /j/ and /3/ (both occurring initially and medially). Whereas [3] is an originally Low German sound, /3/ in SG occurs only in foreign words borrowed from French.

/j/ in K has the tendency to be realized as the voiced alveo-palatal fricative [3], sometimes affricated to [d3]; (4 of the 12 informants have [3] instead of [j]), one has [d3] — all in free variation with [j]:

/jedər/  [je:iðə] ~ [ziː.iðə] ~ [diː.iðə] 'everyone'
/jara/  [joː.rə] ~ [zoː.rə] ~ [doː.rə] 'years'
/jəmən/  [jamən] ~ [ziːamən] ~ [diːamən] 'to lament'

For these SG speakers of Kiel, the phonemes /j/ = [3] and /3/ overlap. 14)

It is remarkable that K speakers, on the basis of the NS substratum, have no difficulty articulating the /3/ in foreign words 15):

/lo'zi:/  [lozi:]  'lodging'
/'3i:rotsentra1ə/  [ziːi:rotsentra1ə]  'bank'

14) It would be possible to regard this change in K as a reduction in the phonemic stock and to say that only /3/ occurs in K, not /j/. However, this does not seem a good solution, since for the phoneme /j/, [3] varies with [j]. Perhaps the best solution would be to list /3/ not in the SG inventory, but to disregard it like the French nasals. Then we would have a one-to-one correspondence of SG /j/ and NS /j/, the latter, with the free variants [3] and [j], influencing K.

15) The Duden (see M. Mangold, 1964) states that /3/ is replaced by the originally Germanic [ɛ] in the "Umgangslautung", especially by uneducated speakers.
3. Nasals

(a) [ŋ]

In final position the phoneme sequence /ŋ/ is not realized [ŋ], but "Auslautverhärtung" applies, as in NS (this is the only case where final /ŋ/ is not realized [x] or [ç]):

/ding/     [dɪŋk]    'thing'
/landung/ [lɑndʊŋk] 'landing'
/alærðings/ [ɑlədriŋks] 'indeed'
/laŋzám/ [laŋkzám] 'slow'

(b) [ŋ̊]

The phoneme sequence /ən/ is reduced in K to syllabic [ŋ̊]16) /'riːən/ [riːˑŋ̊] 'to smell'

After labials [ŋ̊] is assimilated and results in the bilabial nasal [ŋ̊]17). This means overlapping of the phonemes /n/ = [m̥] and /m/.

/'zibən/ [ziːbm̥] 'seven'
/'karpfən/ [kəːpfəm̥] 'carp'
/'hafən/ [hoːfəm̥] 'harbour'

After velars assimilated [ŋ̊] results in [ŋ̊]:

/'biɡən/ [biːɡŋ̊] 'to curb'
/'baŋən/ [baŋŋ̊] 'to bake'

After stops the airstream is released through the nasal cavity and, as in NS, a nasal explosion is caused. Occasionally the air is audibly released from the glottis, through the nasal cavity:

16) Syllabic [ŋ̊] in K also results from the indefinite article /əin/ - [ŋ̊].
17) Syllabic [ŋ̊] also arises from the dative morpheme /əm/, e.g. /dizəm/ - [diːzm̥] 'this' (Dat.)
Assimilation of \( /\text{n}^\prime/ \) after nasals results in the lengthening of the nasal. Thus long \( /\text{m}: \text{y}: \text{m}: \text{y}: / \) arise. In slow speech a double nasal is audible, in fast speech only one long nasal:

\[
/\text{b}^\prime\text{y}\text{n}\text{m}/ \rightarrow [\text{b}^\prime \text{y}: \text{n} \text{m}] \rightarrow [\text{b}^\prime : \text{y} : ]
\]

'stages'

\[
/g\text{e}^\prime \text{k}\text{o} \text{m}\text{m}/ \rightarrow [g\text{e}^\prime \text{k}\text{om} \text{m}] \rightarrow [g\text{e}^\prime \text{k} \text{om}:]
\]

'come' (PP)

\[
/z\text{i}^\prime \text{ng}\text{m}/ \rightarrow [z\text{i}^\prime \text{ng} \text{m}] \rightarrow [z\text{i} \text{ng}:]
\]

'to sing'

4. The lateral /l/

In K we do not find the two different /l/-qualities (two positional variants of /l/) as in NS, but only the voiced alveolar lateral.

The phoneme sequence /\text{a}l/ is usually realized as syllabic /l/:

\[
/\text{h}^\prime \text{u}\text{m}\text{a}l/ \quad [\text{h}^\prime \text{u} \text{m} \text{a} \text{l}]
\]

'bumble-bee'

\[
/\text{b}\text{o}\text{i}^\prime \text{t}\text{e}l/ \quad [\text{b}^\prime \text{oi} \text{t} \text{e} \text{l}]
\]

'bag'

5. Prevocalic /r/

In places where /r/ is not vocalized, i.e. in prevocalic position, it is mostly articulated as an alveolar trill \([r]\), as in NS. However, one of my informants has \([r]\) and \([R]\) in free variation, have the uvular trill \([R]\) only, e.g.

---

18) Whereas the reduction of /\text{an}/ to a syllabic nasal is found in the colloquial speech in all parts of Germany, long syllabic nasals seem to be limited to the northern parts, thus explicable through Low German.

19) Before syllabic \([\text{m} \text{y} \text{m} \text{y}:]\) < /\text{an}/ and /\text{a}l/, like before /\text{er}/ and /\text{a}l/, consonants are treated the same as intervocically, i.e. for K lenition of /\text{p}+\text{k}/ and occasional friction of /\text{b} \text{d} \text{g}/. The only exception is /r/, which is not treated as in prevocalic position before syllabic \([\text{r}]\), but is vocalized (see p. 38).
6. Clusters

As the distribution of phonemes differs in a few cases in SG and NS, NS influence can be found in K:

(a) Initial clusters with /s/ do not occur in NS. Whereas K has the SG clusters /šn šm šv/, NS influence is revealed in the initial clusters /st/ and /sp/, realized with the alveolar fricative. /st/ and /sp/ are in free variation with 4 of my informants, 3 have always /st/:

/stέrna/ (SG /stέrna/) [stέ:na] 'stars'
/spi:l/ (SG /spi:l/) [spi:l] 'game'

(b) The cluster /pf/, absent in NS, occurs in K medially, but is generally replaced by just /f/ initially:

/(p)fund/ [funt] 'pound'
/(p)fanə/ [fanə] 'pan'
/(p)fa:l/ [fa:l] 'post'

The onset in K is therefore, as in NS, reduced to the possibilities CC, C and zero.

Clusters with /r/ do not occur in the coda, since /r/ is vocalized in this position. Besides this, a number of elisions, assimilations and contractions occur, so that the clusters in the coda are generally shorter than in SG. They never exceed the phonetic sequence CCC.

7. Elisions

(a) As in NS, word-final /t/ after voiceless consonants, especially
after [s], drops:

/nɪxt/ [nɪːt] 'not'
/du bringst/ [du brɪŋks] 'you bring'
/du hæst/ [du hæs] 'you have'

(b) In the intervocalic phoneme sequence /nd/, /d/ is occasionally dropped:

/ˈvʊndərˌbær/ [ˈvʊnərboː] 'wonderful'
/ˈændərn/ [ˈənən] 'others'
/ˈhʊndərt/ [ˈhʊnət] 'hundred'

(c) In unstressed syllables final /l/ is elided:

/məl/ [mɔ] 'once'
/vɔl/ [vɔ] 'probably'

(d) Occasionally /bl̩ g/ before syllabic nasals are omitted:

/vɪrˈhæbən/ [vɪɾ hæm] 'we have'
/ˈɡeːbən/ [ɡeːm] 'to give'
/ˈaʊɡənblɪk/ [ɑːˈʊmbloː] 'moment'

8. Assimilations

(a) Progressive assimilation, occurring with syllabic [ŋ], was discussed on p. 46.

(b) K has, like NS, a number of regressive assimilations, occurring at open juncture (unless there is an audible pause). 20)

/ŋ/ becomes [ŋ] before /kɡ/:

/ˈæŋkəmən/ [æŋkəmɔː] 'to arrive'
/zæinɡæntsəs/ [zæiŋɡæntsəs] 'his whole...

20) It seems to me doubtful whether these cases of assimilation can be explained through NS influence. They seem to exist in all parts of Germany (and occur in other languages as well), explicable through the facilitation of the articulatory process.
/n/ becomes [m] before /pb f v/ (before /v/ the labio-dental nasal [m] occurs sometimes):

/'fain brɔt/ \[fəîmbroːt\] 'white bread'
/'ənbindən/ \[əmb인dən\] 'to tie'
/'ənfəŋən/ \[əmfanəŋ\] 'to begin'
/'ainvənd/ \[aı̯mənənt\] 'objection'

/ŋ/ before [m] is completely assimilated:

/'ain məxən/ \[aı̯məksən\] 'to preserve'
/'ain mał/ \[aı̯məl\] 'once'

9. Contractions

(a) As in NS, [s] + /j/ are contracted to [ʃ] (i.e. a case of sandhi):

/du'mys(t)ja/ \[du məʃa\] 'you must indeed'
/du'kans(t)ja/ \[du kəʃa\] 'you can indeed'

(b) Sandhi also occurs if a homorganic voiceless and voiced stop meet. Whereas in SG, in the combinations [p+b t+d k+g], voicing starts after the first (unreleased) element, one lenicized stop results in K:

/'mit dem/ \[mıt dem\] 'with the...'
/'apbrəxən/ \[əprəʃən\] 'to break off'
/dik gənug/ \[dık ɡəɭʊŋ\] 'fat enough'

(c) Two identical consonants are contracted into one; if they are stops, no aspiration occurs:

/'väʃsɔsəl/ \[väʃsɔsl\] 'washing bowl'
/'mit təntə/ \[mit ɭəntə\] 'with aunt...'
/'appuləŋ/ \[apuɭəŋ\] 'to scrape off'
On the tapes one can find a great number of contractions, explicable through assimilation and the typical slurring articulation of Schleswig-Holstein. Occasionally whole phoneme sequences and even unstressed words ('1st' etc.) are suppressed:

/ˈbɪsxən/ [bɪʃn] 'a little'
/ˈɔrdəntliʃ/ [ɔːndlɪʃ] 'decent'
/ˈnɪkts/ [nɪks] 'nothing' 21)
/ˈkɔnən jəvəl/ [kɔnən jəvəl] '..can probably'
/ˈfərɪɡən/ [fərɪɡn] 'last'
/ˈaɪɡəntliʃ/ [aɪntɪlɪʃ] 'actually'
/ˈmɪtˈainəm/ [mɪtˈainəm] 'with a...

III. Articulatory basis

So far I have examined the influence of NS on separate phonemes and phoneme groups of K. However, this does not account for all the differences, or better, for the different sound of K in general, compared to well-articulated SG. To account for this, we have to consider the different articulatory bases of SG and NS.

For SG an active movement of the lower jaw and the lips is characteristic. There is a distinct rounding and protrusion of the lips. They are almost always detached from the teeth and the tongue generally keeps a loose contact with the lower incisors (see H. Krech, 1954). The larynx is wide open. NS, on the other hand, is marked for the inactivity of the articulatory movements. Lips and lower jaw are "lazy". The tongue is slightly drawn back and spreaded ("verbreitert" - see v. Essen, 1964). Contraction of the larynx is frequent.

21) Probably an adaptation of the NS lexical item /nɪks/ 'nothing'.

---

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In K we observe that for the articulation of rounded vowels and /ʃ/, the lips are much less rounded and protruded than in SG. Spreading and backward position of the tongue causes a relatively greater spreading of the lips for [a] (apparent particularly in the diphthongs [aːI] and [aːu]), for [ɪ] and for [ɛ] and [ɜ] as positional variants of /r/. In the e-qualities [ɛ ɛ 3] a pharyngal contraction is often noticeable. Thus the NS articulatory basis, characterized by the general passiveness of lips and lower jaw, combined with a slightly retracted and spreaded position of the tongue, is also characteristic for K.

22) K speakers (and North German speakers in general) are said to be "mundfaul". I believe that the inactivity of the articulatory muscles is also the reason why a number of monosyllabic lexical items, pronounced with a tense vowel in SG, are articulated with a lax vowel in K, e.g.: /ɡʁæb/ \rightarrow [ɡrap] 'grave' /ɛːr/ \rightarrow [ɛ] \sim [ɜ] 'he'

/ɡʁɔːz/ \rightarrow [ɡʁəs] 'gras' /vɛːr/ \rightarrow [vɛ(ɜ)] 'who'

/dvɛr/ \rightarrow [dɛ(ɜ)] 'the'

/dvɛːr/ \rightarrow [krɛs] 'you get'

/tʃvæɡ/ \rightarrow [tvæx] 'train'
CONCLUSION

I. Summary

The investigation of K for those cases where NS deviates from SG showed that the hypothesis of an influence of NS on K – a North Saxon substratum – is correct. Except for the dark [t] and for final /b/ realized [f], all peculiarities of NS were found in K.

The changes in K are minor, however, since the SG and NS phonology inventories are almost identical. Both have the basic opposition of lax and tense vowels, the tense vowels being phonetically longer under stress than the lax vowels. SG has one vowel phoneme (/ã/) more than NS; in the consonant inventory the only difference is that SG has /j/ and /ʒ/, NS only /j/. SG as spoken in Kiel shows only one innovation in the phonemic stock: /ã/ is replaced by /ɛ/. Apart from this one case, there are only changes in the phonetic realization of phonemes, changes in the allophonic pattern and differences in the combination of phonemes and allophones.

Charted in the cardinal vowel diagram, the phonetic realizations of the vowels of K are as follows (encircled are the ones differing from SG and identical with NS):

```

unrounded

i

a

\(\varepsilon\)

\(\varepsilon\)

\(\varepsilon\)

rounded

u

\(\varepsilon\)

\(\varepsilon\)

\(\varepsilon\)
```

(a)
The tense mid vowels /e ə i/ diphthongize, mainly under stress, to [ɛ:i ə: u ɔ:i]. Lax /ə/ becomes clear fronted [ə], tense /ɔ/ becomes rounded low back [ɔ:] (varying with unrounded [a:]) . /i/ in labial surroundings is rounded, thus overlapping with /ɪ/. Vowels before /n/ are occasionally nasalized. The phoneme /r/ is vocalized to [ɜ], varying with [ɛ] and [ɔ], in postvocalic position after tense vowels, ( [ɜ] also results from the sequence /ər/ ); after lax vowels /r/ is substituted by lengthening of the lax vowel (in unstressed syllables, however, no lengthening occurs). The vocalization of /r/ after stressed tense /ɔ/ (phonetically long [ɔ:] or [a:]) may cause Überlänge or Schleifton, i.e. [ɔ:ː] ~ [aː:]. Before consonants, /l/ can be vocalized to [ɔ].

The diphthongs /ai au oi/ reveal a relative lengthening of the first element: /ai/ → [a:i] ~ [a:i] /au/ → [a:u] /oi/ → [ɔ:i ~ ɔ:i]. They can be represented as follows:

The consonant phonemes of K are as follows (encircled is NS influence):

1) Strictly speaking, the syllabic nasals and [l] belong on the morphemic level: [ŋ m ʍ θː] are allomorphs of /əŋ/ and /ɔl/. I list them here, however, as they are phonetically conditioned.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemes</th>
<th>Initially</th>
<th>Medially between vowels</th>
<th>Finally</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>p c</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p ã b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b ã b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>t c</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t ã d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d ã d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>k c</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>k ã g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g ã g</td>
<td>x, ç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/z/</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/z/</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>j ã d3</td>
<td>j ã d3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/x/</td>
<td>x, ç</td>
<td>x, ç</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>r ~ R</td>
<td>r ~ R</td>
<td>3 ~ e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus we have, besides rounded /\u0260/ , coinciding with the pho-
neme /\u0260/ , four more cases of overlapping of overlapping of phonemes: [\v] becomes an allophone of /j/ (in free variation with [d\v] ), [x] and [\u0260] are positional variants of /\u0103/ , [\u0260] and [\u0260] (and 
[\v] ) are allophones in free variation of /r/ , [\u0260] is also an 
allophone of /l/.  

Besides these cases, NS caused further differences in the allo-
phonic pattern of K consonants: voiceless stops are lenicized medially, 
unaspirated (varying with lenition) in final position; (aspiration, as 
in SG, occurs initially only). Voiced stops have occasional slight 
friction intervocalically. The glottal stop, normally accompanying a 
vowel after open juncture, can occur with voiceless stops before 
syllabic nasals.

The distribution of phonemes differs from SG in two cases: initial /\u0275 \u0271 \u0270/ , non-existent in NS, are replaced by /\u0275 \u0271 \u0270/ . The cluster /pf/ is replaced by single /f/ in the onset.

The sequence /\u00f3n/ is reduced to syllabic [\u0271] , assimilated to 
the preceding consonant. Through assimilation to a homorganic nasal, 
long syllabic [\u0271: \u0271: \u0271: ] arise. /\u00f3l/ results in syllabic [l] . A number of regressive assimilations occur, likewise causing a change 
in the combination of allophones: instead of SG [\u0271] for final /n\u00f3/ , 
K has "Auslautverhärting", i.e. [\u00f3k] . At open juncture, /n/ be-
comes [m] before /p b f v/ (thus we have a further case of overlapping: 
/m/ and /n/ [m] ), /n/ becomes [\u0271] before /k\u00f3/ , and is com-
pletely assimilated before /m/ . Two cases of sandhi occur: collision 
of a homorganic voiceless and voiced stop at open juncture results in 
lenition, of [\u00f3] and /j/ in [\u0260] . Two identical consonants are
generally contracted into one. Together with a number of elisions (the most frequent ones being loss of final /t/ after [s], of final /l/ in unstressed words, of /d/ in the intervocalic sequence /nd/, and of /b d g/ before a syllabic nasal), contractions are very frequent and indicative of the typical slurring articulation of K. The articulatory basis is identical with NS: passiveness of the lips and the lower jaw, slight retraction and spreading of the tongue.

II. Phonological rules

In order to arrive at the phonetic manifestation of K from the phonemic base of SG, we can formulate two sets of phonological rules. The first set consists of the phonological rules that are equal for SG and NS and therefore also for K. The second set accounts for the changes that take place in K resulting from differences between SG and NS. The rules seem to be partly ordered, i.e. several rules of the second set can only be applied after previous application of one or more rules of the first or second set. I shall annotate ordering with each rule in question. I use the following symbols (in addition to those listed on p. 6):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>vowels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>consonants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>stressed vowels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>unstressed vowels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>back and low vowels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>voiced stops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>voiceless stops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>voiced fricatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>voiceless fricatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>labials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>nasals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N₁</td>
<td>syllabic nasals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>non-aspiration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>zero</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Phonological rules for SG, NS and K

1.1 Lengthening of tense vowels under stress

\[ /\acute{\text{v}}/ \rightarrow [\acute{\text{v}}:] \]

1.2 Auslautverhärting

\[ /\text{D}/ \rightarrow [\text{T}] / - \{+\text{C} + \} \]
\[ /\text{W}/ \rightarrow [\text{F}] / - \{\text{C} + \} \]

1.3 Aspiration of initial voiceless stops

\[ /\text{T}/ \rightarrow [\text{T}^\text{c}] / + - \]

1.4 Palatalization

\[ /\text{x}/ \rightarrow [\text{x}] / \text{U} - \]
\[ /\text{c}/ \rightarrow [\text{c}] / \text{elsewhere} - \]

1.5 Assimilation of nasals

(a) \[ /\text{n}/ \rightarrow [\eta] / - \{/\text{k}/ \} \]

(b) \[ /\text{g}/ \rightarrow \phi / [\eta] / \text{V} \]

1.6 Glottalization (optional)

\[ /\text{V}/ \rightarrow [?\text{V}] / + - \]

2. Phonological rules for K

2.1 Fronting

(a) \[ /\text{a}/ \rightarrow [\text{a}] + \]

(b) \[ /\text{i}/ \rightarrow [Y] / \text{B} - (\text{B}) \]

2.2 Backing and rounding of /\text{a}/

\[ /\text{a}/ \rightarrow [\text{b}(\text{c})] \]
2.3 Diphthong lengthening

\[ [\text{VV}] \rightarrow [\text{V'V}] \]

2.4 Diphthongization of tense vowels

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{e} & \rightarrow [\text{e}:] \rightarrow [\text{eI}] \\
/\text{ö} & \rightarrow [\text{ö}:] \rightarrow [\text{öI}] (\text{then Rule 2.3 applies})
\end{align*}
\]

2.5 Suppression of /ä/

\[ /\text{ä} / \rightarrow /\text{e} / \] (then Rule 2.4 applies)

2.6 Nasalization

\[ /V/ \rightarrow [\tilde{V}] /\text{n} / \quad \text{then} \quad /\text{n} / \rightarrow \emptyset \]

2.7 Vocalization

\[
\begin{align*}
\uparrow & [3 \sim \varepsilon \sim \text{e}] /V-\{+\} \\
\text{(a)} & /\text{r} / \rightarrow [:] \sim [3 \sim \varepsilon \sim \text{e}] /V-\{+\} \\
& \quad \downarrow [:] /\text{å}/ \rightarrow \{+\} \\
\text{(b)} & /\text{er} / \rightarrow [3] \sim [\varepsilon] \\
\text{(c)} & /l/ \rightarrow [\varepsilon] /-\{+\} \\
\end{align*}
\]

For unstressed vowels then:

\[ [:] \rightarrow \emptyset /\tilde{V}- \]

2.8 Lenition of medial voiceless stops

\[ /T/ \rightarrow [D] /V- /V/ \]

2.9 Fricativization of medial voiced stops

\[ /D/ \rightarrow [W] /V- /V/ \]
2.10 Non-aspiration of final voiceless stops

(For final voiced stops Rule 1.2 applies before this one)

\[ [T] \rightarrow [T^*] \sim [\text{D}] / - \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{c}^+ \\
\text{c}^c \\
\text{c}^c
\end{array} \right\} \]

2.11 Final /\text{g}/

(a) Auslautverhärting (i.e., application of Rule 1.2)

\[ /\text{g}/ \rightarrow [k] / [\eta]/ - \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{c}^+ \\
\text{c}^c \\
\text{c}^c
\end{array} \right\} \]

(b) Fricativization (this rule is an exception to Rule 1.2, thus applies before Rule 1.2)

\[ [x]/U - \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{c}^+ \\
\text{c}^c \\
\text{c}^c
\end{array} \right\} \]

2.12 /\text{s}/-conversion

\[ /\text{s}/ \rightarrow /s/ / + - \left\{ /\text{t}/ \right\} \]

2.13 /\text{j}/-alveo-palatalization

\[ /\text{j}/ \rightarrow [\text{z}] \sim [\text{d3}] \]

2.14 /\text{p}/-deletion

\[ /\text{p}/f/ \rightarrow /f/ / + - \]

2.15 Syllabicity

\[ /\text{a}/ \rightarrow \emptyset / - \left\{ /\text{n}/ \right\} \]

2.16 Application of glottal stop with syllabic nasals

\[ [\text{N}] \rightarrow [\text{iN}] / \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
[\text{T}]
\end{array} \right\} - \]
2.17 Progressive assimilation

\[ [\eta] \rightarrow [\eta] /\{/k/, /g/\} - \]

(a) \[ [N_i] \rightarrow [\eta] /\{/f/\} - \]
\[ [\eta] /\text{elsewhere} - \]

(b) \[
\begin{bmatrix}
N_i \\
N_i \\
\eta \\
\eta
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
N_i \\
N_i \\
\eta \\
\eta
\end{bmatrix}
\]

2.18 Regressive assimilation at open juncture

\[ [m] /- + \{/p/\} \]
\[ [\eta] /- + \{/k/, /g/\} \]
\[ \phi /- + /m/ \]

2.19 Elisions

(a) \[ /t/ \rightarrow \phi /C_- + \text{mainly if } C = [s] \]

(b) \[ /d/ \rightarrow \phi / /\eta n/ - /\eta/ \]

(c) \[ /l/ \rightarrow \phi / /\eta/ + \]

(d) \[ /D/ \rightarrow \phi / /\eta_- [N_i] \]

2.20 Contractions

(a) \[ [T] + /D/ \rightarrow [D_o] \]

(b) \[ [S] + /j/ \rightarrow [S] \]

(c) \[ [C_i] + [C_i] \rightarrow [C_i] \quad [T] + [T^c] \rightarrow [T^*] \]
In the Appendix, the phonemic writing represents the underlying forms of K, i.e. the forms before the application of these phonological rules. The phonetic writing represents K, i.e. the actual phonetic manifestation after the application of the rules.

The 20 rules of the second set apply in K with different frequencies. Some of the changes thus formulated are in free variation, for one and the same speaker, with the SG realizations of the phonemes (i.e. application of the first set of rules only). The rules of the second set that seem almost always to apply are 4, 5, 7 (a, b, c), 8, 10, 11 (a, b), 14, 15, 17 (a) and (b), 20 (a) and (c). Very rarely applied are the rules 1 (b), 6 and 9. This may be an indication that the received standard German pronunciation is becoming more and more influential (at least in the more educated social strata) and that dialectal colourings are in the process of being superseded by the SG "Hochlautung". As H. Vogt (1954) says about language change, we have, at any moment between the initiation and conclusion of these changes, a state characterized by the presence of more or less free variants. Whether such a trend towards a unified standard German on the level of phonetics does indeed exist, would need further investigation. The 20 phonological rules, found in K for the generation above 45, would have to be tested on the young generation, for example on the age-group 15 to 20. At present we still have in Kiel, as I showed in this paper, various regional peculiarities, explicable through dialect features of the North Saxon substratum.
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APPENDIX

[den etse: il ma:ma òouma vi frye zóa:ə ðinkstue
/den ërtse:1 mën ma:il - òouma - vi früer zólə (p)πingsttu:r -
Denn erzähl man mal, Oma, wie früher solche Pfingsttour,

zhou [θinkspdausflux bai ðiç fo3 ziiç 1) giŋk]
zhou 'P'pingstausflux - bai oix 'for zii x giŋg/
so ein Pfingstausflug bei euch vor sich ging.

[Ja: das va: ña gro:us ðaufreigun: ðesma vuːd ja
/³Ja: ñad var (ai)øa 'gros ðaufreigung - ërstmal vuːd (a) ja
Ja, das war eine grosse Aufregung. Erstmal wurde ja

iməloʊus nak ⁴ him! gəku:k'd vi ⁴ neðʒ vol va: ſuⁿd
'ımaɾloʊs na ⁴ dem'hiːməl gə'k'ykt - viða's'vetəɾ vol var - ſuⁿt
immerlos nach dem Himmel geguckt, wie das Wetter wohl war. Und

vens den 'a:iŋɡamaːsŋ ñen sibeŋ vi ³lou:s naːk
veŋ(a)s den 'a:iŋɡarməsən - ñen 'ʃipəɾən viɾ los - naːx dem
wenn es denn einigermassen (war), denn schippten wir los, nach dem

'bahnhoːf - ſuⁿt'den-'maistəns 'kamaŋ viɾ in(a)en 'fiːvəːɡən -
Bahnhof. Und denn, meistens kamen wir in einen Vierwagen.

1) The personal pronouns 'ich, mich, dich, sich' and the endings '-ig, -lich' have [ɪ] in the Siebs, whereas [i] in K.
wurden so grosse 'angahängt - niňt - 'grosa vägős - wo
(Da) wurden so grosse angehängt, nicht, grosse Wagons, wo
den zo provizorisch 'benke raingazetst va:η nić 'unden
den zo provizorisch 'benke raingazetst 'varan - niňt - unt den
denn so provisorisch Bänke reingesetzt waren, nicht. Und denn

wurde da nachher, wenn das Ding fol va: den wurde da zoň
'wurde da 'naxher - ven das dings 'fol var - den 'wurde da zo ain
wurde da nachher, wenn das Ding voll war, denn wurde da so ein

Balken vorgeschoben, damit keiner wieder rausplumpsen

kendę di tyś musda ?ofm bla:ibm ja: 'unden 'unze
'kenće - di tür mustę 'öffn 'blaibąn - ja - unt den - 'ünzer
konnte. Die Tür musste offen bleiben. Ja, und denn, unser

Pfingstausflug ging ja immer nach Malente, Malente-Grems-

myšlę di kandę via 'ja son fon hintę 'unt fost:na di t'us
'mulan - di 'kanten vir 'ja son fon hintęn unt 'föma - di tür-
mühlen. Die kannten wir ja schon von hinten und vorne, die Tour.
Und 'da:ta, sti:gy nat'jaliç nox na menja lo:za vida
unt 'überal 'stigam nat'jaliç nox (zi)no'menja 'loitə 'vidar
und überall stiegen natürlich noch eine Menge Leute wieder
mit ain 'inmə rin' in den fi:no:gy niç]
mit ain-imar'in in den 'fivagən- nixt/
mit ein, immer rein in den Viehwagen, nicht.

[da:vʊəɲ ja di ʃoŋ: fiŋkə klai'də tsədrunkt]
da:vʊəndən ja di ʃoŋən (p)fəŋstklaidər tsəd'fruk/l
Da wurden ja die schönen Pfingstkleider zerdrückt!

[jajə u:nən mu:ŋə viə 'au:və nox 'au:frəsnə dəs viə niç,
ja:jə - unt den 'mustən viə aux nox 'aufpasən-dəs viə nixt
Jaja, und denn mussten wir auch noch aufpassen, dass wir nicht
nox te:əflə ʊŋd zovəs dara:in kri:çən gremsmy:ln
nox 'te:rflektə ʊŋt ˈzovəs da:raɪn kri:tən-grems'mu:ln
noch Teerflecke und sowas darin kriegte. Gremsmühlen
va: di haldestela unden tru:da:ta'aləs raus ʊŋd ma:ʃəs
war di 'haldestela - unt den tru:da:ta aləs 'raus - unt 'maistəns
war die Haltestelle. Und denn trudelte alles raus, und meistens

2) French nasals /œ/, realized as [Vj] and [Vŋ] in final position.
3) Lexical item from Low German: rin = 'into'.
... ging via den auf dem anderen Bahnsteig. Wir gingen auf den anderen Bahnsteig. Der Lütjenburger Zug abfährt. Und dann ging es in die Holsteinische Schweiz.

da waren denn ja ganz lange Tafeln gedeckt, nicht, und wenn

wir das 'im'gen hatten, dann ja wieder raus in die frische Luft

Und dann waren da ja an den Hauptwegen all solche kleinen

Und dann die berühmten,

Wenn sie, Malzbonbon, oder Rahmbonbon hiessen sie ja früher.

Da kriegen wir denn auch noch eine Tüte von. Und dann trieben wir
'uns da ja in der Gegend herum
Führen da auch schon Motorboote damals?
Ja, Motorboote fahren da auch schon. Und alles in festlichen Gewändern, mit einem Blümchen im Knopfloch.

Ludwig, du hattest doch auch gestern abend Schlei mit, nicht?

Hatt er dir geschmeckt? So nach holsteiner Art mit Meerrettich und
Schlagsahne? Ja, das war ein gelungenes Fest. War er dir nicht
tsu [səf mit meredίç]
tsu [ṣarf-mi t 'merretiʃx/]
zu scharf mit Meerrettich?

Nein, das war wunderbar.

Vor mir habe ich ein Luftbild von Plön. Da ist die Kirche, die
k'ıxə hav t'ayiŋ: t'um de iz etva ḫe'is ica máˈrəx
k'ıxə hat aina t'ur x-der ist etva 'ke'tsíc 'mɛtar hox-
Kirche hat einen Turm, der ist etwa sechzig Meter hoch.

Ja, und hier das Schloss. Von dort aus hat man einen wunderschönen
blick über den großen Plöner See. Denn sieht man hier die

Bahnlinie, was das den da? Ach ja, das ist der Neubau der

Bahnlinie. Was (ist) das denn da? Ach ja, das ist der Neubau der

Kreissparkasse von der Lütjenburger Strasse beim Kreissparkasse. Wo geht es denn da - Lütjenburger Strasse, Fühler-vei. Was das hier noch nicht mit drauf? Zieht alles so ruhig aus,

und dabei ist doch immer viel Betrieb, weil das eine reine Durchgangs-

Art ist - Ja, ich kenne das ja alles; ich weiß gar nicht mehr viel zu

erzählen. Wenigstens ist Plön ein sehr schönes Städtchen.

und doch vierände kei:le voxä folges ja: beseidigt va: und die doch während der Kieler Woche voriges Jahr beschädigt war

von einem grossen Frachter; und dadurch musste der ganze Verkehr umgeleitet werden. Das war für Kiel eine teure Sache. Ein Frachter war zu hoch und hatte irgendwelche
Pfeiler abgebrochen.

Und da kann man nach Mültenort sehr gut einen Spaziergang machen.

da zeä gefleied och is mit hvpse 'anlagen de veiC, oben

der zeä ge(p)fielt ist - mit 'hüslen 'anlagen - oder veg - oben

der sehr gepflegt ist, mit hübschen Anlagen, der Weg. Oben

'auftm 'ehnmal stein loida und goni'sh di wundas'vena

auf dem 'ehnmal steen 'loide - unt goniisen di 'vunders'söne

auf dem Ehrenmal stehen Leute und geniessen die wunderschöne

"ausziet fön döit aus kaman de 'sifä raus ûnd rain

'ausziet - fön'döit aus - kaman de 'sifä - raus unt 'rain

Aussicht. Von dort aus kann man die Schiffe raus und rein-

fain ze-in rausm k'ös hafön 'unt vi'däs raus 'in de

faren'zeän - aus dem Kieler 'hafön - unt vi'dær 'raus - in de

fahren sehen, aus dem Kieler Hafen, und wieder raus in die
Wie wir im September neunzehnhundert neunundsechzig in
Urlaub fahren - fahren - fahren wir ganz gemütlich Richtung
Süden. Erste Station war Rothenburg. Da gefiel uns das nicht besonders, da war zuviel los. Wir setzten uns dann ab, weiter
Richtung Dinkelsbühl: nettes, kleines, malerisches Städtchen, fast
Der Urzustand des Mittelalters wird noch erhalten. Da gefiel es uns, da war Ruhe, wie wir sie richtig brauchten. Wenn man so ein ganzes Jahr gearbeitet hat, dann ist man froh, wenn man mal aus dem Trubel so richtig raus ist. Am nächsten Tag ging es weiter, immer südwarts, über Augsburg. Erstes Ziel war dann für uns Schloss Linderhof. Hatten wir viel gehört, wollten sehen, wie denn diese alten bayrischen...
Könige damals so gelebt hatten. War scheinbar eine recht nette Zeit, wenn man sieht, was die damals für Geld investierten, um ihr Vergnügen zu haben.