

LINGUISTICS

THE GENDER OF ENGLISH LOAN-WORDS IN GERMAN¹

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I. INTRODUCTION

The problem of noun gender assignment to English loan-words in German has been investigated by Aron (1931), Arndt (1970) and many others who have compiled a very useful corpus of facts and data which throws interesting light on the language-in-contact situation. Some very relevant factors, however, have so far been overlooked, and nobody has attempted to give a systematic account of the situation. The following remarks are primarily an attempt at a first analysis of the situation in present-day German.

Nearly the exact opposite of the truth is given in the following statement which Zindler (1959 : 18) makes regarding English nouns in German classes of declension and the gender of English nouns in present-day German:

Die Eingliederung geschieht sofort bei der Übernahme, Konstruktionen, bei denen man den Versuch erkennt, der Entscheidung auszuweichen, gibt es nicht. Ebenso ist ein Schwanken in der Zuordnung zu den Genusklassen... von zwei Ausnahmen (der, die Gang; der, die Show) abgesehen — nicht nachzuweisen. Es müssen also starke und einheitliche Prinzipien bei der Genusbildung im modernen Deutsch wirksam sein...²

¹ This study is part of the research project "Englische Einflüsse auf die deutsche Sprache nach 1945" which is being carried out at the Gesamthochschule Paderborn. I wish to express my sincere thanks to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, which is subsidizing this project. Many thanks are also due to P. Funken, D. Turner, and especially to H. R. Steinbach, who did the greater part of the field work and provided me with many valuable suggestions, to the informants and to all those whom I bothered with my questions.

² According to DF, only *die Gang* and *die Show* are possible. For DF and other abbreviations of dictionary titles, cf. the list at the end of the article.

II. THE SOURCES

We have used the following sources in our attempt at discovering which principles govern gender assignment in present-day German:

1. dictionaries
2. informants
3. examples from written material
4. previous research on gender assignment.

The following comments on these types of sources are necessary:

1. As the corresponding chapter will show, it is very difficult and in most cases impossible to discover the principles which govern gender assignment in German dictionaries. They usually state that an English loan-word in German has one of the three genders and that in some cases two genders are possible. However, for obvious reasons it is impossible to give any exact data about the frequency of the two genders. Statements like "masculine *or* neuter", "masculine *and* neuter" may bring a dictionary-user to the conclusion that the word is masculine in about 50 per cent of the cases and neuter in the other ones. Only a label like "masculine, *rarer*: neuter" or "masculine, *formerly* neuter" and to some extent "masculine, *also* neuter" contains some information regarding actual usage. Our work with informants has shown that in a considerable number of cases, two genders are possible, but that in most of them one gender is dominant and the other one may even be rare. In general, we have to admit that the German dictionaries which we consulted turned out to be not very reliable.

2. The field-work which we have done shows that there are facts which have not been observed before and that quite a number of linguists seem to have depended on their own usage only. It will become obvious that the three German genders which can be given to a loan from English are to some extent in a kind of free distribution, although there are some outspoken preferences. But nothing seems to be entirely impossible. One observation, however, is basic: informants who know the meaning of an English loan-word assign one gender only and hardly ever vary in their usage; speakers who are not sure about the meaning of a word tend to vary in their gender assignment.

3. The written material which we also used, mainly from German newspapers, magazines etc., shows that it is by no means representative of actual German usage as it often reflects the individual journalist's idiolect.

Moreover, I have a suspicion that there may be a difference between an individual's gender assignment when he speaks and when he writes. In the latter case, consideration and reflection on what the gender "should be" will

be more prominent than when he speaks and has no time for such considerations.

4. It has to be repeated that no systematic treatment of the gender of English loan-words has been attempted so far and that most of the research done on this subject rests on individual observations and on material concerning the gender assignment of English words as used by German immigrants to the United States, Canada and Australia, a situation different from the German speaker who uses an English word and has to select one of the three German genders. We agree with Heller (1966 : 148): "Jedoch bedarf auch diese Frage [des Geschlechts bei Fremdwörtern] noch eingehender Untersuchungen an reichem Material".

III. OBSERVATIONS ON THE SITUATION IN PRESENT-DAY GERMAN

As regards noun gender assignment in present-day German, we can distinguish three categories:

1. All three German genders are found in very few loan-words only, according to our dictionaries only in *Dress* which is masculine or neuter in Germany and feminine or masculine in Austria. DF has the following information: "der (auch: das) ... (österr.:) die ...". Some of my informants say *der*, more *das* and fewer *die Gospel*. Usage varies also with *Juice* and a few other words.

2. In a considerable number of cases, two possibilities exist in present-day German. In the greatest number of cases German speakers can vary between

- a. masculine and neuter, as in *der* and *das Spiritual, Quiz, Spray, Lunch, Shanty, Essay, Poster, Countdown, Stang, Handout, Display, Ballyhoo, Digest, Terminal* and many others.
- b. feminine and neuter: *die* or *das Trademark, Folklore, Cottage, Dinner-Jacket* and, perhaps, a few others. This group is small.
- c. masculine and feminine, *der* or *die Speech, Lobby, Couch, Speed, Glamour* and, perhaps, a few others. This group is still smaller.

3. The majority of English loan-words has one German gender only:

- a. masculine: *der Job, Boss, Appetizer, Bacon, Beat, Babysitter, Boom, Container, etc.*
- b. feminine: *die Band, Box, City, Show, Crew, Gangway, Pipeline, Story, etc.*
- c. neuter: *das Agreement, Babyface, Bodybuilding, Image, Steak, Baby, Girl, etc.,*

though again individual speakers may follow individual usage. The following facts are important:

1. The individual German speaker generally attributes one gender to the English loan-word only; he may sometimes vary between categories 1 and 2.

2. The great number of masculine nouns is striking; in category 2 masculine is one of the possibilities in all cases except b, a very small group. A much smaller group consists of neuter nouns, and only a few are feminine.³ A comparison with Fisiak's (1975:61) results is revealing: "Of 681 English loanwords, 598 are masculine, 52 feminine, 18 neuter and 13 have no fixed gender ..."

3. Some other loan-words of non-English origin in German show the same wavering between two genders:

der and *das Gummi*, *der* and *das Liter*, etc. Müller (1976: 220) lists *Pauschale* (*das* or *die*), *Malaise* (*das* or *die*), *Radio* (*das* or *der*), *Foto* (*das* or *der*), *Partikel* (*das* or *die*) and *Campus* and *Poster*.

4. There are a few English loan-words in German in which two different genders differentiate two different meanings:

der Hardtop is 'Sportwagen mit einem abnehmbaren Verdeck',⁴ *das Hardtop* is 'abnehmbares Verdeck von Kraftwagen...'; however, German dictionaries do not make this distinction. *Der Set* is 'Satz zusammengehöriger, meist gleichartiger Dinge', *das Set* is (for some German speakers) 'Platzdeckchen für ein Gedeck an Stelle einer Tischdecke'. *Die Single* is 'kleine Schallplatte', *das Single* 'Einzelspiel... im Tennis'; DF makes this distinction. *Die Coach* is '...vierrädrige Kutsche...', *der Coach* is '...Trainer;...' DF gives the masculine gender for both meanings of the word. *Der Finish* is (for some speakers of German) 'letzter Arbeitsgang, der einem Produkt die endgültige Form gibt', *das Finish* is (for all speakers of German) 'Endkampf, Endspurt; ...', but DF gives neuter gender to both meanings. *Fancy* is masculine or neuter in the meaning 'beidseitig gerauhter Flanell in Leinen- od. Körperbindung (einer Webart)', feminine in the meaning 'kurze Instrumentalfantasie'. *Boston* is neuter in the meaning 'Kartenspiel', masculine as the name of the dance. According to DF, *Terminal* is masculine or neuter in the meaning 'Abfertigungshalle für Fluggäste', neuter only in the meaning 'Ein- u. Ausgabe-einheit einer EDV-Anlage'.

With one exception, all these nouns have masculine gender as one of the two possibilities.

5. Some gender-differences can be observed in different German-speaking countries: *Car* is masculine in Switzerland where it is the shortening of *der Autocar*, which is not known in Germany. *Service* is masculine or neuter, but often neuter only in Austria:

Bestes Service in Österreich (Express [Wien], September 9, 1968:22)

³ It is very difficult to give exact figures. To give an indication of the proportions, we can say that of the 139 nouns beginning with the letters A and B which will be included in my forthcoming dictionary of English loans in present-day German 87 are masculine, 34 neuter and 18 feminine.

⁴ Definitions are taken from DF.

Aber mit wachsendem technischem Fortschritt ist das Service immer seltener geworden. (Die Presse [Wien], September 5, 1968:10)

Dress is masculine or neuter in Germany, feminine in Austria. *Match* is masculine or neuter in Germany, masculine only in Austria. *Cottage* is feminine in Germany, feminine or masculine in Switzerland. *Keks* is masculine in Germany, but Möcker (1975:386) observes: "In Österreich...können wir nicht nur ein eindeutiges Vorherrschen des sächlichen Geschlechts (*das Keks*) ...beobachten". Cf. also Urbanová (1966:103) with observations on *Dress*, *Match*, *Cottage* and *Couch*.

6. To prove our statements that some scholars have described their own usage only or drawn wrong conclusions from perhaps isolated examples, let us quote a few of these misunderstandings:

Zindler (1959:230) has an example of *der Show*; *Show*, however, is feminine only in present-day German (model: *die Schau*). *Team* is always neuter; Zindler (1959:66) has an example of *der Team*. Zieglschmidt (1935:28) thinks that Germans say *die Dress*, *die Team* and *der Speech*. *Dress* is feminine in Austria only, all Germans say *das Team*, and *Speech* can be masculine or feminine. *Jazzband* is feminine or masculine according to Zieglschmidt; German dictionaries state it to be only feminine, as do my informants. Urbanová (1966:103) has other doubtful cases.

7. To illustrate our suspicion that in some cases there are striking deviations from actual German usage in printed material, let us consider the following examples:

Jet is masculine in all German dictionaries and to all my German informants Cf., however:

Mit der Jet nach Mallorca ... (Mittelbayerische Zeitung [Regensburg], October 16, 1969: 9)

Die Jumbo-Jet kann maximal 400 Personen befördern, ... (Rundfunk und Fernsehen 11/1969: 35)

Pub is neuter in all dictionaries and to some informants, but not in

Rund um den englischen Pub (FAZ, April 10, 1974: 3)

Heute eröffne ich meinen Pub "Exquisit". (Flensburger Tageblatt, August 23, 1972: advertisement)

Roger Whittaker ... hat sich ... einen Pub gekauft. (Westfälisches Volksblatt [Bielefeld], February 26/27, 1977; "Der 7. Tag": 4)

Go-in, according to the dictionaries and my informants, is neuter; an exception is:

Der CSU-Kreisverband Stadt ... befürchtet, daß seine Versammlung durch einen "go-in" möglicherweise zu einer Diskussion ... "unfunktionierte" werden sollte. (Mittelbayerische Zeitung [Regensburg], February 24, 1969: 13)

8. My corpus contains many more such examples in which the individual language user deviates from a norm which a (sometimes small) majority of speakers may have set up. A corresponding investigation of spoken language will show that such a deviation is the more likely the less the language user knows what the English loan-word in German actually means. Two-gender words in German like *der* and *das Gummi*, *der* and *das Liter* and others show, however, that some words vary in their gender assignment and that it is not merely a question of time when one gender is attributed to the loan, i.e. when it is well established in the recipient language. Older English loans in German like *Schelf*, which all dictionaries list as masculine or neuter, or *Keks*, show that they are still two-gender words, whereas others like *Schal*, *Streik*, *Lotse* etc. have one gender only. It is very difficult to answer the question as to why this is so. There seems to be a close connection with the principle of the closest lexical equivalent; this will be explained later.

IV. NOUN GENDER IN GERMAN DICTIONARIES

To show the difficulties which face the German speaker when he has to assign gender, we have picked out 70 loan-words and checked their gender as listed in 14 German dictionaries: DWb, DE, Schülerduden Fwb, DR 73, Wahrig, Wahrig Fwb, Klappenbach/Steinitz, DR 77, Kl Fwb, DE, Textor, Heyne, GF, Knaur. The following words were not listed in any of our 14 dictionaries: *Bubblegum*, *Drive-in*, *Ghost-Town*, *Happiness*, *Homedress*, *IC*, *Keyboard*, *Shift*, *TV*, so that 61 words were left. The following results were obtained:

1. There were 42 cases in which all dictionaries agreed on one gender:

das Ballyhoo (5),⁶ *das Bike* (2), *der Bungalow* (14), *der Car* [restricted to Switzerland] (3), *das Clearing* (12), *der Coach* 'Trainer' (7), *das Coke* (3), *das Core* (5), *das Cottage* (12), *das Dinner-Jacket* (5), *das Display* (7), *der Drugstore* (10), *das Finnish* (14), *das Go-in* (9), *das Greenhorn* (13), *das Handout* (3), *das Hobby* (14), *die Jazzband* (14), *der Jet* (14), *der Job* (14), *das Layout* (13), *das Meeting* (13), *der Oldie* (3), *das Pub* (4), *das Quiz* (14), *das Script* (12), *die Show* (14), *das Single* 'Einzelspiel im Tennis' (4), *das Sit-in* (9), *das Smalltalk* (3), *der Smog* (2), *der Speech* (13), *der Speed* (8), *der Swimming-Pool* (8), *das Team* (14), *die Television* (14), *der Thriller* (13), *der Toast* (14), *die Trademark* (6), *der Trend* (14), *der Trip* (3).

It seems that we can safely draw the conclusion from this material that there is no doubt with regard to the gender assignment of the words listed, especially when the number of dictionaries is 14 or close to 14.

⁶ The number in parentheses indicates in how many of our 14 dictionaries the word is registered: *der Trend* (14) indicates that all 14 dictionaries list the word *Trend* as masculine in German, whereas *die Trademark* (6) means that only 6 of our 14 dictionaries list the word and that these 6 assign feminine gender to *Trademark*. It does not mean that it is feminine in 6 out of 14 dictionaries.

This, however, proves to be a wrong conclusion as the present writer's usage, which is confirmed by other native speakers, is *die Coke*, *der Handout*, *die Speech* and *die Speed*, and he knows definitely that some German speakers say *der Display*, *der Layout*, *der Pub*, *der Quiz*, *der Script*, *der Sit-in* and *der Smalltalk*, so that only *das Ballyhoo*, *das Bike* (rare in present-day German!), *der Bungalow*, *das Clearing*, *das Core*, *der Coach*, *das College*, *das Dinner-Jacket*, *der Drugstore*, *das Finish*, *das Go-in*, *das Greenhorn*, *das Hobby*, *die Jazzband*, *der Jet*, *der Job*, *das Meeting*, *der Oldie*, *die Show*, *das Single*, *der Smog*, *der Swimming-Pool*, *das Team*, *die Television*, *der Thriller*, *der Toast*, *die Trade-mark*, *der Trend* and *der Trip* are left as absolutely safe cases. It should be stressed that our 70 words are random examples and that there are other cases in German where dictionaries and native speakers agree in questions of gender. Still, our results seem to be typical of the difficult situation concerning the gender of English loan-words and its appropriate description in dictionaries.

2. There is a second category in our dictionaries: when all but one agree on the gender of English loan-words in German and where my informants are in accordance with the dictionary-majority:

Air-conditioning is labelled "neuter" by six dictionaries, but Heyne lists the word as feminine. My informants confirm that it is *das Air-conditioning* and *die Air-condition* so that Heyne may have mistaken one word for the other. 11 dictionaries give *Gang 'Bande'* feminine gender; only Textor has it as a masculine word. This is contradicted by all my informants. 11 dictionaries register *die Folklore*, but GF says: "die, seltener das". My informants have unanimously decided on *die Folklore*. So there are three more cases, of our 70, in which there seems to be no wavering between two genders in present-day German.

3. Most of our 70 words belong to a third category: our dictionaries and the informants agree that gender cannot be fixed in these words, but that two or even three possibilities exist:

a. *der*, *die* or *das* is to be found with one word only:⁶

Dress is masculine in 8 dictionaries (DWb, Wahrig, Klappenbach/Steinitz, DE, Textor, Heyne, GF, Knaur), masculine or neuter in 4 (DF, Schülerduden Fwb, DR 73, Wahrig FwI), masculine or feminine in KI Fwb, and 5 of them

⁶ We list a word as masculine or neuter when the dictionaries say "mask. und neutr.", "mask. oder neutr." or "mask., auch: neutr." though there may be a difference between these three statements. We do not include the label "mask., seltener neutr." in this category. The same applies to other gender assignments in our dictionaries.

state that the word is feminine in Austria (DWb, DF, Schülerduden Fwb, DR 77, GF). *Francy*, as we have seen, is a special case: when the (old) meaning is 'beidseitig gerauhter Flanell in Leinwand — od. Körperbindung' (DWb), it has masculine or neuter gender; when the (new) meaning is 'kurze Instrumentalfantasie' (DWb), the word is feminine, as DWb and DF rightly state. KI Fwb and GF have *das Francy* for the old meaning, Knaur *das* or *der*. *Rallye* is not another case though Heyne lists "die oder der" and though the word is nearly always feminine and rarely neuter in German. But the word is of French origin.

b. *der* or *das* is found with the following words:

Keks shows that this wavering of gender can also be observed in very old English loan-words in German: all the 12 dictionaries which list *Keks* say that it is *der* or *das Keks*, and Wahrig Fwl, DR 77 and GF state in addition that it is *das Keks* only in Austria. My informants confirm that *der Keks* is much more frequent than *das Keks*. *Blackout* is neuter in 7 dictionaries; 5 say "das or der". *Bodycheck* is neuter for Wahrig, but 5 dictionaries and my informants say it is masculine. *Bordcase* is given as "das or der" in DWb, DF and Schülerduden Fwb but not listed in any other dictionary. This is an especially interesting case as *Bordcase* is a pseudo-loan. *Das Cockpit* is to be found in 12 dictionaries, but Textor thinks it is *der Cockpit*, contrary to the opinion of my informants. 2 dictionaries have *das Korner* and 7 *der Korner*. Wahrig and Wahrig Fwl register *das Countdown*, Textor *der* and 7 dictionaries "der or das". *Deal*, only in DWb, is "der or das". *Digest* is masculine for Textor and Heyne, neuter for Wahrig, Wahrig Fwl and KI Fwb, and DWb, DF, Schülerduden Fwb, DR 73, DR 77 and GF say "masculine or neuter". *Essay*, not of English origin, is masculine only for Heyne, whereas all other dictionaries (12) have "masculine or neuter". *Glamour* is "der or das" in 4 dictionaries and masculine for Wahrig. *Gospel*: three times "der or das", *das* in DR 73 and Wahrig. Only Heyne has *der Gully*, all other dictionaries (11) say "der or das"; DWb: "der; selten das". *Hardtop*: all dictionaries have "das or der" with regard to the two meanings of the word: 1. *the roof* 'hardtop', 2. *a car* with such a roof.

Juice is neuter for KI Fwb and Knaur; all other dictionaries (6) list "masculine or neuter" gender. DR 77 and GF state that in Austria only *das Juice* is known.

Wahrig, Textor and Heyne give *das Looping*, 7 dictionaries *das* or *der Looping*; DR 77 and KI Fwb: "der, seltener das".

Lunch: neuter in DF and Textor, masculine in all other dictionaries (10).

Heyne has *das Match*, Textor *der*, and 10 dictionaries give both genders. Wahrig: "Schweiz: *der*", DR 77 and GF: "österreichisch *das Match*".

Porridge: twice *das*, three times *der*, 7 times *das* or *der*.

Poster: 7 times *das* or *der*; Textor: *das*.

Sandwich: 5 times *der* or *das*; 8 times *das* only.

Schelf, an old loan: *der* in Heyne, *der* or *das* in all other (11) dictionaries.

Seal: 6 times masculine, 6 times masculine or neuter.

Service 'Bedienung': 6 times masculine, neuter in Heyne and both genders in all other (6) dictionaries.

Set, without differentiation of the two meanings which the English word has in German, neuter in 6 dictionaries, neuter or masculine in 4.

Shanty is neuter in 9 dictionaries, and both genders are given in Kl Fwb.

Slang is masculine in all (8) dictionaries except DR 77, Kl Fwb, Heyne and GF, which have both genders.

Spiritual: 5 times masculine or neuter, 3 times neuter, twice masculine.

Spray is neuter in Wahrig and Knaur, masculine in DE and Textor; all other dictionaries (8) have "der oder das".

Klappenbach/Steinitz has *Telex* as masculine, all other dictionaries (9) as neuter.

Terminal 'Abfertigungshalle für Fluggäste' is neuter for Wahrig and Knaur, masculine for Textor, and both genders are possible for DF, Schülerduden Fwb and DR 73. Wahrig, Textor and Knaur do not differentiate between this meaning and 'Ein- und Ausgabeinheit einer EDV-Anlage', which is neuter for all dictionaries.

Walkie-Talkie is neuter for three dictionaries; Textor has "der oder das".

c. *der* or *die* is only found in a few cases:

Lobby is a noun of feminine gender only in Kl Fwb, Textor and GF, though all my informants use the word in this way. But 6 dictionaries say "die oder der".

Couch, an old loan, is feminine or masculine in Switzerland, as 6 dictionaries correctly state. In the other German speaking countries it is feminine, as all (13) dictionaries say. When Kl Fwb states "die, auch der", Swiss masculine usage is probably meant.

Crew is feminine only for DWb, Textor and Knaur, though all German speakers agree that the word is feminine and not masculine. Heyne, contrary to German usage, uses the label "masculine", and Wahrig, Wahrig Fwl and Kl Fwb have "die oder der", DR 77 and GF "die, auch der", DF, Schülerduden Fwb and DR 73 "die, älter: der", Klappenbach/Steinitz "die, der". It is most surprising that only 3 out of 14 dictionaries state present-day German usage. Cf. also Carstensen (1977:312).

d. *das* or *die* is found in two cases only:

Cola is neuter for Klappenbach/Steinitz, and 6 dictionaries (DWb, DF, Schülerduden Fwb, DR 73, Wahrig and Wahrig Fwl *s.v.* 'Coca-Cola') say "das und

die'', though my informants state that feminine is much more frequent than neuter gender.

Feature is neuter for German speakers, as 8 dictionaries correctly testify. It is surprising that it is feminine for DF; DWb; Schülerduden Fwb and DR 73 say "das, auch die", Wahrig and Wahrig Fwl "das oder die"

Our investigation shows that Heller (1966:148) is right when he claims:

Man wird vor allem prüfen müssen, inwieweit die in unseren Wörterbüchern aufgeführten Doppelformen im Genus ... tatsächlich im Sprachgebrauch vorhanden sind oder ob sich nicht eine als die allein gültige Form herausgebildet hat.

V. OUR WORK WITH INFORMANTS

The second step we took to find out details about the assignment of gender to English words in German was the following: we compiled a questionnaire consisting of 31 words with the following categories:

1. Test-words with one meaning in German: *Bungalow, Cockpit, Crew, Essay, Folklore, Gospel, Gully, Handout, Poster, Quiz, Sandwich, Shanty, Slang, Smog, Spiritual, Spray, Thriller, Trend, Walkie-Talkie.*
2. Test-words with more than one meaning in German: *Finish, Hardtop, Set* and *Single*. In the last three cases the word appeared twice in the questionnaire, i.e. with two different meanings.
3. Words of non-English origin: *Liter, Radiergunmi, Rallye.*
4. Phantom-words: *Goser, Gosing, Gosor, Goster, Gosity.*

In each case the meaning of the word was given, and the informants were asked to fill in the missing article in a prepared sentence; one example is:

Sandwich bezeichnet eine belegte Brotschnitte.

?—Sandwich war nicht mehr ganz frisch.

33 of our 67 informants were female. The sample comprised all age-groups from under 15 to older than 65; the most prominent groups were the following: 21—25 (18 informants), 26—35 (19) and 46—55 (13). 30 of our informants had attended a "Gymnasium", 21 a "Volks-" or a "Hauptschule". 25 had served an apprenticeship, and 27 were students. A substantial share of the persons interviewed (24) had very little knowledge of English (up to two years' schooling), whereas 16 had studied English for more than eight years.

38 informants live in Westfalia, 12 in the northern provinces of Germany and the rest in other parts of the country. We first tried to find out if there was agreement between our 67 informants and the results of our dictionary-survey.

Our dictionaries were unanimous in the cases of *Bungalow, Finish, Handout, Quiz, Single, Smog, Thriller* and *Trend* only. The results of the questionnaire

were the following:

	der	die	das	
Bungalow	90	—	10	per cent
Finish	3	—	97	
Handout	9	12	79	
Quiz	3	—	97	
Single 'die Schallplatte'	—	96	4	
Single 'Einzel im Tennis'	—	6	94	
Smog	100	—	—	
Thriller	100	—	—	
Trend	100	—	—	

The figures show that complete agreement can be stated only in the cases of *Smog*, *Thriller* and *Trend*, which had been included in the questionnaire to build up the informant's confidence in his own decision and were not expected to show variation in gender. Wide agreement with the dictionaries is reached in the cases of *Bungalow*, *Finish* and *Quiz*, but 79 per cent of our informants say *das Handout*. The most interesting case is *Single*; our informants know very well that there is a difference of meaning between *die Single* and *das Single*.

In the cases in which our dictionaries give two genders for an English loan-word the following results were obtained:

	der	die	das	
Cockpit	4	—	96	per cent
Crew	—	99	1	
Essay	34	7	59	
Finish	3	—	97	
Folklore	—	100	—	
Gospel	42	13	45	
Gully	96	—	4	
Hardtop 'roof'	18	1	81	
Hardtop 'car'	60	3	37	
Poster	12	—	88	
Sandwich	15	1	84	
Set 'number of things'	19	—	81	
Set 'table-mat'	18	1	81	
Shanty	45	1	54	
Slang	99	1	—	
Spiritual	12	1	87	
Spray	19	—	81	
Walkie-Talkie	18	1	81	

The following facts are worth commenting on:

The figures demonstrate that there is a very strong tendency to use *Cockpit* as a neuter noun, *Crew* as feminine, *Finish* as neuter, *Gully* as masculine and especially *Folklore* as feminine. This is, more or less, in accordance with our dictionaries except *Crew*, in which case our informants unanimously reject *der Crew*.

Our informants had no difficulties in distinguishing between *der Hardtop* and *das Hardtop*, but they do not know the difference between *der Set* and *das Set*.

Poster is more often neuter than masculine, but the dictionaries give the impression that it is a two-gender word, the same applies to *Sandwich*, which in 84 per cent of the cases is *das Sandwich* for our informants.

Shanty is given as a neuter noun in 9 dictionaries, but only 54 per cent of our informants agree to this, and 45 per cent have it as masculine.

The informants, with one exception, use *Slang* as a masculine noun; 4 of our dictionaries, however, say "der or das".

Words of non-English origin:

	der	die	das
Liter	66	1	33
Radiergummi	43	—	57
Rallye	—	91	9

The results of the phantom-words will be given in the chapter on morphology.

Generally, we can say that there is only a rough correspondence between our dictionaries and our informants. This is most probably due to two causes: 1. 67 informants are by no means enough and really not representative of actual German usage. However, they are sufficient proof to suggest that 2. our dictionaries are not reliable. We are still convinced that the results of our questionnaire are a closer approach to present-day German usage than the information contained in 14 German dictionaries.

VI. FACTORS GOVERNING GENDER ASSIGNMENT

The next question is how gender is actually assigned to English loan-words in German. A number of possible explanations have been suggested, and Arndt (1970) gives the following summary of factors which govern gender assignment:

1. sex;
2. the form of the word;
3. semantic association with a displaced native equivalent;
4. suffixal analogy;

5. graphic analogy;
6. homonymity;
7. semantic categories;
8. syllabicity.

Fisiak (1975) discusses these possibilities, rejects the gender productiveness criterion and groups Arndt's items 1, 3 and 7 together as semantic criteria.

The main factors for German are sex, semantic criteria and suffixal analogies, i.e. morphological considerations. Syllabicity seems to be another decisive factor which does not apply to Polish at all. German, faces another important problem: namely, that some loan-words like *Babysitter*, *Manager*, *Layouter*, etc. which are masculine do not indicate whether the person referred to is male or female. There seems to be a tendency to "move" these words and add an *-in* morpheme when a person of female sex is meant.

We must emphasize two guiding principles in the assignment of gender in present-day German: the principle of the closest lexical equivalent and morphological elements.

a. The closest lexical equivalent

The fact that English loan-words in German are assigned the gender of their closest lexical equivalents has been stated before, e. g. by Clyne (1967:42):

In most cases, the noun is (usually quite unconsciously) given the gender of the German equivalent and/or a German word cognate with the English one.

This is always done unconsciously, and Clyne's examples (English words used by German speakers in Australia) show that there are no universal principles at work: *das Court* (because of *das Gericht*) does not correspond to my own usage, which is *der Court*. *Television* is feminine in German, but neuter for Clyne's informants. *Keyboard* is neuter for me; Clyne lists it as masculine, etc.

This short list of examples indicates that there are some problems connected with the principle of the closest lexical equivalent. Clyne (1975:32) distinguishes between "Genus eines synonymen Diamorphs im Deutschen: *die Story* (Geschichte), *der Job* (Beruf) ..." and "Genus eines homophonen Diamorphs: *Der Board* (Bord), *der Shower* (Schauer) (Australien)". We can illustrate this principle by the following German examples:

- a. masculine: *der Job* is definitely masculine because of its closest lexical equivalent *der Beruf*, *der Boss* : *der Chef*, *der Bacon* : *der Speck*, *der Boom* : *der Aufschwung*, *der Container* : *der Behälter* and many other examples.
- b. feminine: *die Band* is feminine because of *die Kapelle*, *die Box* : *die Kiste*, *Schachtel*, *die City* : *die Stadt*, *die Couch* : *die Liege*, *die Show* : *die Schau*,

die Crew : *die Mannschaft*, *die Gangway* : *die Treppe*, *die Pipeline* : *die... Leitung*, *die Story* : *die Geschichte* and many other examples.

- c. neuter: *das Baby* is neuter because German speakers think of *das Kind*, *das Girl* : *das Mädchen*, *das Image* : *das Bild*, *das Babyface* : *das Babygesicht* and more examples.

But this is not a universal principle, and the issue is highly complex: Why is it *das Steak* in German? Because of *das Stück*, the "displaced native equivalent", or because of *das Schnitzel*, the closest lexical equivalent? Why is *Baby* a neuter word in German? Because of its sex or because of its closest lexical equivalent? Both *das Kind* and *der Säugling* might be called the closest lexical equivalent. Do German speakers think of *der Schlag* or *der Rhythmus* when they make *Beat* a masculine noun? Is *Pipeline* feminine because of *die Leitung* or *die Linie*? Why is it *das Team* in German? The closest lexical equivalent is *die Mannschaft*, and no neuter German word comes to mind. Why is it *der Jet*? It is *das Flugzeug* and *die Maschine*, and no masculine noun is obvious except the obsolete *der Flieger*.

Moreover, if the theory of the closest lexical equivalent is valid, we should be able to explain why, in a considerable number of cases, an English loan-word can be assigned two, in one case three, genders in German. This principle works in some instances: *Trademark* may be feminine for some speakers because of *die Marke* and neuter for other speakers because of *das Zeichen*; *der Quiz* because of *der Wettbewerb*, *das Quiz* because of *das Ratespiel*; similarly: *der Lunch* (*der Imbiß* or *der Mittagstisch*?) — *das Lunch* (*das Essen*), *der Essay* (*der Aufsatz*) — *das Essay* (*das Schriftwerk*?), *das Poster* (*das Plakat*) — *der Poster* (*der Anschlag*?).

But in the majority of these cases it is at least very difficult to apply the semantic principle: *die Speed* is probably chosen because of *die Geschwindigkeit*, but why is it *der Speed* for some German speakers and, as we have seen, for all German dictionaries? German speakers may think of *der Saft*, *die Flüssigkeit* and *das Getränk* when they use *Juice*, but the explanation of the feminine gender is very unlikely. Why is it *das Shanty*? Certainly because of *das* (Seemanns)lied. But why do some speakers including the present writer say *der Shanty*? Because of *der Gesang* or *der Song*? There is no answer to this question. *Der Slang* follows *der Jargon* (?), but why is it *das Slang* for some speakers? Because of *das Reden*? Certainly not, but there is no other neuter lexical equivalent. *Cockpit* is probably neuter because of *das Führerhaus*, but why also masculine? Because of *der Sitzraum*? *Der Deal* corresponds to *der Teil* and *der Handel*, but why also *das Deal*? Because some German speakers say *der Teil* and others *das Teil*? *Der Gully* may have *der Abfluß* or *der Schacht* as its model, but why can we also speak of *das Gully*? Because of *das Loch*? And what about the extreme case of *Dress*? *Das Dress* corresponds to *das Kleid*, *der Dress* to *der Anzug* (?) and *der Aufzug* (?), but why *die Dress* in

Austria? Because of *die Kleidung*? We have to depend on non-linguistic criteria in these cases, mainly our "Sprachgefühl", and we have to realize that the principle of the closest lexical equivalent can be applied in a number of cases, but certainly not in all. It is obvious that we face linguistic factors in this loan-process for which there are no linguistic explanations and which even seem to be arbitrary.

b. Morphological factors

Another principle which explains a certain number of gender assignments is based on morphological factors (cf. Clyne 1967: 43) or "suffixal analogy" as Arndt (1970) calls it; it is often connected with the principle of syllabicity. The following rules can be observed in the transfer process:

1. English loan-words ending in *-er* which designate persons are masculine in present-day German as German *-er* words are masculine: *der Lehrer, der Bäcker, der Maler, der Minister*, etc. English loan-words in this pattern: *der Entertainer, der Globetrotter, Jogger, Camper, Teenager, Babysitter, Stripper, Fellow-Traveller, Insider, Barkeeper, Announcer, Broker, Caravaner, Canvasser, Controller, Dealer, Designer, Dispatcher, Drummer, Fighter, Manager, Fixer, Interviewer, Jobber, Jobhopper, Keeper, Killer, Kicker, Mister, Oldtimer, New-comer, Promoter, Tramper, Pusher, Ranger, Trouble-maker, Trouble-shooter, Flapper, Talk-, Show-, Quizmaster*, etc.

The following problems in connection with this group deserve attention and future research:

a) Some of these words designate persons of male sex (*Mister, Dealer, Fixer* and a few others which usually designate professions or "typical" activities of males), two designations are assigned to females (*Flapper* and *Stripper*) and the rest to males or females (*Entertainer, Globetrotter*, etc.).

b) There seems to be a tendency in present-day German to indicate whether an *-er* word in this category stands for a male or for a female: according to the pattern *Bäcker — Bäckerin, Maler — Malerin*, etc. *Minister* was followed by *Ministerin* soon after the first German lady had become a Minister.

To make it clear that a lady is meant, German has added the feminine *-in* suffix to some *-er* words taken over from English: *Managerin, Entertainerin, Designerin, Camperin, Promoterin* and a few others have come to stay though they are not yet in the dictionary, and a few others like *Tramperin, Kickerin, Baby-sitterin*, etc. seem to be not absolutely impossible. The third type, however, words like *Teenagerin, Brokerin, Dealerin*, etc. seem to be impossible. There are first indications, however, that the *-in* suffix can also be added to words of this type:

Mit vier Jahren unterhielt sie ihre Babysitterin, indem sie ihr Geschichten vorlas.
(Der Spiegel, July 3, 1963:68)

Interessant ist, was die heute 34 jährige Bestsellerin in einem Verlagsprospekt über sich selbst schreibt... (Die Woche [Regensburg], May 30, 1969: 9)

Ein deutlicher Schwenk, so bekunden Insiderinnen, vollziehe sich gegenwärtig in der europäischen Frauenbewegung: ... (Der Spiegel, September 2, 1974:67)

Only in advertisements can examples like the following be found:

Wir suchen einen Layouter oder eine Layouterin... (Welt, August 30, 1969:22)

Junge, hübsche Barkeeperin... wird ... aufgenommen. (Kurier [Wien], August 29, 1968:10)

With a playful tone:

Auf dem Kopf trägt eine echte Hot-Panterin weich gewelltes Eigengewächs wie ehemals Rita Hayworth... (Welt, February 6/7, 1971: IV)

"Herzlich willkommen..." zwitscherte die kaum der mittleren Reife entsteigende Hot-Pants-erin... (Welt, September 4, 1971: VIII)

Stripper 'striptease performer' is not used in German, but usually *Stripperin*:

...der Schatten eines Kopfes fällt auf den Busen einer sich räkelnden Stripperin... (Zeit 41/1967, October 13, 1967:15)

Stripteuse is rare (and a Spiegel-coinage?):

Im Oktober 1974 stürzte sich die argentinische Stripteuse Annabella... Baltistella... ins Tidal Basin von Washington. (Der Spiegel, June 21, 1976: 105)

There is even a third possibility in German, *Striptesse*:

...wer wagte daran zu zweifeln, nachdem die "Striptesse" als Doktorandin der Philosophie vorgestellt worden war? (Rundfunk und Fernsehen, 15/1969:81)

The general principle seems to be that nouns which end in *-er* allow an *-in* form when they are derived from a verb which denotes an activity (*strippen*, *managen*, *campen*, etc.), whereas this trend cannot be observed in words like *Teenager*, *Oldtimer*, *Joker*, etc. which do not go back to verbs and which designate a superindividual state. *Ministerin* is an exception, and *Insiderin* is not impossible:

Ein deutlicher Schwenk, so bekunden Insiderinnen, vollziehe sich gegenwärtig in der europäischen Frauenbewegung... (Der Spiegel, September 2, 1974:61)

2. English loan-words in *-er* which designate things are also masculine in present-day German, as *Bestseller*, *Blazer*, *Boiler*, *Bulldozer*, *Carrier*, *Clipper*, *Cobbler*, *Computer*, *Container*, *Decoder*, *Defroster*, *Dimmer*, *Extruder*, *Eyeliner*,

Flipper, Freezer, Froster, Highriser, Home-Trainer, Jumper, Konverter, Laser, Pullover, Reader, Receiver, Remover, Scooter, Shaker, Slipper, Sprinkler, Sweater, Thriller, Transmitter, Tuner, Westover and other words in *-er* show.

3. English loan-words in *-ster* designate persons (*Gangster, Hipster, Youngster*) or things (*Lobster, Roadster, Speedster*) and are masculine.

4. English loans in *-or* are masculine; they denote persons (*Aggressor, Agitator, Art Director, Junior, Moderator, Operator, Sponsor*) or things (*Detektor, Mikroprozessor, Monitor, Rotor, Sensor, Traktor, Transistor*).

5. English loan-words in *-ing* which denote an activity and which are derived from a verb are neuter: *das Boating, Bowling, Brainstorming, Briefing, Dating, Canvassing, Jogging, Dumping, Face-Lifting, Fading, Feeling, Clearing, Danc-ing, Fixing, Happening, Hearing, Job-Hopping, Killing, Leasing, Lifting, Peeling, Petting, Shopping, Sightseeing, Splitting*, etc. There are only two exceptions: *Looping* is masculine or neuter in German, and *der Smoking* goes back to *Smoking-Jacket*. There is no connection with German *-ung*, as Sachs (1953: 263) has observed. These nouns are probably neuter because German nominalized infinitives are neuter: *das Lesen, Arbeiten, Rauchen*, etc.

6. Words in *-ness* are feminine in German (*Fairness, Fitness, Happiness* and *Smartness*) when they denote a state of mind and are derived from an adjective. *Business* is the only neuter example which I can find. Cf. Hennig (1963: 57).

7. English loan-words in *-ment* are neuter: *Amendment, Apartment, Ap-peasement, Department, Establishment, Management, Engagement, Entertainment, Containment, Investment, Treatment, Statement, Understatement*, as the same gender is given to all other words in *-ment* which are used in German.

8. Of feminine gender are all loan-words in *-ion*, corresponding to other words in *-ion* which are used in German (*Destillation, Fabrikation, Okkupa-tion*, etc.): *Action, Adoption, Automation, Escalation, Exploration, Promo-tion*, etc.

9. German *-schaft* is most probably the reason for the feminine gender of English loan-words in *-ship*, but there are only a few cases like *Championship* and *Brinkmanship*.

10. Loan-words in *-ity* like *Publicity* and *Sensitivity* are feminine in cor-respondence with words in *-ität* like *Produktivität* and *Abnormität*.

11. It is striking that nouns consisting of verb+particle are either neuter or show wavering between masculine and neuter gender. Words like *Make-up, Sit-in, Go-in, Teach-in, Check-in, Sickout, Blowup* are usually neuter in German, whereas *Countdown, Ketchup* and others are masculine or neuter. *Fallout*, however, is masculine, probably because of *der (radioaktive) Niederschlag* and *der Knockout* because of *der Niederschlag*. When there is no obvious close lexical equivalence, there is no definite gender: DF lists *das Handout* even though *der Handout* is also possible. *Showdown* is masculine in DF; *das Showdown*

is also known. *Das Hangover* (DF) is rarer than *der Hangover*. *Das Layout* (DF) and *der Layout* are known in present-day German, though the dictionaries list it as neuter only. *Take-off* is not only neuter in German (DF), but also masculine, probably because of *der Start*.

In spite of the great variety as regards gender assignment to English verb-particle nouns, there seem to be two guiding principles: some German speakers think of the activity which is expressed by the corresponding verb and make the English noun neuter: *the take-off* = *das Abheben* = *das take-off*; *the go-in* = *das Hineingehen* = *das go-in*; *the lay-out* = *das Auslegen* = *das lay-out*, etc., whereas other speakers select the corresponding closest lexical equivalent: *the take-off* : *der Start*, *the go-in* : *der Einmarsch*, *hangover* : *der Katzenjammer*, etc. But this principle does not work in all cases; it does not explain *der Layout*, *der Showdown* and other combinations of this kind.

12. As we felt that morphological rules decide or at least help to decide questions of gender assignment, we made up 5 "phantom words" and included them in our questionnaire: *Goser*, *Gosing*, *Gosor*, *Goster* and *Gosy*. The results with our 67 informants were as follows:

	der	die	das	
Goser	55	6	33	per cent
Gosing	4	18	74	
Gosor	43	45	9	
Goster	79	—	21	
Gosy	—	93	6	

These results do not quite confirm our expectations as we expected *Goser* as a masculine noun. However, the definition was 'ein modernes Musikinstrument' and the test sentence '— Goser war verstimmt', so that *das Instrument* is probably responsible for the 33 per cent neuters.

Gosing, in correspondence with our observations on neuter *-ing* words in German, was given neuter gender by 74 per cent of the informants though the definition was 'eine mathematische Rechenmethode'.

The informants called *Gosor* a masculine or a feminine word though the answer masculine could be expected in accordance with the rules for *-or* words which, however, are rare in German. The 45 per cent feminine forms are most probably due to our definition: 'eine besondere Krankheit' and our test sentence: 'Bei ihm hatte — Gosor ein kritisches Stadium erreicht'. Under these conditions, the 43 per cent masculine are remarkable.

Goster was masculine, as expected, for 79 per cent of the informants, and the 21 per cent neuters may go back to the *Gerät* in the definition 'Gerät aus der elektronischen Datenverarbeitung'.

Gosy was the clearest case with 93 per cent feminines which were probably suggested by 'die Ausstellung' in the definition: 'eine besondere Ausstellung moderner Kunst'; test-sentence: '— Gosy in Hamburg wurde gestern eröffnet'.

In spite of all the shortcomings of our work with informants, especially the number which was too small, I am convinced that the results confirm our theoretical considerations: that both the principles of the closest lexical equivalent and morphological phenomena may decide the assignment of the gender of English loan-words in German, at least in some words.

c. Natural gender

Loan words in *-nik* are masculine in German as they designate males like *Beatnik*, *Peacenik*, etc. The same applies to words in *-ist*: *Cartoonist*, *Colorist*, *Lobbyist*, *Receptionist*, etc. Correspondingly, words in *-ess* like *Stewardess* and *Hostess* are feminine in German.

English loan-words ending in *-boy*, *-man* and *-girl*, *-woman* show the same gender as German words ending in *-junge*, *-mann* and *-frau*, *-mädchen*: *der Playboy* — *das Playgirl*, *der Stuntman* — *das Stuntgirl*, *die Stuntwoman*. *Gentleman*, *Backwoodsman*, *Chairman*, *Batman*, *Contact-Man* and *Showman* have no corresponding feminine forms in German, and the (rare) feminine form of the pseudo-loan *Dressman* is *Dressmädchen*.

In accordance with these principles, words in *-master* (*Showmaster*, *Talkmaster*, *Quizmaster*) are masculine, but there are first indications that the *-in* suffix is used to designate a person of female sex:

"III nach neun" mit Talkmasterin Dr. med. Marianne Koch (I.)". (*Der Spiegel*, October 2, 1978: 136)

d. Syllabicity

There is probably a third factor, besides closest lexical equivalent and suffixal analogy, which helps to decide whether a loan-word is accepted as a noun of masculine, feminine or neuter gender in the recipient language: syllabicity.

It is striking that a considerable number of monosyllabic words are of masculine gender:

Persons: *Boss*, *Boy*, *Coach*, *Crack*, *Fan*, *Flirt*, *Freak*, *Lord*, *Snob*, *Square*, *Star*, *Twen*, *Vamp*, and *Clan* for a group of persons. *Boy* and *Lord* have natural gender, but most of these words stand for males and females, and *-in*-formations for females do not exist. *Vamp* is a masculine noun for a person of female sex.

Fanny 'female fan' is a pseudo-loan. *Flirt*, *Flop* and *Guide* denote persons or things.

Things: *der Boom*, *Brunch*, *Catch*, *Chip*, *Clinch*, *Clip*, *Coat*, *Out*, *Date*, *Deal*, *Drops*, *Fight*, *Fizz*, *Flip*, *Float*, *Flop*, *Gag*, *Guide*, *Jazz*, *Jet*, *Job*, *Lift*, *Look*, *Lunch*, *Pop*, *Quiz*, *Rock*, *Sex*, *Shag*, *Shake*, *Shunt*, *Skunk*, *Slip*, *Slum*, *Smog*, *Snack*, *Song*, *Spleen*, *Spot*, *Spray*, *Sprint*, *Start*, *Stick*, *Stop*, *Strap(s)*, *Streß*, *Strip*, *Swing*, *Switch*, *Talk*, *Test*, *Tip*, *Toast*, *Touch*, *Trick*, *Trip*, *Trust*, *Twist*, *Zoom*. It is most probably merely accidental that most of these words end in *p* (*Clip*, *Flop*, *Pop*, etc.), *t* (*Coat*, *Out*, *Date*, etc.) or *k* (*Rock*, *Shake*, *Stick*, etc.); but nearly every other consonant is possible in final position and even diphthongs (*Boy*, *Spray*).

There are not many monosyllabic words which are feminine: *Nurse*, *Crew*, *Band* and *Gang* for persons and *Couch*, *Show*, *Speech* and *Box* for things. The same applies to monosyllables which are neuter: *Girl* and *Team* for persons; *Cape*, *Match* and *Steak* for non-persons.

Some monosyllabic words like *Dress* (*der*, *die*, *das*), *Juice* (*der*, *die*, *das*), *Quiz* (*der*, *das*), *Speed* (*der*, *die*) and others show wavering in their gender assignment, but it is striking that all of them have masculine gender as one possibility. The same applies, more or less, to polysyllabic words with the exception of *Cola*, *Cottage*, *Dinner-Jacket*, *Feature*, *Folklore*, which are feminine or neuter.

To sum up: a very great number of monosyllabic words, especially those which denote things, are of masculine gender. The closest lexical equivalent in these cases is not in all cases a *der*-word as *Jet*, *Flirt*, *Clinch*, *Date*, *Look*, *Sex*, *Song*, *Streß*, *Talk* and others show.

It seems to be typical of the intensity of the English influence on present-day German that the closest "German" lexical equivalent of some of these English words is another English word (*der Coach* — *der Trainer*, *der Crack* — *das As*) or a French word (*der Boss* — *der Chef*).

Clyne (1967: 15) observes a great number of masculines which, however, is not restricted to monosyllabic words:

Haugen (1953) and Pap discover a "masculine tendency" in English nouns employed in "American Norwegian" and "American Portuguese" respectively.

This also corresponds to the findings of Fisiak (1975): of his 681 English loan words, 598 were masculine, 52 feminine, 18 neuter. At the present time, it is impossible to give corresponding figures for German loan-words, but the priority of masculine nouns is beyond any doubt, especially in one-syllable words. The fact that scarcely any monosyllabic words except for persons (*Freak*, *Flop*, etc.) have entered the German language in recent times is another observation worth further consideration.

VII. SUMMARY

Our investigations have shown that the problems of gender-assignment to English loan-words in German are manifold. Some words follow the gender of their closest lexical German equivalent, but by no means all of them. Morphological factors are responsible for the assignment of gender to other words. But some words do not follow any of these principles and their gender assignment seems to be arbitrary.

The great number of masculine nouns, especially when the loan is monosyllabic, is striking. Another result of our research was that the number of two-gender words, especially those which are masculine and neuter, is remarkable and seems to indicate the difficulties which face the German speaker.

We were able to show that the hypothesis does not hold that old loan-words do not show these difficulties. Old loans like *Keks* and *Schelf* still have two gender-possibilities, and some very recent loans are given one gender immediately and do not waver.

Our informants showed that the uncertainty in assigning gender is greater when the meaning of the English word is not known, but that there are no problems in this respect when the word is known (because the closest lexical equivalence in German can be found in this case?).

Our dictionaries are not very reliable regarding the gender of English loan-words and should be corrected in a number of cases. More informants than in our case should be asked before generalization can be made.

Though the problem under consideration may be peripheral, we can, nevertheless, describe it, but its linguistic solution meets with a number of difficulties.

DICTIONARIES

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| DWb | <i>Duden: Das große Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache in sechs Bänden</i> (Mannheim, Wien, Zürich: Bibliographisches Institut, 1976 ff.) |
| DF | <i>Der Große Duden</i> Bd. 5: Fremdwörterbuch (Mannheim, Wien, Zürich: Bibliographisches Institut, 1974 ⁹) |
| Schülerduden
Fwb | <i>Schülerduden: Fremdwörterbuch. Herkunft und Bedeutung der Fremdwörter</i> (Mannheim, Wien, Zürich: Bibliographisches Institut, 1975) |
| DR 73 | <i>Der Große Duden</i> . Bd. 1: <i>Rechtschreibung der deutschen Sprache und der Fremdwörter</i> (Mannheim, Wien, Zürich: Bibliographisches Institut, 1973 ¹⁷) |
| Wahrig | Gerhard Wahrig, <i>Deutsches Wörterbuch</i> (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1975) |
| Wahrig Fwl | Gerhard Wahrig (Hg.), <i>Fremdwörter-Lexikon</i> (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1974) |
| Klappenbach/
Steinitz | <i>Wörterbuch der deutschen Gegenwartssprache</i> , hg. von R. Klappenbach und W. Steinitz (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1974 ⁷ ff.) |

- DR 77 *Der Große Duden: Wörterbuch und Leitfaden der deutschen Rechtschreibung* (Leipzig: VEB Bibliographisches Institut, 1977¹⁷)
- KI Fwb *Kleines Fremdwörterbuch* (Leipzig: VEB Bibliographisches Institut, 1975⁴)
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