GENDER DETERMINERS IN AMERICAN ENGLISH

(A STUDY IN THE GRAMMAR OF LOANWORDS)

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1. Preliminary remarks.

The aim of the present paper is to give a structural description of the process of gender assignment to loan nouns from American English (later on AE) and English spoken in Canada after their importation into various languages spoken by immigrants from Europe in the United States of America, and Canada. The discussion will be limited to the languages of the Indo-European family. Three of them belong to the Germanic group: American German (Am. Ger.), American Norwegian (Am. Norw.) and some Icelandic dialects spoken in the USA (Am. Icel.), and two are the descendants of the Romance group: American Portuguese (Am. Port.) and Canadian French (Can. Fr.). The borrowing from American English into these languages is, as a rule, oral.

The illustrative material employed in the paper is taken from books and papers given in the bibliography. Supplementary examples referring to the borrowings from British English used here only when those from American English are few, have been placed in the text as notes.

All the works referred to have purely descriptive character and illustrate only some portions of the problem. None of them, however, makes the effort to give a global description of the causes of gender assignment. Therefore the working out of an overall pattern including and arranging all the elements of importance in this process, especially when the donor language is devoid of the category of grammatical gender, has seemed to be fully justified. Creation of this pattern is the second aim of the present writer.

American English has been chosen because the absence of the category of grammatical gender is one of the most characteristic features of its grammatical system, and consequently there is no direct suggestion what gender should be taken when an AE (L_1) noun enters the grammar of the recipient language sys-

tem (L_2). This category disappeared in the Middle English period, and has been replaced since by semantic gender, i.e., the system in which male beings are pronominalizable by *he*, female beings by *she*, and neutrals by *it*. Any deviations from this rule, as for instance when AE *ship* is referred to by *she*, or when AE *moon* is pronominalized by *he* are of psychological character with no influence whatever on the genderless system of the American English grammar.

On the other hand, the remaining Germanic languages continue the Indo-European distinction of gender with the division of nouns into masculine, feminine, and neuter (German, Icelandic). Norwegian has generalized masculine and feminine into one common gender in the dialect of Bergen, but feminine still appears in all other dialects including those of the immigrants in America. The Romance languages, French and Portuguese, have eliminated neuter and observe now only masculine : feminine contrast.

In the assignment of gender to loanwords from American English the decisive part is played by gender determiners. The term 'gender determiner' can be found in Haugen (1969) but is not defined there. Therefore an attempt will be made now to formulate the missing definition, which may be as follows:

Gender determiner is that semantic or formal feature of an L_1 noun undergoing the importation which gives rise in the mind of the speaker of L_2 to associations indicating some concrete gender, masculine, feminine, or neuter.

Note. The term 'gender marker' used by S. Ervin (1962: 253) has a different denotation.

2. Semantic gender determiners in American English.

It is plain that various semantic or formal features of AE loanwords can function as gender determiners for one language, but at the same time they can be void of any generic value for some other L_2. Similarly, the same semantic or formal feature of an L_1 noun being borrowed may function as a determiner pointing to different genders in different languages.

$+S_1$ (sex)

The analysis which is based on sex should have the first and most important place, as the unnatural gender assignment contrary to the natural division of human beings into males and females practically does not occur. Exceptions are due to the strong impact of formal determiners.

Instances of the natural assignment of grammatical gender are very numerous, e.g. AE. *daddy*>Am. Ger. *der daddy*, AE. *mamma*>Am. Ger. *die mam* (Reed 1942: 25), AE. *aunty*>Am. Norw. *ænti* f., AE. *schoolma'am*> Am. Norw. *skulemanna* f. (Haugen 1969: 446); AE. *countess*>Am. Ger. *die countess* also shows the influence of the F_3 *-ess* formal determiner (discussed later).

In American Portuguese: AE. *nurse*>Am. Port. *a norsa* f., AE. *undertaker*>Am. Port. *o anateca* m., AE. *farmer*>Am. Port. *o fáma* m., AE. *lawyer*>

Am. Port. *o lóia* m., etc. (Pap 1949:103). Taking of masculine is very characteristic here since in all other instances AE. *-er* [-ə] receives [-a] interpretation, and consequently enters the class of feminines, because native Portuguese words ending in that vowel are normally feminine.

When AE. *cook* is borrowed by Canadian French, it will appear there either as masculine or feminine noun according to the sex of its designation.

An isolated case of neutralization of sex can be found in American Icelandic, where AE. *constable*> Am. Icel. *constable* n. (rarely m.) in spite of very strong impact of semantic determiners favouring logical masculine: S_1 — sex, and S_3 — its Icelandic equivalent *lögreglumaður* m. 'constable' (the symbol S_3, and the causes of gender misinterpretation will be given an explanation later on). In the same language a manifest influence of the natural gender can be seen when AE. *bronco* appears as Am. Icel. *broncho* m. when it refers to 'a bronco' in general, but when a particular female of the class is in mind, the substitutory pronoun is usually, though not always, feminine (Stefánsson 1902:356).

There also exists a tendency to generalize all loanwords signifying living beings as masculines. This can be observed, for instance, in American German where masculine is a kind of common gender when a living being is referred to, e.g. AE. *puppy*>Am. Ger. *der puppy*, AE. *cub*>Am. Ger. *der cub*. Only those nouns which have a distinctively feminine ending are feminine, cf. AE. *countess*>Am. Ger. *die countess*, or AE. *waitress*>Am. Port. *a waitress*.

$+S_2$ (general or cover term)

As has been shown, the preservation of gender occurs as a rule when sex is involved. To be more precise, the natural gender of American English is continued in L_2 as grammatical category. When nouns denoting some animals or inanimate objects are borrowed, the semantic associations of general character become more exposed to the counteractions determining one gender or another. We can divide those loanwords into two major groups:
a) those governed by a noun in L_2 semantically covering a number of L_2 nouns with common semantic features; we may call this noun cover term or general term;
b) those belonging to one group with common class associations "...in which a word because of its functional relation to a group of associated words, tends to assume the gender of that group ...", e.g. tools and implements, flowers, fruits, plants, vegetables, dances, etc. (Flom 1903/05: 25 - 26).

Naturally, there are instances where in one language a noun undergoing the importation will belong to the first group, but it may belong to the other in a different language according to whether in an L_2 language there exists some 'general term' covering its semantic content. Ger. *der Vogel* functioned as such a cover term when masculine was assigned to AE. *bunting* which was borrowed by American German (Aron 1930: 19). Normally *-ing* marks feminine in that language.

In Canadian French borrowings from English the names of materials take the masculine gender due to the general terms: Fr. *coton* m., *drap* m., and possibly *matériel*, itself a borrowing from English (Haden and Joliat 1940:847).

Note. In Spanish spoken in Argentina Eng. *high-life* > *la high-life* because of *la sociedad* functioning here as the general term (an example from R. Grossman 1926). Also Ch. B. Wilson (1899) maintains that all the seven new terms for games like cribbage, cricket, etc. which entered continental German were assigned neuter on account of Ger. *das Spiel*, an obvious general term.

More numerous are the examples illustrating the attraction of borrowed nouns by the group of nouns not dominated by one word, but having similar semantic content to that of a loanword. Sometimes the general term may have its gender completely different from the one of the whole family it covers.

In the Norse dialects of America some semantic classes seem to be established when a whole group of words of similar character enters the L_2 system (here: Norwegian). Beverages are as a class masculines (AE. *brandy* > Am. Norw. *brändi* m.) according to the already existing pattern, and when a noun denoting 'history' (AE. *history*) is borrowed as Am. Norw. *histɔri*, it joins the masculines, because of other masculines like Am. Norw. *äldzɔbrɔ* (< AE. *algebra*), Am. Norw. *dʒɔgrɔfi* (< AE. *geography*), though the *-eri* suffix regularly marks the neuter gender in Norwegian (Flom 1903/05:14). Correspondingly, neuter is the gender of matter, mass, and indefinite quantity when the transfer from English to the latter language takes place.

Note. Among the names for beverages borrowed by German from English (British), thirteen in fifteen received the masculine gender assignment due to the analogy of *der Schnapps*, *der Wein*, although the two model nouns are not fully general terms, being rather the most typical gender representatives of the semantic class of nouns denoting beverages. Analogically, terms dealing with horse racing were assigned neuter on entering German, e.g. Ger. *das Derby*, *das Handicap*, *das Match*, *das Training*, though thinking out some general term for them is difficult (Wilson 1899). The assignment of neuter for Brit. English *speedometer* on its entering European Norwegian fits in with the names of other instruments of measure like *barometer*, *termometer* (A. Stene 1945), but formal association with *-meter* could have, and probably has played its part here. In European Danish the tendencies of determining the gender by the class of objects can also be found with many groups of nouns like coins, vehicles, boats, articles of dress, liquors, sporting terms, which were regularly given the common gender assignment on entering Danish from English (D. K. Dodge 1898).

The reliability of setting up meaning classes, like fruits, flowers, bodies of water, etc. with some predominant gender which would impose itself on loanwords belonging to the same group has been strongly contested by Haugen, who considered all those efforts to have been unsuccessful. However, the evidence from many languages points to the obvious fact that such influence does exist (cf. Haugen 1969:446).

$+S_3$ (equivalent term)

Still narrower is the semantic association when the gender is assigned to borrowed nouns because of the influence of a particular word existing in L_2. This may be labelled as 'assignment of gender due to the impact of synonymous expressions'. But the case of synonymity is not a simple one.

The first doubt is in whether the gender of the corresponding L_2 word can be the reason for the choice of one of the genders for L_1 noun. The psychological plausibility would, at first thought, seem not to be logical. If the speakers of L_2 are sufficiently conscious of an L_2 noun to transfer its gender, they would not be expected to employ the L_1 word. But the existence of this type of influence can be illustrated by numerous examples.

For our purposes we can postulate here different types of synonymity or equivalence which can occur in the gender transfer:

a) the noun of the L_2 can be a full equivalent of an L_1 noun possibly differing in some minor features; this may be termed *semantic equivalent*;

b) the noun of the L_2 can be the one disappearing from the lexical system of the target language after the importation of a semantically corresponding noun replacing, or displacing it; this we can label as *lexical equivalent*;

c) the noun of the L_2 can be a variant of the full equivalent, because the latter may not exist in the L_2 lexical system; the term *partial equivalent* seems most suitable here.

Ad a. AE. *country* > Am. Norw. *kɔntri* n., with Norw. *land* n. functioning as the semantic equivalent of the L_1 gender determiner. Also AE. *creamery* on entering the same language becomes neuter (*krimri*) because of Norw. *mjelke--hūs* n. having the same meaning. AE. *fire* > Am. Norw. *fire* m. on account of Norw. *eld* m. 'fire'; AE. *county* > Am. Norw. *kaunti* n. because of Norw. *amt*, *district*, *syssel*, all neuter; AE. *company* > Am. Norw. *kómpeni* n. after the earlier borrowing in Norwegian (Norw. *kompagni* n.) (cf. Flom 1903/05:14,17).

In American German the examples of semantic equivalents are found in abundance. On entering that language AE. *belly* becomes masculine on account of Ger. *der Bauch*; AE. *fodder* is assigned neuter after its German cognate *das Futter* with exactly the same meaning and similar phonetic structure; AE. *chimney* > Am. Ger. *chimney* m. f., with the former gender on account of Ger. *der Schornstein*. Even strong formal attraction of the *-er* suffix (m., see $+F_3$) did not prevent the nouns like AE. *corner*, *bladder*, *drawer* from being given the *die* article, because of the equivalents *die Ecke*, *die Blase*, *die Schublade* respectively. Similarly, the *-ment* suffix, which is normally neuter, may denote feminine gender when some semantic equivalent interferes; cf. Am. Ger. *die accompaniment* after Ger. *die Begleitung*, Am. Ger. *das (moving) picture*

after Ger. *das Bild*, and Am. Ger. *das package* with neuter obviously due to Ger. *das Paket*. Finally, AE. *business* is not assigned feminine (cf. -*ness*, -*nis* f. suffixes in German), but neuter after Ger. *das Geschäft*, and AE. *damage* appears there as a masculine noun after Ger. *der Schaden* (Aron 1930:21–24). In Pennsylvania German we can find *das scholarship*, with neuter on account of Ger. *das Stipendium*.

Portuguese spoken in the United States can also supply a number of examples where semantic equivalents cause the change of gender. Am. Port. *a pana* (< AE. *pan*) has its gender due to the native *caçarola* f. 'pan'; Am. Port. *a birra* f. (< AE. *beer*) corresponds to *a cerveja* f. 'beer'; Am. Port. *a court* (< AE. *court*) is feminine after the native *a côrte*, or Am. Port. *a box* (< AE. *box*) after the Portuguese equivalent *a caixa* 'box' (Pap 1949:102–103).

Ad b. Sometimes the imported noun replaces some L₂ word which later on disappears. Such instances seem to be relatively frequent, though the linguistic literature does not offer us too many examples probably because it is not always easy to prove the existence of a disappearing noun. The classical example is the fate of the native Germanic word for 'cheese' reconstructed as **jūsta-*, represented by Old Norse *ostr* m., which disappeared giving way to the imported Latin noun *cāseus* which was also assigned masculine on entering various Germanic languages, although it denoted a different kind of 'cheese' from that represented by *ostr* meaning 'liquid cheese'.

In Pennsylvania German *der Boden* and *die Geissel* have been displaced by the newly borrowed *der flōr* (< AE. *floor*) and *die wib* (< AE. *whip*), at least in colloquial speech (Reed 1942:45).

Ad c. In colloquial American German *image* is preceded by *das*, because of *das Bild*. This illustrates the instance when a borrowed word is influenced in its gender assignment by some L₂ noun semantically not being its synonym, but having the meaning close to that of the L₁ word, or because there is some association in the mind of a speaker with some other noun. Also "... the gender of the native word which best translates the borrowed word can be adopted" (Ervin 1962:254).

Other words which follow that pattern are found in American German. Thus AE. *sapling* > Am. Ger. *der sapling*, because of Ger. *der Baum*, though other -*ing* nouns enter the class of feminines (cf. +F₃). Analogically, AE. *greening* > Am. Ger. *der greening* after Ger. *der Apfel* (Aron 1930:19). AE. *society* on entering American Norwegian (*sosaiəti*) obtains masculine assignment due to the native *forening* m.; *pitcher* (< AE. *picture*) in the same language is neuter after Norw. *porträt* n., though -*er* in Norwegian marks masculine (cf. +F₈).

Also Canadian French gives us a handful of examples where imprecise equivalents influenced the gender assignment. So Can. Fr. *bacon* is masculine on account of Fr. *lard* m., Can. Fr. *gin* m. takes its gender from an earlier borrowing *whisky*; Can. Fr. *magazin* is also masculine after Fr. *quotidien, journal*, both masculine. The assignment of masculine to Can. Fr. *siliskine* (< AE. *sealskin*) can also be included into this group, if this noun really takes its gender from Fr. *phoque* f., an assumption of Haden and Joliat (1940:345).

Note. Also borrowings from British English show the same tendency. In Danish we have *et circus* n. on account of *telt* n. 'tent', though there is only little synonymity with both; *en automobil* after *en vagn*, both common gender, may also be classified as the assignment due to the influence of the general term (J. Brøndum-Nielsen 1966:277). In Swedish *sprint* has become neuter because of *løp* n. 'run' (A. Stene 1945: § 192). Ger. *beefsteak* is neuter due to *das Rindfleisch* n. (O. Jespersen 1924:229). In Argentinian Spanish *la jazz-band* is feminine after *la banda de música, la Associated Press*, because of *la Prensa*. The latter can also be treated as the 'general term' (R. Grossman 1926:182). Lastly, in Polish *whisky* is feminine because of Pol. *wódka* f. (J. Fisiak 1963). In Polish and Russian, both Slavonic, the gender is usually a matter of formal associations, as the structure of the end of the borrowed noun usually determines the gender.

3. Formal gender determiners in American English.

Semantic factors in the gender assignment are frequently accompanied by the formal ones. Some linguists consider them as having stronger impact on the choice of gender than those of meaning (Haugen 1969), and admit the weight of the semantic influence to be of value only when it is supported by formal similarity of the noun, in its phonetic and/or graphemic shape, to the concrete lexical item existing in the L₂ system.

The term 'formal' should be understood here as 'not based on semantic associations', thus comprising terminations, suffixes, phonetic and graphemic structures, and other non-semantic features. Those postulating the possibility of influence of the formal elements on the assignment of gender do not always make a clear distinction among at least three kinds of terminations: (1) ending or inflectional morpheme, (2) suffix or derivational morpheme, and (3) second element of a compound noun, or some larger final unit in a word, which may be associated with some corresponding full or partial congener in the system of L₂. For instance the term 'ending' should not be applied to such obvious suffixes like -*tion*, -*er* (as Flom 1903/05:13 does), and 'termination' will be used here from now on to denote the combination of phonemes (graphemes) at the end of a word to which the terms 'ending' and 'suffix' cannot be applied.

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+F₁ (structure of the whole word)

The imported noun on entering L₂ can be confronted with its congener (i.e., a word of the same descent) or with a noun having its phonetic or graphemic

structure similar to that of an imported item. At times this identity or similarity may be quite accidental but can result in taking of the gender of the L_2 noun by the newly borrowed word. It is easy to observe that unless nouns designating living beings are involved, semantic associations operate only at the background, and the borrowing takes the gender of its full or partial homophone.

In American German *army*, a loanword from American English, is always feminine because of Ger. *die Armee* f., in spite of Ger. *das Heer* ($+S_3$). When AE. *pool* enters the same language, it does not follow the neuter gender of its S_3 (= Ger. *das Schwimmbad*) but assumes the masculine gender of Ger. *der Pfuhl* having different meaning. In like manner Am. Ger. *das paper* owes its gender not to the synonymous Ger. *die Zeitung, der Aufsatz*, but to Ger. *das Papier* which has only little semantic resemblance to the former.

American Norwegian supplies other specimens of analogical generic interrelations, although this time the similarity (identity) of an L_1 item and its counterpart in the target language is purely casual. Thus Am. Norw. *kort* n. (< AE. *court*) takes its gender from Norw. *kort* n. 'card', Am. Norw. *skrin* (< AE. *screen*) from Norw. *skrin* n. 'chest', Am. Norw. *fil* f. (< AE. *field*) takes its gender from Norw. *fil* f. 'file', and Am. Norw. *not* f. (< AE. *note*) is influenced by Norw. *not* f. 'large fishing net'. In that case the new word even assumes umlauted plural (*nøter*) of its Norwegian counterpart, which indicates very close association between the two (Haugen 1969:444).

Similarly, in American Portuguese AE. *court* entering this language is assigned feminine from Port. *a côrte* (Pap 1949:102).

Note. Similar is the fate of British English loanwords when their structure corresponds to that of native words in European languages. When Eng. (*small-*) *beer* was transferred into German, it was assigned, as can easily be guessed, the neuter gender due to its *das Beer* congener (Wilson 1899:277). In the same language Eng. *strike* was given masculine after its *der Streich* counterpart (Wilson 1899: 288).

+F₂ (termination)

Occasionally, the structure of the end of the word in L_1 is associated with a similar final structure of some L_2 item. That formal resemblance can be only superficial, especially if there also exists some semantic similarity, though the latter is not a necessary condition. That phenomenon has been justly named 'rhyme analogy'. Aron (1930:19) also included here suffixes and inflectional endings, though this 'analogy' is, in principle, caused by the convergence of the final phoneme complexes irrespective of their morphological value. Typical cases of rhyme analogy can be as simple as the influence of Fr. -*e* on the assignment of feminine in German to the imported nouns with that termination not indicating any particular gender in French, but found with many feminine German nouns.

Even more characteristic examples can be discovered among the American English loanwords in American Norwegian. In the latter AE. *crew* [kru:] appears as *kru* f., because of Norw. *bru, tru, ku*, etc., all feminine, making a ready pattern for the assignment of feminine gender. On the other hand, neuter gender of Am. Norw. *står* (< AE. *store*) has been modelled on the native series Norw. *hår, kår, lår, går, skår*, all neuter, though two 'rhyme' masculines can also be found (Norw. *går, vår*; cf. Haugen 1969:447-448).

+F₃ (suffix or suffix-like element)

The instances of gender identification based on the similarity of an AE. suffix to some L_2 suffix are very numerous, and validity of this influence in the analysis for gender assignment is undisputable. Let us single out those AE suffixes which make the speakers of different L_2's associate them with some definite gender in their languages. This similarity, in spite of what Sachs (1953: 259) says, does not need to be founded on the congener type of suffixal association, i.e., when both meaning and sound are supporting the gender together.

AE. -*age* — becomes masculine in Canadian French, e.g. *carriage* m. (Haden and Joliat 1940: 844), but feminine in American German, e.g. *die cottage*, on account of the suffixal association (Aron 1930:23);

AE. -*ent, -ant* — become masculine in American German: *der adherent, der tenant*, primarily supported by $+S_1$ (Aron 1930:23);

AE. -*ence, -ance* — are feminine in the same dialect of German due to Ger. -*enz, -anz* feminine congeners (Aron 1930:20);

AE. -*ery, -ory* — in Canadian French appear as feminines: AE. *grocery* > Can. Fr. *la grocerie*, as Fr. -*erie* is feminine (Haden and Joliat 1940: 846). The same gender is assigned to them in American Portuguese, where AE. *grocery* > *a grosseria* f., because Port. -*eria, -aria* are feminine (Pap 1949:103). However, this group of derivatives would regularly enter the neuters in American Norwegian, where AE. *factory* > Am. Norw. *fäktri* n., AE. *pantry* > Am. Norw. *päntri* n. with AE. -(*o*)*ry* identified as Norw. -*eri* n. Some exceptions are due here to the influence of semantic factors, cf. Am. Norw. *histori* n., $+S_2$.

Note. Also cf. Eng. *stock-jobbery*, which appears in Danish with neuter on account of the Danish -*eri* n. suffix. In German spoken in Europe the suffixes under discussion correspond to the German suffix -*rei* f. (Dodge 1898:29, Wilson 1899:275);

AE. -*er* — usually has very stable interpretations and is identified as masculine after its association with terms denoting *nomina*

agentis. In Canadian French *beaver* 'silk hat' (< AE. *beaver*) becomes masculine, and so does Can. Fr. *type* (< AE. *typewriter*), though -*r* is dropped (Haden and Joliat 1940: 843). In American Icelandic it is comparable with the native -*ari* masculine suffix denoting agency (Stefánsson 1902:356) and in American Lithuanian with -*eris*, a suffix of the same character (Haugen 1969: 446). Am. Norw. *ellevêtar* (< AE. *elevator*) is masculine together with other nouns having that suffix, unless some semantic factor interferes, cf. *pitchər* n., +S$_3$. German spoken in the United States also offers a handful of examples, like Penn. Ger. *der kaundər* m. < AE. *counter* (Reed 1942: 25) or Am. Ger. *der antler, der center, der arbor, der dresser*, all masculine, although the latter four are semantically associated with +S$_3$'s: *das Geweih, die Mitte, die Laube, die Kommode* respectively. That suffix has developed gender associations different from masculine only in Portuguese where it received the [-ə] phonetic interpretation subsequently treated as the native {-a} ending. So AE. *corner* > Am. Port. *a cona* f., AE. *motor* > Am. Port. *a mora* f., but AE. *steamer* > Am. Port. *o estima* (besides *a estima* f.) on account of the native noun *o vapor* m. (cf. +S$_3$, and Pap 1949).

AE. -*ess* — favours the choice of feminine in American German: *die fairness* corresponding to Ger. -*nis* f. is the best example illustrating this tendency. In American Portuguese, when AE. *business* > *as bisnas* f., the latter gender is chosen because it bears closer phonetic resemblance to the English final sound complex than the -*os* masculine ending. Analogically, AE. *office* and *tax* become Am. Port. *as offas, as tecas* through naive identification of the final complexes.

AE. -*ing* — has very different developments according to the nature of the association with the native elements in the mind of the borrower. In most cases the class of feminines opens for American English nouns characterized by the presence of this suffix. Can. Fr. *saplaine* is derived from AE. *sapling*, with the -*aine* f. suffix substituting AE. -*ing*; when the latter is not substituted it also becomes feminine because of the phonetic resemblance to Fr. -*ine* f., e.g. Can. Fr. *crossing* f. At times when purely semantic factors are at play -*ing* may receive masculine assignment on account of +S$_2$ associations with a whole group of French nouns in -*age* m. Am. Norw. *míting* (< AE. *meeting*), Am. Norw.

hǫnting (< AE. *hunting*) also become feminines, except for the cases when that suffix is preceded by -*l*-, as the -*ling* combination is, in addition, attracted by masculines thus obtaining double gender, cf. Am. Norw. *síling* < AE. *ceiling* (Flom 1903/05:16). In American German that development can be threefold. When AE. -*ing* is associated with the German -*ung* f. suffix, it is, of course, assigned feminine: *die si:liŋ* from the same American English source word (Reed 1942:25). Semantic association, however, would result in the neuter gender, like in *das boxing, das flying*, following the pattern of *das Sprechen* in German (Aron 1930:19). In American Portuguese -*ing* is identified as the native -*im* masculine suffix, so when AE. *pudding* was borrowed it appeared there as *o pudim* m. (Pap 1949).

AE. -(e)*l* — is not productive in American English, and therefore its suffixal function is sometimes very vague. Words with -*l* take different genders in various immigrant languages spoken in America. For instance, in American Norwegian they take masculine as a rule: AE. *pencil* > Am. Norw. *pensl* m., AE. *handle* > Am. Norw. *händl* m. (Flom 1903/05:14–15). In American Icelandic they have a tendency to be accepted as neuters, and even AE. *constable* is assigned that gender in spite of +S$_1$. In Canadian French those nouns undergo double identification. When AE. -*el* is associated with Fr. -*elle* it becomes feminine; when the final -*l* is preserved it becomes masculine: AE. *gravel* > Can. Fr. *gravelle* f., AE. *label* > Can. Fr. *label* m. (Haden and Joliat 1940 : 846).

AE. -*tion*, -*sion* — generic identification of this suffix depends in full on the gender of the corresponding congener suffixes derived from Latin. Therefore in American Portuguese -*çao* f. replaces AE. -*tion* consistently, and the German -*ion* class of feminines takes all nouns having that suffix. Norse nouns in -*tion* are masculine, so AE. *invitation, fashion* appear in American Norwegian with masculine gender (Am. Norw. *invitêshən, fäshən*; Flom 1903/05 : 17).

AE. -*et(t)*, -*ut* — those suffixes may also have different gender associations. Am. Ger. *das basketball bat* is neuter due to the -*ett* n. suffix existing in German (Aron 1930 : 24). But AE. *peanut* on entering Portuguese is assigned masculine, because Am. Port. -*ote* in *o pinote* is a regular masculine suffix (Pap 1949).

AE. -*y*   — is comparable with Ger. -*ie*, -*ei* f., and consequently nouns with that suffix are assigned feminine: AE. *party* > Am. Ger. *die pærdi* (Reed 1942 : 25), AE. *abbey* > Am. Ger. *die abbey* (Aron 1930 : 20). But when semantic aspect is involved some of those nouns can be assigned masculine in American Norwegian (Flom 1903/05 : 17).

We may add here that when American English lends nouns to American German, those in -*ment* enter feminine ($+S_2$), those in -*sure*, -*ture* follow Ger. -*ur* f. words, those in -*ship* are associated with their German -*schaft* f. congeners (Aron 1930), and -*est* nouns appearing in American Norwegian are assigned masculine; cf. Am. Norw. *vest* < AE. *vest*, Am. Norw. *harvist* < AE. *harvest*, both m. (Flom 1903/05: 16 - 17).

Apart from the individual or 'group' tendencies in gender assignment, the existence of great systemic trends has been postulated by some for particular target languages. They seem to appear when major part of borrowed words enter one gender category. For the languages discussed in the preceding pages, two such trends have been postulated: masculine and feminine. The former is evident in American Norwegian (Flom 1903/05: 18), and American Portuguese (Pap 1949 : 102), the latter in colloquial American German (Aron 1930 : 25), and in Pennsylvania German (Reed 1942). The feminine tendency in German is the result of formal association of the American English definite article *the*, and the German feminine gender marker *die*.

The productivity of gender in the target language is also of first importance, as loanwords prefer those gender classes which are more numerous. Such most productive gender category tends to become a "habitual repository for new and unassimilated words" (Haugen 1956 : 58, 1969 : 441).

4. Concluding remarks.

Loanwords from a language void of grammatical gender entering the vocabulary of a target language having that category are subject to gender identification. Their analysable features, called here gender determiners, can be classified as follows:

a) with regard to their semantic content:

$+S_1$ — that semantic feature of an L_1 noun which makes the borrower assign it to a concrete gender category of sex;

$+S_2$ — that semantic feature of an L_1 noun which makes the borrower assign it to some major group of nouns dominated by one noun, or a class of nouns, possessing a set of semantic features which include the one of the nouns undergoing the importation;

$+S_3$ — that complex of semantic features of an L_1 noun which makes the borrower assign it to some gender class of L_2 nouns possessing the same or approximately the same complex of semantic features.

b) with regard to the formal (phonetic) structure of the loanword:

$+F_1$ — complex of phonetic features identifiable with an identical or very similar complex of features of some L_2 noun;

$+F_2$ — sequence of phonemes at the end of an L_1 noun devoid of independent morphological significance identifiable with an identical or very similar sequence appearing with one or usually more nouns in L_2.

$+F_3$ — an L_1 suffix, productive or not, identifiable with some suffix or suffix-like element in L_2 appearing in a whole class of nouns marked for the same gender.

Gender determiners can appear as complexes; when pointing to the same gender, such complex of determiners is usually a decisive factor in the gender assignment. When particular elements of the determiner complex point to different genders, the possibility of choice increases in a remarkable degree.

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	Type of determiner	L₁ noun	Gender association	The resulting form and gender
+S₁	a) sex	AE. *daddy*	male	Am. Ger. *daddy* m.
		AE. *auntie*	female	*auntie* f.
	b) sex generalization	AE. *cub*	generalized as male	*cub* m.
+S₂	a) cover term	AE. *bunting*	Ger. *der Vogel* 'bird'	Am. Ger. *bunting* m.
	b) gender class	AE. *geography*	'subject of study' m.	Am Norw. *dżografi* m.
-S₃	a) semantic equivalent	AE. *fodder*	Ger. *das Futter*	Am. Ger. *fodder* n.
	b) lexical equivalent	AE. *floor*	Ger. *der Boden*	Am. Ger. *floor* m.
	c) partial equivalent	AE. *bacon*	Fr. *le lard*	Can. Fr. *bacon* m.
+F₁	congener type	AE. *paper*	Ger. *das Papier*	Am. Ger. *paper* n.
		AE. *court*	Port. *a côrte*	Am. Port. *court* f.
÷F₂	rhyme analogy	AE. *crew* [kru:]	Norw. *bru* f. *tru* f., etc.	Am. Norw. *kru* f.
+F₃	derivational morpheme	AE. *invitation*	Norw. *-tion* m.	Am. Norw. *inviteshøn* m.
		AE. *sapling*	Fr. *-aine* f.	Can. Fr. *saplaine* f.
		AE. *crossing*	Fr. *-ine* f.	Can. Fr. *crossing* f.