

JOHN SIMPSON

**from *Knapsac K* to *Wessi* .
german loanwor Ds In engl lsh: 1600 -2000**

Words borrowed from one language to another are vital evidence for the study of language, but they also reveal fascinating information about the relationship between the donor and the receiver cultures themselves. Loanwords from German into English provide evidence for the state of English over time, and in particular about how the most prevalent types of word formation change from one century to the next. But they also reveal significant information about the social and cultural relationship between nations – in this case between modern Germany and Austria (and their historical counterparts) and Britain and the rest of the English-speaking world, from the Early Modern period up to the present day.¹

The present paper examines the rise and fall of Modern High German loanwords in English from 1600 until 2000, principally making use of the record of borrowing documented by the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* in its Third Edition (online version, in revision 2000-). Groups of loanwords are analysed by century, with reference to the changing social and cultural landscape characterising relationships between the relevant nations over this period. This is not a simple picture: each language grows over the period in different ways, and the speakers of English look to German at different times for different types of borrowing, as the political and intellectual balance alters.

English is classified as a Germanic language, as its origins lie in the expansion of early peoples from northern Europe to the British Isles. From the 6th century AD onwards, many thousands of Germanic words became English words, not necessarily through borrowing but also through forming part of the base language, or set of dialects, that found a home in Britain. Even today, almost all of the hundred most common words of English have Germanic roots. This is not to say that they are “German” words, but that they derive from the Germanic linguistic heritage of early northern Europe. But over time, English was subject to many other influences and has always been open to “accepting” foreign words into the language. The Norman Conquest presented an enormous challenge to Germanic words in English, and the English

¹ For a comprehensive introduction to modern lexical borrowing, see Durkin (2014). On the impact of Modern High German loanwords see particularly pp. 360-364. See also, for example, Görlach (2003, pp. 128-130).

language – and culture – in Britain spent several centuries finding an accommodation with these that suited Britain's changing and growing position in the world as an independent nation.

By 1600 the original factors which created English as a Germanic language were no longer in operation. German was not a natural feeder language of new words into English, and had simply become one of a number of languages which provided English with new words in particular areas. There was no longer an explicit "special relationship" between German and English, and so any examination of the mutual influences between these two languages needs to start again from ground zero. In order to do this, it is particularly necessary to appreciate the significance to the British Isles of Germany and Austria as they developed into modern nation states.²

slow beginnings: the 17th century perspective

For Britons living in the first years of the 17th century, the German-speaking world (and the German language) meant several things. Germany was a great trading nation, still controlling many of the trade routes along northern Europe through the Hanseatic League. Germany was therefore a significant player in the transmission of goods between the emerging trading nation of Britain and the rest of Europe. At the same time, Germany – as a federation of individual states – was immersed in the Thirty Years' War, and mercenary and other involvement in this coloured British views of the country. Because of its physical distance from Britain, Austria was less significant as a source of loanwords into English, but in later years it assumed a more significant role through English speakers' predilection for travel, music, and their interest in the work of key Austrian scientists.

² The *OED* online search routines record some 3,500 loanwords in the English language from German between 1600 and 2000. This figure is over-generous, for the purposes of this paper, because of its generous inclusion of Low German words, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries, which often translate into informal English vocabulary items; by the inclusion of Swiss-German, and of Yiddish words, especially in the 19th and 20th centuries; and by the inclusion of words with a joint and otherwise problematic origin from several Germanic or other languages (especially Dutch). At present, some words derived from German names are not registered as of German origin in the dictionary, and so these will not be found in the following data. Etymology is sometimes an imprecise discipline, and any search routine legitimately provides this more extensive information, because "German" origin can mean different things to different scholars, and each needs to select the relevant subset from the available data. In this paper, the figure can be reduced by about ten percent by excluding words which do not fall into the category of Modern High German.

The German states presented a religious palette that was closer to Britain, after its break with Rome in the previous century, than to other major European players such as France and Spain. The Protestant and Lutheran backdrop offered some level of parallelism with Britain. As the century progressed, British scientists began to appreciate the work of their German peers in specific disciplines. To the British traveller and reader of travellers' tales, the German states offered a strangely parallel but different world. However, this needs to be put in context: in the 17th and 18th centuries taken together, only about two hundred German terms entered English. This was a period of low vocabulary transmission.

In terms of religion, the *OED* finds four words borrowed into English from German in the 17th century, and in general these characterise the German-speaking regions as the home of extreme religion sectarianism. Lutheran *Swermers* (first recorded use: 1607) and also *Taborites* (1646) enter the English word-hoard, though not as significant additions. Religion, as Britons well knew, was divisive, but they also found a place for the religious *synergist* (1601). It is, by contrast, always instructive to consider areas that did not provide words for English, and it was not in the 17th century, but only in later centuries, that Germany was seen as a natural source of philosophical and other intellectual terms.

Germany itself was a strong provider of trade terms in the 17th century, as would be expected. As with all of the loans from German, these are predominantly nouns. But these trading terms fall into a small number of specific categories: monetary terms (coins and denominations), weights and measures, and a few traded goods. Many of these terms were short-lived in English: coins – the *Hungar* (1650), the *fennin* (1611), the *groschen* (1617) and the *mariengroschen* (also 1617), and the *rappen* (1617); measures such as the *ohm* (a liquid measure, 1611), the *mosse* (a measure of wine, 1617), the *Steifkin* (a measure of wine, 1617), the *skippard* (1622) and the *loth* (1638) (units of weight), and the *fudder* (a measure of wine, 1678); goods such as *slyre* (linen, 1621), *rhine* (hemp, 1639), *garcopper* (metal, 1654).³ Even here, there is a suggestion of the German characteristics of precision and drinking later commonly associated with the nation.

These loans reveal further aspect of the borrowing process: English does not necessarily borrow a German words in their native German form. Sometimes, as in the case of *garcopper*, it transmutes all or part of the term (here, *Garkupfer*) by giving it an English element. This is quite regular with borrowings from

³ Although nouns in modern German are written with an initial capital letter, the *OED* frequently downcases these according to the manner in which they are typically written in English. This style has been maintained here.

other languages at this period; similarly, some borrowings are calques or loan-translations (such as *sugar-bird*, 1688, from German *Zuckervogel*). It might also be noted that the distribution and dating of borrowed terms depends heavily on the production of particular English-language texts which discussed issues of Anglo-German interest, such as Thomas Coryat's *Crudities: Hastily gobbled up in Five Moneth's Travels* (1611) and Fynes Moryson's *Itinerarie* (1617), or which were simple translations of German texts for the English-speaking market. These necessary characteristics of *OED* data-collection also inform borrowings in later centuries.

17th-century Britons seem to have associated German speakers with exercise and hiking (*knapsack* 1603, though also used in military contexts; *snapsack*, 1633), with meat and drink (*skink*, German ham, 1630; *sauerkraut*, 1633), *rummer* (drinking glass, 1625), and *Mosel* (wine, 1686). But there is as yet little from the world of the arts, folklore, and music, which form significant areas of later borrowings.

In keeping with the political and cultural associations noted earlier, the German states and the Habsburg Empire were known for military terminology (*Trabant*, a guard, 1617; *plunder*, 1632 as a verb and 1643 as a noun – perhaps owing something to Dutch; *Morgenstern*, the weapon, 1637; the guns *howitz*, 1687 and *howitzer*, 1695). As the century progressed, science suddenly became an important subject of study, especially after the foundation of the British Royal Society in 1660. But Germanic science was at this time known for its earthy nature: there are numerous terms from metallurgy and mineralogy from the mid-17th century (*spalt*, 1668; *quartz*, 1676; *blende*, 1683; *fluss*, 1683; *thornel*, 1683). German scientific vocabulary also reached Britain from ornithology (*smiring*, 1655; *hazel-hen*, 1661; *citril*, 1678; *kirmew*, 1694; *winnard*, 1698), as well as in the names of other wild animals from the German word-*hoard* (*hamster*, a "German rat", 1607; *want-louse*, 1655; *steinbock*, 1695). As time passed, English tended to look to German not for wildlife generally, but for animals (especially dogs) kept as pets.

It would probably be fair to say that the English-speaker's perception of the German-speaker at the time was of a robust individual, not steeped in intellectual pursuits, but energetic and persistent, with its scientific researchers involved especially (as the century evolved) in the physical sciences. The "character" words borrowed into English from German tend to reflect the former characteristic: *Grobian* (boorish, 1611; *Owl-spiegle*, jester, 1637; *shirk*, sponger, 1639; *killcrop*, brat, 1652): perhaps in many ways something like the Britons themselves.⁴

⁴ An excellent detailed survey of data in this field may be found in Pfeffer/Cannon (1994).

the hanoverian ascendancy

A closer relationship between Germany and the British Isles was marked, at least in the higher echelons of society, in the 18th century by the ascension of George I and the House of Hanover to the English throne. However, the century as a whole was only slightly more indebted to the German language for items of vocabulary than was the 17th century: the *OED* records 160 words of German origin, of which some 130 derive from Modern High German.

There is, however, a shift in focus. A small stream of religious words maintained the perceived sectarian outlook of German religion, and these arose principally in the second half of the century: *Dunker* (1751), *Schwenkfelder* (1792), *Occasionalism* (1797). Most disciplines showed a diminution of coinages, even in comparison with the 17th century's low level. Military terms were restricted to the titles of ranks, despite the generally friendly relationship between the countries at the time (*tolpatch*, a foot soldier, 1705; *veld-marshal*, 1709; *uhlan*, cavalryman, 1753; *jäger*, rifleman, 1776). As might be expected, Germany was not a major source of nautical words (*houeline*, a light rope, 1712; *norman*, a securing pin, 1769). Trading terms were no longer units of measure (except for *rub*, 1756), but principally coins (*schilling*, 1753; *Reichsthaler*, 1757, and *thaler*, 1787). Towards the end of the century, word borrowings from German begin to emerge in the new United States as well as in the British Isles. Further ahead into the early 19th century, trading preoccupations merge into the new theoretical discipline of economics.

The 17th century had demonstrated considerable interest in the structure of German and Habsburg society (*Pfalzgraf*, 1611; *Rathaus*, 1611; *stift*, prince-bishopric, 1637; *stadhouse*, 1646; *landgravine*, 1682; *vogt*, 1694), and this was maintained in the eighteenth (*Reichschancellor*, 1759; *Pfalzgraviate*, 1762; *wildgravess*, a female magistrate, 1762), fuelled both by British (and subsequently American) reading patterns and by travel. A wider variety of English-language texts, including popular compendia, concerned with everyday life in Germany and Austria were published in the 18th century. Thomas Nugent's *Travels in Germany* (1768) appealed to a new tourist market; and Charles Burney's *Present State of Music in Germany* (1773) informed readers about the music they had seen or heard as they travelled around the German opera houses, or attended performances in London.

Both general and scientific interest in flora and fauna continued at a low level: *shirk* (1706) and *hauser* (1745, both sturgeons); *vellmouse*, dormouse, 1747; *poodle*, 1773; *muggent*, duck, 1785). Sometimes these appear first in informal texts, such as English diaries and journals. American interest in German agriculture found *runcl* (beet, 1788) in George Washington's diaries, and the English interest in the *mangel-wurzel* (1787) surfaced.

But the predominant sphere of borrowing in this century was science, and again outstandingly in metallurgy and mineralogy, from which almost half of the entire set of borrowed words derived, especially from mid-century onwards: *spat*, *spar*, 1706; *hornstone*, 1728; *surturband*, *lignite*, 1761; *grunstein*, 1784; *uranium*, 1790; *syenite*, 1794; *zircon*, 1794; *mandelstein*, 1799; etc.). In the late 18th century, English-speakers were introduced to the science of rocks and metals through the growing number of compendious technical dictionaries and encyclopaedias produced by scientists such as the Irishman Richard Kirwan, whose *Elements of Mineralogy* (1784 etc.) was combed by the *OED*. Sometimes these new terms were short-lived, to be superseded by later standard terminology (*Müller's glass/hyalite*; *schiller spar/bastite*). The late 18th century saw a general increase in the native-language publication of scientific papers (rather than in Latin), and English scientists could read about the discoveries of German and Austrian scientists such as the chemist Martin Heinrich Klaproth, writer and scientist Rudolf Erich Raspe (who moved to England in 1775), and geologist Abraham Gottlob Werner. German life sciences were not yet firmly established on the international scene, and German medical exploration was, from the English perspective, still a thing of the future (only *seltzer*, 1744 and *macrobiotic*, 1797). The explosion in German chemistry still awaited the birth of the 19th century. Rather surprisingly, German industry was still barely represented in the English vocabulary of the 18th century: *eschel*, from glass-making, 1753, for example, and *veneer* (1702) and *post* (a pile, in paper-making, 1738).⁵

If the century belonged to the mineral scientists, there were suggestions as the 18th century drew to an end of activity in other, intellectual, spheres. The 19th century saw the growth of German intellectualism, in philosophy, literature, educational theory, and language study, but with the arrival of Kant, the final decade of the 18th century plotted a new set of philosophical and educational words borrowed into English (*Noumenon*, 1796; *analogon*, 1797; *Philanthropine*, 1797; *phoronomy*, 1797; *propaedeutic*, 1798; *obscurant*, 1799), and felt the early echoes of German romanticism, a major influence especially on the more theoretically inclined English-speaking writers, poets, and thinkers (*messianic*, first recorded in Coleridge around 1794).

But much of this high-flown vocabulary will have gone over the head of the regular British and American citizen, who doubtless found some of the longer compounded German terms confusing. At a lower level of vocabulary, the English-speaker was attracted by simple German conversational expletives (*nix!* look-out, 1753; *mein Gott*, 1795), or by regular terms of address such as *mein Herr*, 1796 – illustrated from popular literary productions (especially

⁵ See Ammon (2004).

drama and the early epistolatory and picaresque novels, but indicative of a more general awareness of the terms). The Germanic propensity for games and gambling rumbled along, with *snip-snap-snorum* (1755, through Low German, still a source of informal terminology) and *spill-house* (1778, perhaps showing Dutch influence). The only “character” term from German at the time seems to have been *hounsfot* (rascal, 1710, also perhaps showing Dutch influence).

The appetite of the English speaker for German and Austrian foodstuffs in the 18th century appears to have been muted, with the principal borrowings being *pumpernickel*, 1738; *noodle*, 1779; *Rudesheimer*, 1788; *Riesling*, 1788; and *Kraut* (1790, like *runcl*, first noted from North America). It is perhaps surprising that even into the late 18th century the vocabulary of German music is still restricted in English, with only five examples: *posaune*, trombone, 1724; *pantaleon*, dulcimer, 1757; *busaun* = *posaune*, 1776; *zinke*, 1776; and *waltz*, from an English journal of 1781.

german lexical expansionism in the 19th century

The 19th century presents an entirely different picture of the lexical influence of German on English. There had been signs of change at the end of the 18th century, particularly in the world of the intellectual, but as the 19th century progressed, these changes began to seep into general educated use.

Linguistic forecasters may not have expected this in 1800. From a fairly steady rate of borrowing of an average of fifteen words per decade in the previous two centuries, the first three decades of the 19th century saw this rise to a new average of over thirty. The 1830s marked the first great leap forward, with the borrowing of around ninety new terms from German, and by the end of the century the number of German innovations in the English vocabulary had rocketed to over two hundred per decade. German philosophy and literature – Natural, Romantic, Gothic, Kantian – became the index of the sensitive English-speaking writer and thinker, and an appreciation of this was passed on to a wider audience of people attracted by the mysterious natural forces promised by German texts. Simple philosophical terms become part of a grander discipline of intellectual history: *Naturphilosoph*, 1818 (Coleridge), *Anschauung*, 1820; *Sehnsucht*, 1847; *Zeitgeist*, 1848; *Identitätsphilosophie*, 1861, *Weltanschauung*, 1868; *Lebenslust*, 1890; *energism*, 1895). English speakers were captivated by these grand concepts. What were originally educational terms rubbed shoulders with the grander ideals of German scholarship, intellectual community, and university life: *semester*, 1826; *Wissenschaft*, 1834; *Kommers*, 1839; *kindergarten*, 1852; *penal*, freshman, 1854; *Methodenstreit*, 1893. Religion was no longer the preserve of sectarianism, but also merged with philosophy:

acosmism, 1833; *pneumatism*, 1838; *schwärmerei*, 1845; *paneutheism*, 1874; *pistology*, 1880; *mysteriosophy*, 1894.

In previous centuries, language words had been largely restricted to the names of languages themselves, especially those of peoples living in central and eastern Europe. But in the 19th century the new study of philology came to life, and German-speaking scholars led the world in language analysis, which English speakers were keen to understand: *factitive*, 1830; *umlaut*, 1852; *anlaut*, 1881; *Auslaut*, 1880; *inlaut*, 1891; *schwa*, 1895. English-speaking comparative philologists puzzled over *Grimm's law* (1838 in English) and *Grassmann's law* (1891). By the mid 19th century, the language of intellectual life in Europe was German, and English borrowed heavily, as it sought to share in German prestige.

But, as in previous centuries, the laurels for German lexical innovation were worn by the scientists. German-speaking scientists were still world-leaders in the description of minerals (*pistacite*, 1805; *ixolite*, 1846; *mimetesite*, 1867; *crystalite*, 1888; *raspite*, 1898; and many more). But by now German scientists were exploring other domains. Not far behind mineralogy in terms of word creation came chemistry, no longer principally metal-based, but sharing the European fascination with describing the structure of compounds, alkaloids, alcohols: *nicotianin*, 1833; *pinipicrin*, 1859; *helleborein*, 1871; *adenine*, 1885; *sabadine*, 1891; *flavonol*, 1898). At times, these discoveries arose from the more traditional investigations into natural substances and plant structures, but increasingly they involved intellectual curiosity about any chemical compound or structure. Countless English scientists used and experimented with these compounds and used the German terms coined to describe them.

Science was developing throughout Europe and America, and German and Austrian scientists followed and sometimes led these trends, expanding chemistry into biology, embryology, zoology, physiology, etc. in much the same way that they had helped to drive mineralogy into the more theoretical structural study of geology and geomorphology. The disciplines fed off each other, and developments became more integrated: a discovery in chemistry would lead naturally to a concomitant discovery in medicine, and German terminology was typically used to describe each. As the 19th century came to an end, some of the most striking scientific work in the German-speaking world focused on biochemistry and genetics, and one of the key words of the latter part of the century was another German creation: *chromosome*, described by the German anatomist Heinrich Wilhelm Gottfried von Waldeyer-Hartz in 1887, and almost immediately translated for an English-speaking audience by W. B. Benthall in 1888, in the *Quarterly Journal of Microscopical Science*.

Ironically, this most intensive area of German loans into English mainly provided borrowings from the Romance word-stock, rather than from native German terms, as German-speaking scientists tended to align with European scientists generally in selecting word elements from Greek and Latin when coining new scientific words. Some linguists regard these as words deriving from a common stock of international scientific vocabulary, not bounded by geography, but culturally and in terms of intellectual history they represent a significant feature of German innovation.

It is easy to overlook the continued emergence of more everyday German vocabulary in English over this period. Travellers reported on the *alpenstock* (1828), the *gasthof* (1832) and *gasthaus* (1834), they used their *rucksacks* (1853), and admired the *alpenglow* (1862); they heard of opportunities for new exercise regimes (*turnverein*, 1852, in America; *pangymnasticon*, 1863, again principally in America); they enjoyed evenings, sometimes gambling away their money, of *pinochle* (1864), *kriegspiel* (1877), *schafskopf* (1886), *Schneider* (1886), or *Ramsch* (1887). In the 19th century they were less aware of new German military vocabulary (*Landwehr*, 1815; *carthoun*, cannon, 1849; *Oberleutnant*, 1861), but they learned more about the structure of German society: *schloss*, 1820; *Residenz*, 1824; *zollverein*, 1843; *kursaal*, 1850; *Bundesrat*, 1872 – as they continued their travels around the German-speaking world.

And at last the English-speakers started to appreciate German and Austrian food, drink, and music in large quantities: (food) *kohlrabi*, 1808; *smear-case*, 1829; *schnitzel*, 1854; *wiener*, 1889; *strudel*, 1893; (drink) *schnapps*, 1818; *Traminer*, 1851; *Maitrank*, 1858; *slivovitz*, 1885; *glühwein*, 1898; *Weinstuke*, 1899; to name just a few. After two centuries of disregard, German and Austrian music took centre-stage in the English-speaking music-lover's heart – organ stops, dances, instruments, songs, and musical theory: *panharmonium*, 1811; *gemshorn*, 1825; *accordion*, 1830; *Lied*, 1852; *nonet*, 1865; *leitmotiv*, 1880; *mässig*, 1884; *Liebestod*, 1889; *durchkomponiert*, 1892.

The 19th century was a century in which German words streamed into English at a considerable rate, as the manifold aspects of German culture demonstrated their appeal to the English-speaking audience. The English, the Americans, the Australians, and many others benefited from German and Austrian health cures and health care, medical discoveries, food, drink, travel, art, literature, philosophy, and industry. If they needed a cure themselves after immersing themselves in this abundance, then they could turn to the works of Sigmund Freud, publishing in the late 19th century, but typically not translated into English until the twentieth. By the end of the 19th century German, and particularly Austrian, psychology, and sex-psychology, seemed set to have an answer for everything.

german in the modern world: 20th-century loans

In general, the rate of borrowing into English from other languages (especially Latin and French) has been steadily dropping over the centuries.⁶ For German, the picture is not so clearcut. The *OED* records only about one hundred fewer loans from German into English in the 20th century, but they portray a very different picture of the relationship between English and German speakers, mirroring dramatic changes in the world over this period. Two world wars, the emergence of English as a global language, the shift of much scientific publication into English, the greater opportunity for German-speaking scientists to work abroad, particularly in America, and the emergence of the European Union, have all contributed to this changing linguistic environment. In the light of these changes, it is perhaps surprising that English has still incorporated, according to the *OED*'s record, over one thousand German words into English over the course of the 20th century.

As usual, these changes need to be examined individually in order to determine the specifics of change. There is a noticeable reduction in the number of German words from the disciplines of philosophy, education, scholarship, and religion entering English in the 20th century, and in fact the stream more or less dries up in the 1960s. The same is true of psychology (including sex-psychology), strong in the early decades of the century (*einfihlung*, 1904; *transvestite*, 1911; *intersexuality*, 1916; *ego-psychology*, 1923; *schizoid*, 1925; *Verfremdung*, 1945), but much weaker after this. The *OED*'s record of German scientific coinages reduces sharply into the 20th century, not just in mineralogy, but in all of the other disciplines in which German-speaking scientists had been so active in the 19th century. Perhaps the most successful sciences in terms of borrowings into English were chemistry and particularly medicine, with major German pharmaceutical companies very active in these areas.

This does not mean that scientific enquiry in the German-speaking countries was no longer operating on a world sphere. There are a number of possible factors. The simplest is that the *OED* is generally less comprehensive of neologisms in the very modern period, while new words fight to establish themselves in English and in the dictionary. But the emergence of English as a global language is also likely to be a significant factor: more scientific work is published in English, so that its authors can find an instantaneous international readership, and are able to attract international funding. In this context the United States (rather than Britain) has been the dominant cauldron of modern scientific enquiry.

⁶ Durkin (2014, pp. 299-303).

The overwhelming change in the relationship between the English- and the German-speaking peoples in the 20th century is revealed in the number of words from German politics and the military that have been recorded in English sources. But even here there are sharp distinctions. Military terms entering English from German were considerably more prominent at the time of the Second World War than during WW1. The *OED* finds only a small number in the First War, including *minenwerfer* and *U-boat* from 1914, *flammenwerfer*, *Minnie*, and *strafe* in 1915, and *Unteroffizier* (1917) and the more informal *spurlos versenkt* in 1918. It seems that the recording of events in English was more likely to use English words for the impedimenta of war than German ones.

This distinction carried over into more general political vocabulary: *Realpolitiker* in 1913 and *Machtpolitik* in 1916 are the principal borrowings from that period. But the lead-up to WW2 was more gradual, with the politics of Europe in confusion from the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s, at a time when English speakers had become more acclimatised to news reporting which incorporated German words. In the context of WW2 vocabulary, many words convey mixed military and political overtones: *Reichschancellery* (1932), *gauleiter* (1936), *Reichsmarschall* (1940), *Stalag* (1940) from the realm of German state structure; *Nazi* (1930), *Schutzstaffel* (1930), *Third Reich* (1930), *Hakenkreuz* (1931), *Führer* (1934), *Oflag* (1940), *Sieg Heil* (1940), *Waffen SS* (1943), and many others from the political sphere; and the more overtly militaristic *flak* (1938), *panzer* (1938), *blitzkrieg* (1940), *Teller mine* (1941), *kriegie* (1944), *Schu mine* (1945), etc. It is arguable that British reporting at the time used German words for their propaganda value.

Despite these stark echoes of a divided past, other borrowings from German throughout the century followed well-trodden paths. German sport became more prominent than in former centuries, and especially skiing: *sitzmark* (1935), *mogul* (1955), *wedeln* (1957 as a noun and 1961 as a verb). English holiday-makers were always keen to visit German and Austrian slopes whenever they could.

There is little sign of German fashion vocabulary, and football is only represented (from 1966) in the secondary *Foosball*. There appears to be no consistent borrowing in the area of business practice (except for *allfinanz*), nor – perhaps more surprisingly – in the vocabulary of the EU. English speakers clearly took such terms from other languages, or invented them themselves.

German dogs remained popular, with new listings for larger varieties than the older *dachshund* and *teckel*: *pincher* (1906), *Rottweiler* (1912), *schnauzer* (1923), *boxer* (1934), *Weimaraner* (1943), *löwchen* (1969). Food and especially drink remained subjects dear to English- and German-speakers hearts, with Britons split in their love of wine between Germany, France, Italy, etc.: *sekt*

(1920), *Sylvaner* (1928), *spritzig* (1949), *Qualitätswein* (1971). German musical vocabulary no longer privileged particular styles, but was more eclectic: *Götterdämmerung* (1909); *tingle-tingle*, 1910; *schreierpfeife* (1939); *Liederabend*, 1958; and *zugtrompete*, 1978).

It is perhaps appropriate to end with a selection of domestic and conversational words borrowed into English from German in the 20th century, as these convey something of the mixture of characteristics that English speakers found necessary to borrow: *salonfähig*, 1905; *mutti*, 1906; *Schweinerei*, 1906; *sympathisch*, 1911; *tochus*, 1914; *echt*, 1916; *heil!*, 1927; *oma*, 1948; *glitzy*, 1966; *meister*, 1975; *über alles*, 1967; *Wunderkammer*, 1976; as well as *Ossi* (1989) and *Wessi* (1990), from a political environment that is now superseded.

afterword

An examination of Anglo-German relations over the past four hundred years, seen through the record of German loanwords in English, reveals characteristics of both sets of speakers some of which they would be very proud, and some of which they might be less proud. German precision dates back at least to the concentration of units of measurement borrowed in the days of the Hanseatic League in the 17th century and earlier. Stamina for research and publication informs scientific work in the German world, from early investigations into metals and the earth sciences, to later discoveries in chemistry, biology, psychology, and genetics. The fluctuating alliances and oppositions of war change with the politics of the age; religion moves from sectarianism to abstraction, and German philosophy, education, literature and art take similar paths, passing through the great period of German intellectualism in the 19th century, when English speakers turned to German for instruction of so many areas of their mental lives. And for much of the time, in the background, there is a constant counterpoint of hospitality and song.

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