LANGUAGE PLANNING IN GERMANY — A MODEL FOR THE PHILIPPINES?
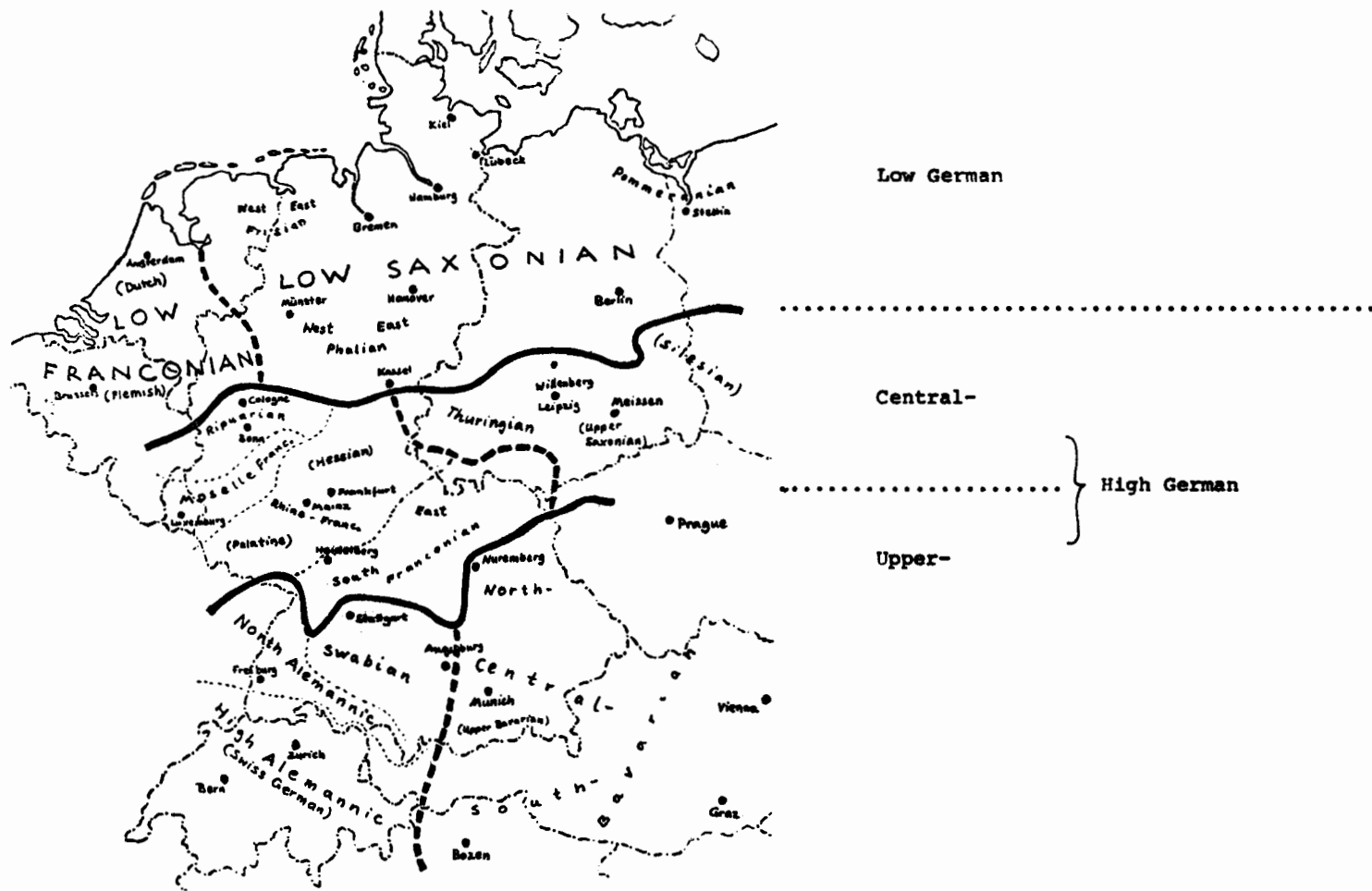
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Language planning in the Philippines seems to be not only a major concern of the linguists of this country but also of politicians, educators and writers and of many others who are not merely concerned with language as such but with the psychological effects the language used by the individuals may have on society as a whole. Therefore, I believe it would be quite interesting to look into other societies and to observe the impact that their language has on them. This should, however, not be done with the intention to imitate the development in other societies; this would be a rather difficult enterprise considering the great differences between societies of different cultural and historical background. On the other hand, there might be something that could be learned from other developments since all societies and all languages have something in common: The members of each society use language to communicate, to express their feelings, to interpret their environment, and to act and to react. For each of these activities, it is necessary to have a common reference system to make understanding possible — both in its content as well as in its formal repertoires.
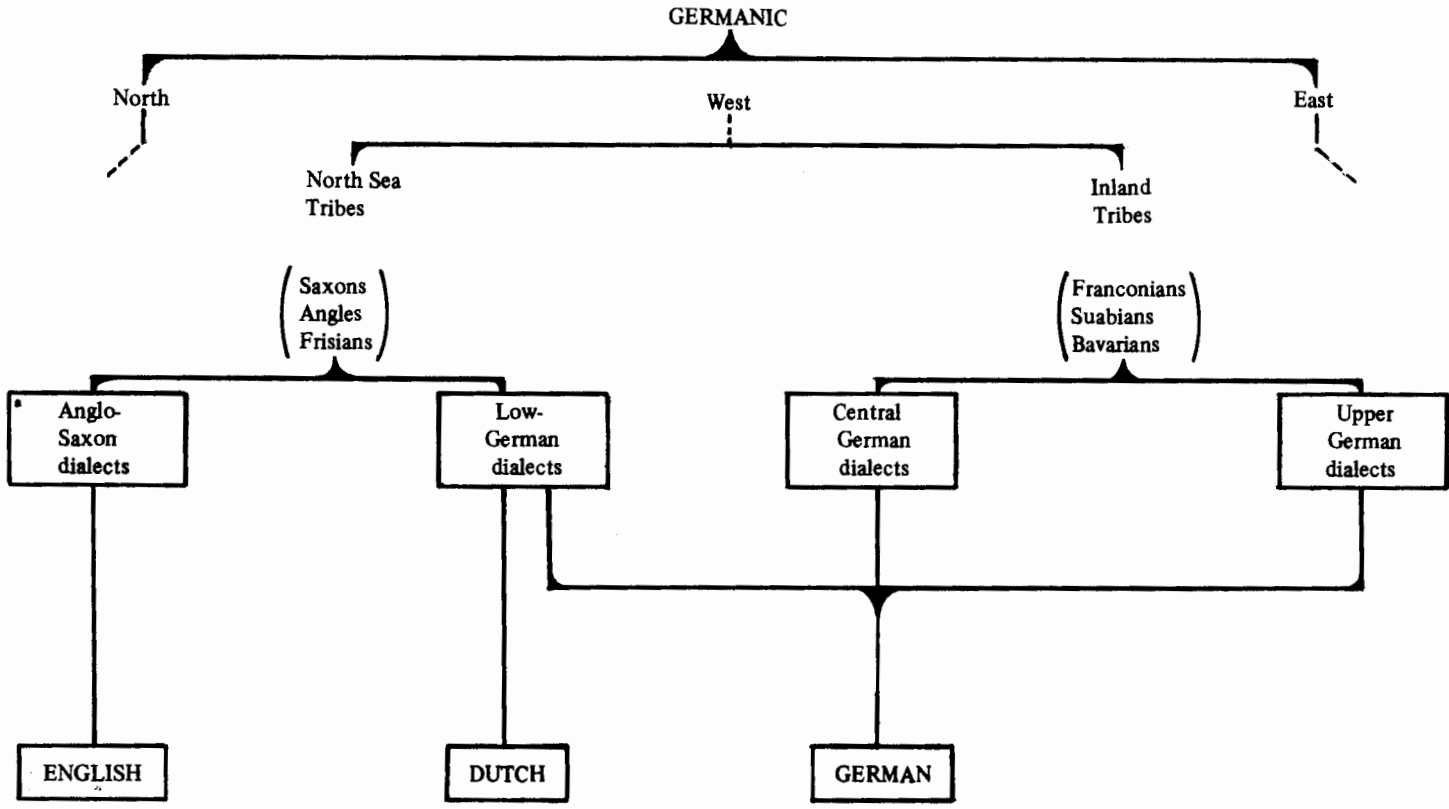
The title of my paper has been phrased in question form. The answer to this question is not a simple yes or no. There are many similarities between the languages of Central Europe on the one hand and of the Philippine Islands on the other. But many of the conditions under which the developments took and take place are different.

When talking about the German language, we often hear the term 'High German'. If there is a High German, there must be a 'Low German' — and there is. High German is often identified with standard German, or good German, or the correct German, or the German of the upper class. So Low German must be the opposite. It is also quite common to hear that High German is the language of the educated people, Low German the language of the uneducated, the lower class. One can even hear analogous terms like 'High French' or 'High Italian' and the like.

However, the reason for the terms 'High German' and 'Low German' is quite different. The German language has many dialects which can, linguistically, be divided into two major groups, referred to as 'High' and 'Low'. The differentiation of the High German dialects from the Low German dialects was caused by the second sound-shift which occurred approximately in the 5th century, starting in the south, moving up north and stopping somewhere on a line stretching east-west in the middle Central Europe. This line (sse map) coincides with another dividing line, that of geography. The northern part of Central Europe is Flat. The southern part is mountainous. The language variants spoken in the northern lowlands were therefore called Low German, the variants spoken in the southern highlands High German.

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[1] Paper read at the Goethe House Manila, September 4, 1978 when Prof. Kelz was a visiting professor at the University of the Philippines.

Kiel

Lübeck

Pommeranian

Hamburg

Stettin

West East Frisian

Bremen

Low German

Amsterdam (Dutch)

LOW SAXONIAN

Münster

Hanover

Berlin

LOW

West East Phalian

FRANCONIAN

Brussels (Flemish)

Kassel

Cologne

Ripuarian

Bonn

Thuringian

Wittenberg

Leipzig

Meissen

Silesian

Central-

(Hessian)

Moselle Franc.

Luxemburg

Rhine-Franc.

Frankfurt

Mainz

East

(Upper Saxonian)

Prague

High German

(Palatine)

Heidelberg

South Franconian

Upper-

Nuremberg

North-

Swabian

Stuttgart

Augsburg

Central-

North

Alemannic

Freiburg

Munich

(Upper Bavarian)

Vienna

High Alemannic (Swiss German)

Zurich

Bern

South-

Graz

Bozen

GERMANIC

North   West   East

North Sea   Inland
Tribes   Tribes

(Saxons)   (Franconians)
(Angles)   (Suabians   )
(Frisians)   (Bavarians   )

| Anglo-Saxon dialects | Low-German dialects | Central German dialects | Upper German dialects |

| ENGLISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |

Today's standard form spoken in Germany is primarily based on the High German variants which comprise the larger portion of the two. This does not mean, however, that Low German is extinct today. It still exists – in four different forms:

First: In the form of the Low German dialects still spoken as common vernaculars in the rural areas in North Germany and to a smaller degree in the big cities of the north such as Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck, Kiel, or Hanover. Most of the dialects spoken in North Germany belong to a dialect group know as *Niedersächsisch* (Lower Saxonian).

Second: Another group of Low German dialects is known as *Niederfränkisch* (Lower Franconian). This eventually became the basis for the standard language in Holland and Northern Belgium known as 'Nederlands', or 'Dutch' in Holland and 'Flemish' in Belgium. The border line (see map) between Lower Saxonian and Lower Franconian does not, however, completely coincide with the German-Dutch state border: There is a small portion of *Niederfränkisch* in Germany and a larger portion of *Niedersächsisch* in Holland.

Third: This Low German *Niederfränkisch* was then brought by Dutch settlers to the Dutch Cape Colony in South Africa where it went its own way and is known today as *Afrikaans,* spoken by the Boers.

The fourth form was brought by some tribes living along the German North Sea coast to an island bordering the North Sea, called *Britannia* by the Romans. This migration took place between the 3rd and 6th centuries. This group of settlers developed their own language on that island, based on their tribal Anglian and Saxonian originally referred to as 'Anglo-Saxon' , later called English.

To summarize (see chart) the linguistic development of and the relation between the West Germanic languages: The Germanic languages are divided into three groups: the North, the West and the East. North Germanic is basically identical with today's Scandinavian languages. East Germanic was spoken in an area which is now Eastern Europe and Western Russia. But these languages are extinct today. The last variety died out by the year 1800 in the Crimean peninsula. The West Germanic branch of languages became the source for English, Dutch, and German.

This chart should also point out something that I will treat in more detail later on: that German is actually a mixture of different language variants. It is composed of features of the language of the North Sea tribes as well as of those of the inland tribes, which fall into two groups: the Rhine-Weser tribes, called *Istaevones* by the Romans and the Elbe tribes called *Herminones,* which are somewhat the forerunners of the Central and Upper German dialects. The Low German variety as well as today's English and Dutch go back to the language of the North Sea tribes, the Saxons, the Angles, the Frisians, called *Ingaevones* by the Romans. The Central and Upper German dialects were affected by the second sound shift; Low German was not.

Now back to the development of the German language in Central Europe. In the German-speaking area of Central Europe which is now divided into seven countries, we still find a large number of regional variants and local dialects. Each one has its distinguishing features especially in pronunciation, to some extent also in the vocabulary, relatively little, however, in morphology and almost none in syntax. Besides these, there is the standard language. This *hochdeutsche Schriftsprache,* we may simply call it 'Standard German' , is read and understood by all Germans. But it is not only the written language of books, newspapers, and official documents, but it is also the spoken language of radio and television newscast, and of all the educated. Between the dialects and the standard language lies the *Umgangssprache* (colloquial language) which tends toward the ideal of the standard but is regionally colored especially in pronunciation.

The use of the dialect, the colloquial language and the standard language varies greatly within the German-speaking area. Generally, one can say that dialects are used more often in rural areas, whereas the colloquial and standard languages are used more often in urban areas; furthermore, that while Standard German is the language of official business, the colloquial language and the dialect are restricted to more informal types of speech; and that the dialects have a higher prestige in the south than in the north.

The fact that there is a standard language today which is read, written, spoken and understood by all Germans does not mean that there has always been one. The process that led to today's standard was a rather long one, and in its course, many rivalries between existing standard forms occurred.

The earliest sources of German — mostly inscriptions — date back about 2000 years ago; but it was not until the year 770 that we find longer texts written in German. At this time the major tribal languages such as Bavarian, Saxonian, Suabian, Franconian and others had already developed. And now began the time during which the consciousness of tribal languages retreated in favor of a consciousness of a common German language as being different from the neighboring Scandinavian in the north, Slavic in the east, Romance in the west and south. It is also the time when the word *deutsch* came into use. There are several different words used for 'German' in the various languages; even in Filipino, the word *German* is used alongside with the word *Aleman*. Basically, there are four roots that are used in denoting the German language and the country in the other languages:

(1)   the Latin word *Germania* from which the Italian *Germania* and the English *German* and *Germany* are derived.

(2)   the Slavic word *nemec* (pron: nyemets) from which the names of the language and the country are derived in most Slavonic languages.

(3)   the word *Alemannen* for a south-west German tribe from which the French *Allemagne*, the Spanish *Alemania*, and hence the Filipino *Alemanya* are derived.

(4)   the possibly Gothic word *biuda* (meaning "people") or *diutisc* in Old High German from which the German *deutsch*, the English *Dutch*, the Italian *tedesco*, the Scandinavian *Tysk*, the Netherlands *Duits* and the Japanese *doitsu* are derived.

This new term denoted the language of the people in contrast to Latin; it was applied to both Low and High German dialects.

Let's for a moment look at the linguistic situation of that time (see map). The major dialects in Germany can be divided into the following groups.

(1)   the Upper German dialects in the very south with two major groups, the Alemanic-Suabian group in the west and the Bavarian in the east. The former is spoken in South-West Germany and in Switzerland, the latter in the southern part of Bavaria and in Austria.

(2)   the Central German dialects with also two major groups: Franconian and Thuringian. The former is spoken in an area comprising Northern Bavaria, Hesse, the Palatinate and the Rhineland, the latter in the southern part of what is now East Germany.

(3)   the Low German dialects with again two major groups: Low Franconian and (low) Saxonian. The former became the official language of the Netherlands, the

latter is spoken in the northern part of both East and West Germany.

The Central and Upper German dialects are called High German since they were both affected by the second sound shift while Low German was not. An example of this is the High German word *Wasser,* where you have an 's' in the middle of the word. It is called *Water* in Low German with a 't' in the middle and *water* in Dutch and also *water* in English.

After 770 A.D., German became a literary written language along with Latin which up to then was the only written language in the Franconian Empire. Most of the literary monuments originated in cloisters and monasteries; most of the writings were poems and prose with religious content.

It was also the time when the first plan to write a German grammar was made. The idea for this came from Emperor Charlemagne.

The spelling of German was a problem, since the Latin alphabet did not have enough letters to represent the sounds of German. It was also at this time when Notker of the St. Gallen monastery made the first attempt to standardize German orthography on a phonetic basis.

On the literary scene, a poetic language developed at the courts of the emperor and the various German princes. From 1100 on, the writers were not only monks but laymen and knights. The latter made the first attempt to create a common language above the regional variants — of course, only for the use in poetry. This literary German was largely used until the end of 13th century, most prominently during the time of the first Golden Age of German literature with poets such as Hartmann Von Aue, Wolfram Von Eschenbach, Gottfried Von Strassburg, and Walter Von Der Vogelweide. Their language spread mainly because of the vivid communication within the German knighthood and because of the many faring singers who traveled throughout the German regions. This language became even a somewhat official language under the Stauffian emperors and, even though it was based on the High German variant, was also used by the Low German writers and poets.

One cannot, however, speak of a totally unified language at that time because people continued to speak their local vernaculars, and the artistic as well as artificial poetic language was spoken only by a few. But the first standard was created. And from the 13th century on, German became also the language of documents and laws, which had up to then only been written in Latin, as well as of scientific prose.

Incidentally, the medieval language of this time also became the basis for a new linguistic entity which is still spoken in some parts of the world: It was used by the German Jews and became, then written with Hebrew rather than Latin characters, the common vernacular of the East European Jewry, today known as *Yiddish.*

The Middle High German literary language was not equally accepted in the lowlands. Some parts of the Low German speaking area changed to High German, others did not. When for instance the Low German cities of Minden and Northeim formed an alliance in 1336, the text of the treaty was written in High German. This and other evidence show that the courtly culture of the Stauffian emperors had made High German prestigous at that time.

In the western part of the Low German speaking area, which later became the Netherlands, however, the Middle High German literary language had no currency. Here, a standard language based on *Niederfränkisch* (Low Franconian) developed in the later 13th century and was used for practical purposes as well as for literary expression. With the political separation of the Netherlands from Germany, recognized in the Westphalian

Peace Treaty of 1648, this language rather than High German, became the national language of the Netherlands. It was originally called *Nederduits* (meaning 'Low German'), later changed to *Nederlands* (meaning 'lowlandish'). In Germany on the other hand, the poetic common language of the High Middle Ages declined. It declined with the decline of the Knighthood and with the rise of small territorial entities within the German Empire. Latin became again the language of sciences and, together with the adoption of the Roman legal system, of law. However, the language of the chanceries remained German, and German was also used in trade and commerce especially among the Hanseatic cities.

Thus, we see that during the Middle Ages, the German language had become a highly developed means of literary expression. The famous epics such as the *Nibelungenlied* were written at that time.

This time is, however, characterized by two linguistic peculiarities:

(1)   There was no uniformity of language. Every writer used a more or less regional variant of German. So, for instance, we have the *Nibelungenlied* in three different versions, which, however very close in grammar and vocabulary, do differ to quite some extent.

(2)   German was not the only language used at that time. The language used in state business, in public instruction at grammar schools and universities, and in the church was Latin. This was not peculiar to Germany but to almost all European countries.

Only at the end of the Middle Ages, and more strongly with the beginning of the Renaissance period, did the people of Europe become aware of their own languages and begin to use them in their national public life. This change in attitude is perhaps best expressed in theory in the 14th century in Dante's book *De vulgari eloquentia doctrina* where he gave preference to the mother tongue as the natural language over the artificial Latin, and, in practice, in the 15th century by Luther's s translation of the Bible.

Their ideas were shared and accepted by the people. Since the Late Middle Ages, a national consciousness developed which also had its impact on language. In France, for instance, a standard language had developed at the court of the French King and was gradually spreading all over France. This example stimulated in Germany also the development of a common unified language. One would have expected that this language would develop at the Court of the Emperor where a language based on Upper German was spoken. However, the development went a different way.

By the middle of the 14th century, the German-speaking area had greatly increased in size. A colonizing movement, which had already started under Charlemagne and had reached its peak in the 12th and 13th centuries, had brought great numbers of knights, missionaries, peasants and merchants eastward to cultivate the vast areas beyond the Elbe and Saale rivers which became later known as the provinces or principalities of Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Pommerania, Prussia, Silesia, Moravia, Bohemia and Meissen. The colonists of these new lands had been drawn from many different parts of old (i.e. western) Germany. In Meissen, for instance, one stream of settlers can be traced from the upper Main region to the south of Meissen, another from West Central Germany to central Meissen, and a third from North Germany to the northern part of Meissen. The mixture of population led to the development of a colonial dialect containing northern, central, and southern features. This development coincided with the rise of power of the

Wettin dynasty, by which Meissen was ruled, and with the rising attraction of Leipzig as a commercial center.

Of the many standardized forms of German which had already developed in the chanceries of the German principalities in the later part of the Middle Ages, two are of special importance: that of Prague and that of Meissen.

The Prague Chancery language gained esteem after Charles IV (1347-1378) had established the Imperial Court there. However, with the removal of the Imperial Chancery from Prague to Vienna under the Habsburg dynasty and because of the Hussite Wars, Prague's linguistic influence declined and the old chancery language inherited from Prague acquired Austro-Bavarian features. This new language was used for all imperial documents and later became also a southern standard, often referred to as *Gemein-deutsch* (common German). The other chancery language, the *Meissnische Kanzlei-sprache,* had also gained considerable currency in the 15th century beyond its immediate area. In North Germany, it was replacing Low German in several chanceries. In West Germany it was introduced by Albrecht Von Meissen, when he became the Arch-bishop of Mainz in 1480. And since he was also the chancellor of the Empire, the *Reichs-tagsabschiede* (ordinances of the Imperial Diet) were printed in that language, thus making it known all over Germany.

At the end of the Middle Ages, two events took place which greatly helped the spreading of the language variant which was to become the standard form throughout Germany as means of public instruction, as the language in church, and as the official communication system for state business. These were

(1)   the Reformation by Martin Luther of Wittenberg,
(2)   the invention of the printing press by Johannes Gutenberg of Mainz.

Both events had, furthermore, a great impact on the standardization of German. Printing was a unifying force since the ability to produce larger quantities of books at lower cost and the desire to distribute them all over Germany made the need for a standardization of German even clearer.

Also Luther needed a language to make himself understood and spread his teaching all over Germany. He chose for his translation of the Bible the *Meissnische Kanzleisprache* (the Meissen chancery language). The reason for this was threefold: First, it was the variant Luther was most familiar with; second, it had already been in use as a standard language in that and in adjacent principalities; third, it was close enough to both North and South German dialects since Meissen is located very centrally in Germany. The *Meissnische Kanzleisprache* is, however, not absolutely identical with Luther's language. It is a primarily legal and formalistic language while Luther's language shows a clearer sentence structure and also incorporates some of the peculiarities of the people's language.

For Luther, language was simply a tool to spread his teachings and the *Meiss-nische Kanzleisprache* served him as a model. It did so, however, only in respect to formal aspects. The stiff, unemotional style and the limited vocabulary of the chancery lawyers were inadequate for his writings. Also, the existing Bible translations were felt to be too closely bound to the Latin text. Luther, however, felt that 'one must not ask the letters in the Latin language how we are to speak German' as he wrote in his *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen* (letter on translating, 1530) 'but one must ask the mother in the house, the children in the street, the common man in the market place, and see from their mouths how to speak, and translate accordingly, so they will understand it and know that one speaks German to them' .

Luther also made great efforts to clean his language from inconsistencies of linguistic form and orthography. He also began to capitalize nouns, a peculiarity of the German orthography not shared by any other language using an alphabetic writing system. Furthermore he insisted that only his language be printed even though it was quite customary at this time that printers changed the language and orthography of the authors according to their own taste.

What was the impact of Luther on the German language? He was definitely not the inventor of Modern German, since he used a language already in existence to which he adhered in sound structure, word order, vocabulary, word formation and sentence structure. He also did not lay down any rules for correct usage in grammar or spelling; but he gave a new life to it and developed this language quite creatively. He thought, however, very modestly about his own part in language development: He chose and developed the language not as a philologist or linguistic reformer but as a theologian and religious reformer whose interest it was that his writings could be read and understood by all people in Germany. Thus, the Meissen chancery language as modified and developed by Luther, spread with his Bible all over the German-speaking area, even to those regions which remained Catholic, and began its progress to final acceptance as the Standard German language.

It was not, however, accepted evenly and simultaneously in all parts of Germany at once.

The new standard was most readily accepted in Central Germany. In its eastern region, it was most akin to the dialect of the people; in its western region it had had some influence already before Luther's time and was firmly established wherever the Reformation took root.

In the north, several chanceries had already adopted the *Meissnische Kanzleisprache* (Meissen chancery language). And even though Luther's language was quite remote from the people's Low German, by the early 17th century it was fully recognized, and most official documents and literary works were written in High German, except, as I pointed out, in the Netherlands where Low German became the standard language.

The strongest opposition to the Meissen standard came from the south, even though Luther's language was more closely related to Upper German than to Low German. This can be partly attributed to the religious situation: The division was between Catholics and Protestants, and among the Protestants between the Lutherans and the Reformed. Most of the South German regions adhered to the upper German *Gemeindeutsch* used by the Imperial Court while the Swiss had developed their own standard which was used in Zwingli's Bible translation. The reluctance of the south to accept the Central German version is, however, also partly due to the fact that South Germany had its own literary tradition.

By the 18th century the rivalries of three types of written standards, the central German (Lutheran), the upper German (Catholic), and the Swiss German (Reformed), was decided in favor of central German, while only the Netherlands retained their form of written literary language. Thus it was not the Upper German variant of the Emperor's Court but the Central German variant of Luther's Bible that proved to be the stronger version. The reason for the fact that finally also in the south along with Austria and Switzerland, the Meissen standard was accepted rather than the well-established Upper German based language of the Court was mainly that the literary center of Germany was moving northward while the south was turning to architecture and sculpture, painting and music, to produce magnificent, but not literary, monuments of the South German baroque.

While the early modern German period is characterized by the final settlement of the century-old competition between local vernaculars, regional variants and literary standards, the later modern German period shows a further development and enrichment of this new standard and a struggle against Latin. From the 16th century on, German was used more and more and replaced Latin in almost all facets of life. The language of poetry had already been German; now German became the only recognized language of offices, trade and commerce. Also in science and scholarship, German replaced Latin gradually; this was done completely in the 18th century. Even the strongholds of Latin, the universities, recognized German as language of instruction; the language of the church also became German in the Protestant and partially in the Catholic church. The latter did not change to German until recently.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, scholars began to write about the German language, such as Martin Opitz who in 1617 wrote a passionate defense of his native language, and Johann Christoph Gottsched who published his *Deutsche Sprachkunst* (German Language Art) in 1748. Also many linguistic societies were formed in pursuit of a wide variety of patriotic, ethical and cultural aims as well as the cultivation of German to advocate a unified language and to protest against the excessive use of foreign words. But their influence was rather small. Much greater was the influence of the writers and poets around the year 1800, the time of Classicism and Romanticism. This brought another Golden Age of German literature. Its dominant figures were Goethe, Schiller, Herder, Hölderlin, Grillparzer, Klopstock, Lessing and Wieland. This time was characterized by the decided preference of Central German over Upper German, over Latin, and over French which had been in use at the courts of the absolutistic monarchs during the baroque age.

This second Golden Age of German literature around the year 1800, meant much more to the German language than the first Golden Age around 1200. While in the earlier one, the language was restricted to the upper classes, mainly to those at the courts, this one was understood by all classes, especially after compulsory schooling had been introduced. The standardization had been mainly completed at the time when the Grimm brothers started to publish their *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (German dictionary) in 1852, at least as far as grammar and vocabulary are concerned. Only the formal repertoires (pronunciation and orthography) had been neglected.

With the formation of the Second German Empire in 1871 further standardization of German received new stimuli. After grammar had already been systematized, and vocabulary had been further developed by the poets of Classicism and purified by the poets of Romanticism, attempts at full standardization turned to orthography and pronunciation.

As far as orthography is concerned, several attempts to standardize had been made in the past. It became an urgent desire in the middle of the last century when two kinds of orthography were considered: Jakob Grimm wanted an etymological orthograpjy, while Rudolf Von Raumer preferred a phonetic orthography. A combination of both was finally accepted, when in 1876 a conference in Berlin discussed the standardization of German orthography. In 1901 this new orthography went into effect after Konrad Duden had written an orthographic dictionary (first published in 1889) on the basis of the results of the Berlin conference. Also Austria and Switzerland adopted this new orthography which has not been changed since then.

The problem of the standardization of pronunciation had already occupied the linguistic societies of the 17th century. And in 1803, Goethe had written a guide on pronunciation for actors. But it was only in 1885 that the first pronouncing dictionary was published by Wilhelm Vietor.

In fact, it was the actors who wished to be acceptable and intelligible in the theaters throughout the German speaking world and the teachers who were the ones most interested in the standardization of German pronunciation. In 1898, Theodor Siebs finally succeeded to get these two groups together. A commission of university professors and representatives of the German Theatrical Society met in Berlin to agree in the same year on the principles according to which German should be pronounced. In the same year Siebs published his dictionary which is still in use (in its 19th edition, 1969). For various linguistic, social, and political reasons, in this new standard, called *Hochlautung,* North German is given preference over southern usage. The handbook of Siebs, which claims to represent the ideal pronunciation for all users of Standard German, has largely been accepted as authoritative by the theaters.

A new impact on standard pronunciation was felt with the development of the broadcasting system in Germany for which Siebs wrote his *Rundfunkaussprache* (broadcasting pronunciation). But neither the modern means of oral mass communication, radio and television, nor the attempts made by the authors of the pronunciation dictionaries have been able to erase the regionally different forms of speech. Even the educated, but not trained, speaker of German generally shows in his pronunciation his linguistic home.

Nevertheless, today's Standard German shows a high degree of uniformity. There is only one standard even though German is spoken as an official language in seven European countries: In West Germany, East Germany and Austria, all of which are entirely German-speaking; in Switzerland where 70% of the population speak German; in the small German-speaking area of Eastern Belgium; in the Italian province of Bozen/ Bolzano (often referred to as Southern Tyrol); and in Luxemburg which is trilingual. Standard German is also readily understood by the people of Alsace and Lorraine, who use the local German dialects in their everyday conversation alongside with French, which is the only officially recognized language, and of course by the German minority along the German border in Denmark (often referred to as Northern Schleswig).

Despite this diversification of Standard German in many countries, there are almost no regionalisms, and the few which exist are easily understood everywhere, such as *Samstag* or *Sonnabend* for 'Saturday', *Fleischer* or *Metzger* for 'butcher', *Semmel* or *Brötchen* for 'roll'. This high degree of uniformity of the standard language is due to today's mobility of the people and to the fact that the countries or the parts of the countries mentioned comprise one closed language area within Central Europe. Also the often envisaged danger of the linguistic separation of German due to the political division of Germany into East and West is not very real. Syntax, morphology, and orthography are still the same. The actual pronunciation varies within East and within West Germany. Only the vocabulary is affected to a small degree, especially in the area of political, economic, and ideological terminology. Besides, borrowings from Russian occur more frequently in East Germany like borrowings from English do in West Germany. But the fact that the word *Demokratie* means something different in East and West Germany is neither a linguistic problem nor one of the German language.

You might ask by now, 'Where is the language planning in Germany?' — since language planning is often identified with the activities of an institution especially designed for this purpose. Let me make two comments to this:

(1)   It is true that there was never and still isn't a government institution to handle language planning in Germany or in any other German-speaking country. Whatever has been done that resulted in the standardization of the language, and what we might call 'language planning' in the broader sense of the word, was largely the work of poets and writers, to a smaller degree of private societies and to an

even smaller degree of political institutions. It was essentially a process of constant stimulus-and-response. Stimuli were given mainly by the writers, and the people responded to it by accepting or not accepting.

(2)   The term 'language planning' is rather new and whatever was done in the area of language planning in Germany was finished by the time this term entered the inventory of linguistic and political terminology. Therefore, the term was never applied in the course of the historical development of the German language. Instead, we used a variety of terms covering only certain facets of what is now called language planning. The three most important ones are *Sprachpflege* (language cultivation), *Sprachnormierung* (language standardization) and *Sprachregelung* (language regulation).

The first one was primarily used in the middle of the 19th century and described essentially what the Grimm brothers and others of this time had done. The second one described essentially the efforts made around the turn of the century in the area of pronunciation and orthography. The third one came up with the radical changes brought about by the new political systems of Fascism and Communism: Things and events were termed according to the ruling ideology. So for instance, the 'Treaty of Versailles' became a 'Dictate of Versailles' under the Nazis. You are also porbably aware of what a 'psychiatric clinic' is — I mean in the Soviet Union. And I still remember several years ago when I had the unique opportunity to be imprisoned by East German government officials. That was shortly after the Wall was built in Berlin. While I was imprisoned there, I was also cross-examined. Although we all spoke German, we still had some difficulties in understanding each other: Whenever I used the term 'wall', I was immediately corrected and told that it was not a wall but the state border of the German Democratic Republic; and whenever I used the term 'East Berlin', I was equally told that this was the 'democratic sector of the city of Berlin'. And even simple words were not used in the same way: Between my cross-examinations, I was brought to a scarcely furnished room with only one table and two chairs, watched by a soldier with a machine gun with whom I occasionally talked; he mentioned to me that he had a sister in West Germany who was planning to escape from there, a notion that was quite new to me.

When one compares the structural and historical development of the German language with the national language of the Philippines, one can find a number of similarities.

The seven most striking ones are the following:

(1)   During the Middle Ages there was no uniformity of the language in Germany. Many variants were used. This situation is rather similar to that of the Philippines where a number of different languages are used by the people as their means of everyday communication. The difference, however, is that in one case we usually speak of languages, in the other of dialects.

(2)   In the evolution of the standard language one variant was chosen: In Germany it was the east central variant in form of the *Meissnische Kanzleisprache,* in the Philippines it was Tagalog, later called Pilipino, now renamed Filipino. The difference here is that in the case of German, the choosing of the basis for the national language was not done by any government agency or any authorized body, while in the case of the Philippines the government or government agencies were directly involved in the choosing and elaboration of the national language.

(3)   Despite the fact that one variant was chosen as the basis of the modern standard, today's German contains features of almost all variants spoken in Germany. It has

absorbed a great deal of the vocabulary from regional variants; local terms have been introduced, and also word order and sentence structure have been changed under the influence of other forms of language. As pointed out, the standardization of pronunciation has been largely based on the Northern rather than the Southern German speech. It is therefore possible to view today's German as the result of a gradual 'leveling process' as does Hugo Moser , the most prominent German linguist of today and President of the *Institut für deutsche Sprache* (Institute of German Language).

Also Filipino, as envisioned by some linguists in this country and as defined in the new Philippine Constitution, is to be a language not exclusively based on one Philippine language only, although Tagalog features will be the most prominent ones. Thus, Filipino should freely absorb words and structures, and perhaps also features of phonology, from other Philippine languages.

(4)   In a way, the vocabulary of both German and Filipino show similar structures, since both languages were under the influence of other languages – in the case of German it was primarily Latin and also French, in the case of Filipino, primarily Spanish and also English – we find many borrowed words in both languages and in many cases we find even two terms for one and the same thing. Usually, one is the common, the other the official term.

Thus in German we find side by side:
>   *Photo* and *Lichtbild* for 'photography'
>   *Auto* and *Kraftwagen* for 'motorcar'
>   *Telefon* and *Fernsprecher* for 'telephone'
>   *Traktor* and *Zugmaschine* for 'tractor'
>   *Photokopie* and *Ablichtung* for 'xerox copy'
>   *Radio* and *Rundfunk* for 'radio broadcasting'
>   *Benzin* and *Kraftstoff* for 'gasoline'
>   *Telegramm* and *Fernschreiben* for 'telegram'
>   *Taxi* and *Mietwagen* for 'taxicab'
>   *Visum* and *Siohtvermerk* for 'visa'.

And in much the same way Filipino shows also in a number of instants two words equal in meaning side by side:
>   *libro* and *aklat* for 'book'
>   *iglesia* and *simbahan* for 'church'
>   *maestro* and *guro* for 'teacher'
>   *presidente* and *pangulo* for 'president'
>   *eskuwelahan* and *paaralan* for 'school'
>   *direktor* and *patnugot* for 'director'
>   *relo* and *orasan for* for 'watch'
>   *unibersidad* and *pamantasan* for 'university'
>   *silya* and *upuan* for 'chair'
>   *mesa* and *hapag* for 'table'
>   *kutsilyo* and *kampit* for 'knife'.

(5)   The morphological structure, that is the way in which words can be formed in a language, is quite similar in German and Filipino. Thus, new words can easily be formed by adding prefixes or suffixes, and in Filipino also infixes, to a root which is

already in existence. This is, for instance, not in the same way possible in English. Incidentally, Wilhelm Von Humboldt, one of the greatest German linguists of the last century remarked that Tagalog possesses the clearest and most perfect grammatical structure. German might not be as perfect, but it comes very close.

(6) Filipino and German also show similarities in their orthographies. Both use, unlike English, a phonetically based spelling system, in which one letter or letter combination (ng, ch, sch) represents one sound. Only in the case of borrowed foreign words is this system not always applied.

In Filipino, Spanish proper names are retained in their original Spanish spelling while other foreign words appear sometimes in two forms. Words borrowed from English are written in the original spelling in newspapers and comic books even through there is an official transliteration. Examples are:

Proper names (including the use of the letters C, F, J, N, Q, V, X, Z): Constantino, Fernandez, Jose, Parañaque, Roxas, Echevarria.
Other words having two spellings: tsart/chart, taksi/taxi, bord/board, mani-dyer/manager, Abenyu/avenue, dyip/jeep, titser/teacher.

In German some borrowed words have been changed to go along with German spelling rules; others have retained their spelling in the original form. Examples:

adapted spelling:
Buro (fr. French *bureau.*) Keks (fr. English *cakes*).
Konto (fr. Italian *conto*).
Non-adapted foreign words used in today's German:
Niveau (French), *Team* (English, *Junta* (Spanish).

Also the letter combinations *ph* (pron. f), *th* (pron. t) and *ch* (pron. k) in the Latin spelling of Greek words are usually retained, except in some non-scientific words, where two spellings are found.

Only one spelling:
Philosophie, Philippinen; Theater, Mathematik; Chaos, Orchester.
Two spellings:
Foto/Photo, Grafik/Graphik, Sinfonie/Symphonie.

(7) German stood for a long time in competition with another highly developed language, Latin. The relation of German vs. Latin in Germany is somewhat similar to the situation of Filipino vs. English in the Philippines. The difference here is that Latin was limited to the highly educated persons and that it was not spoken as a native language by anyone in the world at that time.

Despite these similarities one should not forget one difference between the German and the Philippine nations. The German nation was (and very similarly the French and the Italian nations) formed because the people felt that they had something in common: the language despite of its variants. The nation is, thus, the product of the language. Consequently, there was never a question of what should be the language of Germany, nor was a decision made to the effect that German should be the national language, and no part of the German Constitution says anything about which language is to be used as the official language.

In this respect, language planning had to be quite different in Germany from that in the Philippines. The differences and the parallel developments are perhaps best pointed out by using the five dichotomies under which Heinz Kloss, the most prominent German scholar in the area of language planning, subsumed all activities of language planning: The first dichotomy is that of scale: Is it a national or a non-national language planning? In the case of the Philippines it is definitely national as it is in the case of Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Malaysia. Also in Germany, language planning was done on a national basis. Examples of non-national language planning are, for instance, Bretonic and Yiddish.

The second dichotomy is that of method: innovative vs. conservative language planning. Good examples for innovative language planning are Turkish and Modern Hebrew, while French and German are good examples for conservative language planning. Language planning in the Philippines is more innovative than conservative.

The third is the dichotomy of the goal: Is language planning maintenance-oriented or transition-oriented? 'Transition' here means to make possible a gradual transition from the cultural past to the cultural future, so to speak, to build a bridge, so that people can adapt themselves lingually to the conditions of the 20th Century. Such an adaptation would otherwise take place in a language other than the native. In this respect Filipino is definitely transition-oriented in terms of planning. On the other hand, language planning in Icelandic or Norwegian is primarily maintenance-oriented.

The fourth dichotomy is that of the dimension: corpus vs. status planning. In the first case we pursue linguistic aims, in the other extra-linguistic aims. The planning in French and Spanish has always been corpus planning, while the adoption of Guarani and Quechua as national languages in Paraguay and Peru, respectively, was primarily status planning. In Germany corpus planning followed status planning, while in the Philippines we have both corpus and status planning at the same time.

And finally there is the dichotomy of scope, the question of whether one or more languages are involved. Language planning in Germany or France, for instance, was always unilingual while language planning in the Philippines has to be bilingual, that in Switzerland even multilingual. At least as far as the status is concerned, English has to be a part of language planning in the Philippines.

Taking this schema, one can see that there are differences in the goals of language planning, but some similarities in the sequencial procedure.

As I retraced the 1200 years of German language development, some might be discouraged and think it would take the Philippines equally long to achieve a national language readily understood and used by every citizen. This is definitely not so. There are a number of advantages the Philippines has today in spreading the standard form of language which German did not have: easily accessible newspapers and books (including comic books), radio broadcasts and popular music available on records and tape, television and movies, a compulsory school system and an easier means of transportation allowing greater interaction of people from different regions. All these help to make the national language better known in a shorter time than it was in the case of German. Therefore one can be quite optimistic about the future of Filipino as far as making it known to everybody is concerned.