kaum adäquat wieder. Ähnliches ist zur Kommentierung von Artikel 11 (Recht zur Führung des Familiennamens in der Minderheitensprache sowie auf Aufstellung zweisprachiger Ortstafeln und weiterer Beschriftungen) zu bemerken. Hier wird von I. Stricker ausführlich die Ablehnung des Amtsgericht Cottbus hinsichtlich der Führung der weiblichen Namensendung „-owa“ bei verheirateten Frauen erörtert. Andere Aspekte des Namensrechts bleiben unerwähnt, etwa die Tatsache, dass eine Namensänderung zwar kostenfrei vorgenommen werden kann, jedoch durchaus mit Folgekosten auch gegenüber staatlichen Behörden verbunden ist. Hinsichtlich der zweisprachigen Beschilderung ist der Autorin offensichtlich die 2008 in Sachsen stattgefundene Kreisgebietsreform entgangen, in deren Zuge die von ihr erwähnte Kreisfreie Stadt Hoyerswerda und der Kreis Kamenz im Landkreis Bautzen und der Niederschlesische Oberlausitzkreis im Kreis Görlitz aufgegangen sind (S. 352). Unerwähnt bleibt in den Ausführungen zur Beschilderung das leidliche Problem falscher Schreibweisen. In dem von A. Fontaine verfassten Beitrag zur Umsetzung von Artikel 12 des Rahmenübereinkommens (Bildungswesen) – hier wiederum die Lausitzer Sorben betreffend – wird ausschließlich auf die Erkenntnisse des Beratenden Ausschusses zurückgegriffen. Aktuelle Probleme und Analysen bleiben auch hier unberücksichtigt.

Insgesamt gibt die vorliegende Publikation eine komprimierte und informative Darstellung der Verwirklichung der Vorgaben des Rahmenübereinkommens zum Schutz nationaler Minderheiten in den deutschsprachigen Ländern und der Autonomen Provinz Bozen anhand der an den Europarat erstatteten Staatenberichte und der Erkenntnisse und Bewertungen seitens des Beratenden Ausschuss des Europarats. Damit werden die im Vorwort anvisierten Zielgruppen der Publikation – deutschsprachige Minderheiten bzw. Minderheiten in deutschsprachigen Staaten, Rechtsanwender in deutschsprachigen Regionen und nicht zuletzt die Wissenschaft – durchaus erreicht. Positiv hervorzuheben ist die Möglichkeit des Vergleichs der minderheitenpolitischen Regelungen und Verfahrensweisen in den untersuchten Ländern. Anders als im Handkommentar zur Sprachencharta fehlen jedoch zumeist konkrete Hinweise für die alltägliche minderheitenpolitische Praxis.

Ludwig Elle

Michael Hornsby: Revitalizing Minority Languages. New Speakers of Breton, Yiddish and Lemko. Palgrave Macmillan UK 2015 (Palgrave Studies in Minority Languages and Communities), pp. XIV, 168

The last few decades, particularly at the turn of the last century, have seen an important change in the world linguistic landscape. According to various sources, of about 6000–8000 languages that are in use today, only 1000 have a chance of surviving into the next century. This means that most of the world’s languages are seriously endangered. Many important studies presenting different domains and fields of knowledge have been devoted to the phenomenon of language obsolescence, shift, death, and, more recently, to language revitalization. Unfavourable for minority languages conditions – such as, on the one hand, those related to power relationships (negative state language policies and the dominance of the nationalist discourses, one nation equals one language), and on the other hand globalization and the transformation of peoples’ lifestyles (from the community model based on strong intergenerational and group relations to the individualist

model), have resulted in the interruption of intergenerational transmission of many minority languages and in a shift to the use of the more powerful ones.

Only recently has the danger of the loss of the world's linguistic diversity been recognized, first by the native communities and later by researchers, non-governmental organizations and international and state administrations. Different programmes for (some) minority languages have been established, including minority language education, believed to be the most important challenge facing those languages where there is little, if any, home intergenerational transmission. In the case of languages which have had a long history of oral face-to-face communication, characteristic of community culture models of living, it was important to create and codify the written forms of the language in question. Such written literary forms are necessary when introducing endangered languages into formalized school education and (eventual) use in the public domains. These processes have had significant consequences for both the minority languages and their communities. In somewhat simplified terms we can describe them as follows: 1) native-speakers of minority languages who use dialectal local language forms have not (fully) accepted the 'new' form of their language; 2) those who have had no chance to acquire the language in family or community-based settings, learn it in formal settings, such as primary and secondary education or language courses for adults, in which a standardized, inter-dialectally neutral form of the language is used, which has caused; 3) the creation of the category of 'new speakers' of minority languages; 4) there is competition between the language forms and the types of minority language speakers at different levels and, therefore; 5) the speech communities, themselves transformed, are divided internally; 6) some important and detrimental language ideologies have originated and function within the speech communities. The list of consequences observed here is not an exhaustive one. The problems related to the phenomenon and growing importance of the appearance of the new category of minority language speakers – those who did not receive the heritage/minority language through family-based intergenerational transmission but through the process of (more or less) formalized education – are the subject of Michael Hornsby's book *Revitalizing Minority Languages. New speakers of Breton, Yiddish and Lemko*.

In the introduction Michael Hornsby discusses the importance of 'new speakers' in the process of minority language revitalization and explains that, at least in the context of European minority language research – this phenomenon is not only essential but also widely discussed. Indeed, if we take a closer look at recent articles and books concerning minority language revitalization on the one hand (such as a special issue of the "International Journal of the Sociology of Language", 2015/231, entitled *New Speakers of Minority Languages: The Challenging Opportunities*), and many financed research projects on the other hand (as invoked by the author, EU COST Action network 'New Speakers in a Multilingual Europe: Opportunities and Challenges'), one realizes how influential the phenomenon of new speakers is. We can argue that there is a kind of fashion for some research subjects and it is one of the reasons why at present this aspect of minority language revitalization is more exploited than others. It is undeniable that this is how most of the recent research functions, as a result of the financing and grant systems. Nevertheless, the growing number of minority language 'new speakers' created by the schooling programmes is in fact necessary for any minority language revitalization to be successful as there is a diminishing number of 'native/traditional speakers' of these languages. Without those who learn minority languages as their second one and decide to use them on a daily basis in a variety of settings, most minority languages

would be doomed to extinction. Therefore, the concept of 'new speakerness' should be hailed as one of the most challenging domains of minority languages research.

In his book Michael Hornsby concentrates most of all on minority language ideologies and discourses related to the concept of 'new speakers'. Although this approach is not entirely new (a fact which is meticulously presented by him when referring to the existing literature concerning this field of research), the book develops these ideas and – by discussing interesting case studies – points out some similarities, differences and main challenges to be undertaken by language revitalizers and those who analyze their work. For Michael Hornsby authenticity, legitimacy, hierarchies and power relations constitute the most important aspects of the 'new speakerness' phenomenon. All these features are subject to in-depth analysis and discussion throughout the book. The other challenge of 'new speakerness', as described by Michael Hornsby, concerns the problem of how to incorporate the languages learned into active language use. This question is related to the concept of successful revitalization as associated with the re-building of active speech community and intergenerational transmission (as described by Joshua A. Fishman, a leading authority for many theoreticians of language revitalization and reversing language shift). For Michael Hornsby, as for some other sociolinguists that work on the minority language practices and attitudes, this is not so evident. The role of those who did not learn the language from their parents can be decisive for language vitality. However, this role should not be presumed to be uncomplicated. As Hornsby reports, some new speakers find niches where they can practise their languages, while for others it is difficult due to their limited contacts with other speakers, and/or because some 'traditional' speakers' have unfavourable attitudes towards those who may use the minority language in a different way from them. As presented in the book, the problems of 'new speakers' are often related to language ideologies. Other factors that play a role in 'new speakerness' are the language competences of those who have learned the minority language and the way language competences are problematized both by language speakers and researchers. These issues are the focal point of Hornsby's analysis of three minority languages in Europe, each of which are in a different sociolinguistic situation and have to deal with different problems: the Breton language in France, Yiddish as a heritage language of Jewish communities, and Lemko, the language spoken by an ethnic group living in Poland. Each case is analyzed through the most important, in Hornsby's view, problem that the new speakers of each of these languages have to deal with, namely a question of 'authenticity' and accent in the case of Breton, the conceptualization of 'nativeness' in the case of Yiddish and discussions about standardization processes and the sense of belonging to the speech community that the Lemkos are currently involved in.

The first chapter, *Minority Languages: A Crisis in Authority* (pp. 6–33) constitutes the book's conceptual basis and presents the research methodology employed in the study. Michael Hornsby presents the terminology that is central to his understanding of the phenomenon of new speakers of minority languages, especially from the European studies perspective. Over the last few decades researchers and organizations dealing with minority languages have developed an important and influential number of strongly ideologized discourses concerning language endangerment, which serve different groups of interest. It is these ideologies that are the focal point of Hornsby's analysis. Contact with dominant languages and cultures constitutes one factor leading to language minoritization, which in consequence raises the question of who is authorized to speak for the minority language. This is an unsolvable problem that has numerous possible answers depending on who gives the response. Many researchers adhere to the con-

fusing dichotomy of 'native' and 'new' speakers, which provokes a number of interpretative problems and often makes minority language communities form invalid opinions about their issues. Such an interpretative problem is related to an example cited by Hornsby, which assumes the imposition of the label of 'inauthenticity' on some language forms and 'new speakers' using them. In other words, a standardized form of a minority language can be perceived by traditional speakers as 'false'. Similar views may also be held by researchers. I would even go further in emphasizing the role of the researchers themselves in the minority languages revitalization process, who – through their approach and the language ideologies that they themselves possess – can sometimes do more harm than good for the speech community and people's attitudes toward language revitalization. Nevertheless, it is this aspect of Michael Hornsby's book – the responsibility of researchers' discourses as a powerful weapon that can be used for or against the community studied – that I find the most significant. For example, the identity questions posed by researchers, denying some speakers the right to be a 'real' member of a speech community, can have important consequences when used not for the purpose of scientific analysis but for reasons of classification and authorization of the speakers of a given language. This book contributes to the discussion of the researchers' accountability and compels them to take responsibility for their own words. This is particularly important today when the minority communities (or at least their leaders in Europe) read, comment and use the arguments provided by researchers. The worlds of researchers and of language activists are too close to each other to allow for unrestricted interpretation of some societal observations.

In this context any discussion of who is the minority language speaker/new speaker is of vital importance here. For Michael Hornsby, being a minority language (new) speaker is based on language use, rather than identification and social attribution or the language acquisition process and competences. This observation is entirely accurate and is confirmed by a number of field research studies. However, as Michael Hornsby mentions, the debate over the role of new speakers for language revitalization is very lively, as it is related to power and economic profit. The danger here is that it can result in making distinctions and even in the exclusion of some types of minority language speakers, which can be counterproductive for the minority languages themselves. The concept of a 'legitimate' speaker who uses a 'legitimate' type of language is according to this view related to the concept of 'authenticity' (as imposed by different power groups on languages, speakers, cultural forms etc.). The concepts of authenticity and legitimacy – as shown in the book – can have negative consequences for a minority language revitalization process as it excludes some speakers, ways of thinking, and restricts the idea of minority cultures and languages being diversified and multidimensional. The questions of legitimacy and ownership are crucial for the analysis of the three case studies discussed in the book under review.

In the first chapter Michael Hornsby also very briefly presents the sociolinguistic situation of the Breton, Yiddish and Lemko languages, indicating the most important factors that influence their present vitality. In this part of the book he also describes the methodology of his research and his approach to the fieldwork. The book is based on different sources and examples going far beyond the three case studies that have been the object of Hornsby's research. I would even claim that sometimes the reader might have the impression that the fieldwork (due to the research conditions mentioned by Michael Hornsby such as their length, lack of one common research project, the time constraints etc. (pp. 30–31)) represents the weakest aspect of the book. The methodology of the sociolinguistic research described in the book also lacks coherence notice-

able throughout the book in the case of the three studies. The Breton research is based here on three focus groups (two at the University of Rennes and one at the Diwan secondary school). This choice is justified because the students of Rennes University come from different linguistic backgrounds and geographical locations, whereas the Diwan pupils seem to be the most important group of Breton new speakers. In the case of Yiddish, the interviews with a dozen or so regular participants of the Yiddish course in Edinburgh form the basis of the analysis. The choice of Yiddish new speakers is in my opinion the most problematic. Most of the new speakers chosen by Michael Hornsby are descendants of Jews who have used and practised the language with their families, however, the participants also include some whose decision to learn Yiddish was not influenced by family origins or heritage reasons. The main weakness of this analysis is that Hornsby discusses Yiddish and Yiddish language practice in general terms. Yet, the situation of this language is quite (if not entirely) different across the countries where it is spoken, and communities and age groups in which it is practised. In addition, the description of the Yiddish speaker's community in Edinburgh, which could provide the reader with a context for who these speakers are and what their family history is, has not been provided – an omission that, in my opinion, deprives the reader of a better understanding of the community in question. Comparing Michael Hornsby's data with my own observations of Yiddish new speakers from Warsaw, with whom I am more familiar, I would say that many important notions raised in the book (such as the discussion of religious and lay language, and standard versus dialectal language forms) differ in the Scottish and Polish capitals.

The third case study concerns the Lemko speakers living in Poland. Here the data discussed was acquired from two focus groups comprising students of Russian Studies specializing in Lemko linguistics at the Kraków Jagiellonian University, and two interviews conducted with adult new speakers in Strzelce Krajeńskie, the village in Western Poland where Lemkos were resettled within the framework of Operation Vistula after WWII. It would be interesting to compare their language practices with Lemko new speakers living on the territory of Lemkovina, the traditional territory to which some Lemkos returned during the second half of the 20th century. The differing approaches employed in each case study are reflected in the structure of the chapters discussing them.

Chapter two, *Legitimate Speakers of Authentic Breton: Who Decides?* (pp. 34–63) concentrates on the notion of a 'legitimate' speaker and language form as defined by Pierre Bourdieu. This concept is used to analyze the way that a speaker (because of his/her accent, style, etc.) or a language form (literary instead of dialectal, 'faulty' instead of grammatically correct) or communication itself (because language contact appears in the domain where 'the authentic speakers use it in everyday life and not in the public sphere, for example) is not recognized as 'appropriate' by a given group and, as a result, language use is not legitimated. Using Breton as an example, Michael Hornsby shows convincingly how the lack of language legitimacy, when reported by other more 'legitimate' minority language speakers, can result in the shift of that language towards the dominant one. The highest value of this chapter is not the fieldwork analysis but the deconstruction of researchers' discourses. Hornsby discusses the notion of the 'chemical Breton' introduced by Lenora A. Timm and of authentic Breton pronunciation in the work of Mikael Madeg, and shows how language ideologies of some researchers influence (their) language attitudes. The juxtaposition between 'traditional/native' and 'new' speakers and between standardized ('pure') and dialectal ('authentic')

Breton are also discussed from the perspective of the participants in Hornsby's focus groups.

In the third chapter entitled *In Search of Authentic Yiddish* (pp. 64–92) different attitudes of new speakers of Yiddish towards 'traditional' and 'new' (secular) Yiddish are discussed in somewhat general terms. Of particular importance for Michael Hornsby is the question of what is 'authentic' Yiddish. It is based on his observations and his informant's statements of learning 'a language that their grandparents would not recognize'. Yiddish is traditionally connected with a religious community, not with its speaker's ethnicity. Therefore, in the context of the Holocaust many researchers treat Yiddish as doomed to extinction and see no sense in its revitalization. The weakness of this chapter lies in the fact that there are obvious and significant differences between Yiddish in Eastern and Western Europe (let alone the United States and Israel), and these have not been explored in the book under review. One can claim that there is an 'imagined community' of new Yiddish speakers, but there are also 'real' communities of Yiddish speakers in different places around the world and their role is quite important for the understanding of the (socio) linguistic situation of this language. Because of the lack of a research context, the distinction between Yiddish communities – ultra-Orthodox (especially in the US and Israel, but also in some communities of Western Europe) that represent 'authentic' Yiddish and secular new speakers – is not sufficiently justified here. In my opinion, in this particular study, reference should be made to the particular Yiddish community in Edinburgh under consideration rather than "Yiddish communities" in general. Even though a distinction between traditional speakers of Yiddish and new speakers can be made, such categorizations contribute to the complexity of the phenomenon of new speakers.

The fourth chapter *Who speaks for the Lemko Language?* (pp. 93–117) provides the most comprehensive analysis of this one particular minority language community. The sociolinguistic situation of the Lemko language is accurately described (including the historical, educational and social context), and the chapter gives a well-constructed and clear discourse on language ideologies and different approaches to the language problems new speakers of Lemko face. The dimension of the field research is of great importance here. The chapter discusses how language/national ideologies and the community's identity strategies influence language structure and use. This part also addresses the issue of different forms of boundaries that concern minority language communities. In the case of Breton the boundaries are constructed around the problem of nativeness; for Yiddish, these are the religious boundaries; for Lemko, according to Michael Hornsby's research, these would be (at least to a certain extent) the ethnic boundaries. Hornsby shows how new speakers of Lemko, who are not ethnic Lemkos, are not accepted as part of the community despite their proficiency in the language and close relations with members of the group. Another distinctive aspect important in the case of Lemko results from this minority's internal division between the Lemkos who claim to be a distinct group and those who identify with the Ukrainian minority. This is precisely the issue of legitimacy signalled in the title of the book.

In the last, fifth chapter *New Speakers: The Future of Minority Languages?* (pp. 118–149), Michael Hornsby examines the place for new speakers in language revitalization and how it relates to the problems of 'authenticity' and 'legitimacy'. In order to show to what extent these problems are common for minority languages he introduces two additional case studies: the Cornish language that has been revitalized by the process of the so-called 'language engineering' (the last native speaker of this language passed away at the end of 18th century), and Guernesiais – the language of Guernsey,

one of the Channel Islands, which is a 'barely alive' language according to Fishman. At this point the discussion is organized into subchapters on pronunciation, lexicon, and grammar. Hornsby shows how the discourses of language legitimacy and ownership are reproduced, and what problems they cause for language revitalization processes. Hornsby does not limit his discussion to presenting the possible problems, but he recommends possible solutions. He proposes looking at other discourses that could serve as alternatives to the dominant discourses of 'authenticity' and 'legitimacy'.

According to Hornsby, language ideologies and speakers' identities are interrelated. The two most important ideologies that influence identities are: 1) the ideology of essentialist link between language and identity; and 2) the ideology of the social hierarchy of languages. In the first case, the link between language and ethnic (national) identity is perceived as inseparable, organic. Despite the fact that this thesis is easy to contest, as it does not reflect the situation of many communities situated all over the world, what is interesting is that this ideology is so deeply rooted in the European mind that for many it is taken for granted. It means that minority language groups can delegitimize some peoples' part in a speech community if, according to them, their language use is not sufficient. On the other hand, people from outside a speech community, especially from the majority group, can also legitimize who can be a part of that group, and under what circumstances. The person who has no 'biological' connections with a group can be denied membership despite their own identification and language competences. The second ideology links the use of a language with the social position of a person: the use of the dominant language is connected with progress/mobility, while the use of a minority language is perceived as lacking a perspective, etc. Both types of ideology influence the perception of minority languages and may result in the failure of revitalization efforts. To explain this process, Michael Hornsby uses the concept of the dis/invention of languages, referring to the book by Sinfree Makoni and Alistair Pennycook, *Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages* (2007), who state that 'the systematicity of language is just an illusion, a regulated process of repetition on discourse, a product of performative acts'. With reference to Benedict Anderson's concept of the *imagined communities*, speech communities can also be perceived as a subject of creation and, therefore, of exclusion of those who do not fit the desired type of speaker; hence the need to have a defined language in order to be able to identify oneself as a member of a distinct group. New speakers find themselves caught between the 'colonial' idea that language *equals* people, and their willingness to fit into a 'traditional' group based on the common use of a language form. Naturally, language ideologies, as shown in the book, work both ways: new speakers can be critical of traditional speakers and vice versa. Nevertheless, more often it is the new speaker's language that is evaluated negatively and, therefore, possesses a low status.

The last important issue in respect of new speakers of minority languages discussed by Michael Hornsby concerns the goal of language revitalization, which is either to retain intergenerational transmission and keep the speakers' reality and language forms unchanged, or to make the language alive/visible in whatever form possible. This problem is acknowledged through the concept of postvernacularity of languages, as a way for (some) minority language practices to exist today, including translanguaging, using the language in performative acts, etc. According to Michael Hornsby 'Performative competence is therefore not a scientifically verifiable variable and involves many different stances, perceptions and ideologies which may work against effective communication. Working around these obstacles is as much the task of language planners of minoritized languages as is language standardization or documentation' (p. 139). Post-

vernacularity means that 'the communicative functions of the language are no longer the primary reasons for its usage' (p. 139–140 after Costa 2015: 129). This concept is important if we notice that the situation of many minority languages is now complicated: they are still to some extent a means of communication between some members of a speech community, but they also evolve beyond that use and have some traits of post-vernacular languages. Many people identifying with a minority language speech community use them only when they are in special places/with particular persons or when they use only some words in the minority language, while the main discourse is in the dominant language. However, it does not mean that these people are not part of the speech community. It just means that the speech community should be redefined.

Michael Hornsby concludes his book with the following words: 'The place of new speakers in language communities is therefore complex, complicated and contested – but they do offer future possibilities for the extended use of minoritized languages that otherwise might join the statistics of those languages that "die" and are lost on a weekly basis' (p. 149). In my opinion, this kind of comparative study is important as it facilitates the understanding of how complicated and internally diversified the problem of minority language speakers is. The unquestionable advantage of this book is the discussion of how different discourses concerning minority languages and speakers (those from the majority group, native speakers, new speakers, language revitalizers, researchers…) intersect and influence one another. Thanks to this analysis we can come to the realization that each person commenting on the subject of minority languages has their own language ideology that influences the perception of the problem and its possible solutions. Different discourses affect attitudes of (potential) minority language speakers and their linguistic practices. The most important value of this book is therefore to show that the process of language revitalization is totally dependent on language discourses, ideologies and perceptions. As mentioned earlier, the way the research on the three case studies has been presented leaves much to be desired. It would be interesting to compare different motivations of new speakers to learn the language and other important issues, for example. Nevertheless, as a whole this book provides a wider view of the phenomenon of new speakers of minority languages and points out some important obstacles on the way to the revitalization of these languages. As such it is an important voice in the discussion of the role of new speakers for minority language survival.

Nicole Dołowy-Rybińska

Alain-G. Gagnon: Das Zeitalter der Ungewissheiten. Essays über Föderalismus und nationale Diversität. Baden-Baden: Nomos 2014 (= Schriftenreihe des Europäischen Zentrums für Föderalismus-Forschung Tübingen; 42), 217 S.

„Seit dem Fall der Berliner Mauer und dem Niedergang der Sowjetunion scheinen wir uns in der Tat in politischen Fragen in einem Zeitalter der großen Ungewissheiten zu befinden" (S. 31). Gekennzeichnet durch die gesellschaftliche Behauptung und die Resilienz der Minderheitennationen – oder staatenlosen Nationen – gegenüber dem fehlenden politischen Willen seitens der Mehrheitsnationen, ihre differenzierten Charakteristiken anzuerkennen und ihren Autonomieforderungen nachzukommen, lässt dieses