

zwischen einem deutschen und einem sorbischen Sprachraum verliefen, sondern auch innerslawische Bezüge aufwiesen. Insgesamt lässt sich eine Öffnung der sorbischen Kultur nach unterschiedlichen Richtungen konstatieren, die im 18. Jahrhundert maßgeblich durch frömmigkeitliche bzw. religiöse Initiativen beeinflusst worden ist.

Gersdorfs nicht immer spannungsfreies Verhältnis zu seinem Großcousin Zinzendorf wirft ein interessantes Schlaglicht auf die Beziehungen der frühen Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine zum Adel. Als Oberamtsauptmann bemühte sich der Graf nicht nur zeitweilig darum, die Auswirkungen von Zinzendorfs Verbannung aus Kursachsen abzufedern, sondern zog rund zehn Jahre später im Hintergrund die Fäden bei dessen Rückkehr und bei der Anerkennung der Herrnhuter als Augsburger Konfessionsverwandte. Auf längere Sicht scheint Gersdorfs persönliche Unterstützung Zinzendorfs allerdings seine eigene politische Karriere gehemmt zu haben. Sein materielles Engagement zugunsten der Brüdergemeine sollte ihn gar selbst in finanzielle Schwierigkeiten bringen. Gersdorfs Tod ohne direkte Nachkommen zog Erbstreitigkeiten nach sich; dies und unterschiedliche weitere Gründe trugen dazu bei, dass ihm weder in der Oberlausitz allgemein noch speziell unter den Herrnhutern ein besonderes Nachleben beschieden war. Es ist das Verdienst der vorliegenden Studie, die Rolle des Grafen als Vermittler pietistischer Frömmigkeit in der Oberlausitz und vornehmlich unter den Sorben dem Vergessen entrissen zu haben.

Das Buch wartet mit zahlreichen neuen Forschungsergebnissen auf. Es enthält diverse hilfreiche Tabellen, Karten, eine Stammtafel der Gersdorfs, einen Abbildungsteil sowie ein annotiertes Personen- und ein Ortsverzeichnis. Trotz seines Umfangs und seiner Quellensättigung ist es meist hervorragend lesbar. Bei allem – manchmal vielleicht etwas überbordenden – Detailreichtum handelt es sich um einen substanziellen Beitrag zur modernen Pietismusforschung. Die Studie wird zweifellos zu einem Standardwerk der sorbisch-deutschen Beziehungen im 18. Jahrhundert avancieren und zur weiteren Einbettung der Oberlausitzer Geschichte in die allgemeine Geschichte des frühneuzeitlichen Mitteleuropa beitragen.

*Alexander Schunka*

**Nicole Dołowy-Rybińska: “Nikt za nas tego nie zrobi”. Praktyki językowe i kulturowe młodych aktywistów mniejszości językowych Europy.** Toruń: Fundacja Nauki Polski 2017, pp. 576

“Nikt za nas tego nie zrobi”. Praktyki językowe i kulturowe młodych aktywistów mniejszości językowych Europy [‘Nobody will do it for us’. Language and cultural practices of Europe’s linguistic minorities’ young activists], the latest monograph by Nicole Dołowy-Rybińska, provides a reader with a comprehensive and thorough discussion on language practices, identities and language revitalisation activities of young Breton, Sorbian, Welsh and Kashubian language activists. Nicole Dołowy-Rybińska has published extensively on identity of minority language speakers, issues in language revitalization, language policy and planning and language rights, and other topics relating to ethnic and linguistic minorities of Brittany, Kashubia and Lusatia. In her book “Języki i kultury mniejszościowe w Europie. Bretończycy, Łużycanie, Kaszubi” [‘Minority languages and cultures in Europe. Bretons, Sorbs, Kashubs’] (2011) the author discussed the contemporary sociolinguistic situation and status of the three linguistic minorities within their wider communities as well as the role of education, media and language

revitalization activities in the maintenance of these languages. The book under review, thus, constitutes a continuation of Dołowy-Rybińska's work, this time concentrating on young language activists and their role in minority language communities and language revitalization and maintenance. Indeed, it is through the voices of young people actively involved in their respective language and ethnic communities that the themes explored in the book are discussed.

The book is organized into an introduction, eight thematic chapters, each subdivided into a number of sections and followed by conclusions, detailed reference list, summary in English, thematic and name index. Although the analysis presented in the book belongs to the field of linguistic anthropology, there are strong elements of ethnography, socio-linguistics, and minority language studies, thus making it truly interdisciplinary.

The Introduction is devoted to explaining the theoretical background to the study and the methodology employed. The study was conducted in four countries among four minorities: Kashubs in Poland, Upper Sorbs in Germany, Bretons in France and the Welsh in Wales/UK. The participants were young activists between ages 16 and 25. Over a hundred semi-structured interviews were conducted and analyzed, which combined with participant observation, constitutes a goldmine of research data allowing for a thorough and comprehensive analysis. Indeed, the methodology employed and described in the book resulted in a model ethnographic comparative analysis that every beginner ethnographer should study and use as a template.

Chapter one (Sociolinguistic situation and language practices of the young) begins with the discussion of the sociolinguistic situation of each of the four minority languages and their speakers. The author quotes official data on the number of speakers and refers to previously published studies on their language practices. However, this analysis is not just a review of the statistical data available as the author supplements the numbers with citations of her own interviewees, thus reinforcing certain claims and updating others. By including the voices of young people actively involved in language activism and actions to maintain their respective minority languages the author provides the reader with a personalized perspective on the data discussed. Then, the author proceeds to discuss language ideologies the speakers (and young language activists) of each minority language discussed come across and the ones they hold themselves. The final part of this chapter is devoted to state language policy directed at each of the minorities discussed, comparison and contrast of their situation and responses to the official state policies as well as actions of individuals.

Chapter two (Institutionalized transmission of minority languages) examines different types of minority language education (immersion education, bilingual education, teaching minority language as a second/foreign language) as employed in the regions studied and their effects. Education in a minority language is considered by many scholars vital in language revitalization process. Not only does it increase the prestige of the language but also in those communities where intergenerational transmission has been broken, school is the only place where children can learn the language and increase their awareness of cultural heritage. As Dołowy-Rybińska shows (p. 113), obligatory minority language education can have an adverse effect on language use among teenagers for whom using the dominant language is a means of teenage rebellion. At such a sensitive stage the role of the attitudes of teachers and parents must not be underestimated as they have profound impact on children's perception of the language and their motivations to learn and use it. Hence, investigating the motivations of teachers to obtain qualifications for teaching

a minority language is extremely important as there are possible implications for teacher training (see the discussion pp. 116–120).

The issues of authenticity and legitimacy of minority language speakers are thoroughly discussed in chapter three (Young speakers of minority languages). Revitalization of minority languages entails classifying its speakers. A variety of terms have been used in literature (e. g. terminal speakers, ghost speakers, semi-speakers, rememberers, fluent speakers, native speakers, learners, new speakers) to describe their means of acquisition and abilities in the language. Here, the participants were divided into native speakers, learners and new speakers. Yet, it must be stressed that each such classification can never be clear-cut because of a variety of language abilities of speakers, the way they learned the language and the contexts in which they use it. These, in turn, lead to discussion on who is, or should be, considered an authentic and legitimate speaker of a minority language – a person who acquired the non-standard/dialectal form through intergenerational transmission or a new speaker who mastered the standardized ‘school variety’ of the language. In this chapter, we learn how young people from the four minorities studied perceive these problems, what challenges they come across and what are the implications for those involved in the language revitalization process.

The subsequent chapter (Constructing language identity) explores the how of minority language/culture identity formation of the young. The author begins with discussion of the relationship between language and identity referring to such authorities on the issue as FISHMAN (1991), EASTMAN (1984) and EDWARDS (1994, 2009), confronting the theory with opinions of participants in the study. Then, the issues of language as an ethnic boundary and belonging to a minority are explored. What we learn from this chapter is that language is considered the most important marker of identity among the youth. Yet, it possesses a symbolic value to them. The young participants have to constantly make choices to construct their identity with language being at its core. Language is not only a means of communication, they argue, it also carries cultural and historical knowledge of the community. Not being able to speak the language thus means not being able to truly understand the community and belong to it. The theme of belonging is then explored in depth in the next chapter.

The starting point of the discussion in chapter five (Community in the eyes of the young) is TÖNNIES’S (2008) definition of community in terms of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* together with DURKHEIM’S two types of social bonds: mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. Through the voices of the young we learn how minority cultures and communities have changed. In the past there were close-knit communities defined by clear-cut ethnic and linguistic boundaries. These days belonging to a community is more about institutional participation. The young idealize the past communities of their great/grandparents, as nowadays belonging to communities, and thus maintaining a minority culture identity, means making constant choices, investments and sacrifices, which they often describe as a battle. Consequently, TÖNNIES’S definition of community no longer encompasses a whole panoply of communities and identities identified in the four minority language contexts.

Chapter six (Community and identity practices of the young) reviews the contemporary community practices of the young identified in the previous chapter. The author explores the role of ethnic/linguistic minority interests groups and their role in the identity formation of groups and individuals, and as an incentive for wider engagement in minority language activism. The reader is presented with data from Kashubian workshops

‘Remusowa Kara’ and activities of ‘Klub Studencki Pomorania’ [Pomorania Students’ Association], Sorbian students’ club ‘Sorabija’, immersion Diwan schools in Brittany and Eisteddfodau in Wales. Though different in the range of activities offered and their target groups, all these organizations/associations play an invaluable role in strengthening the identities and feelings of belonging to a given minority. The chapter ends with the analysis of the role of the so-called new media (internet forums, Facebook, etc.) and their role in virtual community formation, which leads to greater ethnic awareness and, in consequence, activism in minority language causes.

The penultimate chapter (Towards activism) examines the motivations for engaging in language activism. Of note here is the application of PUJOLAR et al.’s (2012, 2015) notion of linguistic *mudes* – changes in one’s linguistic repertoire in one’s life trajectory – to anthropological analysis of turning points in life leading to one’s active participation in language activism. These cultural *mudes* refer to important events, practices or people that exerted significant influence on the young and motivated them to take a greater interest in the fate of their respective minority languages and cultures. Being typological in nature, *mudes* allow classification of wider and more complex interrelated phenomena, according to Dołowy-Rybińska (p. 338). In later parts of the chapter the reader is presented with different types of language activism and how they are perceived by the insiders (activists) and outsiders (society). The young activists, whose voices we hear throughout the book, share their feelings about the benefits of being actively engaged in ventures and projects aimed at saving their languages and cultures.

Cultural and socio-political changes necessitate linguistic and ethnic minorities to constantly redefine themselves. To show their distinctness and dissimilarity from the dominant language culture, many minorities tend to folklorize their cultures and/or resort to invented traditions. The final chapter (Between tradition, folklore and modernity) discusses this extremely important aspect of revitalization of minority languages and cultures. It explores the dilemmas of the young activists as to the shape of their minority cultures and the ways in which each of the minorities discussed deals with folklorization and modernization of their cultures.

The concluding remarks (Discourses of endangerment and responsibility) sum up the arguments presented in the book and show that the language and cultural practices of minorities are seen through the prism of their history and socio-political and cultural changes. The resulting discourses of language endangerment and the urgency of language protection and revitalization have a significant impact on language and cultural practices of the young activists. It also introduces a meta-reflection on the activist’s discourses. It discusses how young people internalize the discourses of multilingualism, language endangerment, and responsibility for languages’ future.

In summary, the book under review was written in a very accessible language and style, making it suitable not only for a seasoned researcher but also a novice in the field or a non-academic reader interested in the subject matter. The analysis is executed with great expertise and up to the highest academic standards in contemporary sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology and ethnography. The themes discussed and conclusions drawn have crucial implications for further research in this field. Hence, it is the opinion of the reviewer that the book should also be translated into English (or other so-called conference languages) so that it reaches a wider academic audience as it might be of great interest to non-Polish speaking academics and stakeholders. Future editions of the book, and/or its translations, would also allow the author to amend the minute flaws that have crept in,

but do not reflect poorly on the analysis. As such I include the lack of footnotes explaining organizations or traditions of a given minority mentioned that may not be familiar to some readers, e. g. Kashubian *Remus* (p. 202), or Sorbian *mejemjetanje* (p. 218) and the claim that Welsh bards are crowned, whereas in fact they are chaired. All in all, however, this book constitutes a model for future research on linguistic and ethnic minorities around the world.

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*Karolina Rosiak*