Negotiating language practices and policies in Sorbian-German families in Upper Lusatia

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Introduction to the theoretical context and to the Lusatian context

1 Introduction

The Sorbs in Lusatia, like so many minorities or minoritised groups, are striving to maintain, strengthen and revive their language, so that it can be part of a positive identity and a vibrant cultural life that is not restricted by the symbolic dominance and instrumental advantage of a majority language. In the 1990s new paths were taken in pre-school and school education, prepared by tireless pioneers. Immersion education in kindergartens and bilingual education in schools replaced the traditional separate instruction in Sorbian and German. The possibility for children who could not learn Sorbian at home to do so playfully in kindergarten raised hopes of stabilising the number of speakers. Apart from the pragmatic attempt to achieve the necessary number of pupils to maintain the Sorbian schools, the bilingual education was linked to the hope that the German-speaking pupils would actively use the language when they left school instead of having a predominantly passive knowledge of Sorbian.

When I began to think about researching the situation of families using Sorbian or trying to increase their use of Sorbian in 2018, there were emotional discussions about the limitations of the Sorbian education in schools because the desired results had not been achieved and the Sorbian language proficiency of the pupils was not as expected. At the same time, Sorbian institutions were struggling to find qualified staff. I felt that the discussions were too narrowly confined to the school. I still remember a letter to the editor of the *Serbske Nowiny* in which a reader called for autonomous Sorbian schools, because apparently no one could exert influence the families themselves. But what about finding out how to support families who want to pass on Sorbian to their children, I thought.

Meanwhile, the public Sorbian discourse is full of *rěčne rumy*, 'language spaces'; a parents' initiative in Catholic Upper Lusatia has set up attractive after-school activities in Sorbian that differ from the existing offer; in Lower Lusatia an immersion programme for adult learners of Sorbian will be launched in 2023, and "language motivators" are working in Protestant regions where the Sorbian intergenerational transmission has been disrupted. All these new efforts will hopefully strengthen and (re)connect the threads that hold the diverse Sorbian language community together. As I finish writing this thesis, the most satisfying feeling for me is probably to see that there is a growing awareness of the need for a school to be embedded in a supportive language environment is growing.

My thesis deals with the negotiations of language use in Sorbian-German interlingual families in Catholic Upper Lusatia. In this context, it explores the language attitudes and ideologies that shape the practices and strategies of language use of six case study families.

Chapter 2 provides the theoretical background and the inspirations that have informed my study. Chapter 3 introduces the Sorbian context in Lusatia in Germany. In chapter 4, I further describe my decision to study interlingual families in the Catholic region and position myself as a researcher. Chapter 5 outlines my research methodology, which includes a biographical and partly ethnographic approach. Chapter 6 serves as an introduction and overview of the research participants. Finally, in chapters 7 to 9, I discuss language practices, attitudes and ideologies, and management as conveyed by the participants, before concluding the thesis with a discussion in chapter 10.

2 Theoretical background

2.1 Bi- and multilingualism

Bi- and *multilingualism*, as the presence of two or more languages on an individual or societal level, is the precondition for my writing about language negotiations and family language policy in this thesis. It arises because speakers of different languages meet, intentionally or unintentionally, i.e. there is a situation of language contact. Individuals acquire more than one language in their family or closest community or people later learn languages that give them access to information and resources. The way in which an individual uses different languages varies. What exactly is meant by bilingualism and multilingualism is specified by a variety of further nuanced terms that refer to the competence of the speaker, the way in which he or she acquires the languages, and the way in which the languages are used. An overview is provided e.g. by Li Wei (2000) and Anat Stavans & Charlotte Hoffmann (2015). In this thesis I write about families, in which the children grow up exposed to Sorbian and German from the very beginning. In this sense, they are *simultaneous bilinguals* (De Houwer 1995; De Houwer 2009). This also applies to some of the parents in the study, some of whom have acquired productive or active Sorbian and German and some of whom have acquired productive German and receptive Sorbian, i.e. they speak, write and understand German and they understand Sorbian. Others are *successive*, *consecutive* or *sequential bilinguals* (Thompson 2000) either because they grew up with Sorbian at home and acquired German in the community and at school, or because they grew up with German at home and acquired Sorbian a) at the school and in the community or b) later in life. All of the former are *productive/active bilinguals* because they understand and speak Sorbian and German. The latter are mostly *receptive bilinguals* (Gooskens 2019) because they understand and speak German and understand but do not speak Sorbian. The term *balanced bilingual* (Jaffe 2011) describes individuals who are roughly equally competent in two languages. This is not the case for the receptive bilinguals in this study who have learned to understand Sorbian later in life.

Bi- and multilingualism may or may not include *bi-* and *multilingual literacy*. The ability to read and write is the basis for communication in the written mode. Bi-/multilingual literacy involves reading and writing in more than one language "with understanding, i.e. to make decontextualised use of language" (Stavans & Hoffmann 2015: 265). *Literacy practices* include typical activities around text and written language.

A word of caution is needed in order to avoid an uncritical understanding of languages as bounded entities. While I do refer to my participants as Sorbian-German bilinguals, speakers of Sorbian (in the case of active bilinguals) and speakers of German (in the case of monolinguals or receptive bilinguals), it is clear that bilinguals are not two monolinguals in one person and that bi- and multilingualism is better understood as a continuum from less to more bilingual proficiency (Stavans & Hoffmann 2015). The concept of the *linguistic repertoire* captures this very well and goes beyond it. It not only encompasses the languages, language varieties or codes that a speaker can use to interact in particular situations and with particular interlocutors, i.e. "all accepted ways of formulating messages", but it can also be applied to take into account past experiences with language and future aspirations (Busch 2012: 19). With its focus on the individual, the notion of *linguistic repertoire* can be used to capture both the rules that an individual learns to follow and follows in interaction and the lived experience of language. Thus, although languages may be perceived as bounded and separate – as I will show for Sorbian and German in the Lusatian context, including

by myself when I focus on the position of Sorbian in the *language practices* (see 2.3 below) of the participants –, the actual use of all linguistic resources is recognised. Brigitta Busch (2012: 18) outlines four characteristics of language use that can be encompassed by the concept of linguistic repertoire: Languages, codes and registers are seen as separate only "in relation to one another"; their meaning depends on the experiences and life trajectories of the individual speaker; their use and the evaluation thereof is context-bound according to the rules in different "spaces of communication"; and the linguistic repertoire includes not only the language practices acquired on the basis of past experiences with language, but also forward-pointing "ideas, desires, and imaginations" of future language practices, e.g. linked with language learning. In short, "the lived experiences of language use over time shape the linguistic repertoire of a person" (Flubacher & Purkarthofer 2022: 7), and both can change.

The participants in this study may speak or understand more languages than Sorbian and German, languages they have learned at school or later in life. Although I asked them about their experiences with other languages and some of them talked about topics related to these languages, the focus of this thesis is on Sorbian and German. This means that writing about the participants as bilinguals does not exclude the possibility that other languages are or have been part of their linguistic repertoires.

The lived experience of language in a bi- or multilingual context involves ways of using language that do not adhere to purported language boundaries. The concepts of *code-switching* and *translanguaging* refer to the use of more than one language within a conversation and to the fluid switching between languages between sentences, within sentences, for phrases, and for words, as bi- and multilinguals interact. Roughly speaking, however, the former allows an approach to bilingual speech that reveals the underlying structural rules and the social constraints that guide the combination of two languages, while the latter actually rejects the conceptualisation of bilingual speech as a combination of different languages and language practices (García & Li Wei 2014). *Translanguaging* takes the bilingual individual as its starting point and recognises that the bilingual does not (necessarily) separate bounded languages in order to convey meaning. There is a debate as to whether bilingualism, from a psycholinguistic point of view, implies two linguistic systems or a single linguistic system with lexicon and grammar, as proposed by a part of the proponents of translanguaging (García & Otheguy 2019). Importantly, the concept is used to describe the way bi- and multilinguals oppose "monolingual ideologies in the form of one language only, or one language at a time" (Li Wei 2018: 606) in their speech.

The language use and the competences of bi- and multilinguals are usually specific to different contexts. Not every language has to be used for everything, and languages can be used in different contexts according to the complementary principle (Stavans & Hoffmann 2015). One way of conceptualising such contexts is through the influential notion of linguistic domains. Domains of language behaviour correspond to regularities in language choice that are related to group membership, situational settings and topic. Within domains, role relations further differentiate language use between individuals. Examples of such domains are the family, the neighbourhood, the school, the workplace, the church, the media, the government (Fishman 2000 [1965]). The family is the focus of this thesis, but it is not the only domain that I will consider. Although it might be considered a private domain, this would ignore the fact that language use in families is publicly discussed and commented upon, whether by others (media, politics) or by family members themselves (blogs, vlogs), as Elizabeth Lanza (2021) points out. She suggests conceiving of the family as a *space* rather than a domain.

The family, as one of the spaces in which bilingualism is made possible, can be an *interlingual family*, in which more than one language is spoken. Masayo Yamamoto's framework for defining interlingual family types highlights the diversity that can fall under this and related terms (Yamamoto 2001). She proposes a broad taxonomy that includes families who speak one or more languages, all of which are different from the community language, as well as families who speak at least two languages at home, including the community language. The distinction takes into account families in which the adult caregivers have the same language background as well as families in which they have different language backgrounds, thus including interethnic or intermarried couples with different native or first languages. In addition, partners may or may not be able to speak each other's first or native language. Although this framework is very useful for comparing case studies in different contexts, it is not fully applicable to autochthonous minority language contexts, where the combinations of shared and different language backgrounds include more than just one community language. In this thesis, I use the term *interlingual couple* to refer to spouses with different language backgrounds and/or different roles as speakers of Sorbian or German in the family. I will explain this in more detail in chapter 4.1.

2.1.1 Individual and societal bilingualism

The concept of domain indicates the societal dimension of bi- and multilingualism. The Sorbian-German case is one of asymmetrical societal bilingualism in a more or less delimited territory within a state. (See Bartelheimer, Hufeisen & Montanari 2019 for more on the different types of bi- and multilingualism in Europe.) One part of the society speaks two languages and another part of the society speaks one of these languages, both of which are *officially recognised* in the territory in question. Again, I abstract from additional languages that are part of individual bi- and multilingualism. In relation to each other, the two languages have minority and majority status. A *majority language* is used by a dominant group in a social position of greater power and influence, which may also be numerically larger than other groups of speakers. A *minority language* is used by a subordinate group and/or a numerically smaller group in the same area. If it is used by a subordinate group, it is in a social position with a more limited legal status and lower prestige than a *majority* or *dominant language* (Stavans & Hoffmann 2015). An *autochthonous* minority language is one that is indigenous to a particular area and has been used there for a considerable period of time. While it may be a minority language in one area, it may at the same time be the majority language of people in another state. Other, *allochthonous*, minority languages are minority languages because their speakers have migrated to a place where their languages are not used by a dominant group. They are referred to, among other, as *heritage languages* and *community languages* (Extra & Gorter 2009). A speaker-centred perspective does not focus on numerical aspects, but on the social power relations and the resulting negative experiences of minorisation due to the use of non-dominant languages (Flubacher & Purkarthofer 2022: 9). However, in terms of legal recognition and rights, the *territorial principle* is mostly applied, and the right to use and receive services in a minority language is restricted to designated territories (Romaine 2013; Stavans & Hoffmann 2015).

Language contact and the asymmetrical relationship between dominant and minoritised languages lead to changes in language use and language structure, which are studied under the headings of *language shift* and *language maintenance*. *Language shift* is the process and outcome of the gradual replacement of an individual's or society's main language(s) by another language in all domains of use, whereas *language maintenance* is the process by which a minority language is continuously used in one or more domains, exclusively or together with another language (Pauwels 2016). Where the use of a minority language has declined sharply and only a small number of people speak it,

efforts to increase its use again are better captured by the term *language revitalisation* (Hinton 2011; Hornsby 2015; Hinton, Huss & Roche 2018).

Language maintenance, shift and revitalisation ultimately come about through communicative interaction. In settings, where majority and minority are in an unequal power relationship of dominant and subordinate groups, language use and language choice can be observed to be guided by linguistic accommodation principles that favour the use of the language of the dominant social group. The *linguistic subordination norm* describes speakers of minority languages using the majority language to, or in front of, speakers of the majority language (Hornsby 2011). To explain this type of behaviour *Communication accommodation theory CAT* takes into account the intergroup context (the relationship between e.g. majority and minority groups in terms of ethnolinguistic vitality, state language policies, and group status or position), the sociolinguistic setting (the density of individual linguistic networks for each language), and social psychological processes (desires for social integration or differentiation) (Sachdev, Giles & Pauwels 2013). CAT views multilingual accommodation as a means of establishing and negotiating relations between social groups, defined as "constant movement toward and away from others, by changing one's communicative behavior" (Sachdev, Giles & Pauwels 2013: 394). *Convergence* involves the adaptation towards the language preferences of the interlocutor, *divergence* involves moving away from the interlocutor's language preferences, e.g. switching to a language not spoken by the interlocutor, and *maintenance* involves maintaining one's own way of speaking without explicitly diverging from the interlocutor's preferences. Accommodative behaviour is motivated by the desire for social approval and the expression of distinctive group membership. Differences in social status and position, as well as ethnolinguistic vitality, make upward accommodation towards a dominant language more likely than downward accommodation towards a minority language (Sachdev, Giles & Pauwels 2013). The *linguistic subordination norm* illustrates this in that convergence towards a dominant language is socially endorsed by both dominant and minority group members. The situation is intensified when linguistic competence is asymmetrically distributed and convergence towards the dominant language is understood in terms of politeness and courtesy, as it is perceived as the only way to ensure smooth communicative interaction (Hornsby 2011).

When communities (of different sizes) find themselves in processes of language shift, maintenance and revitalisation, their individual members (whether speakers of the minority language or not) may have a sharper *language awareness*. This refers to a conscious understanding of how language works and how it is used in society. Even children are aware of the languages or linguistic resources they have, how they use them and how they contribute to feeling included or excluded in a given community (Flubacher & Purkarthofer 2022). Language awareness can refer to language itself and its grammatical structure (*metalinguistic awareness*), to pragmatic rules of language use, and to the values attributed to language, language varieties and their use (Maćkowiak 2020).

2.1.2 Bilingual language acquisition and socialisation

The challenge to define bi- and multilingualism unambiguously also applies to language acquisition, which can follow various trajectories, e.g. *simultaneous*, *successive*, *early* or *late bi- and multilingual language acquisition*. Furthermore, the resulting bi- and multilingualism can be *additive* or *subtractive*, as well as *productive/active* or *receptive/passive* as mentioned above. In *simultaneous bilingual language acquisition*, children are exposed to and acquire two languages from birth, and in *successive bilingual language acquisition*, children begin to acquire a second language after an initial time (e.g. two years) with only one first language; bilingual language acquisition may be *early*,

starting before the age of six or seven years, or *late*, starting after this age (Gram Simonsen & Southwood 2021). *Additive language acquisition* means that all languages are used continuously, whereas *subtractive language acquisition* means that in successive language acquisition the first languages are used less and less and become weaker in terms of proficiency, while a second language becomes stronger in terms of proficiency and dominant in terms of opportunities for use (Gram Simonsen & Southwood 2021). In addition to language acquisition through interaction or by listening to others interact, a language can also be acquired through formal second language instruction and literacy instruction, for example at school (De Houwer 2009).

In general, the term *language acquisition* implies a focus on the person who becomes a speaker of a language. Research on language acquisition provides insights into the process of how language is learned, the cognitive prerequisites that make human language specific and unique, the social conditions under which language is learned, and how and for what purposes children use their growing language knowledge. It deals with joint attention, intentionality, perception, sound production, lexical acquisition and the acquisition of grammatical structures (Behrens 2011).

The term *language transmission* allows attention to be drawn to the directionality of intergenerational transmission in the family or broadly defined home environment. In contrast, *language socialisation* research takes a broader view of the social context of language acquisition, language learning and language use. This includes the acquisition of lexicon and grammar as well pragmatics and norms of language use in social interaction, e.g. with regard to register and language choice. Bambi Schieffelin and Elinor Ochs (1986: 163) identify two important components of language socialisation as "socialization through the use of language and socialization to use language". Thus, language is used to initiate desired and appropriate behaviour, and the use of language in behaviour and interaction models language use in a given community. This view leaves open the multidirectionality of influence in language acquisition and use, recognising the agency of adults, parents, children and peers. Moreover, it is not limited to children's language acquisition but also applies to adults in new linguistic and social environments.

Annick De Houwer (2009), using Language A and Language Alpha to name the two languages involved, provides an overview of language acquisition, distinguishing between language development in monolingual and bilingual first language acquisition and early second language acquisition. Two first approximate milestones for language comprehension and production are at ages 1 and 2. By the age of 1, children can understand words and by the age of 2, children begin to produce language, mostly short sentences (at least two-word utterances), in *monolingual first language acquisition. In bilingual first language acquisition*, the term used by De Houwer to refer to *simultaneous bilingual language acquisition*, children can understand words in both languages by the age of 1 and begin to produce short sentences either in both languages or only in one of their languages by the age of 2. In *early second language acquisition*, children understand words in their first language by the age of 1 and later develop comprehension in their second language. The same applies to language production in the first language by the age of 2 and the later start of production in the second language (De Houwer 2009: 6). The fact that in bilingual first language acquisition not all children begin speaking both languages does not only concern the earlier period of language acquisition. Not all children in such a setting become productive bilinguals, some only become receptive bilinguals. De Houwer refers to a survey she conducted in the 1990s among some 1800 families in Flanders, Belgium. In 71% of the two-parent families that used two languages at home, the dominant language and a minority language, the children actively used both languages, the rest only spoke the dominant language, Dutch. De Houwer found a difference between families, where

both parents spoke the minority language and one parent in addition spoke Dutch (in 93% of these families the children spoke both languages), families, where both parents spoke Dutch and one parent also spoke the minority language (in 36% of these families the children spoke both languages) and families, where both parents spoke both languages (in 79% of these families the children spoke both languages) (De Houwer 2009: 9–10).

Parental language input patterns (who speaks which language(s) to the children/at home), the frequency, quantity, quality and diversity of input for both languages are all important for the acquisition of receptive and productive bilingual knowledge, as are the frequency, quality and diversity of language domains in which both languages can be used (Döpke 1992; Thordardottir 2011; Fibla et al. 2022). In addition to such factors, research on interactional patterns between adult caregivers and children has revealed important aspects of how children are socialised into speaking two languages (Döpke 1992; Lanza 1997; Gafaranga 2010; De Houwer & Nakamura 2021). Elizabeth Lanza's research on two Norwegian-English children between the ages of around 2 and 3 in Oslo, Norway, from 1985 to 1987 demonstrated the impact of different discourse strategies have on whether a child speaks and responds in a minority language (albeit a prestigious one) and whether he/she mixes or separates two languages. She identified five different (not necessarily consciously used) strategies that negotiate a more monolingual or a more bilingual context of interaction, with all adults being bilingual themselves but aiming to use predominantly one language with the child (Lanza 1997). Annick de Houwer and Janice Nakamura (2021) refer to Lanza's discourse strategies as the "bilingual family interaction model" (BIFIM). Basically, the discourse strategies described by Lanza are reactions to children's utterances in the language other than the preferred language of a particular caregiver, or to utterances that contain the mixing of two languages. Two of these reactions are described as monolingual discourse strategies that stimulate the child to speak and return to the same language as the adult speaks. The (a) Minimal Grasp Strategy is an unspecific request for clarification and may (but does not have to) result in the child switching to the adult's language, and (b) the Expressed Guess Strategy is essentially the rephrasing of the child's utterance as a question in the adult's language, aiming at a confirmation by the child. A third strategy, (c) the Adult Repetition, is characterised as being neutral or ambiguous with respect to the child's choice of language. It is a repetition in the adult's language of what the child has said. The child may take this response to be directed at language choice and indeed repeat what the adult has said, but may also take it to be a confirmation of the content or the teaching of an equivalent that does not require a response. Finally, two strategies are considered bilingual in that they do not require or motivate the child to switch to the adult's language. In (d) the Move On Strategy, the adult continues to speak his or her own language, and in (e) Language Switching (called code switching in Lanza's study), the adult switches to the child's languages or mixes the languages as well (De Houwer & Nakamura 2021). Through particular patterns of these discourse strategies, children are socialised early on to use only one or all of their languages when interacting with a particular adult. The more monolingual strategies help to establish an orientation towards the use of a particular language, and the more bilingual discursive routines signal to the child that using a language other than the adult's is accepted as appropriate and that it does not hinder communication. Susanne Döpke (1992) is another researcher who has explored discourse strategies in more detail under the heading of parental teaching techniques.

Receptive bilingualism allows for *dual-lingual interaction*, where interlocutors speak different languages, one of whom has productive and receptive proficiency in both languages, and one of whom has only receptive proficiency in both languages (Nakamura 2018). However, the consistent

use of bilingual discourse strategies with children during their language acquisition may socialise them into *dual-lingual interaction* as the predominant way of using the minority language and lead to a weaker development of productive language skills in it. If parents and children speak different languages from the beginning, the parents' continued use of the minority language is an important precondition for their children's ability to acquire this language, but nevertheless it becomes more difficult to transform receptive into productive language skills later on if parents and children are used to dual-lingual conversation (Gafaranga 2010; Nakamura 2018). It can also happen that "over time, parents adopt children's preferred code" (Kusters, De Meulder & Napier 2021: 700).

I would like to argue that acknowledging the important role that monolingual discourse strategies play in the socialisation into the use of a minority language (be it a non-societal or a societal one) does not mean to deny the validity of the concept of *translanguaging* as an empowering way to embrace actual bilingual language practices and to challenge monolingual ideologies. However, as long as there are asymmetries in the relationship between the languages used, monolingual discourse strategies aimed at the use of the minority language help to develop competence and confidence that allow for a virtuous use of a rich linguistic repertoire. Existing research on discoursive language socialisation patterns suggests that in order to be able to freely and spontaneously translanguage (as opposed to translanguaging for scaffolding, see Cenoz & Gorter 2021), it is also necessary to build the competence to interact in monolingual modes in more than one language (see also Cenoz & Gorter 2017 for the school context).

2.2 Language ideologies and language attitudes

Language behaviour and language choices (not only in multilingual communities and societies) are influenced by individual's and societies' views on language, language use and language users, as already indicated in the description of communication accommodation above. Other useful and widely used lenses through which to look at this are the concepts of *language ideologies* and *language attitudes*, both also referred to as *language beliefs*. While they share common features, some researchers point out to useful distinctions that help to take into account for different aspects of language beliefs (see, for example, Kircher & Zipp 2022; Roche 2019).

Language ideologies are understood as ideas, beliefs, assumptions or feelings about a given language that have been shaped by the historical circumstances of a particular community and are shared within that community. They influence how the community members use languages, and make sense of different language types, as well as their place and use in society (see Woolard & Schieffelin 1994; Schieffelin, Woolard & Kroskrity 1998). Kathryn Woolard also defines them as "morally and politically loaded representations of the nature, structure, and use of languages in a social world" (2020: 1) concerning both how language is and how it should be. Gerald Roche, writing about language beliefs, points out that they are truth claims in nature (2019). In a sense, language ideologies go beyond language awareness, in that the concept is used to critically illuminate social power relations that need not be conscious (Woolard 2020).

Language attitudes are "any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions towards different varieties and their speakers" (Ryan et al. 1982: 7, quoted in Kircher & Zipp 2022: 4). In being evaluative, they express judgements about language that are positive or negative (Roche 2019: 121–122). Ruth Kircher and Lena Zipp (2022) describe the three components that make up attitudes and two basic dimensions along which evaluations of language occur. The attitudinal components of affect, cognition and conation make it clear that language attitudes can be traced in the feelings evoked by languages and their users, the beliefs held about them, and the behaviour/behavioural

intentions directed towards them. The evaluative dimensions relate to status and solidarity, the former linked to upward social mobility and utilitarian value, the latter to social identity, belonging and in-group loyalty.

Both language ideologies and language attitudes are not limited to beliefs and evaluations about language and its use. They are linked to beliefs about people who use language and thus touch on issues such as "identity, power, aesthetics, morality, and epistemology" (Makihara & Schieffelin 2007: 14). Because language and social identity are closely linked, ideologies and attitudes about language are linked to ideologies and attitudes about its users (Kircher & Zipp 2022). However, while ideologies are shared by a larger community (even if not always by all members), attitudes are more individual in nature. Ideologies include beliefs; attitudes include beliefs, feelings and behaviours (Kircher & Zipp 2022). Language ideologies may be implicit, like common sense stereotypes about languages and their speakers, but they can shape overt language attitudes (Dołowy-Rybińska & Hornsby 2021). While language attitudes are not necessarily always expressed, they can be expressed more directly – and can make implicit language ideologies overt (Sallabank 2013).

In the context of bi- and multilingualism, language ideologies tend to reinforce a sociolinguistic hierarchy. In majority-minority situations, such as the one discussed in this thesis, language ideologies make one language dominant over another and its hegemonic position is widely accepted by both members of the majority and the minority. In an overview chapter on language ideologies, Janet Fuller (2019) discusses monoglossic ideologies, standard language ideologies and pluralist ideologies. She points out that while pluralist ideologies see bi- and multilingualism as an asset and while they may challenge hegemonic monoglossic and standard language ideologies, which see one language (variety) as dominant over other languages and varieties, they "must make reference to hegemonic ideologies, so even in resistance to hegemony, the competing ideologies also serve to reify the power asymmetry" (Fuller 2019: 119).

Monolingual ideologies see either monolingualism as the norm or bilingualism as the separate use of two languages (Heller 2006; Jaffe 2007; Fuller 2019). Multilingualism is therefore accepted as a set of parallel monolingualisms, and competence in several languages is valued as something positive, as long as they are kept separate when spoken and as long as they are used within the commonly accepted domains for each language.

Monolingual ideologies are related to nationalistic ideologies, mother tongue ideologies, standard language ideologies, and ideologies about the superiority of certain languages. *Nationalistic ideologies*, such as the 'one nation, one language' ideology, make one language the central marker of a nation and a state, and the use of this single language as the common language a condition for "social harmony and national unity" (Piller 2015: 6). The hegemonic claim associated with such a homogenising national language is obvious (Blommaert & Verschueren 1998; Blackledge 2008). Such a view also leads to an *essentialist* relationship between language and (collective) identity, emphasising a romantic, emotional and spiritual connection between a language and the "soul" of an individual or people (Blommaert 1999; Jaffe 2007; Pujolar 2007; Stavans & Hoffmann 2015). Hand in hand with an essentialist view of language is the *mother tongue ideology*, which links an individual's native language to their ethnicity and nationality. It leaves little room for multiple native languages or complex language biographies, in which the "mother tongue" is not the strongest language or not the national language (Fuller 2019; Davies 2003).

Standard language ideologies imply the appreciation of an abstract and homogeneous ideal of language, based on written language, which is recognisable in the reservation towards other

varieties of the same language (Lippi-Green 1994; Lippi-Green 2012). They are reflected in the belief that the standard form of a language is "aesthetically, morally, and intellectually superior to other ways of speaking the language" (Piller 2015: 4). This refers to dialectal variants of the same language, regional accents, the language of learners, but also to other languages. Standardisation is pursued to improve cross-regional communication and for economic efficiency. Standard language ideologies are reinforced primarily by the education system in which the standard language is acquired. Other (institutional and commercial) contributors to their maintenance are the media, the entertainment industry and the judicial system (Lippi-Green 1994). Although especially oral competence in the use of the standard language is limited to very few speakers, "its recognition as superior is universal and thus serves to justify social inequalities" (Piller 2015: 4). Associated with standard language ideologies are notions of *linguistic purism* and *correctness*, which imply that a language should be kept free from new influences from other languages. A historical form of the language, or the language as spoken by older members of the community, is seen as the ideal form, against which newer divergent forms are judged less favourably by their users (Dorian 1994; Fuller 2019; Sallabank 2013). In terms of forms of bilingual speech and recalling monolingual language ideologies, language mixing may also be perceived unfavourably by dominant group members.

Pluralist ideologies value linguistic diversity, but may still include ideas of separate monolingualisms and nationalisms, essentialist relationships between languages and their users, and sociolinguistic hierarchies between languages and their users (Fuller 2019). This becomes particularly important when the inferior status of languages is being challenged. As Monica Heller points out, "the logic of linguistic nationalism is available to minorities as a way to resist the power of the majority" (Heller 2006: 7). Thus, in their quest for social power, minority language movements and advocates often draw on the language ideologies that helped to construct nation-states and thus led to the minority-status in the first place (Heller 2007).

A final important sub-debate within the language ideology discussions that will be relevant to this thesis is the one on *ideologies of linguistic authority*, that is addressed by Kathryn Woolard (2016a). She discusses the *ideologies of authenticity* and the *ideologies of anonymity* as granting authority to, in the former case, to language users who use varieties that are locally rooted, recognisable as someone's language, recognisable as the language spoken somewhere, and, importantly, have not acquired it through study. Authority through authenticity is largely granted and limited to minority languages and users. In the second case, the ideologies of anonymity, authority is granted to language users who use varieties that are unmarked, cannot be associated with any geographical place or social background, and it does not matter how they were acquired. Authority through anonymity is largely granted and limited to dominant languages and their users – as long as they do not use non-standard accents. Both authentic and anonymous varieties gain authority because they are spoken by accident of place and time, rather than by conscious decision and learning effort. Woolard calls this the *ideology of sociolinguistic naturalism*. She emphasises that from a Western romantic perspective, being authentic is equated with being natural, i.e. primary and spontaneous, but that this is not the only perception of authenticity.

2.3 Language policy and planning

Language policy and planning (LPP) research deals with ideas, beliefs, laws, regulations and practices aimed at changing language use in a given community (Kaplan & Baldauf Jr 1997). In a consise and minimalist way, Robert Kaplan and Richard Baldauf (1997: 3) define language planning as "an attempt by someone to modify the linguistic behaviour of some community for some reason".

In a more recent notion of LPP, Thomas Ricento adds the implicit dimensions and the processual nature of LPP. He states that research on LPP examines "the processes by which languages and language varieties obtain particular statuses in various domains of private and public life, and how policies (whether explicit or implicit) reaffirm or attempt to modify in some way such achieved or ascribed statuses of languages" (Ricento 2009: 212). The field of language policy and planning research emerged in the 1960s, and scholars typically divide its further development into three periods (Ricento 2006a; Jernudd & Nekvapil 2012; Tollefson & Pérez-Milans 2018). Early, classic, or neoclassical language planning from the late 1950s through the 1960s to the 1970s, a period of critique and shifting approaches from the late 1970s through the 1980s to the 1990s, and a third period from the 1990s onwards.

The origins of language policy and planning research can be found in the 1960s, when after the Second World War postcolonial states selected and standardised national languages in a multilingual context (Sallabank 2011). Policy and planning were mainly conceived of as state and authority driven and included the choice of languages or language varieties for different domains and their development to serve the functions of the specific domain (Jernudd & Nekvapil 2012). LPP aimed to influence society as a whole and included the development of planning procedures and techniques (Jernudd & Nekvapil 2012), as well as grammars, writing systems and dictionaries (Ricento 2006b). It was approached in a positivist manner, with the aim of pragmatically, objectively and neutrally solving practical language problems in the new nations, using, for example, quantitative sociolinguistic methods (Tollefson & Pérez-Milans 2018; Hornberger 2006).

Later, the assumptions on which LPP had been based were questioned and LPP turned to a more critical epistemological orientation. The view of languages or language varieties as bounded entities that could be neutrally described, the notion of monolingualism as a prerequisite for national unity and economic progress, and the selection of former colonial languages for higher and more status-related domains as a pragmatic choice granting access to "advanced Western technological and economic assistance" (Ricento 2006b: 13) were criticised as epistemologically rooted in Western ways of knowing, which were uncritically taken for granted by Western scholars involved in the practice of LPP in the postcolonial multilingual settings. The problematisation of this (unintended) ideological starting point highlighted the need to consider different interests involved in language planning processes. Previous work was raecognised as complicit in perpetuating social and economic inequalities and strengthening dominant interests and social hierarchies. For example, the diglossic relationship between ex-colonial and local indigenous languages has unequally distributed access to (higher) education and political power, putting elites with access to the former colonial language at an advantage and relegating the use of local languages to lower status domains, thus disadvantaging non-dominant interests (Ricento 2009; Jernudd & Nekvapil 2012). During this period of LPP research, state action began to be viewed more negatively, power relations and the social, economic and political dimensions of language contact were addressed, ideologies were analysed, the interconnectedness of coexisting languages within a state and their specific embeddedness was explicitly recognised, minority and indigenous rights were addressed, the regular failure to achieve LPP goals was acknowledged, language use and LPP were conceived of as a process, and multilingualism came to be seen as normal (Ricento 2006b; Ricento 2009; Sallabank 2011; Jernudd & Nekvapil 2012; Tollefson & Pérez-Milans 2018). The nation-state was still the focus of research, but methodologically, historical-structural analysis of state LPP, ethnographic analysis and discourse analysis were added (Ricento 2006b; Tollefson & Pérez-Milans 2018).

By the third period of LPP research, individual language practices, as well as individual actors and communities, came to the fore as influencing factors and agents within language policy, facilitating the expansion of the notion of language policy from being an explicit endeavour to include implicit policy. Language was understood as a social practice and identities as fluid and multiple (Tollefson & Pérez-Milans 2018), and LPP was understood as becoming visible through language practices (Spolsky 2004). Alongside the notion of LPP as a top-down process, the understanding of bottom-up processes in LPP was also taken into account. Overall, the focus on ideology, ecology and agency grew and remains important (Hornberger 2006). A scholar often referred to in the discussion of implicit and covert LPP, is Elana Shohamy. In her 2006 monograph, she writes about covert policies at the macro level, arguing that languages can serve "as major tools of the state apparatus" to maintain certain social orders. For example, it is not so much the official policy statements that ensure a certain collective identity, but language planning measures, such as education planning or language testing, which in turn influence language practices (Shohamy 2006). LPP can thus be overt and covert, explicit and implicit.

There is some overlap between the terms of language policy and language planning. Sometimes they are used interchangeably, sometimes to refer to different parts of the process. Some scholars use language planning as following language policy, in the sense that policy refers to decisions and planning to implement measures and practices; other scholars use language policy as following language planning, in the sense that policy is the explicit formulation of what has been agreed upon in a planning process (Tollefson & Pérez-Milans 2018; Hornberger 2006).

2.3.1 Levels and domains in language policy and planning

As noted above, the focus of LPP research has shifted from the state to smaller units, and LPP efforts have been studied at various societal levels, from the state or government to the individual (Spolsky 2004). Kaplan and Baldauf distinguish between the macro, meso and micro levels (1997). They locate planning undertaken by the government or state at the macro level, planning by local governments or political movements at the meso level, and individual decisions or actions by individual entities such as businesses at the micro level.

A further distinction of LPP environments at the meso and micro level is that between domains, as mentioned in section 2.1. Following Joshua Fishman (see e.g. Fishman 2000), Bernard Spolsky (2004) describes them as specific sociolinguistic contexts defined by typical locations, participants and topics. In his (2009) monograph, he elaborates on home, school, workplace, neighbourhood and church in LPP. The focus on practice in LPP makes it possible to trace the influence that a variation in the mentioned dimensions has on the typical language practices within the domain. Language practices can change when, for example, the constellation of participants in a particular domain changes, because a person who is not associated with it joins. The ecological focus makes it possible to see how LPP interventions targeted at a particular domain will have a limited impact outside that domain, but at the same time, their impact will not be limited to that domain. Kaplan and Baldauf, among others, point out that the education sector is not sufficient to achieve language planning goals for an entire population because, firstly, it has no influence beyond its own scope, secondly, the influence it has is mainly on children and not on other parts of the society, and thirdly, the time allocated to language teaching may be insufficient (Kaplan & Baldauf Jr 1997: 8; 117; 128). They thus conclude that "the education sector cannot [...] be held responsible for the language education of the entire population" (Kaplan & Baldauf Jr 1997: 117).

2.3.2 Models, frameworks and approaches to LPP

In an article published in 1994, Nancy Hornberger summarised existing LPP frameworks and typologies in an integrative framework, including work by Heinz Kloss, Einar Haugen, and Robert Cooper, Jiří Neustupný and others (Hornberger 2006). She summarised the different goals of LPP along the distinction of three main LPP types and two main LPP approaches.

The two types of *status planning* and *corpus planning* refer back to a paper of Heinz Kloss from 1969, and the third type of *acquisition planning* goes back to apaper of Robert Cooper's from 1989. The first comprises determining the functions that different languages, language varieties and literacies are to serve in a given speech community, the second involves the development of the form and structure of languages, language varieties and literacies, and the third involves the efforts to increase or change the use of languages and literacies through educational and learning opportunities (Hornberger 2006). That is, status planning focuses on decisions regarding society that affect societal factors and the environment in which a language is spoken, corpus planning focuses on linguistic decisions and the modification of the language itself, and acquisition planning focuses on language in education (Kaplan & Baldauf Jr 1997; Sallabank 2011). Both, status and corpus planning mutually influence each other. The *policy planning approach* and *cultivation planning approach* go back to an article by Jiří Neustupný in 1974. The former deals with the state macro level and standard language and its form, and the latter with the use of literary language at the micro-level and its function (Hornberger 2006).

Hornberger's six dimension model also includes Einar Haugen's 1983 LPP model with its four dimensions. Haugen's model includes the status/corpus distinction and the policy/cultivation distinction. Hornberger subsumes status and acquisition planning under the societal planning types and retains corpus planning as the linguistic planning type. The junction of status and acquisition planning with the policy planning approach is Haugen's *selection* and includes goals such as choosing and enforcing a language as the standard and providing opportunities to use and learn the language in different domains. Status and acquisition planning under the cultivation planning approach is Haugen's *implementation* and refers to goals such as the spread, maintenance or revitalisation of a language, or to the reacquisition of a language or the acquisition of a second language. The junction of corpus planning and the policy planning approach is Haugen's *codification* and includes goals such as the standardisation of a language and the development of a literary norm including script, grammar and lexicography. Corpus planning under the cultivation approach is Haugen's *elaboration* and refers to goals such as lexical modernisation, purification or reform (Hornberger 2006).

Haugen's four terms are also to be found in an earlier summary of the LPP process by Kloss in 1966, which begins with *selection* as the identification of a language problem, continues with the *codification* of its, usually written, form, the *implementation* of a policy, and concludes with *elaboration* as the continued modification and development of a norm (Spolsky 2004).

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) also proposed a model for language planning in their summary of the existing research on language policy and planning at the time. They model LPP as intended change(s) to a linguistic ecosystem consisting of all the varieties and languages used in a given community. Thus, when LPP concerns a particular language or variety, it is situated in an ecology of relationships with other languages, and planned change can bring about unplanned change as well. They also include the forces that influence a linguistic ecosystem, distinguishing between various developments in languages on the one hand, and agencies and organisations as actors on

the other hand. The former are discussed by Kaplan and Baldauf as key elements of language change and key variables in language planning: language death, survival, change, revival, shift, amalgamation, contact and pidgin and creole development, and literacy development. Without further definition, these processes occur simultaneously within the community in question, some in one language and others in all languages.

With the growing attention to endangered and minority languages, LPP was applied in support of strengthening and revitalising languages. Fishman's (1991) *Reversing Language Shift (RLS)* model with the *Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS)* was also intended as a practical support for endangered languages within status planning. It provides 8 stages for assessing of ethnolinguistic vitality, focusing on the stability of intergenerational transmission as the predictor of language maintenance. Stage 8 refers to the situation that most severely threatens a language to cease being used and stage 1 refers to the situation that is most favourable for its further maintenance. The stages are intended to be worked through in the order from stage 8 to stage 1, in order to sustainably strengthen the vitality of the language in question by reestablishing intergenerational transmission. The first focus is on achieving a stable diglossic situation between the endangered and dominant languages by establishing a firm use of the endangered language in the community, without necessary support of the dominant group. Only then does Fishman advocate for the next stages towards cultural autonomy for the minority community, including education and the media (Fishman 1991).

Recognising the relationships between languages and language varieties that are evident in the notion of sociolinguistic ecology and taking into account developments in LPP research, Bernard Spolsky modelled language policy as being constituted by three components: language practices, language beliefs or ideologies, and language management or planning (Spolsky 2004). His tripartite model is broad and can be usefully applied to LPP in many domains and at different levels. In brief, language practices are the habitual language choices of an individual or a community, language beliefs or ideologies, as discussed above, are the beliefs about language and its use, and language management refers to the actions taken to change and influence practices and beliefs. Spolsky also refers to language practices as the real policy, constituting the linguistic ecology of a community (Spolsky 2012). While he initially included a language manager as someone with authority, he later xpanded the agents of language management to include language advocates without power (Spolsky 2018).

Another theoretical approach that stems from LPP research is the Language Management Theory (LMT), in the understanding of its first developers, Jiří Neustupný and Björn Jernudd. It has its origins in the 1970s and 1980s under the heading "theory of language correction" (Neustupný 2002: 433) and thus in the second period of LPP research. Within LMT, the significance of individual linguistic behaviour and agency is emphasised, while the concept of language problems is maintained as the starting point for language-directed behaviour (Neustupný & Nekvapil 2003; Nekvapil 2006), which is the understanding of *language management* within LMT. That is, *language management* refers to metalinguistic activities aimed at (the modification/reinforcement of) "production and reception of discourse" (Nekvapil 2006: 95). Goro Kimura points out that the focus on actual interaction in concrete situations and on language management as a metalinguistic commentary on what has been said or understood, circumvents an understanding of language planning as a deliberate intervention aimed at achieving long-term change. The shortcoming he attributes to the latter is the framing of intervention as 'artificial' and non-intervention as 'natural', without questioning what is considered to be the 'natural' process (Kimura 2005).

The early focus on discourse and micro-contexts as a source of language problems within LMT was an important precursor to later LPP research. Thus, three basic premises are relevant to LMT. These are, a) a hierarchical relationship between socio-economic, communicative and linguistic management, b) the existence of differing interests and uneven power distribution in LPP situations, and c) the occurrence of management on many levels of varying structural complexity (Neustupný & Nekvapil 2003: 186; Nekvapil 2006). The management process itself is modelled as occurring in potentially four stages and on a continuum of (non-discrete) levels between *simple* and *organised language management* (Neustupný & Nekvapil 2003: 185).

Early language planning measures are subsumed under *organised language management* at the macro-social level, which influences discourse, and are contrasted with *simple* or *discourse-based management* at the micro level. In the case of simple management, management is directed at individual communication, is applied in response to linguistic utterances and can take the form of immediate self-correction, change of language, or the correction of interlocutors. Organised management "is not restricted to one particular interaction" (Nekvapil 2006: 96), "more than one person participates in the management process; discourse about management takes place; thought and ideology intervene" (Neustupný & Nekvapil 2003: 185), and "in addition to language as discourse, the object of management is language as system" (Nekvapil & Sherman 2015: 8). An example of organised management are language reforms. The relationship between the macro and micro societal levels is compatible with, but not necessarily equated with the levels of organised and simple language management. Organised management and the discussion of, for example, language choices also take place in various domains on the societal meso and micro levels (Nekvapil 2006).

The occurrence of a deviation from the norm in interaction is the basis for the four stages of a management process, which are 1) *noting* the deviation, 2) *evaluating* the deviation, 3) planning an *adjustment*, and 4) *implementing* the adjustment (Nekvapil 2006: 97). Importantly, a management process can end at any stage, not every deviation from the expected communication flow has to be evaluated positively or negatively (Neustupný 2002: 436). The four-stage process can be applied to the analysis of both simple and organised management. In simple management, the speaker notes a deviation from the expected course of communication, he or she may or may not evaluate the deviation negatively (*inadequacy*) or positively (*gratification*), he or she may or may not think of an adjustment to the inadequacy, and he or she may or may not then implement this adjustment (Jernudd & Nekvapil 2012: 33). In organised management, "noting is based on research or expert reports" of simple management, these situations may be evaluated negatively (*problem*) or positively (*gratification*), linguistic and political adjustments may be planned, and finally implemented (Nekvapil 2006: 97; Jernudd & Nekvapil 2012: 33).

Both Spolsky's tripartite model of language policy and LMT will be important to the analysis in the empirical chapters. Although the distinction between practices, beliefs and management/intervention is considered arbitrary by proponents of LMT, I try to draw on both approaches in order to facilitate a comprehensive understanding of the negotiations of language use in interlingual families in Lusatia.

2.4 Family language policy

One of the domains, contexts or spaces where the interplay between the macro and the micro, the interplay between the explicit and the implicit, as well as a variety of individual and societal attitudes and ideologies are conspicuous, is the family or the home. As an interface between the public and the private, the family is like a magnifying glass for the various forces that influence language use.

Over the past good decade, the research field of Family Language Policy (FLP) has grown. In their 2008 article, Kendall King, Lyn Fogle and Aubrey Logan-Terry conceptualise FLP in line with earlier notions of LPP "as explicit (Shohamy 2006) and overt (Schiffman 1996) planning in relation to language use within the home among family members" (King, Fogle & Logan-Terry 2008: 907). The authors called for research of LPP outside institutional contexts, which was scarce at the time, and proposed FLP as a research lens drawing on *LPP* and *language acquisition* research. They argued that this would contribute to an interactional micro-perspective on LPP (which reminds of the basic assumptions of LMT), as well as taking into account the influence of parental language ideologies and attitudes, interactional patterns and of the support parents receive (King, Fogle & Logan-Terry 2008). Spolsky's tripartite LPP model guided the aim of answering the research question of "what beliefs, practices, and conditions lead to what child language outcomes" (King 2016).

Very often, however, choices about language use in the home are not overtly discussed and planned. But even in the absence of explicit language use strategies, patterns of language socialisation influence children's language and cultural acquisition process. Stephen Caldas aptly states that the "sociolinguistic reality is that family language policies lie along a continuum ranging from the highly planned and orchestrated, to the invisible, laissez-faire practices of most families. Somewhere in between are found the pragmatically inspired language strategies employed by families in sociolinguistic contexts that confront them with real choices that have real consequences for their children." (Caldas 2012: 352) *Language socialisation* theory therefore provides another important approach to the study of FLPs (Curdt-Christiansen 2018). The family, with its own rules and practices of language use, is the primary site of language socialisation for children, but language socialisation also takes place outside the home in the wider community. Both spaces can influence each other, and children co-shape language use in the family. Internal family and external society-related influences and constraints are also responsible for the resulting, or rather continuously (re)shaped, FLP. A fourth discipline from which FLP draws and to which it contributes is research on *language maintenance and shift*, inspired to a large extent by the work of Fishman (Lanza & Lomeu Gomes 2020).

Although FLP as a field of research is relatively new, the research that underpins our understanding of FLP has, of course, been going on for a much longer time. King (2016) distinguishes four phases of FLP, 1) diary studies of linguists' children's bilingual development in the first half of the twentieth century, 2) research on bilingual child language acquisition from the perspective of psycholinguistics and applied linguistics from the second half of the twentieth century, 3) sociolinguistic approaches to child language development from the 1990s with the emergence of FLP as a field, and 4) ongoing FLP scholarship with a broadened range of research foci. Kendall King (2016), Xiao Lan Curdt-Christiansen (2018), and Elizabeth Lanza and Rafael Lomeu Gomes (2020) provide very good overviews of the development of FLP research, on which I base the next section.

In the diary studies of the first phase, the parents chose the *One Person One Language (OPOL)* approach or policy of bilingual education for their children, a pattern that is still very influential. The role of the family in children's language development is inherent in the relevant publications. The psycholinguistic work in the second phase compared bilingual and monolingual *language acquisition* and *cognitive development*. It asked whether children discrinate between their languages at an early age and provided important insights into the similar developmental trajectories of bilingual and monolingual children. However, in addition to questions that focused strictly on children's language development, it also took into account parental language use with their children. Lanza's work on the analysis of *parent-child discourse*, mentioned in 2.1.2, was an important

precursor to further FLP research. Sociolinguistic approaches in the third phase were concerned with factors influencing children's language acquisition and use, and literacy development. Influences examined included parental *language ideologies and attitudes* about and toward bilingualism and bilingual upbringing, parental *language use patterns*, *communicative strategies* and the *language input* they provide for their children in terms of quantity and quality or specific characteristics; parents' *educational and socioeconomic backgrounds; and*, to some extent, the extent to which partners share a common language repertoire. The families studied tended to be Western, two-parent, middle-class, intermarried families who exposed their children to two or more European languages. Consequently, the fourth phase of FLP research aimed to *diversify the types of families* studied to include, among others marginalised families, single-parent families and large non-nuclear families, and to broaden the contexts studied to include also transnational, diasporic, traditional minority or endangered language contexts and non-Western countries. There has also been a shift from studying children's language output as a consequence of various factors to studying the role of language in the construction of family identity and individual identity, and to (family) multilingualism as a lived experience. Lanza and Lomeu Gomes (2020) suggest that current research on FLP is entering a fifth phase, and are calling for a *critical engagement with the basic concepts* of family, language, and policy, and for an engagement with Southern perspectives that go beyond Eurocentric critical scholarship. They emphasise the importance of studying social categorisations, the tensions between families' sense-making of multilingualism as consisting of categorised language varieties and their fluent translanguaging practices, and the relationship between practices and management.

As outlined above, the themes explored in FLP research are diverse. Important topics include language attitudes and ideologies held by parents and the wider society (e.g. De Houwer 1999; Okita 2002; King & Fogle 2006; Curdt-Christiansen 2009; Curdt-Christiansen 2016; Ciriza 2019; Nakamura 2019), parents' language use with children (e.g. Lanza 1997; Kasuya 1998; De Houwer 2007; Stavans 2012; Byers-Heinlein 2013; Dijkstra 2013; Smith-Christmas 2016; De Houwer & Nakamura 2021) and children's role and agency in their families' language policies (e.g. Lanza 1997; Luykx 2005; Gafaranga 2010; Fogle & King 2013; Smith-Christmas 2016; Smith-Christmas 2020). The emotional aspects of multilingual family life have also been addressed (e.g. Okita 2002; De Houwer 2015; Yates & Terraschke 2013; Kopeliovich 2013; Nakamura 2020; Schalley & Eisenchlas 2020).

The specific circumstances of autochthonous minority communities , as highlighted by Cassie Smith-Christmas (2016), are of particular importance to this thesis. Families in such contexts share with immigrant minority communities the experience of a hierarchical relationship between a home language and the dominant language, which they are expected to use in certain ways. This pressure supports language shift towards the dominant language, which in the case of autochthonous communities is experienced over generations (Smith-Christmas 2016: 8). The latter also reduces their apparent advantage over OPOL families of having a community network of speakers and the support of institutional education. While OPOL families face the challenge of having only one parent using the minority language with the children, families in minority community contexts may face language shift processes in the wider community. Such a language socialisation context may in turn spill over into the family domain and counteract efforts to maintain the minority language (Smith-Christmas 2016: 11). Michael Hornsby and Wilson McLeod's (2022) volume on contemporary minority language transmission, mostly but not only in autochthonous minority contexts, expands on these issues. They emphasise that "successful transmission of minority languages will generally require structured, programmatic interventions of different kinds" (Hornsby & McLeod 2022: 359).

Central to contemporary studies of FLPs is the understanding that all family members have agency, "the socioculturally mediated capacity to act" (Ahearn 2001: 112), in the sense that they have the ability to influence family language practices through their behaviour. Smith-Christmas (2020) explores he extent to which children can exercise agency in language choice and bring about or resist change in family language practices. She looks at possible constraints on child agency, such as the absence of firmly established parental norms regarding the expected language, as well as linguistic competence in a minority language, thus questioning a child's agency in the case of non-compliance with the parental minority language choice. However, based on observations that go beyond just a single interaction, Smith-Christmas shows how children do indeed choose to navigate languages by using or resisting to use certain languages. When children's agency goes against parents' wishes, it can lead to disappointment. Shulamit Kopeliovich (2013) outlines an approach to FLP that places family relationships at the centre by focusing on language use that is meaningful and positively engaging for children. Chapters in Hornsby and McLeod (2022) focus on, among other things, parents' agency in supporting their children's minority language learning (Macleod 2022; Kasares, Ortega & Amorrortu 2022; Nandi et al. 2022), the agency of spouses of minority language speakers in supporting or discouraging minority language use (Chantreau & Moal 2022), children strengthening the use of the minority language at home and among peers (Kasares, Ortega & Amorrortu 2022), and on how adult peer interaction in the minority language, or the lack of it, can affect children's socialisation (Olsen-Reeder 2022; Sallabank 2022).

3 The Sorbs and Sorbian in Lusatia

The Sorbs, to whom this study of family language policies is dedicated, are an autochthonous Slavic ethnic group in the east of Germany. Their endonyms are Serbja (Upper Sorbian), Serby (Lower Sorbian), while exonyms include the terms Sorbs, Lusatian Sorbs, Wends (English), and Sorben, Wenden (German). They live in the region of Lusatia, which is located in two German states: Lower Lusatia in the Land of Brandenburg, which borders Poland, and Upper Lusatia in the Free State of Saxony, which borders Poland and the Czech Republic.

3.1 The Sorbian languages

Upper Sorbian and Lower Sorbian belong to the West Slavic languages of the Indo-European language family, together with the Czech, Slovak, Kashubian and Polish languages. The distinction between the two languages is related to the development of two literary languages stimulated by the Reformation and is based on dialectal differences. Lower Sorbian in the north is based on the Chóśebus/Cottbus dialect and Upper Sorbian in the south is based on the Protestant Bautzen dialect (Bartels & Spiess 2012: 213). The translation of religious texts into Upper Sorbian and their publication from the end of the 16th century onwards was driven by the competing Protestant and Catholic authorities, who were anxious not to lose their Sorbian-speaking believers or population to the other denomination. The development of a unified Upper Sorbian literary language was a long process. Initially, two versions developed, a Protestant one based on the Budyšin/Bautzen dialect and a Catholic one based on the Kulow/Wittichenau dialect and the Chróśćicy/Crostwitz dialects. A unification of both literary languages took place from the mid-19th to the mid-20th century (Menzel & Pohontsch 2020: 245) and was mainly based on the Budyšin/Bautzen dialect (Scholze 2008: 31). Upper Sorbian is now only spoken as a vernacular in the region of the former Catholic dialects and is always part of a linguistic repertoire that also includes German. Due to the Protestant dialectal basis of the standard Upper Sorbian literary language and the purist tendencies during the standardisation process, the Catholic vernacular differs quite significantly from it (Menzel & Pohontsch 2020: 262). (See map 1 on Sorbian dialects in the appendix).

All speakers of Sorbian in Lusatia are bilingual in Sorbian and German, while the German-speaking population generally does not speak Sorbian. Lusatia is thus a region of asymmetric bilingualism, if, for the sake of simplicity and in order to focus on Sorbian, one disregards types of individual multilingualism. For the speakers of Sorbian, bilingualism is a necessity, whereas for the speakers of German, it is an option (cf. Stavans & Hoffmann 2015: 92). Thus, the acquisition of Sorbian at home usually involves either a soon successive acquisition of German (e.g. through peers in kindergarten) or its simultaneous acquisition. Differences in the use of German by bilingual Sorbian-Germans and monolingual Germans do not stand out (Menzel & Pohontsch 2020: 251). The extent of the intergenerational transmission of Sorbian varies greatly across whole Lusatia. Where Sorbian is spoken, it is mainly used in the home, in the village community, in the church or parish, in kindergarten and school, and to a limited extent at work. After-school activities for young people are offered in Sorbian, but not systematically and not everywhere (Dołowy-Rybińska 2022).

Although openly declared attitudes towards Sorbian today tend to be positive or neutral, its use is still regularly met with negative reactions (see the experiences of young people discussed by Dołowy-Rybińska 2017: 76–81). However, past experiences of negative attitudes towards one's own language and identity (even if they are made by others) can also continue to have an impact (Walde 2010: 76). Two important studies on language attitudes towards Sorbian focus, on the one hand, on

Upper Sorbian grammar school pupils in Budyšin/Bautzen (Šatava 2005) and German-speaking pupils in other schools in Budyšin/Bautzen and their parents (Ratajczak 2011). They show that a generally positive attitude does not necessarily translate into actual language practices. Among the German pupils there is a striking dichotomy exists between a generally favourable attitude towards the Sorbian language *per se* and a clear rejection of having to listen to Sorbian or having contact with it in practice. Within the Sorbian speech community, there is a strong tendency to strictly separate the use of Sorbian and German according to the linguistic repertoire of all participants in a given communicative situation. Thus, the use of Sorbian is more or less limited to situations in which all participants can speak Sorbian and to persons who are expected to be able to respond fluently in Sorbian (Dołowy-Rybińska 2018; Dołowy-Rybińska 2020; Dołowy-Rybińska & Ratajczak 2019a). Language attitudes and the habits of using Sorbian and German among both the German-speaking and the Sorbian-speaking population have an influence on language practices and transmission within the family.

3.2 The Sorbian settlement area and administrative affiliation

The origins of the Sorbs go back to the settlement of Slavic tribes from the 7th century, when during the time of the migration of the peoples several Slavic tribes migrated west. The areas in which they settled can be demarcated with reference to the rivers Kwisa/Queis and Bobr/Bóbr/Bober in the east and Solawa/Saale in the west as well as the mountain range of the Erzgebirge mountains in the South and the Fläming Heath in the North (Brankačk & Mětšk 1977: 16–18). Roughly speaking, this would include and exceed todays territory of the German federal states of Saxony and southern Brandenburg, to the West into Sachsen-Anhalt and Thuringia and to the East into Poland's Lubuskie and Dolnośląskie Voivodeships. Today's Sorbs can be traced back to the tribes of the Lusatians and the Milceni east of the Elbe river. They settled around the river Spree, the former around what today is Lower Lusatia, the latter around what today is Upper Lusatia, separated by forests.

Battles between Sorbian tribes and the Franks as well as Thuringians and Saxons are documentd in medieval chronicles from the 9th century at the latest and continued as a constant back and forth between the subordination and tribute payments of the Sorbian tribes and their rebellions and attacks in Saxon, Thuringian and Franconian territory until approximately the beginning of the 10th century (Brankačk & Mětšk 1977: 64–70). They came to an end in the 10th century with the conquests of the German kings who followed after the East Franconian period. The loss of self-determination was further consolidated by the control that Christianisation exercised over the Slavs (Walter 2014), and Slavic varieties gradually ceased to be spoken in most areas. Basically, only the Sorbs in Upper and Lower Lusatia were not Germanised by the end of the 16th century, which was related to the decentralised rule in this area (Kunze 2014a).

The denominational separation of the Sorbs later proved important in terms of Sorbian language maintenance. While most parts of Lusatia adopted the Reformation during the 16th century, often led by the regional secular lords and against the will of the sovereign, a few areas remained Catholic. These areas were owned by four Catholic monasteries – three in Upper Lusatia and one in Lower Lusatia – and the cathedral chapter of Bautzen (Blaschke 2014a; Blaschke 2014b). My fieldwork all took place in villages that belonged to the monastery of St. Marienstern in Pančicy-Kukow/Panschwitz-Kuckau in Upper Lusatia.

Administratively, both parts of Lusatia belonged to the same political entities for long periods of time. Throughout the late Middle Ages and into the early modern period, both Lusatias were governed in a decentralised manner, either by the nobility or by monasteries or cities that were

directly subordinate to the (external) sovereign but otherwise autonomous. Gradually, the term margraviate became established for both Lusatias. The allocation of Lusatia alternated between Meissen, Poland, Brandenburg, Silesia, the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Electorate of Saxony. Finally, with the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Lower Lusatia and the north-eastern part of Upper Lusatia were annexed to Prussia (Blaschke 2014c). From then on, Lower Lusatia belonged to the province of Brandenburg and the Upper Lusatian part to the province of Silesia. The rest of Upper Lusatia, which initially remained with Saxony under the old system of government, was politically incorporated into the Saxon state in 1834, which also ended the previous decentralised government of Lusatia (Fickenscher 2014). The separation of Lusatia as a result of this assignment to two different states was to have an impact on the different development of Sorbian national consciousness and the use of the Sorbian language, as repression was much greater in Prussia than in the relatively liberal Saxony (Menzel & Pohontsch 2020: 231–232).

The borders affecting Lusatia were to change twice more. After the Second World War, the part of Lusatia east of the Neisse River became part of Poland. In the GDR, Lusatia was divided into two districts, which more or less corresponded to the division during the Prussian-Saxon period. After the political change in 1989, the historical Upper Lusatia was completely assigned to Saxony, including the northern part, which was for a long time in Prussia or in the district of Cottbus.

Today, several administrative divisions in Germany are relevant. The Sorbs in the traditionally Sorbian areas are inhabitants of two federal states, the Land Brandenburg (Land Brandenburg/Kraj Bramborska) and the Free State of Saxony (Freistaat Sachsen/Swobodny stat Sakska). In both Länder, the federal states, an area of Sorbian settlement is officially designated, containing a list of places for which a Sorbian linguistic or cultural tradition can be traced (Land Brandenburg 1994; Freistaat Sachsen 1999). These towns and villages are grouped into three districts and the city of Chóśebuz/Cottbus in Brandenburg and into two districts in Saxony. The districts are the next administrative level after the federal state. The following subdivision concerns municipalities or associations of municipalities. The allocation to the official Sorbian settlement area is independent of higher administrative divisions; within a municipality not all places have to belong to the official Sorbian settlement area.

3.3 Language shift in the course of history

First references to the Sorbian language can be found in several language bans that are documented since the 13th century, for example for the regions around Zwickau, Leipzig and Meißen in the western part of the historical settlement area. The influx of German settlers since the 12th century contributed to a language shift among the Slavs/Sorbs west of the Elbe, which was more or less completed by the end of the 15th century (Kunze 2014a). In both Lusatian margraviates, Lower and Upper Lusatia, the distribution of political power among different ruling entities (nobility, monasteries, cities) and the absence of a central sovereign prevented the centralisation of power and favoured the maintenance of Sorbian in this area (Kunze 2014a). The nobility needed the Sorbian peasant labour force and made no effort to Germanise (Kunze 2014b). In addition, the Protestant rulers avoided repressive tendencies to prevent the Sorbian population from returning to Catholicism after the denominational divisions following the Reformation were laid down in a treaty in 1635 (Walde 2014).

Things changed for the margraviate of Lower Lusatia from the 17th century onwards. Explicit orders for the elimination of the Sorbian language were issued continuously and were mainly aimed at the introduction of German in church services and schools. For example, attempts were made to require

knowledge of German in order to participate in the Eucharist, and parents were urged to provide a better moral foundation for their children's lives by sending them to German schools (Kunze 2014b; Kunze 2014c). This marginalisation of Sorbian was successful, so that by the end of the 18th century the Sorbian language had disappeared or was severely restricted in the northern and western parts of Lower Lusatia. The same applies to a district in the far north of Lusatia, which had already been administratively separated from Lusatia in the 16th century. The Sorbian language was initially tolerated there, and its use was partly encouraged. The development of Sorbian literary production also largely originated in this region, but was interrupted by the Thirty Years' War and, after an initial resumption of efforts, a repressive anti-Sorbian Germanisation policy took hold, which finally led to the fact that Sorbian was no longer spoken in this region in the middle of the 19th century. The so-called "December Rescript" of 1667, which was issued in this region, was directed against the use of Sorbian in the church and was intended to gradually abolish Sorbian preachers altogether; it also contained the instruction to destroy all Sorbian printed books. This decree was adapted for further language bans in other districts and regions of Lusatia (Kunze 2014d; Kunze 2014e).

The anti-Sorbian language policy continued when large parts of Lusatia were incorporated into Prussia in 1815 and no longer belonged to Saxony. Measures to suppress the Sorbian language included the reorganisation of the region into new administrative units in which the Sorbs were sometimes a minority, the appointment of German clergy and teachers in Sorbian communities, and the obstruction or even prohibition of the printing of Sorbian writings (Kunze 2014b). The Upper Sorbs, now living in two different countries, nevertheless made efforts to work together, as evidenced, for example, by connections and cooperation in Sorbian associations (Blaschke 2014b). The division into Prussia and Saxony is still anchored in the consciousness of the Sorbs in Upper Lusatia, for example when someone is jokingly referred to as a Prussian. Similar remarks came up in my interviews. The situation in Upper Lusatia differed from that in Lower Lusatia at the end of the 17th century in that Sorbian was accepted in those parishes where German had not yet been introduced. This was to prevent a possible return to Catholicism. The moderate stance towards Sorbian in Saxon Upper Lusatia later enabled the emergence of a Sorbian national movement in the 19th century (Kunze 2014c; Walde 2014).

The mid-19th century was also the beginning of industrialisation. The emerging industries brought new job opportunities and ways out of poverty. Workers who continued to live in the rural agricultural areas also continued to use Sorbian for a long time (Förster & Pech 2014). On the other hand, a large influx of German workers into the industrial centres significantly changed the structure of the population and facilitated the shift towards Sorbian-German bilingualism. The contempt for Sorbian and the process of relegating it to the position of a backward language was reinforced during the process of industrialisation, especially in Prussia, where the anti-Sorbian approach was stronger. In Upper Lusatia, industrialisation was initially based mainly on weaving in the Upper Lusatian Mountains in the south of the region, where an important textile industry developed. This was further boosted by the development of the railway, which made the factory villages easily accessible. Later came granite mining, the metal industry, wagon building and mechanical engineering. Industrialisation in Lower Lusatia began somewhat later and was mainly characterised by lignite mining. This made the villages of southern Lower Lusatia and Prussian Upper Lusatia, which had previously been in a poor economic situation, one of the most important economic areas in Lusatia. Lignite mining encouraged the development of other industries such as glass and brick production, so that, for example, Běła Woda/Weißwasser in Prussian Upper Lusatia became one of the most important sites for the glass industry in Europe. Another important industry

in Lower Lusatia was the textile industry. In addition to the local population, who took advantage of the newly created jobs, there was a large influx of workers from outside Lusatia. Industrial centres developed which continued to grow after the Second World War (Förster & Pech 2014; Blaschke 2014b; Kunze 2014b). (See map 5 in the appendix for open-cast lignite mines and destroyed villages in Lusatia).

However, the 19th century also saw the emergence of the German Empire in 1871, which worsened the conditions for the Sorbian national movement and its lively growth of activity in associations. The Sorbs were confronted with the Germanising efforts of the nation state and anti-Sorbian sentiments. Their language lost prestige and was deprived of any support. These processes paved the way for an omnipresent Sorbian-German bilingualism (Kunze 2003; Menzel & Pohontsch 2020). Sorbian aspirations for autonomy after the First World War were in vain. With the rise of National Socialism, open repression increased, leading in 1937 to a ban on the use of the Sorbian language in public and the dissolution of the main Sorbian organisation, the Domowina, and all related associations and publishing activities. Teachers and priests were transferred to German places and replaced by Germans, especially if they supported Sorbian culture and language (Bott-Bodenhausen 1997; Förster & Scholze 2014). (See map 4 in the appendix for the development of the area where Sorbian was spoken between the end of the 19th and the mid-20th century).

After the Second World War, the large number of people who were forced to leave the former eastern German territories had another, not insignificant influence on language shift. In Upper Lusatia, the newly arrived Germans temporarily made up more than 20 per cent of the rural population (Keller 2003: 42). While some of them learned Sorbian, the use of German increased in many places (see Norberg 1996 for the Lower Lusatian village of Hochoza; and Keller 2000 for Upper Lusatian villages). In addition, lignite mining grew and attracted more workers. For example, the population of the town of Wojerecy/Hoyerswerda grew from 6500 in 1945 to 71000 in 1981. Not only did this change the language environments, but it also meant the relocation of people who had to leave their homes to make way for the mining industry. Since 1924, 80 villages have been demolished, mostly affecting Sorbs, who lost their social networks and cultural continuity was disrupted (Bresan 2014; Ratajczak 2004). Finally, the collectivisation of agriculture, the pressure to find work outside the Sorbian villages and the influence of German media also contributed to language shift (Norberg 1996; Elle 1995; Ratajczak 2004; Walde 2010). The great language shift after the Second World War led to an almost complete disruption of the intergenerational language transmission in Lower Lusatia and in the Protestant regions of Upper Lusatia, with the sole exception of the part of the Upper Sorbian linguistic area that remained Catholic during the Reformation (Walde 2004).

The Sorbian population is generally stated to be 60000. Census statistics in Germany do not record ethnicity-based information, and the declaration of Sorbian affiliation is free. Estimates of the number of speakers of the Sorbian languages range from a maximum of 7000 for Lower Sorbian in Lower Lusatia in the Federal State of Brandenburg (based on a study from the 1990s) to 13000-25000 for Upper Sorbian in Upper Lusatia in the Free State of Saxony (Elle 2010a: 314–316). These figures are both outdated and based on estimates made on the basis of a small sample (Elle 2011: 214). In 2001, 5469 active speakers of Upper Sorbian were estimated for the administrative association of municipalities "Am Klosterwasser/Při Klóšterskej wodźe" based on lists from the registration office and their examination with local informants (Walde 2004). The Sorbian-speaking people make up about 69% of the population, including 1% who have learned Sorbian other than through transmission in the family. The administrative association comprises five municipalities in the

Catholic Upper Sorbian region, the only region with a continuous language transmission. As there are only parts of five other municipalities belonging to the Catholic Upper Sorbian region, it can be assumed that the number of speakers of Upper Sorbian is in the lower range of various estimates.

3.3.1 Differing development of language use in the Catholic part of Upper Lusatia

The focus of my research is the Upper Sorbian Catholic region, where the language transmission of Sorbian has been largely maintained to this day. In around 40 villages between the towns of Wojerecy/Hoyerswerda, Budyšin/Bautzen and Kamjec/Kamenz (see map 3 in the appendix), the Catholic Upper Sorbs form a (varying) majority (Menzel & Pohontsch 2020: 229) and Upper Sorbian is spoken as a vernacular. The reasons why the Upper Sorbian region differs from other Sorbian areas in terms of language maintenance are complex.

Even if the continued language maintenance cannot be attributed solely to religious affiliation, the denominational segregation of the Sorbs was the most important basis for the different development in the Catholic part of Upper Lusatia. It is therefore significant that some Sorbian areas remained Catholic during the general Reformation in the 16th century. Apart from the villages that were owned by Catholic authorities and therefore remained Catholic, only one other village remained Catholic - the inhabitants of Radibor resisted the efforts of their landlord to implement the Reformation (Walde 2014). The reason why the inhabitants of the Catholic villages did not become Protestants is also related to the fact that in 1635, during the Thirty Years' War, the status quo for the denominational division within the margraviate of Upper and Lower Lusatia was recorded in a treaty when Lusatia passed from Bohemia to Saxony.

Another important component of the treaty was the decision to maintain the medieval privilege-based government (Blaschke 2014a). This feudal order remained in place in Lusatia until the early 19th century, and the Sorbian population had to obey either a noble, an ecclesiastical or a municipal authority. In comparison with other former Sorbian areas, this decentralised system favoured the preservation of the Sorbian language throughout Lusatia. At the same time, however, there were significant differences within Lusatia, which had a beneficial effect on the maintenance of Sorbian in the Catholic region. The population under municipal or ecclesiastical authority had to pay fewer services and taxes than the population under nobility. The latter increasingly oppressed the population and the peasants lost their farms. In the area of the monastery of St. Marienstern (to which many of the Sorbian villages belonged), however, many larger farms remained. Thus, the economic situation of the Sorbian Catholics was also better than that of the Sorbs under the nobility and contributed to the development of a stronger self-confidence of the former (Fickenscher 2014).

The economic situation changed dramatically with the industrialisation, which began in the mid-19th century. The industries brought new work opportunities and ways out of poverty. The Catholic area differed in that it fully retained its agricultural character, and the industrialisation did not affect Sorbian language use and identity as much as it could in the areas where people worked in the industry (Kunze 2014a).

The denominational division of the Sorbs meant that the Catholics lived in a completely Sorbian-speaking environment, which for a long time was not permeated linguistically. As a result, the ethnic identity of the Catholic Sorbs grew to indivisibly include both religion and language (Niedźwiedzka-Iwańczak 2013: 238–244, 260–270) and an agricultural identity. It developed in opposition to Protestant, atheist and German attributions (Menzel & Pohontsch 2020: 256). All-Sorbian interdenominational initiatives were viewed with suspicion by the Catholic clergy. Until the Second

World War, the general concern was that Catholics should remain among themselves and not enter into an exchange with Protestants. Separate Catholic Sorbian associations were encouraged, which Walde (2011: 242) sees as a means of strengthening the "Catholic sense of togetherness" and separating them from the Protestants. More importance was attached to living as a Catholic than to living as a Sorb. Consequently, marriages within one's own denomination were favoured, which at the same time ensured that the Sorbian language continued to be spoken by all. Before the post-war period there were practically no Sorbian-German intermarriages that could have influenced or changed the language practices of the Catholic Sorbs, because the Catholic Upper Sorbs remained within their own community. In Protestant Upper Lusatia, the situation was different in that there was no denomination-based language boundary and language change processes began earlier (Walde 2004). During the GDR era, the church was a space of opposition to the communist and atheist regime and to Sorbian institutions that followed the line of the central party (less so in opposition to Protestantism). This also had the potential to unite the Catholic Sorbs (Walde 2011: 243–244). Dołowy-Rybińska and Ratajczak (2019b: 4–5) qualify the effects of historical circumstances and the "threefold boundary: linguistic (Sorbian vs. German), ethnic (Sorbs/Slavs vs. Germans), and religious (Catholics vs. Protestants)" as a "success story" with regard to language. Catholic Sorbs who speak Sorbian see themselves as "real" Sorbs and act self-consciously in this role (Walde 2011: 245; Dołowy-Rybińska & Ratajczak 2019b: 5), which does not spare the entire Sorbian community from discontent.

3.4 Recognition within Germany

The Sorbs are recognised as an official minority in Germany and receive state funding. Their right to self-identification as Sorbs, to cultural maintenance and development, and to use their language in public life is guaranteed and demanded by various laws and conventions at the levels of the districts, the federal states of Saxony and Brandenburg, and the Federal Republic of Germany[1].

The basis for this can be found in the legislation of the former GDR. In 1948, the Saxon government passed the "Law on the Protection of the Rights of the Sorbian Population". In 1949, the GDR constitution granted language rights to all Sorbs, which were somewhat restricted in the second constitution of 1968. In Brandenburg, the "Sorbs Decree" was issued in 1950. Numerous laws ensured that the Sorbs had the right to Sorbian education in kindergartens and schools, to use their language in court, to use bilingual signs in the Sorbian territory for streets and place names, post offices and railway stations, to use Sorbian in postal communications and to have bilingual cartographic material for the bilingual areas. Ludwig Elle estimates that after 1948 the Sorbs must have been in the best position when compared to the legal situation of other European autochthonous language groups (Elle 2014: 9).

In the course of German reunification in 1990, the protection and promotion of the Sorbian people had to be newly anchored in federal law. The first mention of the preservation of Sorbian rights after the political change was through a protocol note in the German Unification Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic of 31 August 1990. The explanation is added to Article 35 on culture and included the free confession of Sorbian ethnicity and culture, the guarantee of the preservation and further development of Sorbian culture and

[1] The Domowina provides a compilation of relevant legislation on its website: (Domowina Zwjazk łužiskich Serbow 2021) *Rechtsvorschriften zum Schutz und zur Förderung des sorbischen Volkes (Stand 15.2.2021)*, https://www.domowina.de/fileadmin/Assets/Domowina/Mediathek/Dokumente/rechtsvorschriften.pdf (accessed 11 October, 2022).

traditions, the freedom to use the Sorbian language in the public sphere as well as a reference to the financial responsibility of the Federal Government and the Länder (BRD & DDR 1990). The rights of the Sorbs have not been included separately in the Grundgesetz, the German constitution, which also applies to the former GDR states after their accession to the FRG on 3 October 1990. However, the Federal Ministry of the Interior confirmed in 1993 that the protocol note remains valid under the Unification Treaty (Domowina Zwjazk łužiskich Serbow 2021).

Some legal rights are contained in federal legislation. The right to use the Sorbian language in the courts within the districts where Sorbs live is embedded in the federal Courts Constitution Act (Gerichtsverfassungsgesetz GVG) (BRD 1975). In order to provide financial support for Sorbian cultural and scientific work, language development and institutional and project work, a foundation was established in 1998, which receives funding from the Federal Government and the Länder of Saxony and Brandenburg. The Federal Government's participation in the funding goes back to the above-mentioned Unification Treaty. The details of the "Założba za serbski lud" are governed by a state treaty between the Land of Brandenburg and the Free State of Saxony (Freistaat Sachsen & Land Brandenburg 1998). Decisions on the allocation of the foundation's funds are made by a foundation board, which includes representatives of the state and civil society of the Sorbs (Założba za serbski lud 2020).

The rights granted in the constitutions of Brandenburg and Saxony have been reinforced at federal level by the signing (1992) and ratification (1999) of the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (ECRML) and by the signing (1995) and ratification (1997) of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (Council of Europe 1995; Council of Europe n.d.) by the federal government. The Framework Convention has been a federal law since 1997 and takes precedence over the laws of the Länder (Elle 2005: 18). However, the legal situation in Germany has not changed significantly as a result of the Framework Convention, as many of the Convention's protective measures were already enshrined in the individual Länder. A new law was the Minority Name Change Act of 1997, which makes it possible to change one's name to a minority language (Elle 2005: 36). This right is also demanded in the Language Charter. In practice, however, only those who have renounced the gender-specific endings that are grammatically obligatory for Sorbian names have made use of this law (see Rein 2015).[2] After long efforts, there is now a draft amendment to the law on names, which also takes into account Sorbian naming with its gender-specific endings and is to be implemented in 2025.[3] The Charter has been federal law since 1999. The obligations chosen were more or less already regulated in the laws of the federal states (Elle 2004: 15).

Many rights or their implementation are regulated by law at the level of the federal states or the municipalities in the Sorbian settlement area. The protection of the Sorbs as a minority is enshrined in the constitutions of Saxony (Freistaat Sachsen 1992a articles 5 and 6) and Brandenburg (Land Brandenburg 1992 article 25). Both states undertake to ensure the protection of the Sorbian identity,

[2] An example was discussed in the Lower Sorbian weekly Nowy Casnik: S. K.: Nënt jo to serbske mě oficialne. *Nowy Casnik*. Chóśebuz, 35 edition, 29.08.2019.

[3] at: Z „Konzack" budźe „Kralowa". Naćisk prawo Serbowkow na splahej přiměrjenu formu mjena zaruča. *Serbske Nowiny*. Budyšin, 72 edition, 13.04.2023.
FAQ about the planned reform:
https://www.bmj.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Themen/FamilieUndPartnerschaft/FAQ_Namensrecht.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=2 (accessed 17.4.2023)
Examples for the planned changes in the law on names (see point 4):
https://www.bmj.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Themen/FamilieUndPartnerschaft/Erlaeuterungen_Namensrecht.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=2 (accessed 17.4.2023)

language and culture, to facilitate their communication through educational institutions and to involve the Sorbian population and its interests in local political processes. More specific provisions were laid down in the Sorbs/Wends Act (Sorben/Wenden-Gesetz SWG) of 1994 in Brandenburg (Land Brandenburg 1994) and in the Saxon Sorbs Act (Sächsisches Sorbengesetz) (Freistaat Sachsen 1999). In their current version, the two Sorbs Acts cover the following areas:

- the right to Sorbian identity and to the free, non-verifiable confession of Sorbian nationality;
- a commentary on the Sorbian settlement area with a list of all the parts of the municipalities belonging to it; (see map 2 in the appendix)
- the equal use of the Sorbian flag (Brandenburg and Saxony) and the Sorbian anthem (Saxony only);
- the representation of the interests of the Sorbs (in Brandenburg with details of how the representation of interests is to be determined and the right of class action);
- the advisory councils for Sorbian affairs in the two federal state parliaments;
- the function of the commissioner for Sorbs/Wends affairs in the Brandenburg government (Brandenburg only);
- the report of the two state governments on the situation of the Sorbian people, to be drawn up once in each legislative period;
- full-time commissioners for Sorbs/Wends affairs in the districts in the settlement area (Brandenburg only);
- the protection, promotion and inclusion of Sorbian culture;
- the Sorbian languages, in particular the protection of the use of the language, the right to use Sorbian at authorities and administrations without disadvantages or costs and the right to use Sorbian in court in accordance with the Courts Constitution Act GVG (Saxony only);
- research and teaching of the language, history and culture of the Sorbs and the Institute for Sorbian Studies at the University of Leipzig;
- ensuring that the language is used and taught in day-care centres and schools, as well as the training and further education of teachers (Brandenburg only);
- bilingual signs in public places;
- consideration of the Sorbian language in the media;
- cooperation between the two Länder;
- financial compensation for costs arising from the implementation of the Act (Brandenburg only).

Education in and through Sorbian is also guaranteed in Saxony. It is regulated in the Saxon School Act with a separate paragraph on "Sorbian culture and language at school" (Freistaat Sachsen 2018 Article 2) as well as in the Regulation of the Saxon State Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs on the work at Sorbian and other schools in the German-Sorbian area (Freistaat Sachsen 1992b). Kindergartens are regulated by the Act on Day Care Facilities for Children (Freistaat Sachsen 2009 Article 20) and in the Regulation on Day Care Facilities for Children in the Sorbian Settlement Area (Freistaat Sachsen 2006).

Although the Sorbs are legally entitled to use the Sorbian language in administrative bodies and in public life, this legal right is not often used and is difficult to implement in practice. In 2003, the administration of the association of municipalities "Při Klóšterskej wodźe/Am Klosterwasser" was the only one where this right could be exercised effectively (Ela 2003: 86). However, this is not only

due to a lack of employees with Sorbian language skills, but also due to a lack of assertive use of Sorbian by the Sorbs themselves. This will be reflected in the discussion of language use in families. The use of Sorbian in unfamiliar situations or in contexts in which one can hardly expect an interlocutor to know Sorbian is not common in Lusatia and requires awareness. The circumstance of such non-use of Sorbian limits the interconnectedness of the network of potential Sorbian language use and also affects the micro-level.

Recognising the need for an open attitude towards language use and the need for competent interlocutors in various domains, the Saxon government adopted a top-down action plan in 2012. The document was entitled "Maßnahmenplan der Sächsischen Staatsregierung zur Ermutigung und zur Belebung des Gebrauchs der sorbischen Sprache" – 'Action plan of the Saxon government to encourage and revive the use of the Sorbian language' (Sächsisches Staatsministerium für Wissenschaft und Kunst (für Wissenschaft, Kultur und Tourismus) 2013). The title, with its reference to language use, already suggests that it contains concrete proposals for action aimed at (potential) speakers of Sorbian. In addition, an outlook on possible additional funding by the Free State of Saxony is also given. The action plan lists existing measures and proposals for new measures in three thematic areas, and identifies target groups, those responsible for implementation and a possible timetable for implementation. In addition, the individual measures are accompanied by references to legally regulated rights and obligations with regard to Sorbian language use and its promotion. The three thematic areas are the acquisition of the Sorbian language/improvement of language skills, the use of the Sorbian language in public life in the Sorbian settlement area and the transfer of knowledge about the Sorbian language, culture and tradition. Actors within the Saxon government, at the municipal level and in Sorbian institutions are named as possible responsible persons for the implementation of the proposals. The status of implementation of the measures was reviewed in 2017 in the "Fifth Report of the Saxon State Government on the Situation of the Sorbian People" and summarised in a table (Sächsisches Staatsministerium für Wissenschaft und Kunst 2018). In the same year, it was decided to update the 2012 plan. The second action plan was presented in 2019. It lists 12 objectives, some of which contain sub-objectives to promote language acquisition and the use of Sorbian, and to improve the dissemination of knowledge about the Sorbs. It is noted whether the objectives were already part of the first action plan and at which point in the 2017 report the status of their implementation is discussed. The proposers of each point are mentioned. In addition to the Ministry of Culture, the Council for Sorbian Affairs and the Domowina were involved in the preparation of the action plan, the latter as the representative body of the Sorbian people. The second action plan also announced possible additional funding for the implementation of certain goals (Sächsisches Staatsministerium für Wissenschaft und Kunst 2019).

A new measure, already implemented in 2019, is a service office for the Sorbian language, which offers a translation service and linguistic advice for the municipalities in the Sorbian settlement area. It supports the use of Sorbian at the municipal level, for example for the implementation of Sorbian on websites (Menzel & Pohontsch 2020: 254). The office, which has two employees, is funded by the Saxon State Ministry of the Interior as part of a municipal programme to promote Sorbian-German bilingualism.[4] The programme also includes a lump sum which the municipalities can apply for to implement their own measures for the benefit of the Sorbian language, a kind of participatory budget.

[4] https://www.bvs.sachsen.de/sorbisches-kommunalprogramm-zweisprachigkeit-3969.html (accessed 06.10.2022)

The proposal for an image campaign for the Sorbian language was taken over from the first action plan. The aim is to raise awareness of the fact that Sorbian is spoken in Lusatia and to help ensure that Sorbian is not perceived as a threat. In 2019, the campaign "Sorbisch? Na klar!" – 'Sorbian? For sure!' was launched by the Saxon Ministry of Culture and aims to provide the German-speaking population with low-threshold access to information about the Sorbian language. Its main long-term goal is to encourage Lusatians to speak Sorbian and let others speak it, and to naturally integrate Sorbian in public spaces (Sächsisches Staatsministerium für Kultur und Tourismus 2021). Part of the campaign is an internet blog with short articles in German about the Sorbian language and about the Sorbs (Sächsisches Staatsministerium für Wissenschaft, & Kultur und Tourismus).

The action plan and the following measures are an important step towards tackling the attitudes and obstacles that hinder the active use of Sorbian. Although the Sorbs have a rich cultural and institutional landscape in relation to the Sorbian population, making use of it requires a conscious attitude, which is not always a given.

Just as the origins of today's legislation lie in the GDR, so too do the origins of the Sorbian institutional landscape. A large number of the institutions date back to the period after the Second World War and would be inconceivable without the developments in the GDR. The Sorbian organisation Domowina, founded in 1912 and dissolved in 1937, was founded again in 1945. After 1945, Sorbian schools were established in Czechoslovakia, and the first radio broadcasts in Sorbian date from this period. In 1947 the press and book printing were revived. A Sorbian grammar school was founded in Budyšin/Bautzen in 1947 for the Upper Sorbs and in Chóśebuz/Cottbus in 1952 for the Lower Sorbs. The rights of the Sorbs were enshrined in the 1948 Saxon "Law on the Protection of the Rights of the Sorbian Population" and in the 1950 Brandenburg "Sorbs Decree". Between 1948 and 1958 the following Sorbian cultural and scientific institutions were founded: The Sorbian folk theatre, the Sorbian bookshop, the Sorbian Central Library, the academic "Institut za serbski ludospyt/Institut für sorbische Volksforschung", the Sorbian institute at the University of Leipzig, the Sorbian national ensemble (with choir, orchestra and dancers), the Sorbian radio broadcast station "Serbski rozhłós", the Sorbian language school, the House of Sorbian Folk Art, the pedagogical institute, the publishing house "Ludowe nakładnistwo Domowina". At that time several newspapers and magazines were founded: The academic journal "Lětopis" (published by the academic Sorbian institute in Budyšin/Bautzen), the cultural magazine "Rozhlad" (published by the Domowina), the children's magazine "Płomjo" (published by the official socialist youth movement, the Free German Youth FDJ), the weekly and later daily Upper Sorbian newspaper "Nowa doba" (published by the publishing house), the Lower Sorbian newspaper "Nowy Casnik", first as a supplement to the Upper Sorbian newspaper, then as a separate weekly (published by the Domowina), the educational journal "Serbska šula" (published first by the Domowina, then by the Ministry of Education), the Catholic fortnightly "Katolski Posoł" (published by Catholic priests), the Protestant monthly "Pomhaj Bóh" (published by Protestant priests).

The diverse institutional landscape for the support of the Sorbian culture did not, however, prove to be a guarantor for the maintenance of the Sorbian language and identity. To a certain extent this has to do with the gradual subordination to the official socialist state doctrine in the GDR. As early as in 1950, the Sorbian national organisation Domowina was transformed into a Sorbian socialist organisation dependent on the SED party (Socialist Unity Party – Sozialistische Einheitspartei). Socialist goals became more important than the support for the development of Sorbian identity, language and culture. The Domowina did not protest against the open-cast lignite mining, which led to the demolition of many Sorbian villages, and could not oppose the fact that thousands of

workers were brought into the Sorbian area for this purpose (Elle 2010b; Dołowy-Rybińska 2014). It is a sad paradox that the intergenerational transmission of Sorbian in Lower Lusatia and in the Protestant regions of Upper Lusatia was completely disrupted only after the Second World War, not during but after the open suppression of Sorbian. The previous discrimination based on the Sorbian language and its low prestige in comparison to the positive opportunities offered by the German language were so deeply rooted among the Sorbian population that a negative attitude towards Sorbian and a positive attitude towards German developed among them (Norberg 1996; Bott-Bodenhausen 1997).

During the political changes in 1989, the Sorbian National Assembly was formed and it initiated a dialogue and discussions in opposition to the Domowina. The Domowina was eventually transformed and reorganised into a decentralised umbrella organisation for Sorbian associations. At the same time, the Sorbs sought to ensure the continuation of financial support from the state and the guarantee of their rights. Many of the institutions mentioned above continued to exist under the new political conditions and are now embedded in other structures. The Sorbian language school, the House of Sorbian Folk Art and the pedagogical institute are among those that were dissolved.

3.5 Sorbian in education

As with legislation and institutions, today's Sorbian school system has evolved from that of the GDR. School education with Sorbian as the language of instruction existed as early as the 1950s, and lessons of Sorbian were compulsory for children in Lusatia under the 1948 Saxon Sorbs Act (Pjech 2006). Pupils were divided into two types of classes, A classes for students who were taught through the medium of Sorbian and B classes for students who were taught through the medium of German and learned Sorbian as a second language in a separate subject. However, in the 1960s, in an attempt to subordinate everything to the socialist state doctrine, first German was introduced for science subjects (for pupils from A classes who had Sorbian as their language of instruction) and later Sorbian as a subject (for pupils from B classes who had German as their language of instruction) became optional, and at the same time Sorbian institutions were forbidden to provide information about and encourage participation in Sorbian lessons. There was a general reluctance on the part of German parents to allow their children to attend Sorbian language classes, with members of the SED party in particular lobbying for the abolition of the subject. The changed regulations had different effects on the three types of existing schools. In schools where Sorbian was taught only as a subject, the number of participants in Sorbian classes dropped significantly. In schools that had two classes in each year, one A class taught through the medium of Sorbian and one B class taught through the medium of German, the latter was attended by an increasing number of children of Sorbian parents and Sorbian suffered a loss of prestige. Schools that taught exclusively in Sorbian were only able to remain without a German-medium B class because Sorbian principals, teachers, and parents repeatedly demanded it (Pech 1999). Although some Sorbian parents saw an increased use of German at school as an opportunity for their children to learn German better, there were voices that criticised the changes as being against Sorbian interests (Pech 2012: 199 f.). These voices were dismissed as "Sorbian nationalism" (Pjech 1998: 4 f.). Four years after the changeover to voluntary Sorbian lessons, a further amendment provided some relief and the prohibition on informing about and encouraging participation in Sorbian lessons was abolished.

The system of A classes with Sorbian as the medium of instruction and B classes with German as the medium of instruction was maintained after the political transformation. In the 1990s, however, new ways were sought, partly because of declining pupil numbers. Immersion and bilingual

education were introduced. Immersion was mainly used in kindergartens, through a new immersive educational model called "Witaj". Depending on the region, it was attended by children with or without Sorbian language skills. German-speaking children thus had the opportunity to learn Sorbian outside the home. The actual amount of Sorbian used, and whether Sorbian is used in the whole kindergarten or in a special group in the kindergarten, actually varies from kindergarten to kindergarten and does not always correspond to immersion as originally intended (see Šołćina & Menzel 2018). For schools, a bilingual education system of teaching, "2plus" (Sorbian, German and other languages) was introduced in a 11-year trial period before it became binding in the school year 2013/2014. It is aimed equally at children of Sorbian and non-Sorbian origin (Schulz 2015).

The Sorbian School Association "Serbske šulske towarstwo – SŠT", founded in 1991, promotes bilingual education and is the responsible body for several kindergartens (some with an educational concept for Sorbian-speaking children, others with an immersion educational concept for German-speaking children to learn Sorbian, called "Witaj" – welcome). Its members are school and kindergarten teachers as well as parents. In 2001, the language centre "Rěčny centrum WITAJ – RCW" was founded as a new department of the Domowina, whose task is to promote, preserve, teach and spread the Sorbian language in Upper and Lower Lusatia. It is responsible for the publication of school textbooks and pedagogical teaching materials, school social work, youth social work and the pedagogical further training of school and kindergarten teachers. Teacher training in Sorbian takes place at the Institute for Sorbian Studies at the University of Leipzig. The Vocational School Centre for Business and Technology in Bautzen with its Sorbian Vocational School for Social Pedagogy includes Upper Sorbian in the training of kindergarten teachers.[5]

The context that applies to my research participants is that of Saxony. The policy of teaching Sorbian and teaching in Sorbian is state-approved and are embedded in the public school system, where pupils are taught according to the Saxon curriculum (Landesamt für Schule und Bildung Radebeul 2018). Apart from kindergarten, Sorbian is used in education from primary school to secondary school and grammar school. There are Sorbian-German schools that use Sorbian as one of two languages of instruction alongside German, and other schools that teach Sorbian only as a foreign language. The schools teach the prestigious standard variety of Sorbian. In the bilingual schools, some subjects are taught in Sorbian and some are taught by two teachers using Sorbian and German, which is called *team teaching*. With the aim of teaching Sorbian to all children in the bilingual schools, the intention is that all pupils learn together in classes, regardless of their linguistic background. Only Sorbian as a subject is taught in three different groups according to the language skills of the pupils (Landesamt für Schule und Bildung Radebeul 2018). Sample materials for monitoring the language skills of third graders, provided by the Saxon State Office for School and Education give an impression of the possible language orientation in the three groups (Landesamt für Schule und Bildung 2021a; Landesamt für Schule und Bildung 2021b; Landesamt für Schule und Bildung 2021c). The teaching varies from a rather monolingual Sorbian orientation (language group 1), to a bilingual orientation in which materials are presented in both languages (language group 2), to a bilingual orientation in which German is the basic language in which materials are presented and Sorbian is introduced in the context of the topic being discussed in German (language group 3). Nicole Dołowy-Rybińska discusses the difficulties of reconciling all the needs and requirements that arise from the different levels of language proficiency in detail in several papers and in her monograph on language maintenance and revitalisation in the Upper Sorbian language policy in

[5] https://www.bautzen.de/adressen/sorbische-fachschule-fuer-sozialwesen-916 (accessed 20.04.3023)

education (Dołowy-Rybińska 2023). Together with Cordula Ratajczak, she conducted a student-centred study of young students' experiences of bilingual education in the Upper Sorbian grammar school in Budyšin/Bautzen. She argues convincingly that the division into language groups is still perceived along ethnic lines, just as the A and B classes have been perceived as classes for Sorbs and Germans respectively. Pupils therefore refer to each other as Sorbs, Germans, and the bilinguals in between.

Apart from the schools, Sorbian is also taught to adults, although the opportunities to attend such courses are limited. Courses are offered through the language centre of the Domowina and through the adult education centres called "Volkshochschule" (Sächsisches Staatsministerium für Wissenschaft und Kunst 2018: 68–69). Every two years, the Sorbian Institute organises summer schools on Sorbian language and culture, but these are aimed at university students and academics from outside Lusatia.

3.6 Sorbian in Catholic Upper Lusatia

Catholic Upper Lusatia is the south-western part of the region officially recognised as the Sorbian settlement area and is roughly located between the three towns of Budyšin/Bautzen, Wojerecy/Hoyerswerda and Kamjenc/Kamenz. It includes the municipalities belonging to the association of municipalities "Při Klóšterskej wodźe/Am Klosterwasser" in the district of Bautzen in Saxony (Chróšćicy/Crostwitz, Njebjelčicy/Nebelschütz, Pančicy-Kukow/Panschwitz-Kuckau, Ralbicy-Róžant/Ralbitz-Rosenthal, Worklecy/Räckelwitz) as well as parts of the neighbouring municipalities to the north and east (Kulow/Wittichenau, Njeswačidło/Neschwitz, Bóšicy/Puschwitz, Hodźij/Göda) and part of the municipality of Radwor/Radibor. (See map 2 in the appendix for a historical map, which largely corresponds to the present Catholic area). The Sorbian Catholic parishes belong to two dioceses. The diocese of Dresden-Meißen (Baćoń/Storcha, Budyšin/Bautzen, Chróšćicy/Crostwitz, Njebjelčicy/Nebelschütz, Wotrow/Ostro, Radwor/Radibor, Ralbicy-Róžant/Ralbitz-Rosenthal) and the diocese of Görlitz (Kulow/Wittichenau) (Bistum Dresden-Meißen 2022; Walde 2014).

My thesis focuses on the use of Upper Sorbian in the Catholic region of Upper Lusatia. Therefore, when I refer to the Sorbian language without further specification, this is to be understood as a reference to the Upper Sorbian language. Whenever a reference refers specifically to Lower Sorbian, I will state this explicitly.

Although Sorbian is used in many domains of everyday life in the Catholic region there are factors that weaken the position of Sorbian vis-à-vis German. Sorbian is mainly used orally in the home, church, neighbourhood, and at school, with the exception of the towns, where we should exclude the neighbourhood domain (Pohončowa & Wölkowa 2014; Jaenecke 2003). The written form of the language is mainly used for reading. Oral mastery of the codified norm is more limited due to the different dialectal basis already mentioned and the continuing Sorbian-German language contact. When it comes to the work domain, Sorbian is mainly used in companies that operate in the municipalities of the aforementioned administrative association and whose employees and customers are mainly Sorbs (Ela 2003: 84, 90). The use of Sorbian outside schools and kindergartens and outside the Sorbian institutions in the city of Bautzen is often informal. The use of Sorbian in local politics, for example in municipal councils, is not regulated and depends on the local councillors elected in each electoral term (Menzel & Pohontsch 2020: 253). The use of the language use in sports clubs and other non-decided Sorbian associations depends on the participants and often also on the attitudes of those running the activities.

In the home domain, which forms the basis for the empirical research presented in chapters 7 to 9, Sorbian is usually only dominant in families where both partners speak Sorbian (Keller 2000; Kimura 2015). While endogamous marriages between Sorbian Catholics are still favoured to a certain extent, partnerships and marriage patterns have become more diverse, especially in the last 70 years, resulting in an increasing number of interlingual couples and families (Elle 1999; Kowalczyk 1999; Walde 2000). The adaptive practice of using German when one of the partners is monolingual is widespread and is said to significantly influence the intergenerational transmission of Sorbian, or lack thereof (Keller 2000; Kimura 2015). At the end of the twentieth century, it was estimated that even in families where both partners knew Sorbian, the proportion of those where Sorbian was predominantly used was only about 30 to 35 per cent (Elle 1999: 160). Unfortunately, it is difficult to draw a precise picture of the current linguistic situation, since there is a lack of regular sociolinguistic research on the ethnolinguistic vitality of Sorbian, which concerns the whole of Lusatia. Some gaps in our knowledge are the result of unpublished earlier research. In the 1960s, ethnographic studies of the social and ethnic structure of the municipality of Radwor/Radibor, including Sorbian families, were stopped by the communist party when it became clear that the linguistic assimilation of the Sorbs was linked to economic and political changes (Keller 2000). In the later years of the 20th century, Ines Keller (2000) conducted ethnological research with families in five villages in Upper Lusatia. She confirms the difference between the Catholic and Protestant villages when it comes to bilingual education at home and the importance of Sorbianness within families.

The denominational language boundary between the Catholic Sorbs and the Protestant Sorbs and Germans is peculiar to the way in which Sorbian has been maintained in the Catholic community. For the Catholic Sorbs, religion, language and ethnicity are closely linked to each other. Being Catholic is a part of their Sorbian ethnic identity, and the language itself is seen as God-given (Walde 2010; Walde 2014). In her monograph on the links between language maintenance among Catholic Sorbs and their religion, Paulina Jaenecke (2003) argues that the Sorbian language serves as a condition for access to the Catholic community and for participation in regional religious life. Both the clergy and the communities themselves accept and demand Sorbian language skills as a prerequisite for participation – in that services and gatherings are held exclusively in Sorbian, and German is used in separate services. Goro Christoph Kimura (2015; 2016) elaborates on this through the lens of language management theory. He depicts processes of language management in one of the Sorbian parishes by focusing on language use, actions and interactions between a Sorbian clergyman and German-speaking children attending Sorbian preparatory classes for their first communion.

It can be argued that the church domain is the only domain in which the (exclusive) use of Sorbian is not questioned or in which opposition to such a language choice is resisted. The church offers the opportunity to do things through the Sorbian language and, very importantly, to participate in Sorbian literary practice through singing and reading (Menzel & Pohontsch 2020: 253). If individuals do not read in Sorbian elsewhere, then the use of the Sorbian hymn book together with others in church or on pilgrimages to the Marian pilgrimage site in Różant/Rosenthal is the only regular contact with the standard Sorbian language. The singing of hymns – many of them in the original Sorbian, others in translations from other languages – is an important part of worship, and it also has an emotional component. This is an opportunity to use the Sorbian language that non-Catholics do not have. (Protestant Sorbs also have services in Sorbian, or bilingual in Sorbian and German, but they are held much less regularly, and there are also fewer pastors with Sorbian language skills).

For Catholics, the rich liturgical calendar and other customs form a community to which they are attached. The community is strengthened by shared religious customs and the use of Sorbian. Two examples that will be relevant later in the thesis, are the Easter processions and the traditional Catholic Sorbian costumes. The first is reserved for men, who form processions on horseback with their fellow parishioners and visit another Sorbian partner parish, proclaiming the resurrection of Christ with hymns and prayers along the way. The second is exclusive for girls and women and is used mainly in religious contexts, but also in choirs and folklore dance groups. While the everyday costumes are no longer used, the festive costumes are increasingly used for special occasions. As the costumes developed in the Catholic region, they are also a marker of Catholic and Sorbian identity.

Even those parts of community life that are not strictly religious often have religious aspects. For example, during the non-Christian custom of the maypole, Marian hymns are sung in Sorbian, as it takes place in May, the month of devotion to the Virgin Mary. Apart from such customs, village festivals and celebrations have a secular character – although a youth party may occasionally end with the singing of Easter hymns.

In terms of language maintenance, this is both an advantage and a challenge. For people who have been socialised into the community, this togetherness can be a great refuge, help parents to pass on the Sorbian language to their children and be a source of positive emotions and bonding. It can also be a lively language environment in which to immerse oneself and try to use the Sorbian language. On the other hand, the sanctions for deviating from the unwritten community norms or not participating in the Catholic community life can be felt in a very negative way. Even though the community has become much more individualistic, the faith is fluid and far from uniform, church hierarchies are questioned, and uniform participation in church and in parish life as well as a clear identification with the church are by no means a matter of course (see already Walde 2000). However, their Catholic character makes access to Sorbian language spaces in the region very difficult for non-Catholics (see Dołowy-Rybińska 2023 for the implications for Sorbian education policy).

Another very important challenge for Sorbian language maintenance lies in the long-term linguistic coherence of the Catholic area. While this condition has made it possible for the language to be used until today, the restriction to use Sorbian only within the safe space of a Sorbian community is causing such Sorbian language spaces to shrink. There has been a strong tendency to solve questions of language choice in situations where people with different levels of Sorbian knowledge are involved by restricting the use of Sorbian to other occasions where everyone present actually speaks Sorbian (Ratajczak 2011). This is only slowly beginning to change, as Sorbian-only spaces continue to shrink and people become aware that there are more people living in the Catholic region who do not speak Sorbian than was the case in the past. Speaking Sorbian in the presence of Germans is perceived as impolite, and a strong norm of linguistic subordination persists. Moreover, there seems to be an additional dimension of not using Sorbian with speakers who cannot be clearly identified as Sorbs. An excerpt from a conversation with a teacher in a Sorbian Catholic village in Karin Bott-Bodenhausen's study shows how children's use of German with children from (presumably) German-speaking or interlingual families is resignedly lamented, but attributed to an implicit agency of the German-speaking child (Bott-Bodenhausen 1997: 69–70). But just as the children mentioned in the interview chose German, it also seems inappropriate for adults to speak Sorbian with non-fluent speakers who do not assert that they would like to speak Sorbian. The use of Sorbian, even in the Catholic region, seems to depend to some extent on whether the unfamiliar interlocutor or the learner signals that he/she would like to use Sorbian.

The Sorbian Catholic family has been ascribed an important role in the preservation of religious and ethnic continuity of the Sorbs. Parents are expected by other Sorbs to pass on the Sorbian language to their children (Tsai 2010: 200, and the complex non-Catholic example of a mother working in the Lower Sorbian educational context who did not speak Sorbian with her child, p. 183-186). In the context of the increasing number of Sorbian-German intermarriages, this contradicts the lack of expectation for speakers of German to learn Sorbian and the submissive convergence of Sorbian speakers to German. Consequently, intermarriages are seen as detrimental to the maintenance of Sorbian. In reports about pupils, which refer to the language groups at school, pupils from language group 2 are sometimes referred to as "pupils who often come from linguistically mixed families and learn Sorbian as a second language"[6]. While endogamous marriages are sometimes ridiculed, they are seen by both Germans and Sorbs as absolutely helpful for the transmission of the language (see Tsai 2010: 199–200).[7] The history of the Sorbian language shift seems to prove them right, but given the increasing presence of German speakers in the Catholic region, this limits the impact of the strategy of separate Sorbian spaces in the present situation. Attitudes have changed towards an increasing openness to bilingualism and the desire to transmit Sorbian. However, the continuing hierarchy between the languages and the deep-rooted strategies of accommodation for German pose a challenge to a change in language practices.

[6] MiR. Na olympiadu serbšćiny. *Serbske Nowiny*. Budyšin, 67 edition, 06.04.2018.

[7] A master's thesis examines the language biography of a woman who grew up with Sorbian and German as the daughter of an interlingual couple. In her childhood, German was the dominant language at home and in her surroundings. Thinking about her own marriage to a Sorb and her current environment, which is more Sorbian, she says: *Das war ja schon immer auch irgendwie so im Hinterkopf, dass man vielleicht mal einen sorbischen Mann hat, um das dann auch weiter zu praktizieren, weil ich weiß nicht, beim deutschen Mann wäre das jetzt wahrscheinlich so gelaufen wie bei uns in der Kindheit. Irgendwann wäre es dann so, es hätte sich verloren wahrscheinlich.* / 'It was always somehow in the back of my mind, that maybe one day I would have a Sorbian husband, to continue to practice/live it, because I don't know, with a German husband it would probably have been the same as with us in childhood. At some point it would have been like, it would probably have been lost.' (Polk, Raphaela. 2022. *Mehrsprachige Sprachbiografien und die Frage nach der Identität am Beispiel einer Minderheitensprache*. Dresden: Technische Universität Dresden. https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bsz:14-qucosa2-818488. p. 51, lines 332-336)

4 Studying family language policies in Lusatia

4.1 Sorbian-German families in Catholic Upper Lusatia

In the course of narrowing down the scope of my doctoral research, I moved from the goal of investigating family language policies in different types of families in different places in and outside of Lusatia to focusing on interlingual Sorbian-German or German-Sorbian families in Catholic Upper Lusatia. They are at the centre of all possible conflicting ideologies and attitudes, whether towards multilingualism or towards Sorbian and German in particular. They have to make sense of language practices involving two languages not only outside the family but also within it. I wanted to learn about their creativity, their successes and their challenges in living with Sorbian and German.

All the families I worked with are nuclear, heteronormative two-parent families. I did not consciously aim for this profile, but because of the way I approached potential participants (see 5.1.4), such families were suggested to me. Similarly, the linguistic constellation of the parent couples as consisting of one Sorbian-speaking and one German-speaking parent is how others perceived them when I was looking for caregivers with different language backgrounds. However, the individual language background is more nuanced than the language role they are perceived to have in their own family. Among the parents who take on the role of the German-speaking parent in the family, there are three who have Sorbian-speaking parents, but where German was the language between parents and children in the family of origin. Among the parents who take on the role of the Sorbian-speaking parent, there is one with a similar linguistic background, but who began to actively use Sorbian later in life and now speaks it to his own children. What makes the families in my study interlingual is therefore not only the language(s) the parents grew up with, but above all the different languages the parents use with their children.

As it turned out, the main pattern of language use in the participating families is that the minority language Sorbian is spoken by one parent, and the majority language German is spoken by both parents. This is a pattern for which De Houwer (2007: 419) found that only in 36% of the families surveyed did the children speak both languages spoken to them by their parents. In the rest of the families, the children spoke only the majority language. The study was conducted among 1942 families in Belgium, and the majority language was Dutch, while the minority languages were a range of 73 different languages. Although this gives a rather pessimistic view, an important difference in the environment of the Sorbian-German families is that they live in an area, where the minority language is autochthonous. They have access to a community, where Sorbian is spoken by many other people. While its social status is that of a minority language, it is spoken by a significant proportion of the population.

All the case studies are located in a few villages in the Catholic region of Upper Lusatia. The villages belong to the administrative union of municipalities “Při Klóšterskej wodźe/Am Klosterwasser”. The approximate proportion of Sorbian-speaking inhabitants in the villages where the families live is over 50%, in some of them over 80%. These data are based on the latest, but probably outdated, survey (Walde 2004).

It is important to bear in mind that the case study families are not representative of all interlingual families in Catholic Upper Lusatia. However, their accounts provide a valuable window into what lived experience with Sorbian and German can mean for being a family in this place. In addition,

they shed light on community-wide norms of language use and how these can impact on efforts to strengthen the Sorbian language and how they affect identity formation.

4.2 Researcher positionality

Growing up in a village with the specific Lusatian bilingualism in Catholic Upper Lusatia, where only a part of the inhabitants uses both languages spoken in the community, and where, as a child, I tried to figure out who to greet in Sorbian and who in German on the street, I always felt Sorbian. To this day, I introduce myself as "coming from Germany" rather than "being German". This was as clear to me as was the obvious fact that I had grown up with two languages at home and felt confident in both. It was not until I was at university, when a friend surprised me by asking me how my father felt about the fact that German was only used in our home when we spoke to him directly, that I asked my father the question that awkwardly enough had never occurred to me.

His answer helps me today to understand why, growing up with my Sorbian-speaking mother and my German-speaking father, Sorbian became our main family language, even though my father never learned to speak Sorbian fluently. (*This perception of mine is again challenged by another friend from my student days who has repeatedly told me that he remembers another mutual friend talking about a short visit to my family place in Lusatia and mentioning that she had the impression that it was my father who spoke Sorbian the most of my family.*) He said he regretted not speaking Sorbian better and that he did not really feel German, but rather Sorbian. And for me, he had been the German in our family all these years.

If there is one thing I have learned from the language practices in my family that I have also applied outside of it, then it is that I do not want to conform to norms of linguistic subordination when I am in conversation with a Sorbian-speaking friend or acquaintance. Since school, I have had discussions about the issue of politeness with my best friend, who is Sorbian and takes the opposite view. But I was also bitterly disappointed by a linguistics student friend of mine who pointed out the rudeness of my not having introduced her or included her in my five-minute conversation with an acquaintance from my Sorbian high school whom we met by chance while walking through our university town. (*It was highly unlikely that I would see my old colleague again, so the content of our conversation was limited to our delight at having met and our current whereabouts and activities, nothing that I considered worthy of immediate translation).* Like my father never minded if the rest of us spoke Sorbian in his presence, I enjoy listening to languages unknown to me, for example on public transport, although I admit that an evening with friends who speak a language I do not know has more potential to be exhausting. Having become aware of being perceived as somehow exotic, and given the interest of linguists in under-documented, or in this case, small, languages, I wrongly assumed that a linguist who did not know Lusatia might be curious to hear me actually speaking Sorbian with others, regardless of the circumstances.

But speaking Sorbian in public is not just an act of rebellion for me. In the course of time I became aware of the fact that I use a louder voice in Sorbian than in German when in public and that I feel more free and less under surveillance when I speak Sorbian.

I was impressed when I first heard about the language activism of the Welsh association Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg, whose members tore down English-only road signs in the demand for a bilingual road signage, even risking prison sentences for their actions. I happily took notice of the "A serbsce?!" ('What about Sorbian?!') sticker campaign, which targeted German-only road signs for the same reason, but I myself never became an activist in the Cymdeithas sense. What I have tried

to develop, however, is a pro-active stance towards the use of Sorbian. I try to find opportunities to use the language and at least try to overcome my reluctance to great others in Sorbian when the situation does not suggest a Sorbian response. It is a challenge to balance the desire to speak and share your language and cope with the feeling of being intrusive and pushy.

I think my own attitudes to language use developed with an awareness of the language shift within our family. Throughout my life, I have not been aware of all of its aspects, but I have certainly been aware of some of them. Among the many moments of language shift, changing language choices and changing language repertoires in my extended family, there were

- language shift between the great-grandparental and grandparental generations,
- language shift between the grandparental and parental generations,
- language shift between the generation of my parents, aunts and uncles, and the generation of my cousins.

Language shift occurred in different situations and circumstances. They include

- a Sorbian Protestant village that underwent a language shift after the war, where my great-grandparents stopped using Sorbian with their children;
- another Sorbian Protestant village undergoing language shift, where the children only heard Sorbian spoken among their parents, but not spoken to them;
- majority language places outside Lusatia, where Sorbian parents married to German-speaking partners tried to speak Sorbian to their children and eventually switched to German;
- the house in which I grew up, where my Sorbian Catholic grandparents were asked on to use Sorbian, but actually responded in German to their German-speaking grandchildren, my cousins.

My mother was determined to pass on and use Sorbian in her own family. And my father, for whom not having acquired Sorbian in his own family was a loss, paved the way for me and my siblings to embrace Sorbian as a language in which we felt at home by his quiet and supportive manner. In our family's lively conversations, when my father was in the background, we might not have noticed that he was interspersing his contributions with all the bits and pieces of Sorbian that he felt comfortable with. But my father's Sorbian which remained under the radar of my awareness, certainly contributed to me introducing myself as a Sorb.

At this point, I do not make a clear distinction between identifying as Sorbian and speaking Sorbian. This is part of the reality in which I grew up. Just as I used to call my father a German, all members of the Lusatian community in the Catholic region who only understood or did not speak Sorbian seemed to be called German, while those who used both German and Sorbian seemed to be called Sorbian.

With regard to the research underlying this thesis, I must point out the challenge of conducting research in my own community. Of course, I am influenced by the region from which I come from. I also share with my participants the situation of having lived in an interlingual family, and I share with many of the participating children the impression that my parents have made good choices and navigated our family through sensible language practices. Based on my own experiences, I have quite strong opinions about how the transmission of the Sorbian language can be achieved and to what extent the use of the language can be conducive to the maintenance of Sorbian in general. For

example, when someone says that a Sorbian-speaking parent only speaks Sorbian to their children when the German-speaking partner is absent, I become sceptical about the possibility of the children embracing Sorbian as their preferred language. For me, however, a preference for Sorbian over German in interaction, would be one of the most convincing signs of the ongoing maintenance of the Sorbian language in the community.

As a consequence, during my research, I had to be aware of the moments when I was likely to disagree with a participant due to my insider perspective. When I felt the need to ask for further clarification, I made an effort to listen properly before asking, so as to not discourage the participants from sharing their perspectives. The same was true for the written form of the transcriptions, so as not to miss what they were actually sharing. Our collaboration has taught me a lot, and I hope that the way I present what my participants have shared contributes to a general understanding of the embeddedness of FLPs in Lusatia.

With my decision to conduct my research using qualitative methods, which I will to explain in chapter 5, it is obvious that as a researcher I am not a "neutral" or "objective" listener. This does not mean that I lightly dispense with an alleged selective listening on my part, or with a judgement of practices based on my attitudes. But it does mean a commitment to be sensitive to how my personal attitudes affect my perception of the participants in my research, on the one hand. And it means that I need to be aware of the influence that I, as a person, can have on what the participants reveal when they talk to me, on the other hand. In this, I am no different from a researcher who approaches a community as an outsider. Neither an insider nor an outsider has access to supposedly more neutral or objective data; the data collected are merely different, but equally valid. Moreover, as Julia Sallabank (2013: 17–18) notes for research in both language documentation and revitalisation, the researcher leaves traces in the community regardless of whether he or she comes as an outsider or an insider.

Tim McNamarra (2022: 47–48) writes about Derrida's concept of "the ear of the Other" (Flubacher & Purkarthofer 2022: 13). The researcher's ear can be imagined by the speaker, and depending on how the researcher is perceived by the speaker, this imagined ear can lead to self-censorship. Since I spoke Sorbian from the very first meeting with my participants and also prepared all written invitations for participation in Sorbian and German, it was probably clear that my perspective would be a Sorbian (bilingual) one, and not a German one, and that the ear that the others might imagine me to have would thus be a "Sorbian ear". One of my participants decided to participate in an interview later than other members of his family. In the course of my interviews with the others, the father also agreed to talk to me. His wife said at the beginning that he would certainly not talk to me and that she would describe his position to me, which she said was negative towards the Sorbian language. In fact, during our conversation, he did not talk in great detail about languages; the things that interested me were not the things that he was thinking about. One thing struck me as interesting. When he talks about how he attended a basic course in Sorbian, but never spoke Sorbian at home or learned to speak Sorbian, he mentions that his attitude at that time was different and that he was not interested in learning to speak Sorbian, it was enough to understand Sorbian to a certain extent. On the one hand, he explains why he does not speak Sorbian, it is something that is part of his life story and cannot be ignored. On the other hand, he carefully distances himself from his indifference towards Sorbian. This could be due to my "Sorbian ear", but also due to a more general "societal ear" that does not want to hear clearly derogatory statements about Sorbian.

Being part of the society you are researching has advantages in terms of accessibility to the community and, secondly, shared access to cultural knowledge between researcher and participant, which makes it easier to grasp references made during interviews. Regarding the first aspect, it was Alexandra who told me that a Sorbian researcher would have easier access to the community than an outsider.

(1) Alexandra Bluhmowa/Bluhme (F1, 30)

> Haj. Tón lochšo nutř přińdźe kaž něchtó, kotryž je tak prajene gor ničo z nami činić nima. Kotryž snano cyle wot wonka přińdźe. By ja sej móhła, also ja sama by sej móhła předstajić. Zo so te ludźi tla bóle distanc- pytaja, a hdyž něchtó serbski je, da jen tla skokši je, ma tón poćah k tym. A skokši tla jemol něšto powěda abo čini. Hač pon kóždy swoje prawe, sprawne mjezwočo pokaza, to je pon zas jen cyle druhi ...
>
> Yes, he can get in quicker than someone who has nothing to do with us, so to speak. Someone who perhaps comes completely from the outside. I could, I could imagine that myself. That people are more distanced, and if someone is Sorbian, you relate to them more quickly. And tell or do things more quickly. Whether everyone then shows their true, true face, that's a completely different matter ...

She relates her assessment to her experience with her Sorbian colleagues at work, who did not know at the beginning that she was Sorbian. Alexandra describes how they began to treat her much more cordially once they learned that she spoke Sorbian, which showed her how speakers of German do not have access to the community the Sorbs form.

When the participants in my study met me, they all knew that I spoke Sorbian. However, not all of them knew at the beginning about my own background of growing up in a Sorbian-German family. Some of them thus may have assumed that I grew up with both parents speaking Sorbian to me. Sometimes the topic of my own family background came up during the interview and the participants asked me directly about it. Usually, towards the end of the interview, I offered them to also ask me questions as well. Some of the participants took up this invitation, others did not. I did not know any of the family members before meeting them for my research project. However, there were a few participants who knew other members of my own family and therefore knew where I came from. These cases are mentioned in the introduction to the families in chapter 6. Where nothing is mentioned, I am not aware of any familiarity. If the families knew someone from my own family, I told them that I would not tell my family that I had met them for my research project. They were free to tell them themselves, but I would not tell them.

5 Research methods

5.1 Data collection

My study draws on research among 28 people from a total of 6 families. The first pillar of the study is based on my interviewees' accounts of their personal experiences of Sorbian-German bilingualism and uses a biographical lens. I draw primarily on 19 biographical narrative interviews and additionally, on 6 language portraits. The second pillar of the study is participant observation, which I conducted in 3 of the 6 families. The triangulation of different methods allows me to analyse the interrelations between language attitudes and language practices going beyond self-reports. I audio-recorded the interviews and conversations that developed around the drawing of the language portraits, as well as further conversations during the participant observations. I initially used an Olympus LS-11 and later a Zoom H4n Pro recorder. I then transcribed the recordings and finally translated excerpts from Sorbian and German into English for the purpose of this thesis. Field notes were my means of documenting the participant observations.

The fieldwork took place between September 2021 and February 2022. Prior to the fieldwork period with the families in my study, I used the methodology in a pilot study with a family with whom I have a close relationship. The dates show that the fieldwork period was the period of the Covid-19 pandemic. Appropriate measures were taken to avoid exposing my study participants to additional risks of infection through my visits. The decision on when to meet was made jointly, taking into account the pandemic situation. The fieldwork was planned for an earlier period, but in 2020 and early 2021 there were travel restrictions and meeting restrictions in place to contain the pandemic. While I was prevented from either entering the country or from meeting people, it proved difficult to make contact with potential participants from a distance. Once this was possible in person, it took some time to find the first participants and to agree on a the dates when they would have the time to meet., Other influences of the pandemic situation on the research, where relevant, are mentioned below.

5.1.1 A biographical lens on complex braidings of attitudes and practices

This thesis is based on short-term fieldwork within a four-year research project and aims to shed light on long-term processes related to language maintenance. While current language practices are driven by current stances, they are mediated by life experiences and changing evaluations and discourses. Since I cannot refer to observations of practices over a longer period, a biographic approach allows me to access the positioning of the research participants and their (changing) language attitudes and practices, thus levelling out the short-term nature of the research period. Nekvapil (2003: 64) emphasises the benefit of language biographic research for research on historical language situations that cannot be investigated in a synchronic way. In my opinion, this holds true, in general, for a rather processual perspective as compared to a focus on the current state of affairs. In the introduction to their volume on biographic approaches to social experiences related to language, Flubacher & Purkarthofer (2022) point out the opportunities they provide. Research in this line provides the opportunity to "empirically account for lived experiences of language", to capture "a person's position, positioning and positionality in society" and the "social beliefs, evaluations and stances" in which they are embedded, again providing information on "language ideologies and hegemonic discourses".

The biographic lens and its focus on the experiences of the participants also helps to avoid falling back to unconsciously looking through the lens of my own experiences. Such a "speaker-centred approach eschews evaluative practices of both speaking and speakers by researchers" (Flubacher & Purkarthofer 2022: 13), which is all the more important in my case as a member of the researched community, a community that is by no means homogeneous.

5.1.1.1 Narrative biographic interviews

With the adult and some of the adolescent participants, I used narrative biographic interviews as a means to learn about their individual linguistic experiences and language use against the backdrop of their life stories. The narrative character of the interviews was important, as my aim was to stimulate narratives or stories that would leave enough space for the participants to talk about aspects that are relevant to them. It meant allowing themes to emerge that I did not anticipate, even if they went beyond merely language-related topics. With regard to language, such narratives build on the lived experiences (of language) and so their main drawback may be that they do not provide the researcher with a factography or a seeming truth.

Therefore, working with the obtained linguistic biographies means to work with the biographic account that was provided at a given time in the given circumstances. Biographical narrations are changing and relational. Just as the languages which my participants use, their biographies are related to other people in their lives, to their environment, to the social understanding of languages. Told at another time the biographic account may be different, evolving along the social changes in their environment.

The same pertains to me as the listener who has an influence on the relation with the narrator. Had the interviews been conducted by someone else, the biographic narratives would have been different. The narrator is sensitive to the intentions of the listener and to the expectations the narrator imagines that the listener has. The biographic account is influenced by what the narrator regards as socially desirable or expected.[8] While I am the immediate listener as the researcher, an imagined listener or reader influences also other forms of autobiographic texts, such as autobiographies for a wider audience (Purkarthofer 2022: 22;24). Purkarthofer (2022: 28) emphasises this by pointing to Judith Butler who understood the life story as a performance that relates to other people around the narrator.

However, once this is borne in mind, the drawback of the relationality of biographic reports becomes a great advantage. Because they are influenced by discourses and ideologies, social attitudes, evaluations and stances, and power relations, biographical accounts provide an insight into these very things. The lived experiences provide a window into people's language choices, language practices, and their evaluations of them. While each narrator refers to their own experiences and to what is important to them, what they know and talk about extends their personal experiences and includes social and cultural knowledge. The biographical approach makes it possible to understand, through the complexity of an individual life, the processes that take place within a wider community. Flubacher & Purkarthofer (2022: 8) rightly point out that "the main interest of language biographical research is less in the uniqueness of particular life stories but is rather geared towards the social

[8] Even before looking on the level of the narration, this is nicely illustrated by one of my participants, who, at the end of our interview-conversation, told me that she had pondered how to avoid giving the interview in Sorbian, since Sorbian was the language she was less confident in. She was not sure how to address this issue because, earlier, I had left the impression on her that I would not accept German. – We had a beautiful conversation almost entirely in Sorbian.

dimensions of language practices and ideologies that speakers are exposed to and participate in throughout their lives." Even though I focus on the individual in the biographical interview, I can also trace practices characteristic of the community as a whole, in addition to the individual's own language practices. Again quoting Flubacher & Purkarthofer (2022: 7–8), "[b]y making a claim about language (use[rs]), speakers position themselves as members of social groups but also as knowledgeable participants of discourses on language (cf. Spitzmüller in this volume). Explicit references in narratives with regard to shared or contested language ideologies (Kroskrity, 2018) make social power relations and discourses visible, and position the speaker and their languages in a broader context." This in turn, helps to reveal what it takes to maintain a minority language.

For the interpretation of the narratives, it is important to bear in mind that they refer to memories relevant to the participant, reconstructed and selected at the moment of talking (Purkarthofer 2022: 22). In accordance with the present situation, (selected) memories are included, emphasised or downplayed, whereby not necessarily consciously (Purkarthofer 2022: 24, referring to Schütze 1981). However, despite their potential selectiveness, biographic accounts tend to seek coherence and credibility. Their sequential nature helps the narrator to reveal also unpleasant or socially undesired parts of their biography in order to ensure that it is meaningful (Purkarthofer 2022: 24, referring to Schütze 1976). (Sequentiality does not mean that the life story is told in one go from birth to today, but sequential connections to certain points of reference are established during the account.) Although gaps in the account of language practices may still remain, it is possible to tentatively fill or reconstruct them with the help of the biographies of other family members. What is desirable, important or emotionally loaded may be different for each member of the family, and so unpleasant indescribable points omitted by one member may not carry such connotations for another family member, who, therefore, might mention them. Nonetheless, my aim is less to gain a gapless biography, but more to find out which gaps are meaningful and telling with regard to language practices. Talking to several family members helps to better understand the families' language practices, and trace contradictions in the practices and the stated or desired goals and expectations. Furthermore, working with whole families offers the opportunity to observe yet another characteristic of narrative research, namely that narrative identity is not limited to how the narrator positions him/herself but includes what others tell about him/her. This means that biographic narrations also include the stories of others that are linked to the narrator's biography (Purkarthofer 2022: 24, referring to Ricouer 1995). This is apparent, for instance, when the narrator talks about his/her childhood and thus refers to a time of which he/she does not have own memories. Talking to young adults and to their parents, gives the opportunity to observe family narratives related to language practices and identity.

For conducting the narrative biographic interviews, I drew on the interview procedure in the tradition of Schütze (1983) to first and foremost give the voice to the participants and to remain in the background myself at the beginning. After introducing the type of the interview/conversation to them, I asked the participant to give their own account of their autobiography focussing on their experiences with languages. Once they finished their account, I started to ask questions. I aimed to first begin with narrative questions concerning unfinished or unclear parts and aspects of their story and only afterwards ask about interrelations between events or developments and interpretations. The former should add time periods that the participants did not talk about or clarify parts that I did not understand or that were ambiguous. The latter should concern those parts of the narration that were relevant for the analysis of language attitudes and ideologies, asking, for example, why the participant or people described by him/her made certain language choices or what he/she thinks

might be the background of certain circumstances or measures he/she spoke about in the biographic account.

For the introduction to our conversation, I used the following text, which I uttered freely in a more or less consistent way to every participant (that is, I did not read it out in the exact same wording):

Sorbian (written in standard Sorbian, presented in colloquial Sorbian):

Ja so zajimuju za rěčne biografije, potajkim za biografije, kotrež su zwjazane ze serbšćinu we Łužicy. Mje zajimuje serbšćina jako rěč we wšědnym žiwjenju a serbsko-němska/němsko-serbska dwurěčnosć w swójbach. Mje zajimuje Waša (twoja) wosobinska perspektiwa a Waše (twoje) nazhonjenja z rěčemi powšitkownje a wosebje ze serbšćinu a němčinu. Kotru rólu hraja wone we wšelakich žiwjenskich wobłukach abo wotrězkach, kotre zwiski a kontakty maće Wy (maš ty) ze wšelakimi rěčemi?

Ja bych Was (tebje) prosyła, zo Wy (ty) mi Wašu (twoju) žiwjensku stawiznu powědaće (powědaš) – jeli dźe, wot započatka hač do dźensa. Cyle jednorje wšo to, štož je Wam (tebi) wosobinsce ważne. Kak je za Was (tebje), ze serbšćinu zwjazany być (/zo sće (sy) ze serbšćinu do zwiska přišoł/ła)? Ja budu nětko najprjedy jenož připosłuchać a sej někotre noticki činić, a budu potom pozdźišo, hdyž sće (sy) ze swojej rozprawu hotowy/a prašenja stajeć. Wy móžeće (Ty móžeš) sej wzać telko časa, kaž Wy chceće (ty chceš), a tež rěče móžeće (móžeš) wužiwać, kaž Wy chceće (ty chceš).

German:

Ich interessiere mich für Sprachbiographien, für Biographien von Leuten, die mit dem Sorbischen in der Lausitz verbunden sind. Mich interessiert Sorbisch als Alltagsprache und vor allem die deutsch-sorbische Zweisprachigkeit in Familien. Ich interessiere mich für Ihre (deine) persönliche Perspektive und Ihre (deine) Erfahrungen mit Sprachen allgemein und insbesondere mit dem Sorbischen und Deutschen. Welche Rolle spielen sie in verschiedenen Lebensbereichen oder -abschnitten, welchen Bezug, Kontakt, welche Begegnungen haben Sie (hast du) mit verschiedenen Sprachen?

Ich würde Sie (dich) bitten, mir Ihre (deine) Lebensgeschichte zu erzählen – wenn möglich von Anfang an bis heute. Ganz einfach alles, Was Ihnen (dir) persönlich wichtig ist. Wie ist es für Sie (dich) mit dem Sorbischen in Kontakt gekommen zu sein? Ich werde erst einmal zuhören und mir nur einige Notizen machen und erst später, wenn Sie (du) mit Ihrem (deinen) Bericht fertig sind (bist), weitere Fragen stellen. Sie können sich (du kannst dir) so viel Zeit nehmen wie Sie möchten (du möchtest) und es auch sprachlich so machen, wie es Ihnen (dir) am liebsten ist.

Translation:

I am interested in language biographies, in biographies of people connected with Sorbian in Lusatia. I am interested in Sorbian as an everyday language and especially in German-Sorbian bilingualism in families. I am interested in your personal perspective and experiences with languages in general and with Sorbian and German in particular. What role do they play in different areas or stages of life, what relation, contact, encounters do you have with different languages?

I would like to ask you to tell me your life story – if possible, from the beginning until today. Simply everything that is important to you personally. What does it mean to you to be connected to Sorbian / to have come into contact with Sorbian? I will first listen to you and just take some notes, and then I will ask you more questions when you have finished your story. You can take as much time as you like and use the languages as you like.

With young people and adult children as well as the parent identified as the Sorbian-speaking part, I used Sorbian, with the parent identified as the German-speaking part, I used German.

My further enquiries were based on an informal questionnaire that was oriented toward biographic corner points, such as education and professional training, job, relocations and family, since they are "potentially relevant axes" for the experiences of language use (Purkarthofer 2022: 30). The importance of these "[m]oments of biographical transformations" also lies in the fact that they "make the effects of social forces visible and highlight power relations in societies" (Purkarthofer 2022: 23). When my participants referred to those moments, I returned to them and used them as starting points for further discussion, and when they omitted them, I kept them in mind and aimed my questions at filling in information between periods already mentioned. Besides these biographical points, I also kept hobbies and church life in mind as contexts for language-related experiences. Oftentimes they were addressed spontaneously, but if not, I asked about them.

While asking questions, I took effort to put them open and narrative. Some participants readily took them as prompts to talk, others answered pretty much only to very concrete questions. Hence, I took the liberty to react and act according to the situation and my interlocutors. If they felt uncomfortable with the request to talk about their life, I proceeded with a more loose conversation manner earlier than with other participants. If I had the impression that it was hard for them to talk about their life, I tried to focus on possible positive experiences, to take them seriously as a person. If I had the impression that they were challenging me and trying to lead the conversation according to their humour, I tried to go along that path. Not all of it was planned, and I certainly missed to address themes or accepted all too quickly if someone did not want to reveal their stance towards (the use of) Sorbian and German. Likewise, I did not always adhere to the planned procedure of first asking narrative questions aimed at completion and then more interpretive questions. Although I was not equally well prepared for each out of the variety of personalities, the flexibility in conducting the interviews allowed me to collect information on language practices and attitudes among all of my participants.

I conducted interviews with the 12 parents of the 6 families and 7 adult or teenage children individually, the youngest being 15 years old. With the younger children, I talked about languages starting from colouring a language portrait.

5.1.1.2 Language portraits

With the children and adolescents, I used a different language biographical approach, namely the creative multimodal language portraits. Initially used in the 1990s to address language awareness in primary schools, they have since been widely used in pedagogy and then introduced to multilingualism research by the research group "Spracherleben" around Brigitta Busch (Flubacher & Purkarthofer 2022: 4; Busch 2018: 54). Language portraits are used as a prompt to think and talk about language repertoires. Flubacher & Purkarthofer (2022: 3) subsume them as "a productive entry point to narrate and discuss the role of different languages in your life, the (embodied, personalised, or institutionalised) associations you have with them and how you make sense of them across different stages of your life."

The basis for the task is an empty body silhouette. Participants are asked to mark their linguistic resources in and around the silhouette using different colours. The drawing is then used to discuss how and why they drew the portrait the way they did.

For the language portraits, I used the silhouette of the Research Group Spracherleben (Rentsch, see Fig. 1). Again, I introduced the task freely, based on the following instruction:

Sorbian:

Ja bych sej přała, zo ty wo wšitkich rěčach rozmysluješ a wo wšěch možnosćach, kiž ty w žiwjenju maš něšto zwuraznić/prajić. A zo ty přemysliš, kajke su za tebje ważne a kajke za tebje jednu rólu hraja. Snano ći pomha wo tym přemyslować, w kotrych situacijach ty kak rěčiš a z kim ty kak rěčiš. Potom bych će prosyła, zo ty tutu figuru tak wumoluješ, zo je widźeć, što te rěče za tebje rěkaja/woznamjenja, kajke začuće ty z nimi zwjazaš/ što ty pola nich začuwaš. Kajka barba hodźi so ke kotrej rěči? Kajke městno bychu móhli rěče w figurje měć? Ty możeš cyłe łopjeno wužiwać, też zwonka figury.

Translation:

I would like to ask you to think about languages and all the ways you have in life to express something. And to think about which languages are important to you and play a role for you. Maybe it helps you to think about how you speak in which situations and how you speak with whom. Then I would like to ask you to colour in the silhouette so that you can see what the languages mean to you and what feelings you associate with them/what they make you feel. What colour goes with what language? What place could the languages have in the silhouette? You can use the whole sheet, even outside the silhouette.

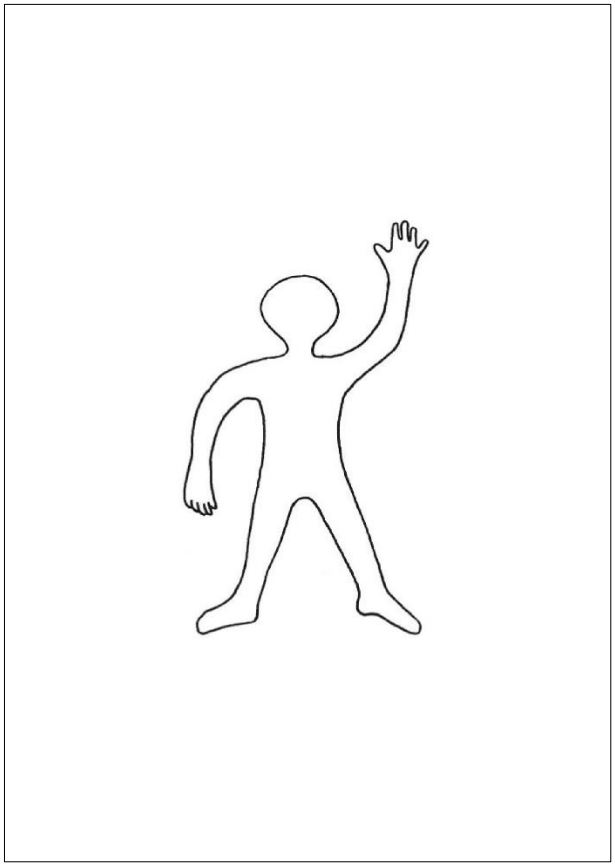

Figure 1 Silhouette used for the language portrait task

Usually I sat together with the children and coloured my own language portrait, but I avoided being faster than them so that they would not copy me. After we finished colouring I asked them what they coloured/drew into the silhouette and how did they decide where the colours were used. If the portrait did not provide any more prompts to talk about, I also added general questions about where and with whom the children use which languages.

5 children and teenagers from 3 families participated in the language portraits, whereby one boy participated together with his older brother and simply coloured the silhouette without referring to languages. Since he was also present during his brother's explanations, he also commented on language as a reaction to what I and his brother were talking about. In the case of another teenager, the mother was present and took part in our discussion. The coloured portraits are in the appendix, including a short explanation of their structure.

5.1.2 Ethnographic open participant observations

In addition to the biographic interviews and language portraits, my study involved ethnographic open participant observations.

The use of ethnographic methods is established in sociolinguistic research, as illustrated by McCarty's (2011) volume on ethnography in language policy research with many case studies on language-in-education policy. It also allows to approach the complexities of family life (Lanza 2021) as is demonstrated by many empirical studies on family language policy (e.g. Li Wei 1994; Kasuya 1998; Okita 2002; Curdt-Christiansen 2009; Gafaranga 2010; King & Fogle 2013; Smith-Christmas 2016). Hornberger & Johnson (2011: 275) point out that ethnography in research on language policy can "uncover the indistinct voices, covert motivations, embedded ideologies, invisible instances, or unintended consequences of LPP". The covert motivations and embedded ideologies that have an influence on individual's language practices and management attempts are exactly what I am interested in. Through the participants' positioning towards language practices and educational measures at school, traces of (un)intended consequence of language-in-education policies become visible. My aim in using participant observations, however, is to gain an understanding of the language practices and ideologies and their consequences for language maintenance in the speech community, by first looking at the individual level.

Three of the six families agreed to have me visit for observations at their homes. Although my research took place during the Covid-19 period, the families who agreed to participate only in the interviews, had rather different reasons to decline the observations. Their considerations included that the family as a whole did not come together that often, be it because the adult children were not at home at the same time that often, or because the family members had different frequent obligations. But some of the families plainly did not want me to come for observations, whereas they were open for interviews. Due to an increasing time pressure because of the later beginning of field work, I decided to include in my study also families where I would conduct interviews but not participant observations.

The observations in the three families ranged from five visits on consecutive days including two overnight stays in one family, over four consecutive afternoon visits in another family to four visits separated in time in the third family, whereby two were used only for the interviews with the parents. The break in the latter family was due to the increasing Covid risk at the time of the first visits.

With the help of the participant observations I could complement and confront the self-reports of the participants with my own observations, especially with regard to language practices within the family and the use of language repertoires. Of course, I also paid attention to remarks that reveal language attitudes and ideologies.

One of the families was spontaneously visited by relatives and I had the opportunity to participate in a situation beyond the everyday family life at home in the nuclear family context. This offered me a glimpse into the language practices in a different context, which is valuable since practices vary depending on the context. Originally, I had planned to include more observations beyond the nuclear family context, but it was an aspect of my study that I resigned from, partly because of considerations related to the specific pandemic situation at that time.

The observations were documented with the help of field notes and audio recordings. Taking field notes continuously was challenging. While being a guest, I could easily take notes when I was not directly involved in something but not when I engaged with the family members. Sometimes, I recapitulated things in the evening or when everyone was busy with something on their own. The most difficult time to document observations was the period in which I tried to meet as many participants as possible who agreed to participate only in the interviews. To avoid another Covid-related blockage of my research, I met many interviewees within a short time. During that time, I sometimes only took the most important notes about the context of the interviews. Similarly, when visiting families over several days and with little time distance to the research stay with the next family, I tried to make sure that I recorded the most important topics we talked about, the daily routine, who was at home, and when there was an interesting conversation or utterance while the recorder was on. At that time, I missed to consistently write down early reflections.

When recording, I usually put the recorder in the room we were in at a given time and carried it to the next place when I changed the location with someone in the family. When the recorder was in the same place for a longer time, people no longer paid attention to it. However, when I moved it, it was, of course, brought back to attention. I had the impression that one of the adolescents avoided being in common spaces during my visit, not only because of an age-related preference to spend time alone, but also because of my (and the recorder's?) presence. Also one of the adult participants seemed to feel a bit uneasy with the situation. However, this could also have been due to the fact that the family had gathered specifically so that I could be with them when they were all together and they had come up with things to do together that they otherwise would have done at another time and maybe also in a different constellation. Some of the children checked every now and then whether the lamp on the recorder is lit, the sign that I had explained to them that the recorder is on and recording.

5.1.3 Ethical aspects, consent

My project concerns private and intimate spheres of life of my participants. Hence, I only carried out my research with the participants' prior consent and, in the case of minors, with the consent of their parents. I explained the parts of the research study and informed my participants about the audio recordings taken during the narrative interviews and participant observations. The first, more general, explanations have been provided while establishing first contact with the family. At the beginning of either a longer research stay with a family or before an individual interview, the research methods were explained once again and written consent was obtained for the audio recordings.

Regarding my recordings, I informed the participants that they have the right to decide that I should not use already recorded parts for the analysis, thus ensuring that I only use the recordings upon their consent. They were also told to be able to withdraw their contribution during our research meetings or at a later point, in accordance with the European data protection regulation GDPR. I also told the children that they could tell me whenever they did not want to be recorded and showed them where I put the recorder if it was not directly at sight and placed, for example, on a cupboard. In families with younger children, I showed them how the recorder is switched on and how you can see that it is recording. I asked them if they would like to turn the recorder on, which some of them accepted, while others were not interested. In one of the families, the girls were very curious about the recorder and we recorded songs and rhymes they had learned in kindergarten or for Christmas, which I then sent to the family.

As the Sorbian speech community is very closely knit, I do anonymise the material. I use pseudonyms for the participants and do not name the villages in which they live or to which they refer. Neither do I precisely name the professions of the adult participants or the schools the student participants attend. What I do classify is the type of school the children attend(ed), bilingual Sorbian, German, former Sorbian with the division into A and B classes, German high school, Serbski gymnazij high school in Budyšin/Bautzen. The latter cannot be described less precisely, since it is the only Upper Sorbian high school. When the participants have a very specific and recognisable profession, employment or hobby, I omit this information, try to draw on related statements and utterances in a way that does not give away those details or I do without directly citing the corresponding fragments. During my research, I cautioned the participants that full anonymisation would not be feasible since family constellations and other circumstances that are important for this study allow for more or less plausible guesses. Usually, I offered the participants to come up with their own pseudonym. However, no one seemed to be interested, so I chose the pseudonyms on my own.

Referring back to section 5.1.1.1, it is necessary to take up once more the issue of power and inequality with regard to language in the context of field work and in the context of my choice for English as the language of my thesis. Flubacher & Purkarthofer (2022: 9) remind that "power and inequality become manifest in the choice of language(s) actually used for/in research and publication in that they determine access to sites and insights for researchers, on one hand, and access to knowledge and resources for participants, on the other."

As explained above, I offered my participants the choice of language for their biographic narratives, explicitly mentioning that they could use their languages as they wished, sometimes adding that they could mix and go back and forth between Sorbian and German. However, their choice was limited by my initial language choice. Except for the caregiver who was introduced to me or identified by others as the 'German parent' in the family, I spoke Sorbian to all other members. If someone chose to speak German during the biographical account, I would usually ask after the narrative if it would be okay if I asked my questions in Sorbian and the interviewee would answer in German. Even if I did not consistently use Sorbian but also German, it was clear that I was striving toward a conversation in Sorbian. My motivation behind this was the wish to look also at the communicative competence of my participants in Sorbian and the awareness of the loop between not speaking Sorbian fluently or confidently and not having opportunities to try to use Sorbian. By a lack of opportunities to use the language, I mean how difficult it is for non-fluent speakers of Sorbian to be addressed in Sorbian by more fluent speakers, see the example of Maria, a new speaker introduced by Dołowy-Rybińska (2023), who became fluent in Sorbian but was still not addressed in

Sorbian by the peers who knew about her learning trajectory. The lack of being challenged to use Sorbian can be linked to the own avoidance of Sorbian. It seemed to me that the only way to find out whether those who preferred German could or would actually communicate in Sorbian was to address them in Sorbian. Another aspect of my considerations probably has to do with my credibility. If I write about using Sorbian more I can hardly stick to only German in my conversations with others. Apart from that, my language choice also has a disadvantage. If narrated in a language in which the interlocutor is less proficient, the narrative may be less elaborate and less detailed. In addition, the emotional intensity may be lower if the recalled events are described in a different language (Pavlenko 2007). In the narrative interviews, I tried to compensate for this discrepancy by offering a choice of language at the beginning of the interviews. Importantly, my participants were not restricted in their choice by comprehension limitations on my part. Translanguaging, code switching, and other aspects of bilingual speech were open to them, and I actively engaged in them as well. A low level of detail in a conversation in Sorbian was particularly noticeable during a language portrait session, which I introduced in Sorbian only, without explicitly mentioning an open language choice.

The second aspect of power imbalance in my research project is related to the thesis itself. My decision to write in English was conscious. It is neither a decision for Sorbian, which might have been obvious in emphasising an instrumental value of the language but simultaneously would have limited access for the German-speaking participants of the study. Nor is it a decision for German, which might have been obvious in granting best access for all research participants, but would once more reflect the power imbalance between German and Sorbian. Opting for English was my way to eschew the latter dilemma, even if by doing so I restrict access to the knowledge that emerged in collaboration with my research participants and their opportunity to voice critique. My intention is to attenuate the barrier by preparing a publication accessible to the Lusatian community that would lend itself not only to the presentation of the results of my research but also of the conclusions that would be applicable within a language policy for language maintenance.

5.1.4 Approaching the participants and establishing contact with the families

I found my research participants mainly through contact persons whom I asked about bilingual families that might possibly take part in my study. I approached them at different stages during my search for participants. At first there were four people, out of whom three suggested a few families to me, two in addition provided me with information on where they live and one helped me establish first contact. Later, I asked three more people for help; hence there were seven contacts in total who suggested families who could potentially participate. When I had contacted the first families, I asked them to suggest other families as part of a snowball sampling.

Being sceptical about the possible success of notices and invitations in community newspapers or through church announcements, I disregarded these possibilities. It was only in the further course of my search that I contacted a teacher by phone and her teaching staff in writing, sending them a project description with an invitation to participate, which they could give or send to parents potentially open to the project idea.

The response to written enquiries was modest. My first contact person enthusiastically put my request on paper, added a photo of herself and me to the project description, and dropped the letter in the mailboxes of the suggested families. I did not receive any reply to these mailbox drops. At that time, I was not in Lusatia and could not travel there due to restrictions tackling the pandemic. Few of the families were listed in the telephone book, so I tried to approach those whose landline

number I could not find once more in writing and sent them a letter by post. I included a description of my project and an invitation to participate in it, including my contact details for feedback, but again I received no reply.

Once on site in Lusatia, I went with my letter from one family to the next, rang the doorbell and introduced myself. I briefly told them that I was looking for participants for a research project, said who had given me the tip to approach them and asked if I could come by later to present my project. I handed them my letter and asked them to talk to their partner and family about it, and we agreed that I would get back to them to see if they were open to a meeting. If no one was home, I dropped the letter in the mailbox and came back later.

Only twice had someone got back to me by email in response to my written request. The others I met all after contacting them either by phone or directly at home. The suggestions through snowball sampling resulted in the participation of one more family.

It goes without saying that I only worked with families who agreed to participate and that not all of the families I approached were willing to participate. Some did not respond and some decided not to participate without giving a reason. Of those who gave reasons, some did not have the time to participate; only one of the two partners was willing to participate; the children were already grown up and rarely stayed with their parents; or they felt that as a family they did not fit the pattern I was looking for. These latter families included those in which the partner named to me as the German parent actually had Sorbian parents but had grown up with the German language, and those, were the German-speaking parent did not feel accepted by the Sorbian community and did not want to talk to me about this rather painful experience.

The research work with the families and contacting further research partners went on in parallel. Quickly I realised that I would need to be more flexible with regard to what parts of research the families would be willing to participate in. I saw the necessity to get started and offered them the possibility to choose to take part only in the interviews and to choose whatever circumstances and the amount of time which would be fine for them to devote to my research and having me around for the participant observations. I resigned from my plans to visit one family at a time and to conduct the interviews within the week when I visit a family for observations. As necessary as this decision was for me to get going, it was important to understand that the interviews would already provide me with a rich basis to explore language attitudes and ideologies.

5.1.5 Focus of analysis and further potential offered by the research data

During fieldwork I collected material which does not feature in my thesis or which will play a rather supplementary role within the methodological triangulation. Aspects which I do not analyse in detail but on which the research material promises further insights, will be discussed in future publications. First of all, in my thesis I constrain myself to analysing data collected in collaboration with six families out of a total eleven families that I have conducted my research with. The voice of the remaining five families will not be reflected directly here, but it still shapes my understanding of the specific Lusatian bilingualism as I am going to show it throughout my thesis. For the analysis, I chose the families according to already finished transcriptions and supplemented them in such a way to variegate the available data. I began transcribing the interviews in the order I had visited the first four families, continuing with a family with younger children and a family where the father was the Sorbian parent (after families with adolescent and adult children and families where the mother was the Sorbian parent). The effort of the other families should not be in vain, they taught

me as much as the ones whom I introduce in my thesis. I hope to give their experience due voice in publications to come.

Furthermore, data from the participant observations will be used as a supplement to the biographic interviews instead of constituting a separate pillar of analysis. They will contribute to describe the setting in which my fieldwork took place and to enrich the characterisation of the individual family. I will also use this data to underpin certain aspects in my analysis, pointing out, whenever I refer to information from the observations. I forgo, however, a detailed analysis of chosen interactional situations in the individual families.

Finally, 17 participants from 5 of the 6 families introduced in the thesis (amongst them 4 parents from 3 families) took part in a narrative task that was intended for the elicitation of comparable stories that would allow to compare participants' language proficiency in Sorbian, a part of data collection triangulation, as proposed e.g. by Pavlenko (2007). As an initial stimulus for the task I used a six-minute video titled "The Pear Film", created at the University of California at Berkeley in 1975 (Chafe 1980). It is a silent film which tells the story of a man harvesting pears. It includes more scenes and protagonists, allowing for description of events unrelated to the story, cause-and-effect sequences, and unfamiliar objects, as well as emotions and a moral (Erbaugh 2001). The recorded narratives serve as comparable material for the examination of lexical and morphological means or word order. I played the video on my laptop to the participants mostly individually, and I asked them to describe to me afterwards what they have seen as if I would not know the video yet. In one case all three children watched and described the video together. Because of its task-specific nature, the pear story data cannot reflect the overall multilingual competences of an individual, and I intended to use it as a supplementary tool. In the end I resigned from including it in my thesis because rather than studying the language proficiency in detail, the aim of my study is to investigate what guides people's language choices. While language choice is influenced by the proficiency in the respective languages, the perception of one's own proficiency, the attitudes towards fluency and purism, and the anticipation of other's expectations are just as important. My decision is also linked to considerations regarding the conversations I had with the participants. For the interviews, I offered the participants to choose whatever language they would feel comfortable in and mentioned the opportunity to mix languages. I often added that I was not interested in their grammar but in their experiences with language. Only in so doing, some of the participants felt encouraged to speak Sorbian. To the older adolescents and the adults, the video description task appeared test-like, which was not the intention of my research.

Apart from the material that will be used in the way described above, originally, I had planned further stages of consultation that did not take place. Partly this was due to (covid-influenced) time constraints. Partly because I decided to focus on the interview data, which in itself provides rich material for the analysis of language attitudes and ideologies in the Lusatian bilingual context. Initially, I intended to consult parts of the finished transcriptions of the biographic interviews and interactions chosen for my analysis with the families. This way, I wanted to eliminate possible mistakes or gaps in the transcriptions, discuss anonymisation and most importantly, to obtain the participants' comments on the original conversations or on information that during an initial analysis I noticed as unmentioned. Such a procedure is advocated for by Pavlenko (2007) and has been fruitfully adopted by Smith-Christmas (2016) in her ethnography of language maintenance and shift in a family with a Gaelic-centred family language policy on the Isle of Skye. My decision to resign from going through the transcription together with the interview partners, of course, limits

the advantages a further methodological triangulation would have had, but it does not eliminate the value of the study as a starting point.

All in all, this thesis is based on 19 narrative biographic interviews, conducted among 12 parents from 6 families and 7 of their children, aged 13, 15, 16 (2×), 17, 28 and 30. Out of the 16 children from those 6 families, 7 drew language portraits. The conversations around 4 of those portraits are included in the analysed material. They have been drawn by children aged 10 (2×), 11 and 12. Three portraits of younger children aged 5, 6 and 8 could not be used for analysis because drawing and conversations did not evolve around the topic of languages.

5.2 Data analysis

The narrative interviews as well as the conversations evolving around the drawing process of the language portraits have been transcribed using, initially, ELAN (2019) and for the rest of the material MAXQDA (2022). I resorted to the discourse transcription conventions summarised by Du Bois (2006), applying a basic transcription mode including (with examples from Du Bois) pauses … , laugher *@*, unintelligible words *###*, and comments *((comments))*. Further details noted are truncated words *wor-*, audible inhalation *(H)* and exhalation *(Hx)*, glottal stop *(%)*, clicks *(TSK)*, laughing words *@you're @kidding*. I did not indicate overlapping speech (except while using the ELAN software, where each participant's speech was annotated on a separate line). Also, the mentioned details were not transcribed completely consistently. Although I noted pauses, I did not do so consistently and I did not indicate the length of the transcribed pauses either. I also did not pay consistent attention to repetitions and false starts or to different background noises. This can, as Pavlenko (2007: 173) cautions, hinder the analysis of intentions, positioning and affect, amongst others. To avoid major misinterpretations, during the analysis process, I re-listen to chosen sections.

For the data analysis, I begin with thematic analysis, identifying themes in the narratives and other conversations that are important to discuss language maintenance with regard to language practices, attitudes, ideologies and management. To code the interviews, I use both an inductive and deductive approach (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane 2006), noting first important utterances that are characteristic for a participant, and then specifically looking for statements that refer to language practices, language attitudes and specific domains. For the coding process, I used the MAXQDA (2022) software.

In order not to stop at the main topics that appear in the individual interviews, I continue with a content-based discourse analysis, where also the participant observations come into play. As already mentioned, the narratives are placed in the larger situational and interactional contexts of the interview setting and are influenced by this. Biographic narrations also point to the circumstances in the immediate and other communities, to biographies of other people and to attitudes towards languages and their speakers, and therefore they provide access to analyse general "language situations" (Nekvapil 2003). The "words and not facts" (Flubacher & Purkarthofer 2022: 26) that biographic accounts give, reveal what is meaningful to people. However, what they see as desirable with regard to languages does not need to be what they strive for, or rather, their language practices do not necessarily need to lead to much use of Sorbian. In this sense, it is also important to see what they pass over or trivialise in their accounts, maybe because it is not consistent with their stated aspirations. Looking at what is omitted and why also helps to get a sense of what is obvious, noticeable or transparent and to whom (Pavlenko 2007: 174 f, pointing to the influence of gender on the access to linguistic resources for learners, which gets noticed by women but not by men).

Returning once more to the narrative character of the interviews, Nekvapil (2003: 69) distinguishes three approaches to analyse narrations that focus on three different aspects,

1. what "things" were like, how events occurred (findings from the sphere of the reality of life),
2. how "things" and events were experienced by the respondents (findings from the sphere of reality of the subject),
3. how "things" and events are narrated by the respondents (findings from the sphere of reality of the text).

The three aspects are interrelated. Keeping them all in mind, it is possible to understand "narrators' positioning with regard to ideologies of language and identity that have currency in their environments" or "discourses of language and identity people draw on in making sense of language maintenance and attrition" (Pavlenko 2007: 168, 169), respectively. In my analysis, I will focus on the first two aspects, the reality of life and subject, that is, on what the participants tell about language and how they experience language. I will occasionally turn to textual aspects, too, but not through a particular analytical framework.

In the analytical part of the thesis, I include quotes from the participating interviewees. They are numbered consecutively and indicate the interviewee from whom the quote originates. The quote is given first in the original transcribed version and second, in an English translation. If the quote contains utterances not only by the main participant quoted, all the acronyms of the interviewees are given in the left margin of the quoted utterance, 'smi' being the acronym I use for myself. Sometimes I provide more than the utterance containing the main idea I am discussing in the text, because it is illuminating as background or for other points during the discussion.

On the negotiation of language practices and policies in Sorbian-German families in Upper Lusatia

6 Introducing the families and research participants

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the six families whose experience of and relationship to Sorbian-German bilingualism and the transmission of the Sorbian language within the family I will analyse in the following chapters. As I then follow Spolsky's tripartite division of language policy and the themes that emerge from the interviews as a whole, this chapter will provide a coherent portrait of each family. They sketch the general patterns of language use without providing an analysis.

In this introductory chapter and in the following analytical chapters I use pseudonyms for the families and their members. These pseudonyms take into account the Sorbian specificity of using one's surname in two different versions. The Sorbian version is used in Sorbian contexts and the German version in German contexts. The latter is also the one that appears on identity cards and other official documents. The Sorbian surname could not be used officially until now, because the German naming law did not recognise the Sorbian rules of name structure.

As it will probably be difficult to keep track of 28 people at once, I am using codes in addition to the pseudonyms, which are structured as follows. Each family is given a letter and each family member is given a number. 1 stands for mother, 2 for father, 3 for oldest child, 4 for second child and 5 for third child. Each time I return to a family member in the text, I add the code to the pseudonym.

Chapters 7 to 9 include quotations from the participating interviewees. They are provided under consecutive numbering and disclose at the beginning the pseudonym of the interviewee from whom the quote originates, followed by his/her corresponding code and age. The quote itself is provided first in the original transcribed version and second, in an English translation. If the quote contains turns not only from the main participant quoted, all interlocutor's codes are put in the left margin of the quoted utterances, 'smi' being the acronymic code I use for myself.

At the beginning of quotations, I provide the pseudonyms in their full form, containing the Sorbian and German surname version. In the text, however, I confine myself to the German variant of the surname, since in English, as a Germanic language, this comes closest to the usage in German.

The quotations in chapters 7 to 9 use the transcription details listed below. Page 65 lists all members of the participating families with their pseudonyms and corresponding codes.

…	pauses
@	laugher
@dann @ @@kommt @dann @so	laughing words
###	unintelligible words (one # per syllable)
#či#ni#mo; dann #bin #ich #einfach #raus	uncertain words
((town, where the surrounding was all German))	researcher's comments
wje-	truncated words, cut-offs
FEJty	loud/stressed syllable, emphasis
(H)	audible inhalation
(Hx)	audible exhalation
%	glottal stop
(TSK)	clicks

A1 – Katrin Symankowa/Symmank (42)
A2 – Frank Symank/Symmank (45)
A3 – Dominik Symank/Symmank (16)
A4 – Tobias Symank/Symmank (13)

B1 – Kata Šurigowa/Schurig (38)
B2 – Patrick Šurig/Schurig (49)
B3 – Karol Šurig/Schurig (15)
B4 – Matej Šurig/Schurig (12)
B5 – Levi Šurig/Schurig (10)

C1 – Karola Domšowa/Domsch (44)
C2 – Stephan Domš/Domsch (40)
C3 – Jasmin Domšec/Domsch (17)
C4 – Vincent Domš/Domsch (16)
C5 – Markus Domš/Domsch (11)

D1 – Angela Dreißigowa/Dreißig (58)
D2 – Jürgen Dreißig (58)
D3 – Philipp Dreißig (30)
D4 – Judith Dreißigec/Dreißig (28)

F1 – Alexandra Bluhmowa/Bluhme (30)
F2 – André Bluhme (33)
F3 – Anton Bluhme (10)
F4 – Jonas Bluhme (6)
F5 – Emilia Bluhmec/Bluhme (3)

J1 – Christina Pjetašowa/Petasch (35)
J2 – Daniel Pjetaš/Petasch (40)
J3 – Hedwig/Jadwiga Pjetašec/Petasch (8)
J4 – Mathilda Pjetašec/Petasch (5)
J5 – Johanna Pjetašec/Petasch (1)

6.1 Family Symmank/Symankec (A)

The Symmank family includes mother Katrin (A1, 42), father Frank (A2, 45), and sons Dominik (A3, 16) and Tobias (A4, 13). The father is the Sorbian parent and the mother is the German parent. I spoke Sorbian with the sons.

All family members took part in a biographical interview but I did not make any participant observations in the family. We did not know each other before I contacted the family. I first contacted them by post and later by telephone. I also explained my project by phone and we arranged to meet. The interviews with the parents took place separately on the same day, a about a month later I spoke individually with the two sons on a morning. I spoke with the mother in the living room of the family flat, where we were completely undisturbed. The interview with the father took place in a business premises where other people were passing from time to time and might have overheard us. I spoke with the sons in the same place, with the father in the background. He would leave the room from time to time, but would otherwise listen curiously as he went about his work, and would occasionally join in the conversation to add his perspective or further information and knowledge.

The Symmank's live in a village where Sorbian is spoken in almost every family, monolingual German speakers mostly moved to the village with their local partners. In addition, there are individuals who grew up in Sorbian-speaking families, but are perceived rather as Germans by other villagers because they have developed a preference for speaking German. Next to family Symmank live Frank's (A2) parents, who both speak Sorbian with Dominik (A3) and Tobias (A4).

Frank Symmank (A2) grew up in the village, his parents both come from Sorbian homes and Frank describes his upbringing as Sorbian-speaking. Frank does not describe his learning of German separately; the first descriptions of his bilingualism refer to the natural use of German in the presence of Germans and of Sorbian among Sorbs. He mentions in passing that he always spoke German with his father. Frank attended a Sorbian class and school as well as the Sorbian class in the extended secondary school in Budyšin/Bautzen. Subsequently, he completed his vocational education in nearby German-speaking places and institutions and businesses. Today Frank works in a Sorbian work environment and deals with many Sorbian clients.

Katrin Symmank (A1) grew up in a German village in Upper Lusatia, her parents spoke German with her and her siblings, and she attended German-language educational institutions without Sorbian offers. In contrast to the other villagers, the Catholic faith was very present in Katrin's family of origin. Katrin started to learn Sorbian as an adolescent when she attended a language course at an adult education centre out of interest. Only at a later point in the interview does Katrin say that her mother comes from a Sorbian family and had entirely grown up with this language.

Katrin and Frank speak German with each other and the common family language is also German. With the sons, each parent uses their own language. Katrin can understand a few things in Sorbian, but not fluent conversations. She knows and uses Sorbian greetings as well as Sorbian prayers and sings hymns from the Sorbian songbook in church. It seems that her interest in learning Sorbian has declined over time. Although she attended two other language courses at the beginning of her relationship with Frank, she does not see any added value for herself in possibly attending another course today, although she might be open to other forms of learning if they were offered.

Frank Symmank (A2) is attached to the Sorbian language and sees it as the language of the Sorbian community, but he does not want to force it on anyone and makes the case for "tolerance towards Germans" in the Sorbian community. He is a very sociable person and has a lot of contact with customers from the surrounding villages at his workplace, where he spends a lot of time. In his free time, he is involved in the municipality. Frank can name very precisely how the inhabitants from different nearby places react to the Sorbs: with benevolent acceptance, hostility, derogation or envy and insinuations.

The Symmank couple sees the responsibility for the transmission of specific languages lying in those who grew up with the respective language. Dealing with bilingualism is often described as "acceptance": Frank accepts that his wife speaks German, Katrin accepts that the children are taught in Sorbian and that her husband and his family speak Sorbian to them, the Sorbs accept that the Germans do not understand Sorbian. The rule of politeness is self-evident. Frank would like his children to learn and accept Sorbian in an informal way and hopes that they will be motivated to do so in the village community and among young people. Whether they will continue to speak Sorbian in the long term is something he does not dare to predict, but what is important to him is that they take a foundation with them into their future lives.

For spouses Katrin and Frank, the Catholic faith is an important unifying element. Attending Holy Mass is part of the family's weekly routine. However, language became an obstacle to joint church visits. Over time, Dominik (A3) became engaged in the home parish as an altar boy, so that most of the family members nowadays go to the Sorbian Mass and Katrin attends the German Masses on her own. If the sons want to sleep in on a Sunday, they go with their mother to the later German mass.

In addition to their shared faith, a good relationship with the community is important to both spouses. This is one of the reasons why Katrin and Frank decided to send their sons to the kindergarten and primary school belonging to their municipality, where the children are taught in Sorbian. Having the kids in a Sorbian school was a challenge for Katrin, because she takes most of the responsibility for the children's education and also takes care of the sons' school support.

With regard to Dominik's (A3) and Tobias' (A4) language practices, Katrin says that their language choices are varying. Frank says that they speak Sorbian with him and his parents as a matter of course. He comments that he would like them to speak Sorbian in the community of the village youth.

Dominik Symmank (A3) speaks German with many friends who can speak Sorbian. Nevertheless, he describes his linguistic environment as predominantly Sorbian when he was growing up. Today, as a teenager, he participates in meetings and events of the local youth club. There they make sure to speak Sorbian. Dominik refers to conversations after church services as a situation in which he automatically and preferentially speaks Sorbian. Church service and church are also the topics he talks about with his brother Tobias (A4) in Sorbian. In the year of our interview, he was an Easter rider for the first time. So, he is connected to the Sorbian traditions and is socialised into them by his father and grandparents (to name just the family) or is encouraged by them to take an interest in them. For Katrin it is also a matter of course that Dominik takes part in the Easter procession.

Tobias Symmank (A4) describes that when he was in kindergarten and primary school he mainly spoke Sorbian with other children. However, if there were children who mainly spoke German, he also spoke German. Nowadays he only speaks Sorbian if someone starts the conversation in Sorbian. In mixed constellations in the family, German is used. He also speaks German with cousins who know Sorbian. With his brother Dominik he mostly speaks German. If other Sorbian speakers are present, they use Sorbian from time to time. Because Tobias now attends a German school in the city where his mother works, his circle of friends has changed and he hardly has any contact with the Sorbian-speaking young people from his primary school class. However, he plays football in his free time and his team's training is in Sorbian, as is their communication during football matches against other teams. Tobias has no difficulties understanding Sorbian, but at the moment there are not many opportunities and people with whom he can or has to use Sorbian.

6.2 Family Schurig/Šurigec (B)

The Schurig family includes mother Kata (B1, 38), father Patrick (B2, 49) and the three sons Karol (B3, 15), Tadej (B4, 12) and Levi (B5, 10). B1 comes from a Sorbian family and grew up in a Sorbian village, B2 comes from a German family and grew up in a town in Lusatia. The three children speak Sorbian with their mother and prefer to speak German among themselves.

I got the hint to contact the Schurig's from another participant, contacted Kata Schurig (B1) by phone, arranged a meeting, and presented my project to her and Patrick Schurig (B2). The family was very open to me and Kata in particular was immediately curious. Patrick was a little more reserved but did not seem to fundamentally reject his wife's interest in participating. I ended up spending 5 days with the Schurig family. I came to their home every day and over course of the days I did the language biographical interviews and the pear story task in addition to the participant observations. The Schurig's were the only family where I stayed overnight. The openness with which they met me contributed significantly to the progress of the fieldwork, as I learned to rethink my previous plans and to adapt more flexibly to the individual families.

The interviews with the two parents and the eldest son took place separately in the family's living room. The interviews with the parents each took place in the evening. During the interview with Kata (B1), the youngest son Levi (B5) was present for a while, later Patrick (B2) was also in the room. With Patrick (B2), Kata (B1) was also in the room, but fell asleep during our conversation. The accounts were certainly already family narratives to some extent and contained views that the partner knew about in each case. When I spoke to Karol (B3), we were alone almost to the end.

Family Schurig lives in a village where Sorbian is spoken in almost every family. In the immediate neighbourhood, there are many families with a similar constellation, where one parent is Sorbian-speaking and the other parent is German-speaking. German is therefore, the quasi-lingua franca in the neighbourhood. The Schurig's live next door to the Sorbian-speaking grandmother. Before moving to this village, they lived in a town in Upper Lusatia where the older sons also went to kindergarten.

Kata Schurig (B1) comes from a Sorbian family and grew up in a Sorbian environment. She attended a Sorbian kindergarten, primary school, secondary school and, the Sorbian grammar school in Budyšin/Bautzen, where she took her Abitur, comparable to the A levels. Very formative for Kata was the intensive church life during her childhood and youth, which took place entirely in Sorbian and which led to the Catholic faith and the Sorbian language forming a unity for her. As a child, she was an altar server and experienced the Sorbian clergy as spiritual guides; through the emerging Sorbian Catholic scout movement, she got to know Sorbian young people from other areas of Upper Lusatia. Kata wishes for her children that they too can experience language and faith as vividly as she was able to. Today she works in a Sorbian work environment and deals with many Sorbian clients.

Patrick Schurig (B2) is from a German-speaking family and grew up in a completely German-speaking environment. While he knew about the existence of Sorbian and while there were opportunities to encounter Sorbian in his town, he never took notice of the language. Patrick went to secondary school and then completed his vocational training. A job in a company where he had Sorbian fellow employees provided him with the first lived experience of the Sorbian language. A circle of friends developed in which Sorbian was always present, resulting in many encounters with the language before he met his wife. Patrick is very open to Sorbian, arranges himself with not

understanding conversations of others fully, but has never felt the need to learn to speak Sorbian. He can follow child-related topics and conversations, and he lets individual Sorbian words flow into his speech.

The two parents each use their own language when talking to the children, Kata also speaks Sorbian when Patrick is present and when the whole family is together. (*The typical situation for observations during common meals was not very fruitful with the Schurig's, because they were rather quiet, as apparently, they do not have any talking during meals.)* Patrick does not mind not understanding everything when the conversations are in Sorbian. At first, however, family meetings at which everyone speaks Sorbian and at most questions addressed to him are in German were very tiring for him and he did not feel much like taking part in them. On the other hand, he remembers different meetings where he found the explicit request among Kata's relatives to please speak German with him uncomfortable.

When it comes to questions of education, it is mainly Kata who makes decisions. Patrick supports them, but entrusts them to his wife. The two older sons attended a German-speaking kindergarten while the family lived in the town; when they moved, the parents enrolled the children in a Sorbian kindergarten. Today, they all attend the local Sorbian secondary school or primary school. The mother does not consider the Sorbian grammar school in Budyšin/Bautzen because she would like to strengthen the connection of her children with the local community. The mother regrets that the sons prefer to speak German among themselves and tries to encourage them to speak Sorbian with other Sorbian children.

All three children are clearly dominant in German and have stronger language skills in German. They speak Sorbian and do not oppose it, but they cannot draw from the same range of skills as they do in German. In Sorbian, they find a way by confidently filling lexical gaps with German words or by switching to German for longer fragments. During my stay with the family, all spoke Sorbian to me. The topic of languages seems to be explicitly discussed in the family. Kata tries to motivate the children to use Sorbian. They use it if they are addressed in Sorbian and when they feel it is expected from them.

Karol (B3) chooses German for his biographical account. When asked if I can ask further questions in Sorbian, he assures me that he now speaks both languages, indicating his Sorbian language learning journey. The rest of our conversation gradually proceeded in Sorbian. Referring to his time in primary school, Karol mentions having had the impression that he did not really know any language, asking himself which language was actually his mother tongue. Karol says that he chooses the language depending on which language he is addressed in. He himself prefers German because it is the language in which he can express himself best. Sorbian is used by him and the friends who speak Sorbian in German-speaking environments if others should not understand what they say.

Tadej's (B4) language portrait presents the use of German and Sorbian in a balanced way. This description might well refer to the overall use of the languages among and by the people in his life. During the short conversation around the language portrait, Tadej uses simple sentences. Influence from German shows up in an instance of negation, where, instead of the verb, he negates the quantifier.

Levi (B5), while explaining his language portrait, explains that he wants to speak Sorbian well and wants to learn it better. When working on the portrait, we started our conversation in Sorbian. After Levi finished drawing, he spoke German, but he returned to Sorbian when I spoke Sorbian to him.

6.3 Family Domsch/Domšec (C)

The cooperation with the Domsch family of five was a stroke of luck. It was made possible by the daughter, whom I had previously met at an event. When I told her and a few others about my research, she had joined the discussion with interest.

The Domsch family includes mother Karola (C1, 44), father Stephan (C2, 40), daughter Jasmin (C3, 17) and sons Vincent (C4, 16) and Markus (C5, 11). The Sorbian of the parents is mother Karola, the German role is held by father Stephan. I spoke Sorbian with the children. With four of the family members I conducted biographical interviews and the youngest son drew a language portrait. I did not conduct participant observations separately. All interviews took place within four days.

I did not know the family before my research, but both the parents and the children know someone from my own family and therefore have an idea of *čeja sym* – 'who I belong to', that is with whom and where to associate me. This gave rise to some counter questions.

Since daughter Jasmin (C3) introduced me to the family, she also took charge of arranging my first visit and made an effort that her family would be ready to talk to me. She was a bit worried if everything would go well, because, as she reported, her family was not euphoric to have me there. However, apart from Jasmin herself, especially her mother Karola was very open while talking to me about her experiences with her languages and their place in family life. The men in the family were more reserved. Father Stephan was happy to share his thoughts in an informal way, but did not buy into the format of narrative questions, which I soon failed to provide in an open way. During our conversation, I felt that he had a confrontative way and tried to challenge me, but in retrospect I would describe it rather in such a way that he was more interested in an exchange of experiences than talking a lot about himself and revealing his stance without prompt. The older son Vincent tended to answer questions without much elaboration, and it was quite difficult for me to ask open questions to follow up his narrative.

With Karola (C1), Vincent (C4) and Jasmin (C3), I conducted the interviews individually in the families' kitchen. During the drawing of the language portrait with Markus (C5), also in the kitchen, mother Karola was present and took part in the conversation with her own comments and questions. The conversation with Stephan (C2) took place outside at a workshop premise on the family property, where Stephan and Vincent were working, and I agreed to ask my questions there. At the beginning, also Jasmin was present, she held the recording device, so I could take some notes.

The Domsch family lives in a village where many inhabitants speak Sorbian. Stephan (C2), grew up in that village; however, his parents spoke German to him and he attended a German medium class at school. While his parents did not use Sorbian with him, they spoke Sorbian among themselves. (*Stephan's Sorbian mother is from the same village; his father is described as more German but comes from a village that is not really perceived as Sorbian by Stephan (and Karola) although to this day it has inhabitants that speak Sorbian. For example, Patrick Schurig's (B2) first encounters with spoken Sorbian took place in that same village.*) Stephan claims to have a very good passive knowledge of Sorbian, but he refuses to speak it. During a part of our conversation we used a dual-lingual mode, me speaking Sorbian and him speaking German. Stephan's wife Karola (C1), on the other hand, grew up speaking exclusively Sorbian to all members of her family and she attended a Sorbian-medium class at school. A formative point in her biography is the start of her vocational training after having completed secondary school. It was the first time she got into an all-German-speaking environment, which she experienced as very difficult. The three children, Jasmin, Vincent and Markus grew up

with their father speaking exclusively German to them and their mother speaking mostly Sorbian to them. They are very happy to have grown up with two languages simultaneously. All family members speak German to Stephan. Jasmin and Vincent speak Sorbian to their mother, German amongst each other and Sorbian to their youngest brother Markus. Markus speaks Sorbian to all except his father.

Other Sorbian-speaking people around the family include Stephan's (C2) mother living next door, whom Karola gradually convinced to use Sorbian with the grandchildren, and a large part of the extended family. The immediate neighbourhood is mixed, with more people speaking German. The friends of Karola who come visiting are rather German and the friends on Stephan's part are rather Sorbian. Karola used to encourage the children to speak German during her friends' visits, so that her friends would understand what is being said. Stephan's Sorbian friends speak Sorbian to the children.

Church visits seem to be predominantly for Sorbian masses, rarely German ones. Therefore, the religious domain, as the only domain, is bound tightly to predominantly the Sorbian language. Interestingly, the one who consumes Sorbian media most in the family is father Stephan.

For Karola and Stephan, it was important that their children learn both languages from the beginning instead of only Sorbian. The latter would not have been an option considering that Stephan does not really speak Sorbian. Karola did not want the children to experience difficulties with German. Stephan sees Sorbian as a useful addition to German, but places the highest importance in the fluent mastering of German. While to me he positioned himself as very open-minded and supportive towards the use of Sorbian and Sorbian-German conversations, he also said that he would never initiate such dual-lingual conversations. His wife even claims that he is quite rigid and that he demands that the family speak German in his presence or when they are travelling outside Lusatia where Sorbian is not spoken. Karola was the main person responsible for childrearing. In order not to neglect the German language, she spoke German with the children in addition to Sorbian.

The three children attended the bilingual school in the neighbouring village. While her younger brothers still study there, Jasmin already graduated from secondary school and continues at the grammar school level in a German school without Sorbian language teaching. Karola and Stephan decided to enrol their children in language group 3, which, out of the three groups, is for children with the lowest level of knowledge of the Sorbian language, who began to learn Sorbian within the educational system. The older siblings Jasmin and Vincent preferred to learn through the medium of German.

The family members perceive bilingualism as extending Sorbian monolingualism and actively oppose perceptions that put a focus on Sorbian to avoid German-dominant bilingualism. Karola and Stephan did not discuss any explicit family language policy. Karola decided to use Sorbian with her children so that they would learn both languages. Other language management practices of Karola and Stephan were mainly directed at teaching the children (in which situations) to use German.

6.4 Family Dreißig/Dreißigec (D)

The Dreißig family consists of mother Angela (D1, 58), father Jürgen (D2, 58) and the adult son Philipp (D3, 30) and daughter Judith (D4, 28). They live in a village, where the majority of the population speaks Sorbian. Angela is the Sorbian part and Jürgen is the German part of the couple.

Angela grew up in a Sorbian family in the village where the family lives today and Jürgen grew up in a German family in a town with a certain proportion of Sorbian population and Sorbian villages in its vicinity. Their children grew up bilingually. Today, the common family language among all members is primarily German.

With family Dreißig, I conducted the biographical interviews without accompanying participant observations. When I first contacted the mother, she immediately agreed to participate in the interview and also said that her daughter would take part, who then confirmed that she would participate. However, Angela immediately made it clear to me that her husband would not take part and that she would also speak on his behalf instead. When I met with Angela for the interview, I also asked Jürgen if he could imagine meeting me for an interview, as all perspectives on the Sorbian-German family bilingualism would be valuable to me. After my next visit and the interview with daughter Judith, I indeed arranged to interview Jürgen as well. Finally, I also asked Philipp if he would meet with me, which he agreed to without hesitation. Most of the conversations were extremely open, only Jürgen was not particularly keen to talk about languages. He is no longer conscious of some details about decisions regarding questions of language transmission or education; others seemed self-evident to him and he did not explain the circumstances to me. The conversations with the members of the Dreißig family mostly took place individually in the kitchen of the family flat. From time to time, one of the others came in to do or discuss something, but for the most part, our conversations were undisturbed. For the first interview, with Angela, we sat in the garden. The conversations with Angela, Philipp and Judith were in Sorbian, with Jürgen in German.

Angela (D1) describes her childhood as completely Sorbian and underlines that children usually learned German only once they got to school. Apart from German lessons, the teaching at school was in Sorbian during primary school years and Sorbian was also used for instruction in secondary school. A very formative experience for Angela was the beginning of her vocational training. A very lively and talkative woman, she mentions to have fallen silent because she was not feeling confident to express herself in German freely. This should not happen to her own children. With regard to German speakers in the local community, she takes the stance that they should get accepted and included by the Sorbs and that the Sorbs should not require that every event should be in the Sorbian language exclusively. She accepts that her husband did not want to learn Sorbian and that in their family he wants to have German spoken in his presence. Angela recounts how she spoke exclusively Sorbian with her children. To support that they would learn Sorbian, she spent several years of parental leave with them before going back to work and encouraged other Sorbian speakers to speak Sorbian with her children. For Angela, the sense of community in the family and in the village is extremely important. For her, it only makes sense to think about preserving the Sorbian language in connection with the local culture. Angela was active in the cultural field during her adolescence and is still involved in the village community today. She has also a great passion for handicrafts related to Sorbian traditional costumes. Since Angela and Jürgen had decided to send their children to a B class where they were taught in German, Angela makes a point of emphasising that the most important for the transmission of the Sorbian language are family and interaction. Referring to the importance of interaction in a language, she also rejects the argument of critics who said that her children would learn German through television and other media, accused Angela and claimed that her children would not speak Sorbian if they went to a German class at school. Angela, on the other hand, wanted the children to become more confident in German than she had been and decided to take care of everything Sorbian the children would need, at home by herself. Yet, Sorbian literacy

practices in the family are very limited. Sorbian as a written language does not play a big role for Angela, she did not read much to the children in Sorbian and she does not subscribe to Sorbian media either. In all written correspondence, she uses German, also with Sorbs.

Jürgen (D2) grew up with the German language. Sorbian was present for most of his life, but it did not play any role for him. Among his acquaintances were pupils from Sorbian families and his school was attended by German and Sorbian pupils alike. In the class attended by German pupils, Sorbian could be chosen as an additional subject, but that was a decision not often made. Later, Jürgen attended dance events in Sorbian villages. He was exposed to more Sorbian, once he began to work in a company where he had many Sorbian colleagues. The fact that his colleagues at work spoke Sorbian in his presence bothered him. In order to be able to understand something, he took a Sorbian basic course at that time. He did not continue learning the language, though, because German was and is the common language in his family and he does not see any other need to learn Sorbian. He feels comfortable and accepted in his wife's family and in the village. Asked about the decision to enrol the children in a German-medium class, he says that he wanted a German school or class for his children because he wanted to have school communication and parental information in German so as not to be excluded from it. In general, Jürgen does not go into much depth on the subject of the Sorbian language, to him, it is not important which language people speak in, important is that they can communicate.

In the case of the Dreißig couple, Sorbian and German are very separated. There is a great sense of family, but all activities, where Sorbian is spoken, are for the circle of mother, son and daughter only. German is used for everything that concerns the whole family. When the entire family attended Catholic Masses, they went to German services. When Angela went to the Sorbian Mass with the children, or when Jürgen did not feel like attending a predominantly Sorbian event at school or in the village, he did not go with the rest. The Sorbian language was in the responsibility of the mother, as was childrearing in general. The large amount of time spent together with her children supported their learning of Sorbian. Angela seems to see her task of passing on Sorbian fulfilled, since she ensured that the children master Sorbian and thus have access to the Sorbian community. Today, the children also speak German with their mother and Angela mainly speaks German with them.

Philipp (D3) never considered any linguistic issues and thinks about the questions I asked him with interest and very openly. During his childhood, Sorbian was dominant because his mother spent a lot of time with him, and the preschool was mainly Sorbian as well. When entering school, he spoke mostly German with his schoolmates because it was the default language in the German medium class and those in the parallel Sorbian medium class probably thought that he did not know any Sorbian. Nowadays, Philipp rarely speaks Sorbian since there are only 2 to 3 people who address him in Sorbian. This also pertains to friends who can speak Sorbian but who apparently perceived him as rather German, maybe because they knew that his father is German. Philipp does not hide speaking Sorbian and being from a Sorbian community. However, since he never talks about it, this fact gets easily unnoticed by others.

Judith (D4) agreed to speak Sorbian during her interview and immediately pointed out to me that she would switch over to German for more complicated issues. She has been trying to speak more Sorbian lately, but feels more at home in German. Because I immediately addressed her in Sorbian at our first encounter, she did not quite dare to do the interview in German. Like Philipp, she tends to use German with her friends, although just about all of them can also speak Sorbian to varying

degrees. German is definitely, as she says, her comfort zone. She speaks in German to animals (*her dog has a Sorbian name*) and to those people she does not know if they know Sorbian. She does speak Sorbian with small children if they have Sorbian parents, but not if they speak German with their children themselves. Judith is very attached to her family and her home village, as well as to the local customs, the community of her friends and the solemn atmosphere of Sorbian Catholic church services. When she took her Abitur at a German Gymnasium in a nearby town after completing secondary school, she experienced how little understanding the young people and teachers had for the Sorbs and how dismissive they were towards all things Sorbian, including their Catholicism. In the end, this strengthened her attachment to her origin, even though she thinks that the rejection towards the Sorbs is partly related to the fact that some of the Sorbs speak too much Sorbian in common situations and thus exclude the Germans. Her wish for the future is that she can pass on the Sorbian language and the attachment to the local culture to her future children and that they learn a little Sorbian. She would like them to have access to the sense of community that she associates with Sorbian.

6.5 Family Bluhme/Bluhmec (F)

The Bluhme family includes mother Alexandra (F1, 30), father André (F2, 33), son Anton (F3, 10), son Jonas (F4, 6) and daughter Emilia (F5, 3). Alexandra grew up in a village where Sorbian is spoken in practically every family. Probably every inhabitant should have some kind of family connection to Sorbian. In Alexandra's family, her mother spoke Sorbian with her, her father German. André comes from a city and had no connection with Sorbian before meeting Alexandra. The Bluhme family now lives in Alexandra's home village, where her parents still live.

When I met the Bluhme's, Alexandra was very open and enthusiastic about my research topic and very spontaneously agreed to participate with her family. André was not opposed, but he did not comment directly on my plans. My actual visits were spread over a longer period due to an increased risk of Covid. First, I interviewed Alexandra and stayed with the family the next afternoon, during which I drew the language portraits with the two older children. Almost three months later, I came back to interview André and spend another afternoon with the family. (Also, the pear story was done at that time ...) During the interview with Alexandra, we were in the living room, apart from us, no one was at home. The interview with André took place in the kitchen. One of the sons was at home at that time, but he popped in just once or twice. Alexandra was very engaged and positive. Our interview was a very open conversation and I found it easy to ask about specific language-related thoughts. Alexandra often used the questions to jump to other associations and experiences she had had with Sorbian and the Sorbs. André has a quiet character and his answers to my questions were shorter. He shared his thoughts about living with the Sorbian language without great digressions from my original questions and I sometimes hesitated to ask further narrative questions.

An interesting aspect of Alexandra 's (F1) bilingual upbringing is that her father, who spoke German to his children, knows Sorbian because he learned it as a second language at school. The same pertains to his parents, Alexandra 's grandparents and the Bluhme children's great grandparents, who, too, learned Sorbian as a foreign language. They are able to speak it fluently in a rather standard manner. Importantly, although the language used for common family communication is German, there is no need to switch to German for intelligibility reasons when a conversation is in Sorbian. Consequently, Alexandra 's mother also spoke Sorbian with her children when her husband was present. At the dinner table, for example, there was a lively back and forth between the two languages, depending on who was being addressed at the moment. This was different when the

family was travelling outside the Sorbian- speaking villages or when someone who did not understand Sorbian was with them – then the children spoke German also with their mother. After her time in the Sorbian medium class at the Sorbian primary school, Alexandra attended a German Gymnasium in a nearby town. Her mother had decided against letting her go to the Sorbian grammar school in Budyšin/Bautzen. In her youth, it was not very cool to speak Sorbian, and gradually the only people she spoke Sorbian with were her mother and her Sorbian grandmother. Even today, she speaks German with her siblings. Alexandra was again confronted with Sorbian when she had her first child. At that time, she lived with André in a city outside of Lusatia and intuitively began to speak Sorbian with Anton (F3). Sorbian became highly valuable to her and she thought about ways to encourage Anton's acquisition of Sorbian. As she was almost the only one providing regular Sorbian language input for Anton, she made sure to speak Sorbian with him in all possible contexts. André accepted this, although Alexandra admits that she would not have let him dissuade her had he not supported her. When Alexandra talks about Sorbian today, she does so with enthusiasm. This attachment and appreciation grew with the move to Lusatia. Amongst others, Sorbian was part of her vocational training that she completed in Lusatia. Besides that, Alexandra met people who inspired her, first and foremost her very close Sorbian grandmother, who also opened a new way to faith for her. Alexandra is Catholic and has a very intense personal connection to her faith. However, growing up, she did not experience the faith in her community as something living, rather as a social corset whose uniform continuity is watched over by the "proper" Sorbs. She still distances herself from it.

André (F2) grew up monolingual in a larger city. There, he attended grammar school and completed his technical vocational training. Before he met his current wife, he had no connection to Sorbian. The common language for Alexandra and André was German and since they did not live in Lusatia, the only points of contact were sporadic visits to the family-in-law. Alexandra had little interest in Sorbian at the time and so the subject of language only came up when they had their first child. André accepted the presence of Sorbian without Alexandra and him having talked much about it. However, the first points of contact with the Sorbian language were connected with the culture shock experience of large family celebrations, where he felt out of place, not least because of the language. He tried to come to terms with it over time and by now he does not mind people talking in Sorbian in his presence. While his first son was growing up, he learned to understand Sorbian and can now understand everyday conversations well. Still, language has an influence on his involvement in the community. Although mainly due to a lack of time, one reason for not participating in any local association is related to not having felt linguistically at home and included during his few visits there.

The Bluhme's moved to Alexandra 's home village because there was a housing opportunity for the family, an accessible opportunity for Alexandra's vocational education and because Alexandra's family could offer support to the young family. In addition, André likes the rural environment and is happy that the children can grow up more freely in the village than in a big city. For Alexandra, returning to her hometown did not involve a big change and André feels well received by the family in law and appreciates the mutual help both in the family and in the village community. For the Bluhme family, the village is a permanent home, and yet they emphasise that they would move away at any time should it prove to be better for the family. Alexandra also says that she regrets that the sense of community in the village is not as strong as it was during her childhood. However, she also does not mince her words in criticising its downside, the strong mutual social control as well as the gossiping, which she tries to stay out of.

The parents' use of language in the family is relatively clearly divided. Alexandra speaks Sorbian with the children and German with her husband André, who in turn also speaks German with the children. While Alexandra spoke Sorbian very consistently in most situations and also in the presence of others with the first son, now she has a more relaxed approach. On the one hand, the family was already living in a more Sorbian-speaking environment and Alexandra was no longer the only one providing Sorbian language input. On the other hand, Alexandra wants to teach her children to speak German in conversations involving speakers of German in order to include them. So, at home, Alexandra speaks Sorbian with the children. However, if André or her parents are present, she tends to speak German and also addresses the children less in Sorbian. The children among themselves use both languages, but tend to speak German more. Alexandra has explicitly asked the eldest son to speak Sorbian with the younger siblings so that they can learn it too, and she reminds him regularly. When I visited, Anton (F3) spoke Sorbian to me with ease and did the same with the siblings. With the middle son, Jonas (F4), I had the impression that he is more confident in German and especially uses German when he is excited. Nevertheless, he also spoke Sorbian quite spontaneously with his older brother, mother, and grandmother on the phone. Alexandra told me that Jonas spoke mainly German at first and is slowly speaking more Sorbian. The youngest daughter speaks German only and responds to everything her mother says to her in Sorbian in German. Alexandra continues to speak Sorbian to her. She knows that Emilia understands Sorbian and she does not expect the daughter to answer in this language. Alexandra and André enrolled the children in the Sorbian kindergarten and the eldest in the bilingual primary school, and they never considered other institutions.

6.6 Family Petasch/Pjetašec (J)

The Petasch/Pjetašec family has five members: mother Christina (J1, 35), father Daniel (J2, 40) and the daughters Hedwig/Jadwiga (J3, 8), Mathilda (J4, 5) and Johanna (J5, 1). Christina represents the German and Daniel the Sorbian part in their marriage. They live in a village, where more than half of its inhabitants speak Sorbian and where Daniel had grown up.

I visited the family on four consecutive days. On the first day we got to know each other and drew language portraits with Mathilda (5) and Hedwig (9), on the second day, I had a biographic interview with Christina and recorded pear stories, on the third day, I had a biographic interview with Daniel, and, finally, on the fourth day we spend some more free time together. We did not know each other prior to the collaboration of the family, but some of its members know some of the members of my family.

After being referred to the Petasch's as potential participants, I went to their place, where I met Christina. We agreed to meet with her husband Daniel another day when I would explain my research plans. Christina herself was very open and asked me about my own background. When I visited them to introduce the project and ask if they would be interested to participate in it, the first thing I noticed was that Daniel called his daughter Jadwiga, a decidedly Slavic name. Having explained my plans, Christina asked me how during my work I usually address the children and how I try to see their linguistic reactions. Learning that I usually approach them in Sorbian, she agreed that otherwise I might not find out whether they speak Sorbian. I let the couple think things through, and eventually, when I called them again, Christina and Daniel agreed to take part in the project and we arranged the dates we would meet.

Christina remained interested throughout the time we spent together. She actively reflected on her experience with language and compared different situations and gave many examples of lived

encounters with language conflicts during our biographic interview. Daniel also welcomed me warmly to the house. During our interview, he focused on stages in life and did not elaborate on language use or encounters. He predominantly associates the Sorbian language with lively communion. While I used German with Christina, I spoke to the girls in Sorbian and also used Sorbian with Daniel. Daniel was the one among my research participants who most casually and unceremoniously drew from his Sorbian and German resources. At the beginning of the interview, he pointed out that he would not speak pure Sorbian, and indeed, he hopped back and forth between the languages throughout the conversation, often emphasising points by repeating them in the other language.

The reflexion of Christina and Daniel has to do with their own language background. Christina (J1) grew up with a German mother and a Sorbian father in a small town near the Sorbian area, where she attended primary school and high school and where she worked during her vocational training. Christina's father made an effort to teach her Sorbian, a demanding task while working long hours and not being a very talkative person. In addition, the family lived in a completely German environment, and therefore being spoken to in Sorbian in public and being Catholic made Christina feel a lot like an outsider. (Let us remember that the only places with an area-wide Catholic population are those in the Upper Sorbian area between Budyšin/Bautzen, Wojerecy/Hoyerswerda and Kamjenc/Kamenz. Catholic parishes in other Lusatian and Saxon places are diasporic parishes, the Christian population being a minority in Saxony in general.) While accepting, at times reluctantly, regular participation in religious life and enjoying Catholic youth gatherings, Christina felt uneasy with the Sorbian language throughout. She describes how the religious aspect and, as if this was not enough, the linguistic aspect hindered a feeling of belonging to her local community. Christina did not learn to speak Sorbian and used certain Sorbian expressions only when she wanted to please her father and made an effort to ask questions in Sorbian when she wanted something from him. In many situations, she was annoyed when her father used Sorbian with her. In addition to her own struggles, Christina also witnessed the language-related conflicts between her parents, e.g. when her father defended the use of Sorbian when the family visited relatives in Sorbian-speaking Lusatia and when her mother wanted to participate in conversations but could not because she did not understand and speak Sorbian. Christina positions herself as German and, in general, bases the identification of people as Sorbian or German in terms of language competences. Since she did not even understand Sorbian (to any significant extent) in her youth, she also did not want to be perceived as Sorb. The only time during our conversation, when she does not unequivocally position herself as German, is when claiming that her husband Daniel would not have got along with a German partner.

Daniel (J2) was brought up with German and attended the B-class in the local primary and secondary school. His parents and the grandparents living with the family all spoke German to Daniel and his siblings. Except for his father, all of them speak Sorbian fluently. Daniel's friends also spoke to him in German. When growing up, as an adolescent, he gradually used more and more Sorbian. The community life, which he enjoyed very much, and conversation between colleagues at work during his vocational training was dominated by Sorbian. Daniel began to tell others to also use Sorbian when talking to him.

Christina and Daniel agree that in Sorbian-speaking Lusatia it is important to know Sorbian. Both want that their children to learn to speak Sorbian. The couple decided to live in Daniel's home village. This was of utmost importance to Daniel, and Christina agreed to move there because she is not very attached to the place where she grew up and because she likes the cordiality of the local

people. Upon moving together, Christina attended two Sorbian language courses that helped her better understand Sorbian and also helped her read. Although the main language between Christina and Daniel is German, especially at the beginning of their relationship, Christina also tried to use some Sorbian when writing to Daniel, and when the Sorbian automatic translator was released, she tested it for translating some messages to Daniel. She also used and uses some Sorbian with her children, especially during infancy. However, the more the children speak themselves, the more she becomes uncomfortable with Sorbian. Her safe space for attempts to use Sorbian does not extend significantly beyond her family. When other children and adults are around or when she is in the village, Christina feels too shy and uncertain to use a lot of Sorbian. She is afraid of messing up different greetings and resorts to the safety of German. Apart from that, she also tries to avoid Sorbian-only contexts, which are exhausting for her. Christina wants her children to learn Sorbian so that they can participate in everyday conversations without problems, something Christina misses for herself. Occasionally, Daniel speaks Sorbian to Christina.

Daniel speaks Sorbian to the children most of the time. Not doing so was out of question for him. He would not want his daughters to criticise him for not speaking Sorbian to them and thus denying them an easier access to the language, something he accuses his parents of. Christina says that Daniel sometimes slips into German when she is also present or when he is tired or stressed. Daniel expects others to speak Sorbian when they visit the family and when they talk to the girls. He also admonishes Hedwig and Mathilda to speak Sorbian among each other when he overhears them playing in German. Daniel does not hide the Sorbian language when outside of Lusatia and uses it self-consciously. Christina even claims that in such situations, he tends to speak to her in Sorbian more than usual, and more than she can understand. Daniel speaks Sorbian as soon as he knows that another person speaks Sorbian, regardless of whether Christina is with him and may not understand everything.

When the whole family is together, Christina and Daniel use both Sorbian and German. Ritualised language use as in meal prayers usually draws from both languages, German and Sorbian, whereby the parents also include what the girls learn and introduce from kindergarten. As is the case in most domains, church life takes place in both languages. The Petasch's are not regular churchgoers, when going to mass they often visit Christina's old German-speaking parish, so both Sorbian and German appear in this context.

Hedwig and Mathilda speak Sorbian among each other according to Christina's report, whereby the older Hedwig, as she is usually called by Christina, speaks more Sorbian than the younger Mathilda. In Hedwig's kindergarten group, more children spoke Sorbian and her friends usually call her Jadwiga, the Sorbian version of her name. Mathilda is in a group with many children from interlingual families, and Christina says that the kindergarten teachers use more German in that group. Both Hedwig and Mathilda speak Sorbian to baby Johanna.

Although she is happy that Hedwig is perceived as good Sorbian speaker by others, Christina says that they decided with Daniel to put her in language group 3 in school, where she attends a class with many children from interlingual families while the Sorbian dominant children are in a separate class. This decision, Christina concedes, is due to their limited (standard) Sorbian language competences. She wanted to be able to independently support her children's schooling without having to reach out to other people for translations and help. At present, Christina does well with the Sorbian primer that Hedwig uses in the first primary school years and seems to be proud that she understands easy written Sorbian language from the context of literacy development.

7 Language practices

Language policies are enacted through practice. The "commonly accepted rules of language choice" (Spolsky 2011; Spolsky 2004), which I address in this chapter relate to which language the participants use with whom and in which situation. As Florian Coulmas (2013) points out, choices regarding language use may be unconscious and guided by the social norms and conventions of the community of which one is a member. By looking at the language choices of the participants, I outline the restrictions that shape these choices. The attitudes and ideologies behind the social norms and restrictions on the use of Sorbian and German in Catholic Upper Lusatia will be the subject of chapter 8, while the conscious handling of social norms and restrictions will be the subject of chapter 9 on language management, in which I discuss negotiations about language choice and the desires or attempts to modify or maintain (habitual) language practices.

I will begin with the parents' language practices that characterise their communication with their children and continue with the children's language practices. For both, I will look at the use of Sorbian and German within the nuclear family, at the use of both languages in the wider Lusatian community, and, albeit to a lesser extent, at their use in other contexts.

Throughout this and the following empirical chapters, I draw on and quote from the interviews with the participating family members. At times, I provide more than just the utterance that contains the idea that I am discussing in the text, because it is illuminating as a background, or because it will be taken up at a later point. Because of the density of some of the excerpts, and because of the interrelatedness of language practices, beliefs and management, many of the quotes have more to discuss than what I have chosen at any one given point in the following chapters. Where I discuss a quotation further in another section, I provide cross-references. The way I present the quotations was explained in the previous chapter.

7.1 Parents' preferred choice of language for interaction with their children

In all six families I presented in the previous chapter 6, the common language between the partners is German. When they do use Sorbian among themselves, it is usually in a symbolic way and usually not for communicative purposes. The language choices of the partners will be discussed further in part 9 on language management, while here, I will concentrate on the language choices of the parents in their interaction with their children. All Sorbian-speaking parents decided – more or less consciously – to pass on the Sorbian language and to speak it to their children. Three of them grew up in a predominantly Sorbian environment, where both parents and close relatives used Sorbian with them. One had a predominantly Sorbian environment, but one Sorbian parent also used German with him. One of them had already grown up in an interlingual home, with one parent who used Sorbian and one who used German with her. Finally, one was spoken to in German at home and began to actively use and reclaim Sorbian in his youth.

None of their partners speaks Sorbian actively. With the exception of one of the German-speaking parents, who grew up without any family or regional ties to the Sorbs, all the others have had some kind of contact with the Sorbian language or Sorbian-speaking people, although not necessarily much contact with the language. At present, the German-speaking parents have varying degrees of receptive knowledge of Sorbian, but are reluctant to speak it for communicative purposes. Most of them knew even less Sorbian at the time of birth of their first child. None of the participating parents mentioned any plans for the German-speaking partner to learn Sorbian with the aim of using it with the offspring or the Sorbian-speaking partner. Therefore, roughly, the One Parent One Language

(OPOL) approach can be said to have been adopted by all families in terms of their habitual language choice for speaking to their children. In four families, it is the mother who speaks Sorbian to the children, and in two families it is the father. This division was there from the beginning and the Sorbian-speaking parents used Sorbian to speak to their children from birth. In the Dreißig family (D), however, this pattern changed as the children grew up and German became the almost the only language of communication in the family.

In the case of the Bluhme couple (F), the split of Sorbian and German between the partners seems obvious because André (F2) did not yet know any Sorbian at the time of Anton's (F3) birth. Alexandra (F1) remembers that she spoke Sorbian with Anton from the beginning and that her partner André spoke German with him.

(2) Alexandra Bluhmowa/Bluhme (F1, 30)

Ja pak sym wot započatka z nim serbske powědała. Also, to zno smy wot započatka činili, **ja serbske a mój muž**, gut, tón njeje serbsce móhł, tón je dyrbjał sobu činić. **Tón je dyrbjał němske powědać**. To pak je mi pon zno, te jedne lěto, kotrež smy pon šće N byli, napadnyło, zo tón Anton tla bóle němske powěda. Cyle jednorje, dokelž je wšo dokoławokoło němske było. Jenož ja sym serbske powědała a HDYŽ smy my jemol jow domoj přišli, moje starši wopytali, pon su moje starši z nim serbske powědali. Hewak je wšo němske było. A to je wón tež bóle tene němske měł.

But I spoke Sorbian with him ((son F3)) from the very beginning. We did that right from the start**, I spoke Sorbian and my husband**, well, he couldn't speak Sorbian, he had to join in. **He had to speak German**. However, I noticed during the year we were still in N ((town, where the surrounding was all German)) that Anton spoke more German. Simply because there was German all around. Only I spoke Sorbian and when we came home to visit my parents, my parents spoke Sorbian with him. Otherwise everything was German. And so he also had more of this German.

As well as showing Alexandra's choice to speak Sorbian to her son, this excerpt highlights the importance of the wider language environment in which a child acquires language. The setting into which Anton was born is that of heritage language speakers who grow up outside a community that speaks their parents' language(s). The dominant language is omnipresent outside the home, an experience shared by the Schurig (B) family.

7.2 A closer look at parent's child-directed language choices – The influence of context on parents' deviation from their preferred language choice

Given the asymmetric bilingualism in the society and my selection of interlingual couples for the research project, it is not surprising that the general distribution of child-directed language choice is guided by the OPOL principle. Closer observation is consistent with the findings that parents who adopt a declared OPOL strategy for language transmission rarely adhere to it consistently. What follows is an overview of the contexts in which the parents from the six families deviate from their preferred language in parent-child interaction and adopt a more flexible approach to language choice.

It is mostly the speakers of Sorbian who adapt their language choice to different situations and occasionally or regularly speak German when addressing their children or a group of people that includes their children. On the other hand, speakers of German consistently follow the OPOL-principle. Only in some rare cases or contexts do they use Sorbian instead of German.

7.2.1 When the whole family comes together

The first context in which language choice may be adapted is within the family, when all members of the nuclear family are together. As already mentioned, spouses routinely use German among themselves, and this also applies to the situation when their children are present. In some of the families the Sorbian-speaking parents continue to use Sorbian when addressing the children in the presence of the partner. The families Schurig (B), Bluhme (F) and Petasch (J) are examples of this. Language use is flexible, but has clear patterns in parent-child interaction. The Sorbian-speaking parent uses Sorbian to address both the children and German to address both the children and the partner. Anton Bluhme reflects this well when he describes that speech directed at his father or at a group including his father is in German (quote (3)). His mother is still perceived by him as Sorbian-speaking.

(3) Anton Bluhme (F3, 10)

smi: Ha, ka wó činiće, hdyž wó wšě hromadźe šće ha hdyž jo waš papa tej tu? Dokelž ty sy prajił, z papu ty němsce rěčiš.

F3: Also, hdyž mama, also mama, also šece, hdyž mó něšto z papu, wot papu cemo abo prajić něšto, to mó pon šece wšo němsce prajimo. Ha, em, hdyž pa něke mama nas wšě měni, to wona to pon tej němsce praj. Zo papa to tej zrozumi. Abo druhdy wona einfach serbsce praj a pon nichtó wot nas pon šće einfach jemol papje praji, što #lós #či#ni#mo.

smi: Haj, haj. Ha tón ta tej wjele zrozumi zawěšće.

F3: Nó, zrozumić móže, ale pójedać šće nic tak jara. Jenož koło dwaj słowa.

smi: Haj.

smi: And how do you do that when you're all together and when your dad is there, too? Because you said, with Papa you speak German.

F3: So, when Mama, so Mama, so whenever we want something from Papa or say something, we always say everything in German. And, um, when Mama means all of us, she says it in German, too. So that Papa also understands. Or sometimes she just says it in Sorbian and then one of us just says again to Papa what # ###.

smi: Yes, yes. And he also understands a lot for sure.

F3: Yeah, he can understand, but not yet speak so much. Only about two words.

smi: Yes.

10 year old Anton is aware of the fact that each person in the family is assigned a language. He describes who speaks which language and under what circumstances. It is also worth noting how he perceives his father's Sorbian language competence. Although he just said that the mother speaks German so that the father understands, I suggested that the father probably understands a lot of Sorbian. Anton explains that he understands, but that does not yet speak Sorbian. Nevertheless, André Bluhme's receptive Sorbian language competence ('he can understand') allows the family to

use flexible language practices when they are together. This encourages the children to take an active part in mediation processes, as shown by Anton, who told me how the children translate from Sorbian into German for their father. I did not observe such mediation practices in families where the division of Sorbian and German between partners includes both active and receptive language use. If they did use translation strategies, it was mainly outside the nuclear family, for example with German-speaking grandparents. However, the children in these families are already older, which may be the reason why such strategies were not mentioned.

In the three families in question, the Symmank (A), Domsch (C) and Dreißig (D) families, all members routinely use German when they are together. This means that the parent who speaks Sorbian to the children does so in the absence of his or her partner and uses German when the partner is present. Thus, in these families, both parents speak German to the children and one parent also speaks Sorbian, or in other words, one parent speaks only German and one parent speaks German and Sorbian to the children. This practice is characteristic in the Domsch family, since Stephan (C2) has a good receptive knowledge of Sorbian, acquired by overhearing his parents and others using Sorbian, and in the years of Sorbian lessons during his school time. The fact that Karola (C1) uses German with the children in his presence is a choice that is not constrained by limitations in understanding. Rather, it is based on Stephan's expectation that the family needs to speak German. In quote (4), Karola Domsch states that she sometimes speaks to her children in Sorbian in such situations, but describes this as a deviation from the normal practice.

(4) Karola Domšowa/Domsch (C1, 44)

A hdyž pak wón nětko tu je a my smy hromadźe, to ja druhdy mol něšto nutř rjesnu, serbske, ok. To pak je wuwzaće. Najbóle my němsce powědamy pon hromadźe.

But when he's here now and we're together, I sometimes throw in something, Sorbian, okay. But that is an exception. Most of the time we speak German together.

Unlike Stephan Domsch, Katrin Symmank and Jürgen Dreißig began to learn Sorbian only as adolescents and adults, respectively, in the setting of a (few) language course(s), but already before their first child was born. Today, both describe their Sorbian language competences as very low. Nevertheless, they can understand it to a certain extent, and their receptive knowledge of Sorbian is greater than at the beginning of their marriages. Still, German is the only language both spouses fully understand. Thus, in both cases, it was established as the common family language and remains so until today. Katrin Symmank describes the normal practice of talking in German during family activities in quote (5) and Jürgen Dreißig describes how the use of Sorbian gradually goes over to German when the whole family comes together in quote (6).

(5) Katrin Symankowa/Symmank (A1, 42)

A1: Aber **wenn wir jetzt zum Beispiel zusammen am Tisch sitzen, oder zusammen im Auto sitzen oder uns unterhalten und sowas, dann sprechen wir Deutsch.**

smi: Ja.

A1: No. **Das ist auf jeden Fall so**. No. Genau, und alle anderen Sachen, wie gesagt, wissen wir eigentlich, und, ja. Und, wie gesagt, da ist das jetzt eigentlich nicht so'n Problem oder fühl ich mich jetzt auch nicht SO ausgegrenzt oder so. Also damit kann ich eigentlich gut umgehen. Und wie gesagt, wenn's mir halt mal zu viel wird, dann sag ich das eigentlich auch.

A1: But when we sit together at the table, for example, or sit together in the car or talk to each other and so on, then we speak German.
smi: Yes.
A1: Yes. **That's definitely the case.** Yes. Exactly, and all the other things, as I said, we actually know, and, yes. And, as I said, it's not such a problem or I don't feel TOO excluded or anything. So I can actually deal with it well. And as I said, if at times it's too much for me, then I actually say that too.

(6) Jürgen Dreißig (D2, 58)

smi: No. **Und wie sah das dann aus, wenn ihr alle zusammen wart?**
D2: **Ja, dann reden wir immer Deutsch.** @@@ **Ist ja heut noch so.** @@
smi: Und dann alle miteinander, oder ... ? Also, wenn zum Beispiel alle zusammen beim Essen sitzen. Oder so. Dann -
D2: Na, wie es dann gerade ist. Wenn sie sich sorbisch unterhalten, dann, ich meine ich weiß ja dann meistens, worum es geht aber dann ... Auch gemischt dann durcheinander. Das ist dann glaube ich ... Angela Sorbisch oder die Kinder dort dann untereinander oder irgendwas oder wenn die Kumpels jetzt kommen. Ja. Dann ist das so. Dann ... Man weiß ja um was es geht.
smi: Ja.
D2: No. **Und dann reden sie halt noch drei, vier Sätze und dann geht's aber auch wieder ins Deutsche über dann.** Das ist dann das Nächste. Passt eigentlich alles so zusammen, wie es ist.

smi: **Yeah. And what did it look like when you were all together?**
D2: **Yes, then we always speak German.** @@@ **It's still like that today**. @@
smi: And then all together, or ... ? So, for example, when everyone sits together at dinner. Or so. Then -
D2: Well, just as it is at that moment. When they talk in Sorbian, then, I mean, I know mostly what it's about but then ... Also mixed up. That's then I think ... Angela Sorbian or the children among themselves or something or when the mates come. Yes. Then it's like that. Then ... One knows what it's about.
smi: Yes.
D2: Yeah. **And then they talk for another three or four sentences and then it goes over into German again**. That's the next thing. Actually everything fits together the way it is.

It is noteworthy that before Jürgen Dreißig describes the change from Sorbian to German, the language practices of the others are described rather vaguely. The others 'talk in Sorbian', 'mixed/mixed-up', 'the children among themselves or something', which suggests that his wife Angela speaks Sorbian to the children and visitors, and that the children probably also speak it

among themselves and with visitors. However, both children stated that they only use Sorbian amongst themselves very exceptionally. One gets the impression that in the father's vague description of language use there is perhaps more Sorbian than in reality, and that on the other hand, the subtle interactional language negotiations are not meaningful or important to him. Contrary to his wife's expectations, Jürgen Dreißig had agreed to talk to me and to some extent shared his language experiences with me. Nevertheless, language issues do not seem to be meaningful and he only comments on some aspects of language practices and decisions when I explicitly ask him about them. His reflections remain vague and often only hint at possible negotiations of decisions concerning language. I will discuss this further in the following two chapters on attitudes and management.

7.2.2 When more people are present

The situation becomes more complex when other people are present, as already indicated in (6), where Jürgen Dreißig described how visiting friends first speak Sorbian to his wife, and perhaps also to his children, before switching to German. While German is already the main common language for the Dreißig's within the nuclear family and tends to remain so when other people join them, it is interesting to take a closer look at the more flexible language choices of the Bluhme family. When asked about his family's language use when they spend time with his in-laws, André (F2) describes how his presence leads to more use of German. When André is there, the adults use a lot of German, when he is not there, he suspects that the others to use more Sorbian, see (7). Although the language choices may differ only slightly from the context of the nuclear family, German is used more in this wider group of people. Since André does not refer to the children's language use or language directed at them, his observations show how the communication between the adults follows their own needs and preferences and is not guided by considerations of language exposure for the children. The pattern in the extended family is similar to that in the nuclear family in that there is essentially a preferred language for each person, and German is used for conversation involving more people: Just as Alexandra (F1) uses Sorbian with her children, she and her mother talk to each other in Sorbian. Alexandra's father uses both languages, but mainly German. André speaks German. And since there are conversations between all members of family, German is used as the language for these instances.

(7) André Bluhme (F2, 33)

smi: ... und bin ich nochmal neugierig wie ihr das mit der Sprache jongliert habt. Auch mit den Schwiegereltern. […]-Kannst du das einfach noch ein bisschen beschreiben, wer da am liebsten mit wem wie, wann wie am liebsten gesprochen hat? Oder wie ihr das so ...?

F2: **Na, im Prinzip ist das VIEL Deutsch gewesen. Ähm, das Hauptsorbische lief zwischen der Alexandra und ihrer Mutter. Und der L. ((Schwiegervater))** kann zwar gut, kann zwar von Kind auf Sorbisch, aber spricht auch lieber mehr Deu- oder spricht mehr Deutsch als Sorbisch. Zumindest für mein Gefühl her. Jetzt in der Zeit hat er, kam eben von ihm mehr auch Deutsch. Auch Sorbisch natürlich. Und, ja. **Also mit ihm eigentlich immer auf Deutsch gewesen, wenn ich da war. Bei der M. ((Schwiegermutter)) wechselt das halt immer mal. Und, ja, es, der Großteil war Deutsch, wenn ich da war. Genau. Und der sorbische Teil**

eben meistens wenn ich nicht da war. War dann eben mehr sorbisch gesprochen. Ja.

smi: ... and I'm curious again how you juggled the language. Also with the parents-in-law. [...] Can you just describe a bit more who preferred to talk to whom, how, when? Or how did you ...?

F2: **Well, basically, it was MUCH German. Um, the main Sorbian was between Alexandra and her mother. And L. ((father-in-law))** knows it well, has known Sorbian since he was a child, but also prefers to speak more Ger- or speaks more German than Sorbian. At least that's my feeling. Now, during this time, he has also spoken more German. Sorbian too, of course. And, yes. **So with him it was actually always in German when I was there. With M. ((mother-in-law)) it just changes from time to time. And, yes, most of it was German when I was there. Yes. And the Sorbian part was mostly when I wasn't there.** Then it was spoken more in Sorbian. Yes.

The complexity of André's description is related to the flexible language use and recourse to the different language competences in Sorbian, including receptive knowledge, within his family and his family in law. Sometimes, language choice in the presence of further people might be described as simply as by Jasmin Domsch in (8). When having guests (probably German-speaking ones), all family members spoke to each other in German.

(8) Jasmin Domšec/Domsch (C3, 17)

na haj, němske smy halt přeco rěčeli, hdyž smy zum beispiel tež doma měli wopyt abo tak.

Well, we always spoke German, for example, when we had visitors at home or something.

Although language choices may become more complex when more people join the nuclear family, the participating families remain fairly consistent with their primary pattern of language choices, which they use in their nuclear family. Just as the flexible language use of the extended Bluhme family (7) parallels the language use in the nuclear family, the Domsch's use of German when receiving guests (8) reflects their use of German in the presence of father Stephan. Example (6) from the Dreißig family illustrates how, after some exchange in Sorbian among the Sorbian-speaking family members and guests, everyone continued in the common German language.

7.2.3 Outside home or while travelling

The previous examples all illustrate language use in the home, where it can be assumed that the guests are familiar with the families' language practices. Frank Symmank (A2), when describing his language use with his sons on family trips or holidays outside Lusatia, shows that the behaviour and language choices of others can influence his own. In quote (9) he reports that he uses Sorbian when in private conversations with his sons. However, when another person is involved in the conversation, as he describes in excerpt (10), he speaks to his sons in German. What is striking about his decision to speak Sorbian to his sons in other places is that it is accompanied by considerations of whether it is appropriate or not. In an environment, where the use of other languages other than

German is common, he chooses to use Sorbian. In multilingual spaces in Western Germany, its use does not feel risky to him – a sense of (in)security that I will discuss in chapter 8 on language attitudes. When he thinks of concrete examples of contexts in which he uses Sorbian, he first thinks of a car park – a place where one might assume that there is some distance between people and thus a better opportunity for private conversation. His second thought is of shops – a context in which it is more difficult to maintain distance from others. It is against the backdrop of this particular example that he mentions the tendency to use Sorbian when other people also use languages other than German.

(9) Frank Symank/Symmank (A2, 45)

smi: Also jow doma Wy serbsce rěčiće z dźěćimi na přikład. Što činiće wy, hdyž sće Wy po puću?

A2: W hotelach abo tak? Oder, oder tak w dowolu?

smi: Nó, na přikład.

A2: Na, **hdyž smy my sami, pon serbsce rěčimy**.

smi: Nó. Haj.

A2: Haj, oder na parkowanišću oder tajke něhdźe něšto. Hewak, štož ja nětko, gut, kusk bóle sym ja zaso zmužity hodwał, to nětko njeje čisće tak, hejzo jen zapadźe, tam su soundso wjele wukrajnikow, **...** Też tak w tych předawarnjach oder tajke něhdźe něšto. To ta šće štož jowle w našich kónčinach tak njeje tak. Hdyž jen tam, em, Frankfurt nad Mohanom přińdźe do Frankfurta oder tajke něšto, … To ta tam multi kulti soundso su,

smi: Nó.

A2: Hač te tam, **te ta też nětk jich rěč rěča hromadźe mjez sobu**,

smi: Nó.

A2: **pon my też serbsce rěčimy, hdyž my sami smy**. To ja nimam žan problem nětko wjace. Oder też žan strach nimam něhdźe wjace.

smi: So here at home you speak Sorbian with the children, for example. What do you do when you are on the road?

A2: In hotels or so? Or, or like on holiday?

smi: Yes, for example.

A2: Well, **when we're alone, we speak Sorbian**.

smi: Yeah. Yes.

A2: Yes, or in the car park or something. Otherwise, what I, well, I've become a bit braver again, that's not quite so, when you're in the West, there are a lot of foreigners anyway, ... Also in the shops or something like that. That's something that's not the case here in our areas. If you go to Frankfurt am Main, to Frankfurt or something like that, ... They are multi-culti there anyway,

smi: Yeah.

A2: Whether they there, **they also speak their language together among themselves**,

smi: Yeah.

A2: **Then we also speak Sorbian when we're alone**. I don't have a problem with that anymore. Or I'm not afraid anymore, somehow.

(10) Frank Symank/Symmank (A2, 45)

A2: nětko, to ta dźěćimi, hdyž my w cuzbje smy, klar. **Ja pak nětko njebudu při recepciji, hdyž my tón, my, em, do hotela chcemy, tak tam, z nimi serbsce rěčeć. To ja nječinju. A pon z tym oder z tej koleginu tam prědku němsce**, to my nječinimy, ně.

smi: Haj. Ně.

A2: Ně, tam my tak njejsmy, my tla smy Němcach. Da my em němsce rěčimy. Ale hewak my tež serbsce, na klar.

A2: Now, that's clear with the children when we're away from home. **But I'm not going to speak Sorbian to them at the reception when we want to go to the hotel. I won't do that. And then German with the colleague at the front there**, we don't do that, no.

smi: Yes. No.

A2: No, we are not like that, we are in Germany. So we speak German. But otherwise we also speak Sorbian, of course.

7.2.4 Sorbian in an intimate environment

As already mentioned, in some cases parents who normally speak German with their children, speak to them in Sorbian. The only parent who explicitly told me about this, is Christina Petasch (J1), whose own father tried to speak to her in Sorbian to some extent during her childhood and adolescence. During our interview, her youngest daughter Johanna, aged 1, was with us and Christina regularly turned to her. I noticed that she would address her with certain expressions in Sorbian, such as *Bóh daj strowa!* 'Bless you!' and *Přestań jemol!* 'Stop that!'. At one point, Christina turned to Johanna and said in German:

(11) Christina Pjetašowa/Petasch (J1, 35)

((zu J5)) Mit dir red' ich relativ viel Sorbisch, no? Du lachst dann immer. @@ Ja, ja, ja. No?

((turns to J5)) I speak quite a lot of Sorbian to you, don't I? You always laugh then. @@ Yes, yes, yes. Isn't it?

Later, she explained to have tried to speak Sorbian to all her daughters during infancy. Her further explanations in (12) show that her use of Sorbian is confined to intimate spaces that are maximally safe. It occurs at home and is directed at infants who do not speak yet or did not yet fully acquire language, and to a limited extent also at the growing children. There is no one who would actively reject Christina's use of Sorbian or criticise and correct her. It is a context where she does not feel insecure.

(12) Christina Pjetašowa/Petasch (J1, 35)

J1: Und seitdem die Kinder dann, **hab ich SCHON versucht mit den Kindern Sorbisch zu reden, also gerade am Anfang, so in DER Phase** ((meaning the age of J5)). Aber wenn's dann komplizierter wird, oder wenn dann andere Kinder

dabei sind, dann #bin #ich #einfach #raus. Also dann will ich's auch gar nicht, dass #mal #irgendwie #was

smi: Ok.

J1: Die Kinder haben zwar auch schon gesagt: Du kannst doch Sorbisch! So, du kannst doch mal öfter Sorbisch reden. Aber, nee, ich fühl mich da halt nicht wohl.

J1: And since the children came, I have inDEED tried to speak Sorbian with the children, especially at the beginning, in THIS phase ((meaning the age of J5)). But when it gets more complicated, or when other children are around, then #I #am #simply #out. So then I don't want it at all, that #somehow #something

smi: Okay.

J1: Actually, the children have already said: You can speak Sorbian! Like, you could speak Sorbian more often. But, no, I just don't feel comfortable with it.

It may well be that Christina is not the only German-speaking parent who uses/used Sorbian with their children in this way. Most of the children were already older than Johanna at the time of my interviews, and this particular way of using Sorbian emerged as an issue for Christina in her interaction with Johanna during our interview.

More common than speaking Sorbian, however, are other forms of engaging with Sorbian. As already mentioned in relation to the different language practices of the families when all members are together, some of the German-speaking parents use their receptive knowledge of Sorbian in conversations in which the other family members speak Sorbian. Apart from that, I have in mind an active interaction with Sorbian, when the German-speaking parents support their children in school-related learning and homework. In the primary school years they can practice reading with them in Sorbian and also help them in solving tasks that are set in Sorbian.

The frequency with which the German-speaking parents engage with Sorbian is quite limited compared to the Sorbian-speaking parents' use of German with their children. It is either related to school homework, or has a symbolic function, underlining a common relationship.

7.3 Children's language choices

In describing the children's[9] language choices, I will first turn those that are somehow linked to particular people and that constitute a pattern of preferred language choices in more or less neutral contexts. On the one hand, the description of language use related to particular people can be triggered by my questions about which language the participants prefer to use with whom, when and where. On the other hand, they often started to tell me about such links between a person and a language themselves. Thus, such categorisations are not artificially imposed by the wording of my questions. After all, a distinction is already constantly being made within the nuclear family through the firm link between the German-speaking parent and the German language.

[9] Because of the age difference between the participating families, in some cases the adult children referred to are the same age as the parents in other families. Nevertheless, I refer to them as children in order to reflect the relationship between the family members.

In the following section, I will then turn to habitual patterns of language choice that differ from the person-related choices described in this section. They depend on certain (reccuring) contexts, which I am will discuss there.

7.3.1 With parents

The children's language choices for addressing their parents approximate the habitual choice of language in which their parents address them. Jasmin Domsch states this when she tells me that her parents speak to her and her siblings in Sorbian and German respectively (13), and specifies this at a later point in our interview (14). It is also worth noting that she sees the family's bilingualism as positive.

(13) Jasmin Domšec/Domsch (C3, 17)

Ok, haj. Also ja to cyle cool namakam, zo sym ja dwuréčnje narostła, to ma jara praktisce, Vorteile halt. A, na haj, to je započało halt, moja mać je mje serbsce nam nawučiła a naš nan němsce. **A tak smy tež z tymi rěčeli**.

Okay, yes. So I think it's really cool that I grew up bilingual, that has very practical advantages. And, well, it started, my mother taught me/us Sorbian and our father taught us German. **And that's how we also spoke with them**.

(14) Jasmin Domšec/Domsch (C3, 17)

Em, haj. Genau, doma my trotzdem šće tak a tak dwuréčnje rěčimy šće přec. **Přec z mojim nanom němsce a z mojej mać serbsce**.

Um, yes. Exactly, at home we still speak bilingually anyway. **Always German with my father and Sorbian with my mother**.

The same pertains to most of the other families with children out of toddler age, apart from a full scale switch to German in family Dreißig (D). Some exceptions to that general parent-related language choice are reported with reference to the age of the child, and to the presence of the German-speaking parent. André Bluhme relates how sometimes his six-year old son Jonas speaks to him in Sorbian, although since early on Jonas quite reliably chose German to talk to him and Sorbian to talk to mother Alexandra.

(15) André Bluhme (F2, 33)

F2: Beziehungsweise Anton dann schon eben auf Sorbisch. Hat dann schon Sorbisch mit der Alexandra gesprochen. **Bei allen Dreien hat das dann relativ schnell auch geklappt, dass die das eben unterscheiden konnten, mit wem was zu sprechen**. Manchmal klappt's nicht immer. Auch jetzt noch nicht. **Da spricht der Jonas mich auch manchmal noch auf Sorbisch an**. @ Aber ich versteh's ja und kann dann darauf reagieren. Ja.

smi: Na, und wenn er jetzt kommt und dich auf Sorbisch anspricht, dann ...

F2: Dann reagier ich aber auf Deutsch dann drauf. Also. Genau.

F2: Or Anton then already in Sorbian. He already spoke Sorbian with Alexandra. **With all three of them, it worked out relatively quickly that they could distinguish with whom to speak what**. Sometimes it doesn't always work. Not even now. **Jonas sometimes speaks to me in Sorbian**. But I understand it and can react to it. Yes.

smi: Well, and when he comes and speaks to you in Sorbian, then ...

F2: But then I react to it in German. Well. Exactly.

In (16) you see Dominik Symmank explaining that the exception to using Sorbian with his father occurs when speaking to him in German in the presence of his mother, which is the same pattern as his father applies when talking to Dominik and his brother in their mother's presence.

(16) Dominik Symank/Symmank (A3, 16)

Druhdy ja tej z mojim papu němsce pójedam, hdyž moja mama přiwuzna jo, ale hewak tej eingentlich skoro šece serbsce. Oder z dźědom oder wowku einklich ŠEce serbsce. To jo cyle zrědka, zo jen z tymi jemo němsce pójeda. Haj.

Sometimes I also speak German with my dad when my mum is around, but otherwise almost everything in Sorbian. Or with grandpa or grandma, actually, I ALways speak Sorbian. It's very rare that you ever speak German with them. Yes.

In the Schurig family (B), the children do not speak Sorbian with their mother as spontaneously as other participating children do with their Sorbian-speaking parent. The children in the Bluhme family (F) also tend to speak Sorbian with their mother when being reminded to do so. The Schurig brothers mainly speak Sorbian with their mother when she specifically encourages them to do so. This is reflected in the language portraits drawn by Levi Schurig (B5, 10) and Matej Schurig (B4, 12).

Before starting to colour the silhouette, Levi tells me that he wants to speak Sorbian well, that he began speaking in German, and that he also wanted to learn Czech. He had no opportunity to do the latter, which caused him great distress. After finishing with colouring, Levi starts commenting in German about the face he drew. After my comment in Sorbian, he continues in Sorbian, and then lists some colour names in English. His further descriptions are in Sorbian. His portrait description (see B5 in the appendix) begins with a comment on the orange colour in the head of the figure. It stands for Sorbian, which he would like to learn better. It is a language that he tries to speak with his mother and at school, thus revealing by whom and where his use of Sorbian is appreciated.

Matej begins describing his colouring (see B4 in the appendix) by pointing to the marginal role of English, which he is learning as a foreign language in school. The second foreign language is absent from the portrait and goes unmentioned. B4's language portrait presents the use of German and Sorbian in a balanced way. The portrait includes two positively connotated environments in which it is imaginable that Sorbian is used more than German, free time sports (the right arm, number 2 in the portrait) and maths lessons in school (the legs, number 6 in the portrait). This seems to be indicated by the use of an additional colour (black). In the face of the fact that his mother Kata Schurig (B1) views the use of (more) Sorbian as desirable, I do not read Matej's description of the dominance of Sorbian in those environments as him using more Sorbian than German. Rather, I

sense a wish or agreement to accomplish the goal of speaking more Sorbian than at present, or at least B4's attempt to satisfy the expectations of those who are happy to hear him speaking Sorbian, likely including myself, the researcher. Both environments, indeed, provide the general opportunity of Sorbian dominating over German. In the sports team, most of the other members might well be speakers of Sorbian. During school lessons, the teacher is likely to speak more than the pupils, and in any case Matej shares the speaking time with his remaining class mates.[10]

The importance of speaking Sorbian is therefore included in both portraits, even if it represents an idealised way of communicating rather than reflecting Levi and Matej's use of Sorbian with their mother or other people.

7.3.2 Among siblings

While the languages used with the parents may reflect the pattern in which the parents address the children, the language choices among the siblings have no immediate model and were particularly interesting to me. In three families, the siblings generally prefer German among themselves. This is the case for the two Symmank brothers (A), the three Schurig brothers (B) and the two Dreißig siblings (D). Tobias Symmank hesitates for a moment before telling me that he and his older brother only speak 'a bit of Sorbian' when they are in the presence of other Sorbian-speaking people.

(17) Tobias Symank/Symmank (A4, 13)

smi: Ha, ka jo to eigentlich z twojim bratrom?
A4: Haj, z mojim bratrom ...
smi: Ka maće wó to najradšo?
A4: Z mojim bratrom mó eigentlich skoro, hdyž mó smó jenož něke mó jenož dwejo, mó eigentlich jenož němsce pójedamo, a hdyž něke něchtó druhi přidruhu jo, pon kus serbsce, hale tež skoro jenož němske. M.

smi: And what about your brother?
A4: Well, with my brother ...
smi: How do you prefer it then?
A4: With my brother we basically always, when it's just the two of us, we basically only speak German, and when someone else is with us, we speak a bit of Sorbian, but also almost only German. Hm.

Jasmin and Vincent Domsch also prefer to use German among each other. However, both speak Sorbian to their younger brother Markus, who in turn uses Sorbian with both his older siblings. Their preferences are quite firm and are a source of astonishment to Jasmin herself.

[10] The interpretation of the black colour used by Matej in his portrait is ambiguous and my interpretation is not the only possible one. When explaining the black colour, Matej says that the 'Sorbian colour' is in the portrait and that the black colour is in the flag. Originally he explained that red (and orange, because he did not find the red pen) stands for Sorbian and blue for German. If he used red and blue for Sorbian (they are both part of the Sorbian flag), then black could be German (because it is part of the German flag).
(*Haj, also ta serbska barba je potom tej hišće raz w tej, jow na flagi je tej hišće raz čorne nutřka. Potom sym ja prajił, činim ja hišće raz tam te čorne nutř.* / 'Yes, so the Sorbian colour is also in the, here, in the flag there is also black. Then I said, I'll put black in there too.')

(18) Jasmin Domšec/Domsch (C3, 17)

My přeco serbsce rěčimy ((z C5)). Also to echt wahnsinn. Ja też njewěm, čehodla ja z tym jednym němsce rěčim, z tym tamnym serbsce. Also, keine Ahnung. To najskerje tak, dokelž sym ja pon starša dosć była, hdyž je so tón małki narodźił. A ja mol prajim, moja mać halt bóle za nas so starała hač mój nan. A přez to wona, wona ta za nas serbska a serbsce rěčała a pon smy też přeco z tym małkim babyjom takrjec serbsce rěčeli a tak.

We always speak Sorbian ((with C5)). That's really crazy. I don't know why I speak German with one of them and Sorbian with the other. So, I have no idea. It's probably because I was old enough when the little one was born. And I would say that my mother took care of us more than my father. And because of that, for us she is Sorbian and she spoke Sorbian, and then we also always spoke Sorbian with the little baby, so to speak.

Both, Jasmin and Vincent, are very fond of having grown up with Sorbian and German at home. Jasmin mentioned this at the very beginning of our interview (see quote (13)). Vincent relates about his preferred language choices with different members in the family in the following quote and adds that speaking both languages is a privilege, mentioning also confirming authoritative voices.

(19) Vincent Domš/Domsch (C4, 16)

Z Markusom. Also z Markusom a z mamu ja serbsce rěču. A z papu a Jasmin němsce. Also, em, papa, tón je halt přeco zno był tón, tón němsce rěčał, tón serbsce rozumił, ale tón njeje ženje móhł serbsce rěčeć a chcył najskerje też nic tak richtig. Ja njewěm. A, em, to sym ja, to je halt też to, štož wjele gut namakaja, zo sym ja halt móhł takle na dwaj bokach, em, narosć. Zo sym ja z někami ludźimi, em, němsce a z tamnymi serbsce rěčał. To je halt, em, to su wjele prajili, też te wučerje, to je eigentlich te najlěpše, štož jen krydnyć móže, hdyž jen jowle takle žiwy je.

With Markus. So with Markus and with Mama I speak Sorbian. And with dad and Jasmin German. So, ehm, Papa, he was always the one who spoke German, he understood Sorbian, but he could never speak Sorbian and probably didn't really want to. I do not know. And, um, I have, that is also what many find good, that I could, um, grow up on two sides. That I spoke German with some people and Sorbian with others. That's what many people said, including the teachers, that's actually the best thing you can get when you live here.

In the Bluhme (F) and Petasch (J) families, the children report using both languages when talking to their siblings. In (20) Anton Bluhme explains how he and Jonas use both Sorbian and German. Jonas also took part in the conversation. The first answer of the younger Jonas to my question about the language use among the brothers is simply 'Sorbian'. The older Anton confirms and then clarifies that they also use German, explaining that sometimes they miss a Sorbian word. When asked about their language use with their younger sister Emilia, Anton is the first to say that they use Sorbian. Jonas confirms with an 'hm' and then Anton again clarifies that they use both Sorbian and German. In the omitted part of the conversation Anton uses the two examples of 'dishwasher' and 'to vacuum'

to illustrate how they all, from mother to Jonas to himself, use code switching and insert German tems into their Sorbian conversations. At the end he does not forget to tell me the Sorbian verb for ‘to vacuum’. While the quoted excerpt suggests that Sorbian is the preferred language of Anton and his siblings, with occasional switches to German and back to Sorbian, the omitted discussion of bilingual practices is more reminiscent of code switching and translanguaging. The father again, André, again reported that the children do indeed often use German when he overhears them playing together. This was also confirmed by the mother. The fact that Anton and Jonas mention Sorbian first when asked about the language use between them, therefore, says more about the importance they attach to Sorbian than it does about the extent to which the two of them use each language.

(20) Anton Bluhme (F3, 10), Jonas Bluhme (F4, 6)

smi: Haj, haj. Ha ka ty zes, ka wó eigentlich najradšo pójedaće?
F4: Serbske.
F3: Serbsce. Ale druhdy tej němsce, hdyž mó njewěmo, ka to na serbsce rěka.
smi: Aha.
F3: [… ((rozkładźe měšane rěčne praktiki a podawa přikłady))]
smi: […] Nó. Cool. Ha ka wó najradšo zes Emiliju rěčiće?
F3: Em, tej serbsce.
F4: M.
F3: Serbsce ha němsce, woboje.

smi: Yes, yes. And how do you do with, how do you actually prefer to speak?
F4: Sorbian.
F3: Sorbian. But sometimes also German, when we don’t know what it’s called in Sorbian.
smi: Aha.
F3: [… ((explanation and illustration of mixed language practices))]
smi: […] Yeah. Cool. And how do you prefer to speak to Emilia?
F3: Um, also Sorbian.
F4: Hm.
F3: Sorbian and German, both.

7.3.3 With relatives in the Sorbian extended family

Similarly interesting are the language choices among the peers in the extended family on the side of the Sorbian-speaking parents. Tobias Symmank (21) and Judith Dreißig (22) state that the language between their cousins is German, although they know Sorbian. Judith adds that she speaks Sorbian with her aunts and uncles, but when she is with her cousins, German has always been the language of choice for as long as she can remember.

(21) Tobias Symank/Symmank (A4, 13) (see also (30))

Hale najwjace wot tej z našimi kuzenkami ha tak, mó němske pójedamo, tež hdyž mó serbsce móžemo. Haj.

But mostly, also with our cousins and so on, we speak German, even if we know Sorbian. Yes.

(22) Judith Dreißigec/Dreißig (D4, 28)

Haj. Na haj, za nas běše to přeco tak, also my smy přeco němske omu a opu měli a jednu serbsku wowku. Naš, em, naš opa je jara zahe za mnje zno wumrěł. […] ja pak wěm, zo tam zno přeco wšo serbske tak zno było a też hdyž my smy tam byli tak, hody, jutry, my smy eigentlich z našej ćeće, also z našich će-ta-mi a z našej wu-ja-mi, smy my ten tam přeco, oder też nětko šće přeco serbsce powědamy. **Mjez nami jako kuzenka a jako kuziny smy my zno přeco němsce dale powědali a to běše pak też in ordnunce**.

Yes, and yes, for us it was always like that, we always had a German grandma and grandpa and a Sorbian grandma here. Our, um, our grandpa died very early for me. […] But I know that everything there was always Sorbian, and even when we were there, at Christmas and Easter, with our aunts and uncles we always spoke, or we still always speak Sorbian. **But between us, as cousins, we always continued to speak German, and that was all right, however.**

Tobias' statement is taken from a longer extract which I will return to later. It suggests that, like Judith, he might be more likely to use Sorbian with his Sorbian-speaking aunts and uncles than with his cousins who are of a similar age as him. In any case, they are more likely to be addressed in Sorbian by the adults than by cousins. For Dominik Symmank, the use of Sorbian with his Sorbian-speaking grandparents is even more obvious. In (16) he said that he rarely ever uses German with them.

On the other hand, the spontaneous language choice between peers is German. A closer look at the language choices between the participating children and their friends confirms this observation. Often, the children from the participating families are not the only ones who have grown up with Sorbian and German from birth. Nevertheless, German is used not only when the majority of children is from families with an interlingual background, but also with those who acquired German as an early second language and who grew up in predominantly Sorbian-speaking families.

7.3.4 Among friends

The language use patterns among my participants' friends vary. For some, German is the main language they use with their peers, while they only partly use Sorbian with them. Others feel comfortable using both German and Sorbian with their friends. In some cases, the use of German with very close friends stands out.

When we talk about a general preference for German, this refers to participants whose friends know Sorbian. With friends who have no knowledge of Sorbian, German is the automatic language of choice anyway. Karol Schurig, for example, tells us in (23) that among his close friends there is only one who knows Sorbian. He speaks Sorbian with him whenever possible, but they also speak German because it is more comfortable for him to speak in German. A moment later he mentions two other Sorbian friends with whom he speaks in Sorbian as well as German.

(23) Karol Šurig/Schurig (B3, 15)

B3: Em, w mojim přećelskim kruhu, em, to su poprawom skoro wšě němsce. Also, z tymi ja tež němsce rěčim. Em, to su ... A potom mam ja hišće jen, z šule jen přećel. Tón tež móže serbsce. Z tym ja, em, tež poprawom, hdyž dźe serbsce rěčim. Ale tež němsce. Em, dokelž druhdy so tež němš-, němčina, einfach, to halt lěpje někak dźe.

smi: %mm

B3: Em. Potom mam ja tež hišće dwaj přećele, te tež su serbsce. Em, z tymi ja tež husto serbsce rěčim. Dokelž halt, […] hdyž jen nětko něhdźe mjez Němcami, potom je to halt šón cool, hdyž móže jen so, halt irgendněšto prajić, štož te tamne njezrozumja.

smi: %mm.

B3: Um, in my circle of friends, um, almost all of them are German. So I speak German with them. Um, they are ... And then I have another one, a friend from school. He also knows Sorbian. With him I speak, um, also, well, Sorbian, if it's possible. But also German. Um, because sometimes Ger-, it just works better in German somehow.

smi: %mm

B3: Um. Then I have two other friends, they are also Sorbian. Um, with them I often speak Sorbian too. Because, well, […] when you are somewhere among Germans, then it is cool if you can- well, say something that others do not understand.

smi: %mm.

Karol feels more confident and at ease in German and has to make more of an effort in a Sorbian conversation. This is different for Markus Domsch, who in our interview never mentioned to struggle with Sorbian, which his mother confirms for the school context. But similarly as Karol Schurig, he describes speaking mainly German with one close friend who is also able to speak Sorbian. Markus mentions some efforts to use also Sorbian at times but says that they slip back to German which is their preferred language (see (24)). His mother later says mainly hearing Markus and his friends speaking German among each other.

(24) Markus Domš/Domsch (C5, 11)

C5: **Na haj, also, ja tež z mojim přećelom jara husto němsce rěčim. To je so halt tak činiło. Ja tež njewěm. To je komisch. Haj. Druhdy my tež spytamy serbsce rěčeć. Ale to so přeco irgendwie zas na němsce čini.**

smi: Haj. A to su wšo přećele, kiž móža woboje rěče.

C5: Haj. Na, ja mam tež jednoho přećela, tón móže blos němsce.Tón je z mje do samsneje šule šoł. To tón serbsce kusk nawuknył. Also, tón tež móže kaž mój nan serbsce: Kusk.

smi: Haj.

C5: […] Haj. Hewak wšě móža serbsce, haj.

C5: **Well, I also speak German very often with my friend. That's just how it turned out. I don't know. It's funny. Yes. Sometimes we also try to speak Sorbian. But it always somehow turns back into German.**

smi: Yes. And these are all friends who know both languages.

C5: Yes. Well, I also have a friend who knows only German. He went to the same school as me. So he learned a bit of Sorbian. So, he can also speak Sorbian like my father: a little.

smi: Yes.

C5: [...] Yes. Otherwise everybody knows Sorbian, yes.

Markus' older brother Vincent likewise says to mainly use German with his friends and claims that most of them are used to speak German from home already and that they all know that none of them speaks only Sorbian at home (see quote (43) later). In a sense, there is no need to speak Sorbian. He mentions that all are able to speak Sorbian but that they use German between them.

In the case of Philipp and Judith Dreißig, the preference for German in their circle of friends, which developed during childhood and adolescence, has continued among their friends into adulthood. Philipp describes that they spoke German since childhood and therefore also the Sorbs speak German (see (25)). While his account indicates that his circle of friends consists of people who speak more and people who know less to no Sorbian, Judith's description of her circle of friends in (26) indicates that they all know Sorbian, but to various degrees, and therefore German is the language of choice.

(25) Philipp Dreißig (D3, 30) (see also (36))

D3: Haj, tón kruh eigentlich nětko jara wjele lěta so takle też wostał kaž te nětko su. To su eigentlich wšo A-ske nětko pola nas. [… ((wopisowanje zhromadnych aktiwitow))] **A tam eigentlich skoro wšo na němsce pon też rěčimy. Tam su też por pódla, kotrež serbsce móža, ale dokelž my halt přeco zno němsce rěčeli smy, my pon tohodla, hdyž my nětko dwaj oder tři Serbja smy, tohodla němsce pon rěčimy**. To em też je tak. To tak rostło, ja jemol prajim. Genau.

smi: Móžeš ty to sej někak, haj, -

D3: Čehodla to je tak, njewěm! Keine Ahnung. Też njewěm, čehodla to tak je. Při započatku sym ja pon też přec započał kusk takle serbsce rěčeć, ale to njeje pon tak husto było a pon smy tohodla zas němsce dale rěčeli. Haj.

D3: Yes, the circle has actually remained the same for many years as they are now. Actually, all of them are from A. who are with us now. [... ((description of their activities))] **And there we actually speak almost everything in German. There are also a few who know Sorbian, but because we have always spoken German, we still speak German when we are two or three Sorbs.** That's just the way it is. That's how it grew, I'd say. Exactly.

smi: Can you think of any, yes, -

D3: Why that is, I don't know! I have no idea. I don't know why it is like that. At the beginning I always started to speak a bit of Sorbian, but that wasn't so often and then we continued to speak German anyway. Yes.

(26) Judith Dreißigec/Dreißig (D4, 28)

Aber hdyž my pon tak hromadźe sedźimy, my też přeco němsce powědamy, dokelž my też wirklich wjele mamy, ně, eigentlich hinak. **My wšě možemy serbsce, my też wšě možemy serbsce rozumić, my pak njepowědamy serbsce z nami. Also my wirklich němsce powědamy**. A dokelž tón jen jen kusk wjac, tón druhi jen kusk mjenje może powědać a tohodla my eigentlich mjez nami přeco němsce zno powědali smy. Genau. @@@

But when we sit together, we also always speak German, because we also really have many, no, actually it's different. We can all speak Sorbian, we can also all understand Sorbian, but we don't speak Sorbian with each other. So we really speak German. And because one can speak a little bit more, the other a little bit less, and that's why we've basically always spoken German among ourselves. Exactly. @@@

Another part of the participating young people does not have such a clear preference for German in their relations with friends and uses both Sorbian and German. Mostly, they use each language preferably with certain friends. In the case of Anton Bluhme, language choice depends on whether his friends speak Sorbian or not. Like Karol Schurig (23), Anton thinks of specific close friends when explaining his language choices. In (27) we can nicely see that Anton speaks German with the friends from the German city school who do not know any Sorbian. Sorbian, on the other hand, he speaks with the friends from the village. Based on his statement that he does not actually know how their German is, it is plausible that they actually normally use Sorbian.

(27) Anton Bluhme (F3, 10)

smi: Ha, maš ty nikoho, z kotrymž ty najradšo serbsce pójedaš? A maš ty nikoho, z kotrymž ty najradšo němsce pójedaš?

F3: **Em, najradšo němsce ja něke zes dwajo zes mojej rjadownje, něke. Ha serbsce zes, jowe, mojimi A-skimi přećelami**. Also tón, kotryž tu bě a potom hišće dwaj druje.

smi: Haj. A maće wó to, činiće wó to šelako abo maće wó wóprawdźe najradšo pon serbsce? Abo móžeće wó skakać? Kak wó to činiće?

F3: Nahaj, tón ... Tón jen, also te, kotrež, z kotrež ja němsce pójedam, te njemžeja serbsce pójedać. Ha, em, ha te tamo móža póprawom, móža němsce. To pa ja něke njewěm, ka genau.

smi: And, do you have someone with whom you prefer to speak Sorbian? And do you have someone with whom you prefer to speak German?

F3: **Um, now I prefer German with two people from my class, now. And Sorbian with, here, with my friends from A**. So the one who was here and then two others.

smi: Yes, and do you ((PL)) have, do you ((PL)) do it in different ways or do you ((PL)) really prefer Sorbian? Or can you ((PL)) jump ((switch))? How do you ((PL)) do it?

F3: Well, one of them ... The one, well, the ones I speak German with, they can't speak Sorbian. And, um, and the others actually know, they know German. But I don't know exactly how.

Jasmin Domsch in (28) similarly describes having friends with whom she uses Sorbian and friends with whom she uses German. Using the language other than her preferred language, feels acceptable under conditions which I will discuss in more detail in the next section 7.4. She can imagine switching to German, for example, if other people joining the conversation do not speak Sorbian, or to Sorbian when people joining the conversation have a preference for Sorbian. The awkwardness of speaking German with a friend with whom Jasmin is used to speaking Sorbian normally again points to the firm connection of certain people to a certain language. Nevertheless, Jasmin who is a few years older than Anton in the previous quote, reports that she has changed her preferred language with one of her friends from Sorbian to German in the course of their friendship.

(28) Jasmin Domšec/Domsch (C3, 17)

smi: Na haj, gut, ty sy prajiła mjez přećelemi je to wšelako. Ty maš tajkich a hinašich, hyno.

C3: **Tež, kaž to nawučene**.

smi: Genau, kaž sy nawučena. A tam je to bóle měšane. Also, je to tam bóle locker, zo móžeš ty z tymi jemol serbsce a jemol němsce abo ma poprawom kóždy takle swoju rěč?

C3: **To ma kóždy takle swoju eigentlich, no**.

smi: A móžeš sej ty předstajić z někim, also ja njewěm, ty móžeš mjedla też myslić na jednu konkretnu přećelku abo tak, e, z kotrejž ty serbsce rěčiš, móžeš sej ty předstajić, z tej němsce rěčeć?

C3: M. Also nětko nic durchweg, ale hdyž, ja jemol prajim, hdyž jen mol zaso jednu personu, kotraž je komplet němska, pódla nas steji, hdyž wona to sobu dyrbi krydnyć, pon haj.

smi: Haj. Genau. W tajkich situacijach.

C3: Wězo. Pon jen to spyta też. To zwar richtig komisch klinči, to sym ja mol sobu krydnyła z jednej, to mol było tajki, to richtig hinak klinči, hdyž ta němsce rěči, ale, hdyž hinak njeńdźe, hyno.

smi: Haj. A hinak wokoło, hdyž ty maš jednu přećelku, z kotrejž ty poprawom přeco němsce rěčiš, also snano nic nětko jedna, kotraž docyła serbsce njemóže, ale jedna z kotrejž ty rady němsce rěčiš, abo wy hromadźe, ale kiž też serbsce móže, bych sej ty móhła předstajić, zo ty z tej někak jemol započneš zaso, also zaso, hinak, zo ty z tej jemol započneš serbsce rěčeć?

C3: No, also ja mam tajku přećelku, z tej ja bóle němsce rěčim, ale wona je serbska, ja też. A my-

smi: Genau. Kak na přikład pola teje je?

C3: @GEnau. Also, ta była mol jow. Ta to była. A, na haj, my eigentlich radšo němsce rěčimy, dokelž jen to lěpje rozumi, lěpje móže rěčeć, ale druhdy, hdyž dyrbi być, pon jen so też serbsce rozmołwja, ja wěm, kak ta na serbsce klinči a to wšo ok, ale my halt trotzdem radšo němsce rěčimy, dokelž to so lěpje čini. Ale hdyž dyrbi, hdyž jen někoho ma ((kotryž pódla je)), pon jen natürlich też serbsce rěči. Nó

smi: Haj, haj. Ok.

C3: Ale přeco lěpše němske, dokelž so to einfach lěpje čini, słowa-mäßig a wšo.

smi: Haj, haj. Em, genau.

C3: Z tej sym ja wirklich cyle na započatku, hdyž my šće njejsmy tak dicke byli, je ta za mnje přeco bóle serbska była. Sym ja přeco wědźała: Ok, ta je w tej jara

serbskej skupinje, ta je serbska. Z tej sym ja pon też přeco bóle serbsce rěčała. A pon so to najemol, hdyž jen takle bóle enge hodwał, sy pon sobu krydnył: Ok, my hromadźe móžemy lěpje němsce rěčeć hač hromadźe serbsce. Obwohl woboje dźe a my druhdy wirklich wechselwemo a hin und her skočimy, ale, haj.

smi: Well, you said it's different between friends. You have these and others, didn't you.

C3: **Also, the way you're used to.**

smi: Right, the way you're used to. And there it's more mixed. So, is it more relaxed there, that you can talk to them once in Sorbian and once in German, or does everyone have their language?

C3: **Everyone has their own ((language)), actually, yeah.**

smi: And can you imagine talking to someone, I don't know, you can think of a certain friend or something, uh, with whom you speak Sorbian, can you imagine speaking German with her?

C3: Hm. Well, not all the time, but if, I would say, a person who is completely German is standing next to us, when they have to hear that, then yes.

smi: Yes, exactly. In situations like that.

C3: Of course. Then you try to do it. It sounds really strange, I've noticed that once with one, it was once such a, it sounds really different when she speaks German, but if there's no other way, isn't it.

smi: Yes, and the other way round, if you have a friend with whom you actually always speak German, well, maybe not one who doesn't know Sorbian at all, but one with whom you like to speak German, or the two of you together, but one who also knows Sorbian, can you imagine that you somehow start speaking Sorbian with her again, well again, differently, that you start speaking Sorbian with her one day?

C3: Yeah, well, I have a friend with whom I speak more German, but she is Sorbian, and so am I. And we-

smi: Exactly. What about her, for example?

C3: Exactly. Well, she was here once. That was her. And, well, we actually prefer to speak German because it's easier to understand, easier to speak, but sometimes, if it's necessary, you also speak in Sorbian, I know how she sounds in Sorbian and that's all right, but we still prefer to speak German because it feels better. But if it has to be, if you have someone ((who is there)), then of course you also speak Sorbian. Yes.

smi: Yes, yes. Okay.

C3: But always better German, because it's just better, word-wise and everything.

smi: Yes, yes. Um, right.

C3: In the very beginning, when we weren't so close, she was always more Sorbian for me. I always knew: Okay, she is in the very Sorbian group, she is Sorbian. I always tended to speak Sorbian with her. And then suddenly, as we got closer, you realised: Okay, we can speak German together better than Sorbian. Although both is possible, and sometimes we really switch and jump back and forth, but, yes.

The change of the preferred language to German between Jasmin and her friends occurred in a close friendship. She is not the only participant in my study who uses predominantly German with close

friends who know also Sorbian. I already mentioned Karol Schurig in (23), and Jasmin's brother Markus Domsch in (24) among those who use Sorbian with friends but have close friends with whom they speak German. Another example is their brother Vincent Domsch. Thinking back to kindergarten times, he claims having used Sorbian with most friends but German with a close friend.

(29) Vincent Domš/Domsch (C4, 16)

Na ja sym eigentlich **z tymi najwjacemi sym ja serbsce rěčał, ale z mojim přećelom, tón eigentlich móže tež super serbsce, ale z tym sym ja komischerweise přeco zno, naše cyłe žiwjenje němske powědał**. To je halt, to je tak přišło, ja njewěm, kak to było, to ... Te pěstowarki, te su pon tež spytali nam přeco prajić: Rěčće tla mol serbsce hromadźe! Oder tak. Ale, my smy přeco spytali, ale to ženje njeje, my smy přeco zaso automatisch na němsce skočili.

Well, **I actually spoke Sorbian with most people, but with my friend, he actually also speaks great Sorbian, but strangely enough I always spoke German with him, our whole life**. That's just, it came about that way, I don't know how it was, that ... The kindergarten teachers always tried to tell us: Speak Sorbian together! Or something like that. But we always tried, but it never worked, we always automatically switched back to German.

This excerpt is interesting in the way Vincent describes his language choice as unconscious. He cannot explain why they spoke German with his close friend. It also shows how difficult it is to change a languistic habit. Even when they tried to speak Sorbian with each other, he and his friend fell back on German. In Cassie Smith-Christmas's (2016) study, the majority language English was positively connotated as a language of solidarity used between peers, and the minority language Gaelic was negatively connotated as a language of authority used with adults. While there is not a similar clear dichotomy between German and Sorbian, it is significant that German is slightly more likely to be used in close friendships.

7.4 The influence of context on (children's) language choices

Just as the closer examination of the language use of the Sorbian-speaking parents showed that the use of Sorbian depends on the context, the language choices of their children are not rigidly linked to specific people. With new acquaintances, the choice of language is negotiated for the first time anyway. The decision to use a certain language may depend on the language repertoire of the interlocutor, the language in which the conversation was started or the topic under discussion. Tobias Symmank addresses the first two influencing factors in (30), as well as the previously discussed preference for a certain language with certain people, in his case German among the cousins. He says that everyone speaks German at the family gatherings when someone who is German is taking part in a conversation. In general, he speaks Sorbian when a conversation is started in Sorbian and German when it is started in German.

(30) Tobias Symank/Symmank (A4, 13)

Haj, also zes ćetach a wujach a tak, also, moje, moja ćeta wot nana, also skoro wšě móža halt serbsce wot mojo nana aus. Außer [N.]. Haj, hdyž tón pon tam jo, pon mó tej němsce pójedamo šece. **Also hdyž irgendnichtó němski we jo,**

kotryž pon z nami sóbu pójeda, pon mó einklich šece wšě němsce pójedamo. Ale wot mojej mać aus, to su wšě němske, nichtó einklich serbsce […]. Em, haj, hdyž mó take něke serbsce pójedamo jo to einklich wjace tak, hdyž jen započe, pon mó tak pójedamo halt. **Also hdyž jen něke němsce započe, tón konwersaciju, pon jen tej němsce pójeda a hdyž serbsce, pon halt serbsce**. Hale najwjace wot **tej z našimi kuzenkami ha tak, mó němske pójedamo, tež hdyž mó serbsce móžemo**. Haj.

Yes, so with aunts and uncles and so on, so, my, my aunt from my father, so almost everyone can speak Sorbian on my father's side. Except for [N.]. Yes, when he's there, then we also always speak German. **So if there's anyone who's German, who speaks with us, then we actually all speak German**. But from my mother's side, everyone is German, no one is actually Sorbian [...]. Um, yes, when we speak Sorbian now, it's actually more like this, when someone starts, then we just speak like this. **So when you start German, the conversation, then you speak German and when you ((start)) Sorbian, then you ((speak)) Sorbian**. But mostly **also with our cousins and so on, we speak German, even if we know Sorbian**. Yes.

7.4.1 The firmness of person-related language choice

Before looking in more detail at the contexts in which the children deviate from their preferred language, I would like to expand on the person-related language choice that I described already in 7.3 above. The principle of speaking a certain language with certain people is relatively stable. Even when the context suggests using the other language, the participants describe that they stick to the language they are used to speaking with that person. This is the case for Vincent Domsch with his family members (31), the Dreißig children with their mother (32) and the adult Philipp Dreißig with his colleagues in the fire brigade (33).

Even though his father suggests that it would be better to speak German in certain contexts, Vincent insists on speaking Sorbian to his mother and his brother. He says he cannot switch to German for a whole conversation with them. His statement refers to the family of four being together, without other people being directly involved in their conversations. Even if the father insists on using German, and even if he is be perceived by his children as being ("more") German, we have to bear in mind that Stephan Domsch understands Sorbian fluently. This in turn contributes to Vincent Domsch's person-related language choices.

(31) Vincent Domš/Domsch (C4, 16)

hdyž my fort jědźemy takle, my też, also tak kaž je, ja z papu němsce dale rěču, z mamu serbsce. Em, druhdy te ludźi kusk hłupje hladaja, ale ja halt so njemóžu najemol takle umstellwać z mamu němsce rěčeć za jednu hodźinu abo tak kaž su te ludźi pódla. To je, to ja njemóžu. Papa pon też druhdy praji: Nětko by eigentlich lěpje było, hdyž byšće němsce powědali. Ale to nětk je tak. Ale, em, **ja při tym wostanu, zo ja z mojej mać** a z mojej sotru, e, ně**, z mojim bratrom**, němsce powěda-, e **serbsce powědam**.

When we travel, we also, so, as it is, I continue to speak German with my dad, Sorbian with my mum. Um, sometimes people look a bit puzzled, but I just can't suddenly switch to speaking German with my mum for an hour or when the people are there. That's, I just can't do that. Dad sometimes also says: It would be better if you spoke German now. But that's the way it is. But, um, **with my mother and** with my sister, uh, no, **with my brother, I stick to speaking** German, uh, **Sorbian**.

Angela Dreißig, who normally spoke to her children in German when her husband was present and Sorbian when he was not, reports her children to have addressed her in Sorbian at times regardless of whether other people who do not understand Sorbian were present. To them she was associated with the Sorbian language, which they then used with her. Angela concedes to have then also sometimes spoken to them in Sorbian herself.

(32) Angela Dreißigowa/Dreißig (D1, 58)

smi: Haj. Haj. A kak ... Prajmy, Wy šće nĕhdźe do dowola jĕli abo nĕkajki wulĕt činili zwonka. Kak sće Wy pon? Je to hinak abo je to runje tak?

D1: Nĕ. Poprawom, hdyž by te dźĕći mje tež serbsce narĕčeli, wĕzo, to nĕtko njebĕše, zo smy stoprocentnje wšo dźĕlili. To šón tež jemol było, zo jen z nimi serbsce rĕčał abo tak.

smi: Yes. Yes. And how ... Let's say you went on holiday somewhere or went on some trip elsewhere. How did you then? Was it different or was it the same?

D1: No. Actually, when the children spoke to me in Sorbian, of course, it wasn't that we separated everything one hundred percent. It also happened that you spoke to them in Sorbian or something.

Angela's son Philipp, who nowadays speaks Sorbian with only a handful of people at most, explains that the language choice depends on how he is used to speak to someone. He refuted my guess that he uses Sorbian mainly to older people and says that he has younger colleagues among the fire fighters with whom he speaks Sorbian. Looking at his explanation of being used to speak German to many people, the choice of Sorbian with some of his colleagues might be related to the circumstance that with them he may not yet been set as a German-speaking person.

(33) Philipp Dreißig (D3, 30)

smi: By jen móhł prajić, zo ty skerje z ludźimi serbsce rĕčiš, kiž su starše hač ty? A z ludźimi, kiž su tak w twojej starobje, zo ty z tymi skerje němsce rĕčiš? By jen to móhł ...?

D3: Nĕ, eigentlich nic. Dokelž to runje kaž nĕtko pola wojenjowej wobory, tam je to jara gemischt tež te staroba a tam su tež dwajo pódla, kotrež tež młódše su hač ja, z tymi pon tež serbsce rĕčim. **To pon nĕkak přec tak kaž jen jemol započał je před wjele lĕtami z tymi ludźimi rĕčeć vielleicht, ja sej myslim, to wot toho přińdźe**, ale to eigentlich přec tež unbewusst bĕše. Haj.

smi: Could you say that you speak Sorbian more with people who are older than you? And with people who are your age, that you speak more German with them? Could you say that?

D3: No, not really. Because it's just like now with the fire brigade, the age is very mixed there too, and there are also two younger than me with whom I speak Sorbian. **It's always somehow the way you started talking to people many years ago, maybe, I think it comes from that**, but it was actually always unconscious. Yes.

Philipp's account points to my assumption that more or less use of Sorbian or German is connected to being perceived by others as *being* more or less Sorbian or German and in turn result in being addressed more or less often in Sorbian or German. His sister Judith even literally reasons in this way (see also Dołowy-Rybińska 2023: 11). In (34) she initially describes to me that she never used to speak Sorbian if she did not feel like it. Then she relates how others know that she can speak Sorbian but how they, whenever turning to her, use German. And she concludes that it became a habit "zo ja tak pon też sym" 'that I am this way, simply', that is that she would speak to others in German and others in German to her.

(34) Judith Dreißigec/Dreißig (D4, 28)

Aber my smy doma přeco z našej maćerje přeco tak wjele kaž my móžemy serbsce powědali. Też z našej wowce, prědku smy my wšo serbsce powědali a to so pon eigentlich też tak dale ćahnyło, zo my přeco smy wědźeli, z tych ty dyrbiš pon też němsce powědać, a z tych móžeš ty serbsce powědać. Aber im Endeffekt, **štož njeje ženje pola mnje won přišło, hdyž něchtó serbsce powěda a ty eigentlich nimaš žan@@ lóšt@@ to@ serbsce** woz-, so, em, haj, **powědać, ja eben pon też wirklich němsce dale powědam**. A wjele też wědźa, wot dźěćatstwo, zo woni ze mnu, em, też němsce powědaja. Te serbsce powědaja, a woni też wědźa, zo ja eigentlich też móžem, aber sobald woni ke mni so wjerća a mje něšto praša, pon sofort němsce dale dźe. Aber, to, haj, to běše wot, ja so myslim, **wot dźěćatstwo**, **zo to einfach tajka (H), tajka gewohnheit wodwała, zo ja tak pon też sym**.

But at home we always spoke Sorbian with my mother as much as we could. Also with our grandmother, at the front, we have spoken everything in Sorbian and that has then actually continued so that we always knew, with whom you have to speak German, and with whom you can speak Sorbian. But in the end**, what never came out with me, if someone speaks Sorbian and you actually have no@@ desire@@ to speak Sorbian**, um, yes, **I then also really continue to speak German**. And many also know, since childhood, that they speak with me, ehm, German. They speak Sorbian, and they also know that I can actually speak it too, but as soon as they turn to me and ask me something, then it immediately continues in German. But, that, yes, that was from, I think, **since childhood, that this has simply become such a (H), such a habit, that I am like that**.

Both Judith and Philipp accept their role and it is probably not induced one-sidedly by others. Their mother was fascinated by her daughter's strong will to speak German to all and how at a young age other children who normally spoke Sorbian all adapted to Judith's preference for speaking German. Philipp recounts in (35) that the children from the A class at school probably assumed that the children in the B class, which he attended, could not speak Sorbian and therefore they spoke German between them. While he states that this was their reasoning as children, he does not frequently address others in Sorbian today, just as he did not attempt to address schoolmates in Sorbian during school days.

(35) Philipp Dreißig (D3, 30)

Ja dyrbim też prajić, my tla smy tam w šuli skoro wšo na němsce rěčeli. Also ja, naša rjadownja. A hdyž tam ta parallelklassa won přišła, my ta smy so wšě znali, smy pak tohodla pon na němsce dale rěčeli, dokelž te su najskerje myslili, te sowieso žan serbsce njemža, also dźěći halt, to je tak. Haj.

I must also say that at school we spoke almost everything in German. Me, our class. And when the parallel class came out, we all knew each other, but we still continued to speak in German, because they probably thought, they don't know Sorbian anyway, so children, that's how it is. Yes.

However, one must be careful not to jump to conclusions about the relationship between perception of others' language use and their (ethnic) identity. The young people I have worked with use all sorts of descriptions and formulations to describe the language use and *being* of others without being essentialist. In (28), Jasmin Domsch (C3) describes how she speaks German with a friend, although both of them are Sorbian. There may well be differences between generations in terms of age and the growing influence of the people around them, but also in terms of social change. On the one hand, individual family configurations and family ideologies differ, and on the other, societal language ideologies and practices are not static either. So it seems to be very much in flux.

7.4.2 Mixed situations with people who do not know (a lot of) Sorbian

I have already quoted Philipp Dreißig in (25), and I would like to return to our interview here, because Philipp describes well how the choice of German as the language of conversation within his group of friends was made in his childhood and is still lincted to the language competence of those who are present. Philipp's group of friends consists of people with different language backgrounds. However, it is not clear how many of them speak Sorbian and how many of them speak German and do not understand Sorbian at all. In (25) Philipp mentions that there are everal Sorbs in the group, and here in (36) he says that there are several Germans. Whether we can assume a larger number of speakers of German or speakers of Sorbian, or even a near parity, is hard to say. In any case, Philipp twice refers to one of his friends who is German and does not know any Sorbian. When this friend was with the rest of the group, they spoke German, when he was not there, they spoke Sorbian. Remarkably, there seems to have been no change over the years into adulthood. If the German friend who serves as an example for why German was chosen among the friends is one and the same person since childhood, no language learning process for Sorbian is indicated and no receptive knowledge is taken into account.

(36) Philipp Dreißig (D3, 30)

D3: Na haj, to smy tež halt tajka freundschaftsgrupa tež byli. **A tam su tež Němcy pon tež pódla byli**, a to smy pon přec, na haj, to hintergrund tež přec běše. **Hdyž tón jen pódla je, pon smy halt němsce dale powědali a hdyž tón njeje pódla był, te tamne dźěći su byli, přeco serbsce**. A to pola wšěch tak běše, tak automatisch nutřka pon běše. **Hdyž tón pon sobu je, po puću abo tak a my sej hrajkamy, haj, to přec tajki #sprung tež pon běše**. Na haj. A to eigentlich dźensa tež šce tak je. A hdyž my so jow nětko trěchimy, also moje přećele, my smy nětko kusk starše wodwali tež, **my mamy jedyn, tón gor žan serbsce njemóže, a to my pon tam tež wšo němsce rěčimy** abo tak.

smi: M.

D3: To aus anstand pak tež je tak. Hdyž tón pon k tomu přińdźe, pon #na jemol/najprjemol na němsce dale dźe.

smi: Haj.

D3: Genau.

D3: Well, we were also a group of friends. **And there were also Germans there**, and we always, well, the background was always there. **When one of them is there, we continued to speak German, and when he wasn't there, the other children were there, always Sorbian**. And that was the case with everyone, it was automatic. **When he's with us, on the road or something, and we play, yes, that was always such a #leap**. Well, yes. And that's actually still the case today. And when we meet now, my friends, we're a bit older now, **we have one who doesn't know any Sorbian, and then we speak everything in German** or so.

smi: Hm.

D3: But that's also out of decency. When he joins us, then #at once/for the time being it goes on in German.

smi: Yes.

D3: Exactly.

The described choice of German in linguistically mixed situations, is, again, a pattern that parallels the language use within the Dreißig family. As the mother speaks German to her children in the presence of the father, the children also use German to speak to their mother in these situations. A similar pattern can be observed in the Symmank family, where the sons address their father in German in the presence of their mother, see (16), although they may not do so as consistently as the Dreißig's. Philipp Dreißig also applies this pattern at work and speaks German with colleagues at the workplace or on the telephone, with whom he speaks Sorbian outside the workplace when they are not together with other German-speaking colleagues.

7.4.3 Choice according to how one is being addressed

Tobias Symmank's outline of adapting to the language in which a conversation has been initiated, (see (30)), is also shared by others. Karol Schurig describes responding to people in the language he is being addressed in. Notice in (37) the slight difference in the case of Sorbian – 'then I often reply in Sorbian' – and in the case of German – 'then I usually also reply in German'. He describes this behaviour after noting that he usually uses German with people.

(37) Karol Šurig/Schurig (B3, 15)

B3: Na haj, to je šón, em, z mojim bratrami ja husto němsce rěčim. Ale też serbsce. Em ... Ale powšitkownje ja, hdyž ja z tamnymi ludźimi rěčim, ser-, e, němčinu wužiwam.

smi: M. Also měniš ty takrjec, hdyž ty, also wšojedne, nětko mjez twojimi znatymi. Abo měniš ty nětko, hdyž, e, hdyž dźe wo ...

B3: **Hdyž #mje něchtó serbsce** #wot-, e, **so něšto serbsce praša, potom ja husto serbsce wotmołwju.**

smi: %Mm.

B3: Em, **a hdyž so mje něchtó němsce praša, potom ja poprawom też němsce wotmołwim**.

B3: Well, actually, uhm, with my brothers I often speak German. But also Sorbian. Uhm ... But in general, when I speak with other people, I use Sor-, uh, German.

smi: Hm. So you mean, so to speak, when you, so never mind, now among your acquaintances. Or do you mean when, uh, when it comes to ....

B3: **When someone** #ans- Sorbian, uh, **asks #me something in Sorbian, then I often answer in Sorbian.**

smi: %Mm.

B3: Uhm, **and if someone asks me in German, then I also answer in German**.

Philipp Dreißig, again, tells me more about one of the few people with whom he nowadays speaks Sorbian. In the second utterance in (38), he says that they always speak Sorbian to each other. That their use of Sorbian likely is a consequence of the colleague approaching Philipp in Sorbian, is suggested by his explanation in the first part of the quote. He says that those who text him messages in Sorbian do so because they know that he speaks Sorbian. Philipp did not suggest that they may use Sorbian, he reacts to how the others speak to him.

(38) Philipp Dreißig (D3, 30)

D3: Em, pon ja mam moju wohnjowu woboru, […] **a tam mam ja też dwaj pódla, kotrež mi jenož na serbsce pisaja, dokelž te wědźa, ja móžu serbsce**. A, ja pon tam towa přec na němsce te wróćo pósłjem, pisam, dokelž ja to gor njewěm, kak to dźe na handy, serbšćinu tam @@. Na haj. […]

D3: Genau. A tón mi přeco na serbsce napisa **oder też serbsce rěčimy. Přeco**. […]

smi: Aha. Zajimawe. Ok, a to rěka, hdyž ty dóstanješ wot nich jednu sms abo něšto, pon ty einfach němsce wotmołwiš.

D3: Genau. Ja bych też nětko też spytał vielleicht na serbsce pisać, ale, ja njewěm, pola handyja abo kompjutera, te- to budu ja dyrbjeć kusk nutř fuchswać, to ja sej myslim. To njeje tak lochke. Genau. Ja pak tohodla wěm, što woni mi pisaja, tak to njeje.

smi: Haj, haj. Na klar, to je jasne.

D3: Um, then I have my fire brigade, [...] **and there I also have two, who only write to me in Sorbian, because they know, I know Sorbian**. And, I send, write back nevertheless always in German, because I do not know at all how that goes on the mobile phone, Sorbian there @@. Well. [...]

D3: Exactly. And he always writes to me in Sorbian **or we also speak Sorbian. Always**. [...]

smi: I see. Interesting. Ok, and that means if you get a message or something from them, you simply reply in German.

D3: Exactly. I would maybe also try to write in Sorbian now, but, I don't know, with the mobile phone or computer, I'll have to fiddle with it a bit, that's what I think. That's not so easy. Exactly. But I still know what they write to me, it's not like that.

smi: Yes, yes. Of course, that's clear.

While Philipp uses Sorbian when speaking to others, he only uses German when writing. The school lessons for Sorbian as a second language were the only context in which he had to use some Sorbian in writing. After that he never used it in writing, nor did his family. The minimal Sorbian literacy practices in the family and the participation in lessons for Sorbian only as a second language had the effect that Philipp was not accommodating for others who use Sorbian in the written form as opposed to the spoken language.

7.4.4 Choice according to topic and domain

Some domains are more likely to enable the use of Sorbian than others. Typically, as mentioned in chapter 3, these are the family, the local neighbourhood and municipality, school, and the church. I will now turn to the latter with a few quotations. The prominent role of church-related religious life in the intergenerational transmission of Sorbian in the Sorbian Catholic community becomes clear when we look at cases in which young people who normally speak German among themselves use Sorbian. The older Symmank brother, Dominik, breathes out when I ask him about his language choice with his younger brother, Tobias, and says that it depends on the situation, while speaking German is easier. If there is something 'Sorbian to talk about' (39), they speak in Sorbian. In these cases his brother Tobias answers and continues in Sorbian, as he does himself when Tobias starts to speak in Sorbian. The example Dominik gives, is a church service. The church is so closely associated with the Sorbian language that it automatically comes to Daniel to talk about it in Sorbian. At another point he also says that it would feel awkward to him to speak German when coming from a church service. This means that the church in its physical sense is also a place, where Sorbian is the more appropriate language. Of course, this will be linked to the local church where he attends Sorbian services, but these statements show that within the Catholic church, Sorbian is more authoritative than German.

(39) Dominik Symank/Symmank (A3, 16)

smi: Haj. ... Ha, zes Tobiasom? Ka wó einklich mjezsobu najradšo?

A3: Pf(Hx). To tej einfach šec wot situacije wotwisne. Druhdy němsce ha druhdy serbsce, hdyž ... Němsce druhdy małkus lóchšo panje. Hale, **hdyž halt něšto serbsce pójedanu jo, tej wot kemšow oder tak, pon jen tej serbsce einfach pójeda. To wón tej dale čini, hdyž ja započem serbsce, pon wón tej serbsce dale čini a ja genau tak, hinak wóko**.

smi: Yes. ... And, with Tobias? How do you actually prefer to do among yourselves?

A3: Pf(Hx). It always depends on the situation. Sometimes German and sometimes Sorbian, when ... German is sometimes easier. But, if it is something Sorbian to talk about, also about the Mass or so, then one simply speaks Sorbian. Then he continues, if I start speaking Sorbian, then he continues in Sorbian and I do the same, the other way around.

Another very prominent example is the time of Easter. In Catholic Upper Lusatia it reaches its climax with the tradition of the Easter riders on Easter Sunday. This tradition is so prominent that the Sorbs are often associated with it, and pictures of it decorate even press releases on such distant topics as as the launch of an automatic translation programme for the Sorbian language. Its saliency in public perception is not surprising, however, because it is of great importance to the people. One of the many Easter riders is Philipp Dreißig. Although otherwise not a devout Catholic, he is a committed Easter rider and takes off from work every year in order to participate in the procession. In (40) he describes how he departs from his normal language use during the preparations for the Easter procession. When he and the others, who share a stable for the horses they ride on Sunday, meet to take care of the horses, they speak Sorbian. One of them does not speak Sorbian and yet they continue to speak Sorbian when he joins them in the stable. Although Philipp says that it depends on who comes and joins them in the stable, it is probably not a proactive attitude to take part in Sorbian conversation on the side of their German-speaking colleague, but rather the context of Sorbian tradition, where Sorbian hymns and prayers are sung, that is conducive to continuing to speak Sorbian in the presence of someone who does not speak Sorbian. This is a rare example in Philipp's story where the norm of linguistic subordination is not followed.

(40) Philipp Dreißig (D3, 30)

Haj. K jutram. A hdyž my pon w bróžni abo tak stejimy, em, my mamy jednoho pódla pola nas nětko našu kliku, ja mol prajim, po bróžni, tón też jenož němsce móže. Tón pak towodla pon serbsce sobu spěwa a čini. A hdyž my tam te konje gratwjemy abo tam wšo přihotujemy, hdyž tón pódla je přeco, na klar, přeco najprjedy na němsce, ale hewak, tónle halt**, to je tam kusk hinak, hdyž wón nětko k tomu přińdźe a my tam zno sedźimy a serbsce rěčimy, my tohodla serbsce dale rěčimy. To je kaž, na haj, arogant to nětko njeje, ale, to dyrbi wón pon hladać, što wón rozmołwi abo njerozumi. Haj, to je pon też druhdy tak.** To je pon też najskerje přec von der person też kusk abhängig. Štó tam też k tomu přińdźe. Haj. Genau.

Yes, at Easter. And when we then stand in the barn or so, uhm, we have one with us, in our clique, so to speak, in the barn, who also only knows German. But he nonetheless sings along and participates in Sorbian. And when we bridle the horses there or prepare everything there, if he is there, always, of course, always first in German, but otherwise, this is, **that's a little different there, if he comes and we sit there already and speak Sorbian, we still continue to speak Sorbian. It's like, well, it's not arrogant, but then he has to see what he understands or doesn't understand. Yes, that's sometimes the case**. That is then also probably always dependent on the person a bit. Who then also comes there. Yes. Exactly.

The obviousness with which the men in Philipp's account continue to speak Sorbian in the stable might be explained by how his sister Judith naturally relates prayer and church attendance to the Sorbian language. Judith, who uses German much more frequently than German, states that she learned prayers mostly in Sorbian 'Because we never significantly did that in German, apart from the services there.' The contradiction in her utterance is that the family indeed attended German language services regularly. But Judith does not pay them any real importance. In her account she says that it was 'all Sorbian', that in the services 'you did everything always in Sorbian', that she does it 'better and preferably in Sorbian' and that she prefers attending Sorbian rather than German Mass.

(41) Judith Dreißigec/Dreißig (D4, 28)

smi: Achso. Genau. Ty sy prajiła, wy šće so přec modlili. A praj jemol, kak ha te, modlitwa za tebje abo docyła nabožne žiwjenje, dokelž ty prajiš, ty sy też jako družka do Różanta šła a tak. Kak je so te nabožne žiwjenje takle wothrało? Dokelž ...

D4: **Wšo serbsce**. Also to ... Wšo serbsce, haj. Dokelž, ja bych też prajiła naše, naše prěnjoswjatewoprawjenske hodźiny [...], haj ja bych prajiła, my smy to też serbsce činili. Aber hewak też wšo eigentlich tak serbsce. **A ja też prajim, ja radšo do tych serbske kemše dźem, kaž do němske kemše**, dokelž -

smi: Ok. Kak to přińdźe?

D4: Na haj, dokelž tak **te modlitwy a wšo, to smy my přeco wšo serbsce wuknyli**. A smy to też přeco serbsce, also ja móžu też, em, das vaterunser móžem ja też šće irgendněkak hromadźe dóstać na němsce. Aber pon šón naš, naš druhi, tón druhi dołhi, je też na němsk-, ně, to ja zno wjace njedóstanjem cyle hin, němske. **Dokelž my to ženje njejsmy němsce wulkotnje činili, außer tam kemšach**. A jow ty pak wšo eigentlich přeco w kemšach sy serbsce činił. A tohodla eigentlich to wšo přeco lěpje a radšo serbsce. Dyrbju ja prajić. Haj. To mi radšo, **also ja radšo do B. do kemše dźem kaž do H. Tam na te němsce, němske**.

smi: Oh, right. You said that you always prayed. And tell me, how was it, praying for you or religious life in general, because you say that you also went to Różant as a Družka ((carrying the statue of the Madonna, wearing the Sorbian Catholic costume in the procession to the pilgrimage site)) and so on. What was the religious life like? Because ...

D4: **It was all Sorbian**. So, it, ... Everything Sorbian, yes. Because I would also say our first communion lessons [...], yes, I would say that we also did that in Sorbian. But everything else was actually in Sorbian too. **And I also say that I prefer to go to the Sorbian Mass than to the German Mass**, because -

smi: Ok. Why is that?

D4: Well, because **the prayers and everything, we always learned all that in Sorbian**. And we always did that in Sorbian, so I can also, um, I can still somehow get the Lord's Prayer together in German. But then our, our second one, the second long one, in German, no, I can't quite manage that. **Because we never really did it in German, except there at Mass**. But here you actually always did everything in Sorbian at Mass. And that's why everything is always

better and preferably in Sorbian. I have to say. Yes. I prefer that, **so I prefer to go to Mass in B. than in H. There to the German, the German one**.

No other domain is as clearly Sorbian as the church domain. While private religious practice may include both languages, attending Mass usually requires a decision to between the two.

7.4.5 Sorbian as a secret language

In some cases, Sorbian is used as a secret language in public environments (outside the Sorbian-speaking villages), and the participants reported taking advantage of the fact that not everyone understands Sorbian to use it for private conversation. For example, when Karol Schurig named two friends with whom he speaks Sorbian besides German, he explained that he appreciates the fact that others cannot understand them: 'I often also speak with them in Sorbian. Because, well, […] when you are somewhere among Germans, then it is cool if you can- well, say something that others do not understand.' (see (23)). Since he reports that he speaks Sorbian with others only to a limited extent, it can be assumed that Karol does not (always) conduct entire conversations in Sorbian in order to avoid being understood. It is more likely that he and his friends have shorter conversations or make immediate comments in Sorbian about the current situation that other bystanders are not supposed to understand.

Jasmin Domsch describes the use of exactly this practice with a friend who learned Sorbian in the institutional context and knows it 'a bit' as compared to people who grew up with Sorbian. She laughs as she tells me about using Sorbian to comment on boys standing nearby. When I suggest that Sorbian is something like a code, she picks up on this and confirms that Sorbian was a "code-language" for her and her friend. They tried to use it when they wanted to talk privately but were surrounded by other people in the public.

(42) Jasmin Domšec/Domsch (C3, 17)

C3: Ale **druhdy**, ja mol prajim, **sym ja tón rěč tež kaž wužiwała, also ausgenutzt**, also hdyž jen zum beispiel ma, hdyž jen něhdźe je, keine ahnung, **jednej přećelki, kotraž, wona hakle nawuknyła jow, takle kusk serbsce**. A hdyž smy byli, keine ahnung, něhdźe auf klassenfahrt preč a pódla nas su irgend někajke ludźi stali, kotrež smy chcyli něšto, **hdyž smy chcyli hromadźe něšto prajić, štož te njebychu dyrbjeli słyšeć, pon smy to na serbsce kusk spytali prajić**. […] Smy prajili: Ok, kaž zum beispiel na serbsce: o, hladaj jemol pódla mnje tón, tón tak a tak je, o shit! A tak. @@@@

smi: @@ Ok. Also kusk jen @ jen code, abo jedna tajna

C3: **Kaž tajka code-rěč. To bě přec tak ta serbšćina za nas. Druhdy takle, no. Bě echt witzig.**

C3: But sometimes, I'd say, I also used the language, exploited it, for example, when you have, when you are somewhere, I don't know, with a friend who, she had only just learned Sorbian here, a bit of Sorbian. And when we were, I don't know, were away on a school trip somewhere and there were people standing next to us about whom we wanted to say something, when we wanted to say something together that they shouldn't hear, we tried a bit to say it in Sorbian.

[...] We said: Ok, like for example, in Sorbian: Oh, look, the one next to me, he's so and so, oh shit! And so. @@@@

smi: @@ Ok. So a bit of @ a code, or a secret-

C3: Like a code language. Sorbian was always like that for us. Sometimes like that, no. That was really funny.

Vincent Domsch, who otherwise rarely uses Sorbian with his friends, says that they start to speak Sorbian if they notice that others speak badly about them (43). He and his friends thus use Sorbian between them in order to distance themselves from others and to draw a line as a reaction to exclusion. In those cases, using Sorbian connects the group and may be perceived as an "act of identity" (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985) or a move of divergence signalling that they are distinct and have an own group affiliation (Sachdev, Giles & Pauwels 2013).

(43) Vincent Domš/Domsch (C4, 16)

Also, **jeli my mol na někajkich partyjach smy a sobu dóstanjemy, oder kaž nětko na, em, rjadowniskej jězbje, sobu dóstanjemy, zo jen přez nas halt hubjene rěči, pon my halt też započnjemy, e, serbsce powědać.** Ale hewak my eigentlich wšo němsce powědamy, dokelž te najwjace přećele, te maja, e, also, te eigentlich też w jich swójbach jenož němsce powědaja. Oder halt němske a serbske kaž ja, ale to njedawa žaneho richtig, kiž jenož serbsce powěda we swojej swójbje, a tohodla, also, ja njewěm, čehodla, to, my einfach smy započeli němske powědać a seitdem my też, also serbsce my kaum powědamy. Ale my wšě wěmy, zo my to móžemy. Haj.

So, **when we are at some parties and we notice, or like now on, um, on the school trip, that they speak badly about us, then we just start, uh, to speak Sorbian**. But otherwise we actually speak everything in German, because most of our friends have, uh, well, they actually speak only German in their families. Or German and Sorbian like me, but there is no one who speaks only Sorbian in his family, and therefore, I don't know why, we just started to speak German and since then, we hardly speak Sorbian. But we all know that we can do it. Yes.

Among the adult participants, the use of Sorbian as a means of private communication in public is also mentioned. Judith Dreißeig (D4) mentions it in retrospect when talking about her childhood, and Alexandra Bluhme (F1) refers to a meeting with her siblings with whom she normally speaks German. It is a way of using Sorbian that many of the participants mentioned, each time without any direct prompting from my side, apart from asking in which situations they use or could imagine using Sorbian with others. This bears a striking resemblance to the use of Gaelic as a secret code by the post Gaelic medium education participants in Stuart Dunmore's (2019) study. He drew my attention to the fact that, in general, the use of Sorbian as a secret language has positive connotations and is presented as a resource. It is described as 'cool', as 'funny', or as a response to teasing. In the latter case, the performative switch to Sorbian helps to strengthen the group. In none of the cases where Sorbian was described as a secret language, did I notice any negative feelings. In general, the use of Sorbian as a "secret language" is rather symbolic and refers to short comments about

something. Therefore, it does not contradict the practice of speaking German in the presence of Germans. Especially when used to distance oneself from others, speaking Sorbian creates an additional subspace that is used as an identity-related act by those who understand Sorbian.

8 Language beliefs – Attitudes and ideologies

Beliefs in asymmetrically bilingual Lusatia oscillate between the "two contradictory discourses of linguistic diversity as inherently good but socially problematic", pinpointed by Ingrid Piller in her monograph on the embeddedness of linguistic disadvantage in more general structural social disadvantage (Piller 2016: 2). While Piller poignantly addresses the real clashes between "a celebration of linguistic diversity in the abstract" and the "existence of social problems associated with linguistic diversity", my analysis of bilingualism in the Lusatian society does not examine actual social problems. Instead, it focuses on how the bilingual inhabitants of Lusatia try to avoid social disadvantages from the outset, while at the same time trying to avoid shifting the local linguistic diversity to an abstract dimension entirely.

In contrast to chapter 7, in my discussion of attitudes and ideologies, I will refer to the wider sociolinguistic environment of my participants and draw on quotes that speak of sociolinguistic domains and contexts beyond the family. These more general views form the backdrop to the strategies and practices of language use with children and their negotiation, which I will address in chapter 9. Indirectly, in this chapter I will discuss language policies at the meso level, because any statement that expresses a certain attitude towards certain behavioural practices also contains a reference to the reality of language policies. The (customary) rules of language use will be traced in schools, local councils, working environments, associations, church and village communities.

The overarching theme when looking at attitudes and ideologies in Lusatia is the perceived superiority of German, just as the dominant language is perceived as superior in many other minority-majority situations. The monolingual ideology, coupled with a purist ideal, makes the dominant German language the inclusive language, which is reinforced by the utilitarian limitations of Sorbian when communicative goals cannot be achieved by using this language.

I will begin this section by first discussing the attitudes that place German at the positive end of the status dimension and Sorbian at the positive end of the solidarity dimension: German as the language of professional advancement and Sorbian as the language of home, community and attachment. Given the domains in which the two languages are used, these evaluations are not surprising, although to a lesser extent Sorbian is also associated with utilitarian value, and German can be the language of home, community and attachment just as much as Sorbian. I will then take a closer look at the negative connotations that are attached to Sorbian as an in-group language due to the asymmetry in societal bilingualism: the Sorbian language as potentially excluding and the Sorbs as a closed group. Subsequently, I will focus on how the monolingual ideology is reinforced and how German is perceived as either legitimately or unavoidably dominant. In this section I will discuss the practical limitations that speakers of Sorbian see in the language, their submissive behaviour in using German as the default language, and the behaviour and, to some extent, the attitudes of speakers of German that encourage the other's submissiveness. I will conclude this section with a subsection on the inferiority of Sorbian, which manifests itself in the perception that the use of Sorbian is dangerous or an invitation to trouble.

8.1 German, the language of professional advancement

German is highly valued on the status dimension because it has a utilitarian value in vocational training, tertiary education and the working environment and is thus linked to economic opportunities. Although there are job and education opportunities that include Sorbian or build on

Sorbian skills, the utilitarian value associated with German is higher. Sorbian is seen as an advantage, but German as a prerequisite for professional advancement. For some, the link between German and the professional environment is so strong that they do not even think about the possibility of encountering opportunities to use Sorbian at work. Philipp Dreißig (D3) remembers what a surprise it was to him when he experienced the medical staff in a hospital performing a surgery and speaking Sorbian. He was wondering how they dealt with the technical language, 'because they also need all the technical terms' (44).

(44) Philipp Dreißig (D3, 30)

A to za mnje jara běše tam w H. runje im opej stać **a te su tam wšo na serbsce sej unterhaltwali, rozmołwjeli, te cyłe ärzte mit den schwestern. A to ja tak šće gor njejsym widźał. A to sym ja pon tón jednu schwester pon prašał, kak to nětko klopwje, dokelž te tla trjebaja te cyłe fachbegriffe też**, nětko tón skalpel oder daj mi něk to. A dokelž te maja, oder su tam šće jara wjele stare ärzte tež měli, a te schwestern a te su wšě móhli serbsce a tam su te pon na serbsce tam operěrwali. A to sym ja eben myslał: Mensch, kak to tak wšo dźe. To ta šće dawa tajke něšto! To běše wirklich za mnje jara zajimawe. To ja tak šće njejsym widźał. Haj. To běše wirklich intresant.

And there in H., for me that was very, especially standing in the surgery **room and they were all talking in Sorbian, all the doctors with the nurses. I had never seen that before. And then I asked one of the nurses how it would work, because they also need all the technical terms**, now the scalpel or now give me this. And because they still have or had a lot of old doctors there, and the nurses and they all knew Sorbian, they operated in Sorbian. And then I thought: Wow, how it all works. Such things still exist! That was really very interesting for me. I hadn't seen anything like that before. Yes. That was indeed interesting.

Philipp's account about the hospital is interesting because it directly contradicts the underlying perception for which I chose this quote. Namely, that Sorbian does not play a major role in working life. It challenges the conclusion that Sorbian can't be an instrumental part of professional work because German is important for education and work. Philipp's astonishment at the experienced use of language in the surgery room may be all the greater because it involved an activity in which mistakes can have serious consequences and reliable communication is indispensable. The fragment shows that the situation experienced differs from Philipp's previous experiences with Sorbian and that he seeks the explanation for this in different everyday linguistic realities of the generations. He says that 'a lot of old doctors' still worked in the hospital and that he was amazed that 'such things still exist'. So we see a piece of his linguistic reality of life in which Sorbian (in the sense of active or receptive language use) has only a marginal place (because - if we recall - Sorbian is not spoken in the presence of German speakers or people perceived to be German speakers) and the implied comparison with older generations where Philipp assumes that the number of those who know Sorbian is much greater. Although the encounter in the hospital and Philipp's positive surprise about the use of Sorbian during a surgery can be seen as a fundamentally positive moment of rethinking the possibilities of Sorbian, it is nevertheless telling that in the middle of the Sorbian-speaking territory he sees himself, as it were, as one from the clearly declining number of speakers of Sorbian.

The necessity of German in professional life is mentioned by many participants. What is important about these statements is not so much that Sorbian is rated worse than German in terms of its usefulness in education and work. However, the positive assessment of German with regard to usefulness in education and work has consequences for language choices and can be at the expense of the use of Sorbian. For example, the usefulness and meaningfulness of Sorbian-medium instruction at school is questioned. With a view to further German-language education and employment, Sorbian-medium education can become perceived as a possible obstacle or simply considered unnecessary. Katrin Symmank (A1) sees German as the most important language for professional life. Certainly, she sees possibilities for using Sorbian, for example in Sorbian studies or in working for a Sorbian craftsman. However, overall 'work is also mostly in German' (45), which means that the likelihood that her sons will necessarily need Sorbian in their working environment is not significant in her eyes.

(45) Katrin Symankowa/Symmank (A1, 42)

Aber, wie gesagt, für's spätere Leben ist ja dann größtenteils Deutsch @. No, also, es sei denn, die studieren jetzt irgendwas, Sorabistik, oder @ sorbischer Lehrer oder ... No, aber, der Großteil wird in Deutsch stattfinden. No. Dass man diese Sprache kann und dass das nicht ausstirbt, ist alles gut. No, aber der Alltag, oder der meiste Teil des Lebens, ist ja dann, also wie gesagt, die Arbeit ja größtenteils auch in Deutsch. Außer man macht jetzt hier irgendwo bei einem sorbischen Handwerker seine Ausbildung, dann spricht man ja auch wieder Sorbisch, aber Berufsschule wird deutsch sein und alles.

But, as I said, for later life it's mostly German @. Yeah, well, now, unless they study something, Sorbian studies, or @ Sorbian teacher or ... Yeah, but the majority will be in German. Yeah. It's all good that you know this language and that it doesn't die out. Yeah, but everyday life, or most of life, is then, as I said, work is also mostly in German. Unless you do your apprenticeship with a Sorbian craftsman somewhere here, then again you will speak Sorbian, but vocational school will be in German and everything.

Katrin's considerations show that she dismisses the possible professions that might include and require Sorbian as insignificant. Even if being a teacher in a Sorbian school is a career that includes Sorbian – everyday life is seen as happening predominantly in German by Katrin. Even if you may train with a Sorbian craftsman – 'but vocational school will be in German and everything' and German will still be required. 'Most of life' of course points to the great amount of time that the job requires and not necessarily to the perception that everyday afterwork life is mostly in German. But the added 'and everything' in her explanation about the necessity of German for vocational training hints of course to the language use pattern of using only German in a linguistically mixed situation. Adapting to the language preference of the German dominant speaker diminishes the opportunities to use Sorbian, and the perception of Sorbian as a language that can only be used at very limited opportunities leads to question whether the learning through Sorbian at school is reasonable. It becomes strikingly clear that the positive perception of Sorbian as language with a legitimacy to exist is somehow abstract and does not resonate with the lived experience of Sorbian, when Katrin says that technically, it is good to know Sorbian and not let it die out but everyday life rather requires the use of German.

Sorbian is also experienced as onerous by students. Jasmin Domsch (C3), who is a very proud bilingual, contested the Sorbian medium education and did not want to have it imposed on her in the school context. Her reasoning in the excerpt quoted in (46) goes along the lines of Katrin Symmank. After school, during vocational training, Jasmin says you need to learn the content through German and by learning through Sorbian at school, you are not well prepared to do so.

(46) Jasmin Domšec/Domsch (C3, 17)

A hewak je jen dźěl wučerjow tež dawał, kotrež su, tym, te njejsu tak jara na te serbske drängwali kaž te tamne. Te su pon woboje rěčeli oder tež bóle němske, dokelž te tež wědźa, kaž ja, jen to pon po tym wjac nima eigentlich serbsce, außer, hdyž jen na Serbski gymnazij dźe abo tak. Hewak jen ta, hdyž jen, **my tla smy normal wyša šula a potym jen čini jedne wukubłanje abo tak a tam tla to njeje wjace z tym serbskim a pon jen je kaž aufgeschmissen, hdyž jen wšo na serbsce ma a gor njewě kak to wšo na němske rěka**. Vor allem bio, chemie, to pak sym ja pon wjesoła była, te su pon, kaž bio, chemie, physik, pon prajili: Ok, wir machen das jetzt auf Deutsch. Die ganzen Fachbegriffe, to lěpje za nas. To sym ja wjesoła była.

And there were also those teachers who didn't push for Sorbian as much as the others. They spoke both languages or more German, because they also know, like me, that you don't really have Sorbian afterwards, unless you go to the Sorbian grammar school or something. Otherwise, if you, **we are a normal secondary school after all, and afterwards you do a vocational training or something and there it's no longer Sorbian and then you're like lost if you have everything in Sorbian and don't know what it's all called in German**. Especially biology and chemistry, but I was glad that they then said, like biology, chemistry, physics, "OK, we'll do it in German now." All the technical terms, it's better for us. So I was relieved.

Learning through Sorbian seems to be regarded as useful only to a handful of people pursuing further Sorbian education at 'the Sorbian highschool or alike' and Jasmin contrasts this with 'we are a normal secondary school', suggesting that after school follows real life – dominated by German. Her perception of an unreasonably great orientation towards Sorbian at school is likely influenced by her parents who regard German as important and necessary as well. Jasmin's mother Karola (C1), experienced difficulties when after Sorbian medium education she began her vocational education through the medium of German and when she was learning in a German environment for the first time. Her critical stance towards a Sorbian oriented school education is related to this experience. In (47) she tells how at work she encountered young colleagues having similar struggles and how she dislikes that she and they were not better prepared for the German-medium professional education.

(47) Karola Domšowa/Domsch (C1, 44)

A nětko sym ja to na dźěle tež sobu krydnyła, pola nas je jedyn wukubłanje činił a tón je tež dyrbjał něšto powědać. A tón je so z jednej praktikantku rozmołwjał. A ta ma tež tajki problem. **Te su činili jenož serbske, serbske, serbske a nětko wone to pytnu, kajke problemy te maja potom we wukubłanju,**

hdyž to dale dźe. Z tej němčinu. Haj. Ja sym prajiła, to je pola mnje też tak było. To mje mjerza, zo to tak je. Zo jen to bóle, m, te em wšě jowle hladaja, zo te te serbske, serbske ważne je, no. Ale z němčinu jen pak eigentlich dalešo přińdźe. Ja njewěm.

And now I've also noticed this at work, one of our trainees also had to tell something. And he was talking to an intern. And she also has a problem like that. **They only did Sorbian, Sorbian, Sorbian and now they realise what problems they have in their training, now that it continues. With the German. Yes. I said it was the same with me. It annoys me that it's like that. That you have more, m, here they all look, that the Sorbian, Sorbian is important, isn't it. But you can actually get further with German. I don't know.**

To her, who had Sorbian language competences as a matter of fact and never struggled with Sorbian, the struggle with German was very unpleasant. That 'with German you actually get further', she defends her standpoint that at school you should not focus more on Sorbian than German.

Sorbian-medium schooling is thus not seen as an achievement for strengthening the minority language, but as an obstacle to mastering the next stage of life. The school's function of strengthening the prestige of Sorbian is therefore only symbolic, because in reality no one asks about the skills acquired in standard Sorbian. It seems to be more important to be able to fit seamlessly into a German-language educational and professional environment.

In a similar vein, Frank Symmank (A2) elucidates why speaking German among the local firefighters is necessary to prepare them for interaction with German monolingual firefighters from other places or coordination points. He argues that hesitations are detrimental to the mission firefighters have to accomplish and since you necessarily need German, endeavours to use Sorbian in this specific environment have to be subordinated to a smooth communicative ability in German.

(48) Frank Symank/Symmank (A2, 45)

A2: wšo, štož je służbnje, ja dyrbju němsce činić, dokelž su tam techniske wurazy. Tam by sej jen něhdźe dyrbjał, also to by jen dyrbjał, haj, jen by móhł vielleicht to sčinić, ale hdyž jen nětko něhdźe na jedne zasadźenje jědźe a tam je jedna druha wohnjowa wobora pódla, z-, z [… ((neighbouring region))] kónčin, kotrež žane serbsce njemóža, pon ja njemóžu na přikład prajić, Tamle ta klupa steji. To, to je kusk hubjene potom. No, oder pon tam steji, dort steht die Feuerwehrpumpe, bitte bedienen, oder das Funkgerät. A to je potom ... Hdyž ja jim praju, Tam je škričkowak.

smi: Haj.

A2: A tón prjedy mje steji a praji (H), Fein gemacht! No. Tež, hdyž my pon w zasadźenju z też, em, z H. ((nearby town)) funkujemy, also z tej leitstellu, to so hubjenje pon serbsce čini, nor.

smi: Nahaj. To pon tak ...

A2: A pon je, w tajkich wěcach, w zasadźenjach tam też druhdy wo sekundy dźe. Tam dyrbi potom kóžda ruka cak, cak a to potom …

A2: everything that's official, I have to do in German, because there are technical terms. There, you would have to, well, you would have to, yes, you could maybe do that, but if you're going on a mission somewhere and there's another fire brigade there, from [... ((neighbouring region))], who don't know Sorbian, then I can't say, for example, There is the pump ((in Sorbian)). That, that is a bit bad then. Yeah, or then, there is, there is the fire pump ((in German)), please operate it, or the radio unit. And that's then ... When I tell them, There is the radio ((in Sorbian)).

smi: Yes.

A2: And he stands in front of me and says (H), Well done! Yeah. Also, when we're on the radio in the field with the, um from H. ((nearby town)), so with the control centre, that's difficult in Sorbian, right.

smi: Well. That's then ...

A2: And then, in such things, in operations it is sometimes a matter of seconds. Then every move has to be done in a flash, and that's ...

Speaking German is therefore necessary in this context in order to train communicative confidence for all eventualities.

Because German is considered to be highly useful and above all necessary in the professional world, bilingualism is seen as onerous and time consuming. In any case, knowledge of the Sorbian language is only an asset that does not replace the need to learn fluent German.

8.2 Sorbian, the language of home, community and attachment

In contrast to German, Sorbian is highly valued on the solidarity dimension. It is mentioned more often in relation to the family, the local community and care work and less in relation to educational and professional advancement. The positive evaluation of Sorbian for interpersonal relations "illustrate[s] the connection between language and social identity" and Sorbian, as language "toward which individuals hold positive attitudes on the solidarity dimension is one that elicits feelings of attachment and belonging" (Kutlu & Kircher 2021: 4). As a consequence, some participants perceived Sorbian as utilitarian in dealing with people who they thought felt attached to Sorbian. In any case, positive attitudes towards Sorbian in terms of solidarity and belonging are also realised and acknowledged by those who feel more attached to or more proficient in the German language.

The fact that all Sorbian-speaking parents who participated in my research spoke Sorbian to their children speaks of the importance of the language for direct interpersonal communication and of the vision that acquiring it is linked to intergenerational transmission in the family and to close ties between individuals. The importance of Sorbian for the family was therefore not explicitly mentioned.

The reasons for this are probably that the same applies to German in the families discussed, that the use of both languages has to be negotiated within the family, and that of course both languages contribute to the family identity. What was explicitly addressed, however, is the importance of the family for the transmission of Sorbian, especially by Sorbian-speaking participants who agreed with their partner to give more importance to German in school education than to Sorbian. If German is seen as a prerequisite for later education and parents therefore want their children to be prepared for it already during school education in primary or secondary school,, then it seems logical that they emphasise the importance of Sorbian for interpersonal relationships in the intimate family

sphere. Karola and Stephan Domsch (C1, C2) have their problems with the current bilingual teaching concept, because they would like the teaching to be entirely or mainly in German. In a conversation with one of the teachers, Karola was probably told that the Sorbian-medium subject lessons serve to ensure that the children acquire a broad thematic vocabulary in Sorbian, an argument that Karola also partly recognises. In the quoted excerpt (49), the beginning of our conversation refers to the fact that the teachers at the school of the Domsch family's children do not like it when the pupils talk to each other in German and admonish them to speak Sorbian. Karola, on the other hand, thinks it is good that her children speak German with their peers and actively use both languages, Sorbian and German, from the very beginning. Asked about her assumption about the teachers' motives, Karola says that the teachers were probably afraid that the Sorbian language would be lost. In response, she tells me that she considers the use of Sorbian in the family to be more important for the preservation of the language than its use in school education. She thus underlines the importance of interpersonal relationships for language acquisition.

(49) Karola Domšowa/Domsch (C1, 44)

C1: ((At the beginning of the excerpt, C1 speaks about teachers who do not approve of pupils speaking German to each other.))
Te to nimaja rady. To tak, ja njewěm, čehodla to tak je. Ja njewěm, kak sće Wy to začuwali? Wy tla šće też byli [… ((na serbskej resp. dwuměčnej šuli))] , hyno.

smi: Ja sym runje prašeć so #čeho-, also kak sej Wy mysliće, čehodla to je?

C1: Čehodla to tak je? Na te maja strach, zo ta serbšćina dźe. No. Tohodla najskerje. M.

smi: Puh. Haj #haj #ale #

C1: Ja pak sym z tej wučerku nětko też powědała, […] Ja sym prajiła, em: Haj, šón, zo tene fajn, super, te słowa te pon so zhubja, hyno, tene cyłe wurazy, te wulke a tak dale. **Ja pak sym prajiła: Ta serbska rěč jenož wostanje, hdyž jen jow w swójbje serbsce powěda**. To je nětko moje persönlich měnjenje, hyno. **Kaž hdyž něchtó nětko něšto studěruje a Bóh wě što, a doma, zno sym ja też dožiwiła, te w serb-, wirklich něšto serbske činja a studěrowane su a wšo, ale doma wone němsce powědaja z tymi dźěćimi. To tla też bekloppt! Nětko moje měnjenje, no. Tajke bychu to dyrbjeli grode! Ja přeco praju, štož doma powědane wodwje, to, to budźe wostać.** A nic …

smi: Nó.

C1: Nó. To je nětko moje měnjenje. Ja njewěm. Ja jemol tak praju. M.

smi: No haj, wone jen ważny dźěl je! Also bjez- To žane prašenje njeje. Nó.

C1: **Hdyž jen kóždy dźeń něšto powěda**.

smi: Nó, nó.

C1: **A jowle te maja tón móžnosć**. Hdyž mój muž doma je - hdyž wón jónu doma je - nětko su tla wone starše, to je hinak, hyno. Te z tym němsce powědaja, **ze mnu wone serbsce powědaja**.

smi: M. Also z Wami je skerje serbsce takrjec a to, na gut, hačrunjež wón praji a-genau-

C1: A hdyž pak wón nětko tu je a my smy hromadźe, ja druhdy mol něšto nutř rjesnu, serbske, ok. To pak je wuwzaće. Najbóle my němsce powědamy pon hromadźe.

((At the beginning of the excerpt, C1 speaks about teachers who do not approve of pupils speaking German to each other.))

C1: They don't like it. That's, I don't know why that is. I don't know, how did you feel about it? You were also [... ((at a Sorbian or bilingual school))}, right?

smi: I was just going to ask, #wh-, so what do you think, why is that?

C1: Why is that? Well, they're afraid that the Sorbian language will disappear. Yeah. That's probably why. Hm.

smi: Puh. Yes #yes #but #

C1: But I have also spoken to the teacher now, [...] I have said, um: Yes, okay, that this fine, super, these words are lost, right, all these terms, the big ones and so on. **But I said: The Sorbian language remains only if you speak Sorbian here in the family. That's my personal opinion, right. And not if someone studies something and God knows what, and at home, I have already experienced that, they-, they really do something Sorbian and have studied and everything, but at home they speak German with the children. I mean, that's crazy! Well, that's my opinion, yeah. Such people would have to ((speak Sorbian at home/with their children))! I always say, what is spoken at home, that, that will stay**. And not ...

smi: Yeah.

C1: Yeah. Now that's my opinion. I don't know. That's what I would say. Hm.

smi: Well, it's an important part! So without- That's not a question. Yeah.

C1: **If you talk a little bit every day.**

smi: Yeah, yeah.

C1: **And here they have the opportunity**. When my husband is at home- when he's at home- now they're older, it's different, right. They speak German with him, **with me they speak Sorbian**.

smi: Hm. So with you more Sorbian, so to speak, and that, well, although he says and- exactly-.

C1: And when he's here now and we're together, I sometimes throw in something, in Sorbian, okay. But that's an exception. Mostly we speak German together.

By stating that she attaches great importance to the transmission of Sorbian within the family, Karola also defends the decision to have her children taught in German. In a way, she distinguishes between academic use and interpersonal use of language. If the latter is in Sorbian, the former does not necessarily have to be in Sorbian. But in the case of academic work on Sorbian without speaking the language with one's own children, she questions the credibility regarding language preservation. I do not want to go into detail about the expectation that people who are involved in Sorbian public life should set an example in using the language. Karola expresses it in the context of justifying her own decision not to exhaust Sorbian-medium educational opportunities and in emphasising the role of the family in language maintenance. What is important to me is to show that the use of the language in private life is seen as authentic, as an indication that someone is serious about Sorbian, and ultimately that they are seen as belonging to the Sorbian community.

Angela Dreißig (D1) shares a similar stance towards the family as the most important place for language transmission. She speaks of the family as the 'smallest unit' and emphasises its crucial role in instilling in the children a sense of attachment to the local customs (50). The Dreißig's share with the Domsch's the decision to have their children enrolled in German-medium education, with the difference that the A/B system was still in place when the Dreißig siblings went to school and

Sorbian was only a foreign language subject for them. Like Karola, as a student Angela has had difficulties with German once she started her professional education, and it took her some time to adapt to the German-speaking environment.

(50) Angela Dreißigowa/Dreißig (D1, 58)

Ta najmjeńša jednota je swójba. A hdyž my w swójbje budźemy to předźeržeć, budźa naše dźěći też jemol porjadne Serbja. A to wone nětko też su. Te su wšudźoma přeco pódla byli a wšo činili, naš hólc je křižer, naša holca běše přeco družka, mjejemjetanje, wšo štož tajke je: wšudźoma pódla. No. Dokelž ... To je emt, ta swójba. Kaž sym zno ja při započatku też prajiła. Šule, pěstowarnje te jara dźěłaja na tym. A tam so jara ćežko dźěłje. Ale ta swójba, to- Poprawom kaž Wy Waše dźěło pisaće, to je to najwažniše. Pon pak dyrbju ja šće też k tomu prajić, štož sym ja też prjedy prajiła, važne je też, što, kak je to we wjesce. Kak te dźěći, runje te, kiž přińdu ze swójby, hdźež je jen wot staršich Němc, tamny serbsce, zo wone wosebje też do wjeski nutř přińdu.

The smallest unit is the family. And if we persevere in the family, then our children will also become proper Sorbs one day. And that's what they are now. They've always been there and done everything, our boy is an Easter rider, our girl was always družka, maypole throwing[11]**, everything like that: involved everywhere. Yes. Because ... that's just it, the family**. As I said at the beginning. Schools, kindergartens, they work very hard at it. And it's very difficult work there. But the family, that- actually like you write your work, that's the most important thing. But then I also have to say, what I also said earlier, it is also important what, how it is in the village. How the children, especially those who come from a family where one of the parents is a German and the other is Sorbian, that they especially also get into the village.

The above excerpt shows that I introduced my research by stating that I was interested in the private home environment rather than the school environment. Angela was happy to pick up on this and we see that it is linked to her decision to ensure that her children would learn Sorbian from her at home and be educated through German at school. During our interview, Angela did not mention struggles with bilingualism in the family explicitly. (Through separating the Sorbian space for herself and her children from the time they spend together with her husband, she created a space that she governed herself and where she did not let anybody interfere with the practices she chose.) However, her wording 'And if we persevere in the family, then our children will also become proper Sorbs one day,' indicates that transmitting Sorbian in an interlingual family is not an automatism. Putting the use of Sorbian in the family as perseverance shows that there is more to it. Despite this, the positive evaluation of using Sorbian within family ties is clearly recognisable. This also applies to the use of Sorbian in the wider local community, see Angela comment that it is important for the children to 'especially also get into the village'. It is important to note that in quote (50), Angela does not explicitly talk about speaking Sorbian. The language as one of the markers of Sorbian social identity is equated or ranked along with participation in local customs, the local religious life, and

[11] Recordings from two celebrations of the custom: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EspH-LZRZuI (access date: 30.05.2023); https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hW-Tjm9oOsw (access date: 30.05.2023)

community involvement in general. In Angelas case this is conspicuous, because her children nowadays seldom speak Sorbian. But it illustrates nicely how tightly the Sorbian language is linked with the mentioned context to Angela. So, on the one hand, her choice of words may cover up the actual language practices within the family and disregard the state of flux in which the language use in the wider community is. But on the other hand, it reveals the basic positive attitude towards speaking Sorbian in the local community and the extent to which other aspects like participation in customs are equally constitutive for Sorbian social identity and how they cannot be separated.

Thus, in addition to family, the Sorbian language is also positively associated with community life. Apart from Angela, also other participants talk about the importance of community ties for forming a Sorbian identity and fostering language use. I will first discuss an excerpt from my conversation with Angela, in which she directly addresses how closer cohesion and more frequent meetings in the village community would benefit the use of the Sorbian language (51). Using an excerpt from my interview with Daniel Petasch (J2), I would like to show that similar thoughts do not always have to be formulated, but can be implicit in a lively description of communal life in the village (52). Both talk about a strong sense of community in their village during their childhood and youth and regret that this is no longer the case today. Angela fondly remembers being part in an active network of associations during her childhood and youth (51). She says that the Sorbian language could be strengthened again if the work in associations or community life in general in the village were to be intensified again.

(51) Angela Dreißigowa/Dreißig (D1, 58)

Ale naše časy njejsu hubjene byli a mi też woprawdźe ničo falowało njeje. Runje też, štož dyrbi jen prajić, našom času, te cyłe zjednoćenstwa. To je też to, štož tym dźěćom nětko faluje. No, runje naša Domowinska skupina, ta tla je nětko přeco była jara aktiwna a my njejsmy jenož te starše měli, ale my smy też jednu cyle aktiwnu młodźinu měli. […] To je wšo, štož nětko pobrachuje. A z tym, **hdyž by so to zas natwarić móhło, abo kusk wjace zas natwariło we tych wjeskach, sej ja myslu z tym jen też tón cyłu serbsku rěč, zhromadnosć móže zaso kusk natwarić. Hdyž pak jen nětko da wšo běžeć kaž běži, póndźe to přece dale rózno**. Moje měnjenje. A ja sej njemyslu, zo te tak jara hubjenje budźe. M?

But our times weren't bad and I really didn't miss anything. Especially, it has to be said, in our time, all the associations. That is also what the children miss now. Yeah, especially our Domowina group, which was always very active, and we didn't just have the older ones, but we also had a very active youth. [...] That is all that is missing now. And therefore, if this could be rebuilt, or if a little more could be rebuilt in the villages, I think you can also rebuild the whole Sorbian language, the community, a little bit. But if you let everything go on as it is, things will drift further and further apart. That's my opinion. And I don't think it will be that bad. Hm?

Again, Sorbian is linked by Angela to community. She says that if more common activities would be introduced again, 'you can build up again a bit the whole Sorbian language, the community'. To her, community building is on the first place, and language use is a consequence of getting together.

It is fragments like this, where it shines through that Sorbian language maintenance is not obvious. The personal experience of childhood and youth in his village is similarly important to Daniel, who is younger than Angela. In (52), he mentions the youth club, parties, involvement with the firefighters, village festivities and how large numbers of people were involved in organising them. He depicts all of this in a positive, emotional and expressive way.

(52) Daniel Pjetaš/Petasch (J2, 40)

A pon smy my ... also kaž prajene, přeco hromadźe dźerželi, to je super było. […] a pon smy započeli tón jugendclub wutwarić a činić a WŠO sami. A pon smy my […] zaso prěni króč meju stajili. A PON je něšto lós było. My smy FEJty činili, ty, jesusmarja! A to su tež zes WJESki wjele, wjele wjace ludźi tež přišli. Nětk tla, to tla total mało. ... To sy ty sobu měrkwał, zo to kusk šće bóle, na wie sagt man, mehr angenommen war das Ganze. Das war so Dorffeste tež. My smy přeco z wohnjowej wobory te wjesne swjedźenje činili a my smy přeco zno jako dźěći, jako młodostne sobu činili tamle. A pon smy my tam sobu nutř #tukli ((wukli?)), no ... und mitgemacht, das war ... te wjesne swjedźenje, das war schon, dorfleben war schon GANZ anders wie jetzt, hyno. […] Jowle, hier, kermušu. To je něšto jara wosebite było. Wjele, wjele wjace lós było. Wjace pomocniki su tež richtig, also da kannst du jeden, konntest du jeden fragen, die haben immer mitgemacht. Wšojedne štó. Auch die nicht so oft in der Jugend waren oder so. Hattest du die angesprochen, Ja komm ich. To je to, to je echt ...

And then we ... as I said, we always stuck together, which was great. [...] and then we started to build up the youth club and EVERYTHING on our own. And then we [...] put up the maypole again for the first time. And THEN there was something going on. We had parties, Jesus! And many, many more people came from the village. Now, that's just a few. ... You noticed that it was a bit more, how do you say, more accepted. That was, also village festivals. We always did the village festivals with the fire brigade and we always took part there as children, as young people. And then we joined in, yeah ... and took part, that was ... the village festivals, that was really, village life was really different than now, right. [...] Here, here, church fairs. That was also something very special. There was much, much more going on. There were more helpers, so you can ask anyone, you could ask anyone, they always helped. No matter who. Even those who didn't come to the youth so often. If you asked them, Yes, I'll come. That's it, that's really...

Daniel did not grow up with Sorbian in the family, he began to use Sorbian in the community he felt so good in. The positive way in which he describes his youth in the village shows why he was motivated to start using Sorbian. He sums up the attachment to his community in comparison with people whom he experienced to have lost their home (53).

(53) Daniel Pjetaš/Petasch (J2, 40)

Was bedeutet Heimat? Viele haben keine Heimat mehr gehabt. Das habe ich gesagt- deswegen, ich ziehe NIE aus A., ich bin froh, dass ich A. habe, dass ich

die Leute habe, dass ich meine Freunde hier habe, dass ich einen Mittelpunkt habe. Nicht weit zu meiner Verwandtschaft.

What does home mean? Many people did not have a home anymore. That's what I said – that's why I'll NEVER move out of A., I'm glad I have A., that I have the people, that I have my friends here, that I have a centre. Not far from my relatives.

Daniel's positive memories and experiences have meant that his concept of home is now very concrete and that he has taken efforts to live with his family in the place where he was born. Even though he is not talking about the language in the quoted passages, he is talking about the place where the people among whom he feels at home spoke Sorbian to each other.

The association of the Sorbian language with the local customs confirms the connection between the Sorbian language and identity as well as community. Judith Dreißig (D4) tellingly describes the great importance of Sorbian traditions for her (54).

(54) Judith Dreißigec/Dreißig (D4, 28)

A tajke něšto ja tež rady chcem, zo moje dźěći to pon sobu wzaja, a zo wone to tež wuknu a tež tón lubosć namakaja, tež naše tradicije. To je tajke něšto rjane, ja přeco prajim, haj, tajkeho křižerja oder tajku družku, to je něšto jara fajn. A ja wo tym zno tajk-, ja sym zno feuer und flamme za tajke něšto a ja bych to rady, zo moje dźěćo to pon tež mol maja. Dokelž ja tež přeco widźim, ja mam tež wšo tu a to by fajn było, hdyž tam mol irgendněchtó tak nutř rosće a to pon tež tak, tajku lubosć za to dóstanje. Also, mi to šón bych jara ważne było, hdyž ja pon mol dźěći dóstatnjem, zo to pon wšo tak dźe, dokelž pola nas tež wšo tak normal je, zo znajmjeńša tajki, tajki hauch von serbšćina nutřka je.

And I would also like my children to take this with them, and that they also learn this and find this love, also our traditions. That is something so beautiful, I always say, yes, such an Easter rider or such a Družka, that is something very fine. And I'm really, I'm really enthusiastic about it and I would like my child to have it too. Because I always see that I have everything here and it would be great if someone would grow into it and also get such a love for it. So that would be very important to me, if I ever have children, that it all goes like that, because everything is so normal with us that at least such a, a touch of Sorbian is in it.

Judith's choice of words (*tón lubosć namakaja* 'find this love', *Feuer und Flamme* 'really enthusiastic') shows her attachment, and her desire to pass this wealth on to future children confirms it. Now that she is an adult herself, she reflects what is important to her and what she would want to sustain. Even if she perceives Sorbian as a self-evident part of life ('everything is so normal with us') that is closely connected to what is dear to her, her ambitions to transmit Sorbian seem somewhat restrained when finishing to read her utterance ('that at least such a, a touch of Sorbian is in it'). I would not go so far as to say that through this words a recognition of the effort that it probably took to secure this 'touch of Sorbian' shows through. However, I claim that Judith is aware of the change in the linguistic environments in which her mother and she grew up. Judith's environment consists

of many more people who mostly speak German (at least with her or she with them) and she herself is much less secure when speaking Sorbian than her mother. Currently she consciously takes some effort to use more Sorbian – with her mother and with people who are not her close friends. Using the words she did, she sets her goals lower when imagining passing on Sorbian to her future children. Maybe partly in a realistic assessment of the doable and partly to safe herself from disappointment.

A number of statements testify to the closeness that can be built up through the use of Sorbian and show that Sorbian is valued positively. Not quite in this sense, but a nice example of how Sorbian is perceived as useful is the beginning of Vincent Domsch's language biography, in which he reports how Sorbian helped him in language acquisition or learning. Thus he presents his bilingualism as something advantageous right at the beginning of our meeting. In (55) he explains how he acquired the words for certain concepts by drawing on both languages.

(55) Vincent Domš/Domsch (C4, 16)

Em, also, to je zno pla mnje eigentlich započało, hdyž sym ja so narodźił, em, to zno je wot toho momenta zno ja z dwě rěčemi sym horje rostł a em, **to je halt druhdy gut było, hdyž jen jedne serbsce słowo zno znał a pon njeje wědźał, kak to na němsce rěka oder njeje tón woznam na němsce wědźał, pon je jen móhł to też, also, e, pon je něchtó móhł prajić te słowo na serbsce a pon jen wědźał, što to pon woznamjenja**. A, haj, to zno halt mi wjele přinjesło, hdyž sym ja takle rěčeć wuknył, oder tak

Um, well, that actually started with me when I was born, um, that's already, from that moment on I already grew up with two languages and um, **that was sometimes good, if you already knew a Sorbian word and then didn't know how it was called in German or didn't know the meaning in German, then you could also, so, uh, then someone could say the word in Sorbian and then you knew what it meant**. And, yes, that has helped me a lot when I was learning to speak or something.

The example about unknown words is not completely clear, but Vincent likely means that when he did not know a German word yet, others could tell him the Sorbian equivalent which helped him to understand the meaning of the unkown German word. Vincent's quote talks about the advantage of language for communication in general and of the instrumental value of Sorbian for communication. Just as children acquiring two languages may know more of one of their languages, elderly bilinguals with dementia may respond better to one of their languages. This is what Jasmin Domsch (C3) is talking about in (56), when she mentions that knowing Sorbian is an advantage in working with the elderly. I do not take her words about the older generation knowing only Sorbian at face value, but I would certainly agree that individuals may have a strong preference for Sorbian. Therefore, also Jasmin's example shows that Sorbian gets attributed hands-on value.

(56) Jasmin Domšec/Domsch (C3, 17)

ta starša generacija eigentlich móže blos serbsce a hdyž ja nětko zum beispiel […] starowni sobu pomham. Tam su někotre, kotrež halt wjac, kaum něšto wědźa,

blos šće móža halt tón serbsku rěč rěčeć, z tymi móžu ja pon też serbsce rěčeć a to na přikład němske pflegere njemóža pon. A to je echt praktisce.

The older generation actually only knows Sorbian, and when I help out in the old people's home [...] for example. There are some who no longer, who hardly know anything, and can only speak Sorbian, and I can speak Sorbian with them, which German nurses cannot do, for example.

Instead of being strictly necessary, speaking Sorbian may also help creating trust for communication. Philipp Dreißig who remembers having been surprised about the use of Sorbian among physicians (44), also relates his experience with how Sorbian can aid communication with Sorbian-speaking patients (57).

(57) Philipp Dreißig (D3, 30)

Na haj. A dokelž něk tam ta chorownja tam něk je jara wjele serbsce też dźěłaja a pacienty też serbsce maja, tam mi też runje napadnyło, hdyž ty tam te ludźi pon krydnješ, runje te starše, te pon, hdyž ty serbsce z tym rěčiš, ty cyle hinak, also du hast ne ganz andere vertrauensbasis mit dem patienten też. Te pon sami měrkwjeja, na haj, tón nětk móže serbsce a #druhdy/runje te starše, te wot to šće wjele dźerža. Haj. A to maš ty pon hušćišo-

Well, yes. And because the hospital, there are a lot of Sorbian staff and there are also Sorbian patients, I have noticed that when you get the people there, especially the older ones, when you speak Sorbian with them, they are completely different, so you have a completely different basis of trust with the patient. They notice for themselves, well, he can speak Sorbian and #sometimes/especially, the older ones, they still have a high opinion of it. Yes. And you have that often-

The fact that he thinks that 'especially the older ones […] still have a high opinion of it' is another indication that he sees a difference not only in the command of the language between the generations, but also in the attachment to Sorbian. In his own linguistic experience, a special attachment to Sorbian rarely occurs and is limited to the few people who always speak Sorbian to Philipp (see (33) and (38)). And so he tends to see those people as particularly connected to Sorbian who are either older or live in other places where, in his perception, Sorbian is spoken more. For example, he explains that firefighters in another place identify themselves more with their fire engine because it is labelled in both languages (58). Before making this statement (at the end of quote (58)), he describes how the public use of Sorbian – here display 'firefighters' in script – may induce the interest of Germans from outside Sorbian-speaking Lusatia. The reaction of some that they had never heard of the Sorbs is reported by several participants in my study. Usually in such cases, like Philipp, they readily tell them about the Sorbs and I perceived these opportunities as being positive experiences for my participants, given those who asked were genuinely interested. Philipp's answer to the question who the Sorbs were – actually put in a way suggesting that they did not belong to Germany – is a positive formulation of the difference of the Sorbs: 'we're in such a corner where people know Sorbian', therefore people who have additional knowledge from the rest of the citizens.

Note, that again, Philipp says that something like this 'still' (*też šće*) exists. He said it with amusement and in addition *też šće* can also be interpreted as 'too/also/as well', but the implication of Sorbian as something archaic that is being preserved still resonates with his words.

(58) Philipp Dreißig (D3, 30)

Haj. A jedne też šće: naše feuerwehrawto w B., tam su też wobojdwě, also sind beide sprachen drauf auf sorbisch. Jemol na němsce feuerwehr a jemol na serbsce wojenjowa wobora horjeka steji. A to su nam też zno wjele prašeli, hdźe my smy überörtlich zum einsatz jěli, što to überhaupt dyrbi, što to tam horka steji. A to smy tym pon też prajili, das ist-, oder hier bei der herstellung, su pon też prašeli, ob das auto ins ausland geht? Ja sym prajił: nije, my smy tajka, tajki rózk pola nas, kotrež serbsce móža. A pon su prajili: Aha. Pon su też prašeli, na haj, das haben sie ja noch gar nicht gehört so. Ja sym prajił, na haj. Tajke něšto też šće dawa. @
[…] **Też zajimawe je za druzy też. Te so pon też kusk wjace verbunden widźa na tym awto. Też runje w B., dokelž te serbsce rěča tam. Haj.**

Yes, and one more thing: our fire engine in B., there are also both, so both languages are on it in Sorbian. It says "Feuerwehr" in German and "wojenjowa wobora" in Sorbian. And a lot of people have asked us, when we've been out on missions beyond our local area, what it's all about, what's written there. And then we also told them that it was-, or here at the production plant they also asked if the car was going abroad? I said, No, we're in such a corner where people know Sorbian. And then they said: Aha. Then they also asked, well, they haven't heard that yet. I said, well, there are also/still things like that. @
[...] **This is also interesting for others. They feel a bit more connected to the car. Especially in B., because they speak Sorbian there. Yes.**

Another observation that Sorbian can serve as a social door opener was made by Alexandra Bluhme (F1). When she started a new job knowing that a part of her colleagues was Sorbian, she preferred to stay anonymous and did only speak German. She relates how they became affectionate once they learned that she was Sorbian and understands Sorbian too (59). This example most clearly illustrates how the Sorbian language is linked to the community and how someone using it is regarded part of of a common in-group.

(59) Alexandra Bluhmowa/Bluhme (F1, 30)

a to je hakle sčasom pon won přišło tak prajene, zo mózu ja serbsce a to bě jara zajimawe widźeć, zo te Serbja tla ze Serbami hinak wobchadźeja, also tam znajmjeńša, kaž z někim, kotryž němsce powěda. Te su najprjedy přeco byli bóle takle: M, nahaj, a ta młoda holca a njech čini a tak. **A pon su sobu dóstanyli, zo sym ja serbska, a zo ja to zrozumim a najenmol je to jedne cyle hinaše wodwało. A pon te: Ach, mensch, moja luba, a te přińdu a to je bóle luboznosće tak prajene, tane zhromadnosć mjez tymi Serbami**. Kaž hdyž tam, klar jen tak prajene "Němc" přińdźe. To total zajimawe było.

And that only came out over time, so to speak, that I know Sorbian, and it was very interesting to see that the Sorbs, at least there, deal with the Sorbs in a different way than they do with someone who speaks German. At first they were always more like, well, the young girl and, let her do it and so on. And then they noticed that I'm Sorbian and that I understand, and suddenly it was completely different. They said: Oh, my goodness, my dear, and they come and that's more kindness, so to speak, this community among the Sorbs. More like when a "German" comes there, so to speak. It was really interesting.

The strong association of Sorbian with home and the community points to what Cassie Smith-Christmas has observed for Gaelic in the face of language shift. "Language shift after all is a process by which the minority language recedes from certain domains and in this recession process, the domains in which the language remains become even more strongly associated with the language" (Smith-Christmas 2016: 114).

8.3 Sorbian, a language of exclusion

The attitude towards Sorbian as a language of community has its downside in the perception that the use of Sorbian is potentially exclusionary. The lack of knowledge of the Sorbian language among a part of the population limits the value that Sorbian has on the solidarity dimension as soon as a linguistically mixed situation arises. I have already described in chapter 7 that it is a common language practice within the family and also in other contexts to use German in conversations with someone who has no receptive competence in Sorbian, and often also with someone who has receptive competence but does not speak Sorbian. Here, I will discuss the accommodation of majority language speakers with a view to the reasoning for this practice and with a view to the emotions attached to cases where accommodation does not take place. First, I will address how speakers of Sorbian try to avoid potential exclusion of people who do not understand or speak Sorbian from the outset. Secondly, I will discuss reports of experiences of exclusion by speakers of German. I will conlude this section with a glimpse at the fear of gossip mentioned by both.

Speakers of Sorbian often use their competence in two languages to accommodate speakers of German. This is perceived as socially appropriate behaviour precisely because it involves the use of the shared part of the linguistic resources in conversation by those who have a wider linguistic repertoire with those who have a more limited linguistic repertoire. Angela Dreißig (D1) explains this in terms of 'acceptance' in relation to her family and their practice of speaking German in the presence of Jürgen (D2). She says that it is essential for the coherence of the family to be able to talk to each other, so one should choose the language that allows a common conversation and above all, understanding by all members. Sorbian is the language that would marginalise one of the family members if used in his presence, so German is spoken (60).

(60) Angela Dreißigowa/Dreißig (D1, 58)

A to smy my wot cyłeho započatka. Dokelž dyrbju ja cyle sprawnje prajić: **Tam smy my zaso pola: akceptować. To je ważne za jednu swójbu. Dokelž hdyž by jen nětko serbsce rěčał, wón ničo njerozumi, wón kaž kusk do rózka sunjeny. No. A to njesmě so stać, dokelž jedna swójba móže jenož hromadźe dźeržeć, hdyž so jen też zrozumi. A hdyž jen hromadźe rěči**. No. Tam sej ja njemóžu w#. A to smy my poprawom wot cyłeho započatka prajili.

Hdyž sym ja sama- Wón też ženje njeje ničo napřećo tomu měł, ZO ja te dźěći serbsce wuču a zo woni jow też woprawdźe wšudźoma pódla su a wšo. Wón tla też k tomu dźe. A hdyž wón, a hdyž jemu to dosaha, pon wón dźe domoj. Abo wón druhdy też jemol njeje sobu přišoł. Da to běše tak. Nó, hdyž smy nětko w šuli něhdźe něšto měli abo tak. A hdyž je to wšo serbsce było, da je wón em doma wostał. Nó, to z tymi dźěćimi, to je šón mój nadawk pon też był.

And we ((did/said)) that from the very beginning. Because I have to say in all honesty, **here we are back to: acceptance. That is important for a family. Because if you spoke Sorbian now, he doesn't understand anything, he's like a bit backed into a corner. Yes. And that must not happen, because a family can only stick together if you understand each other**. And if you speak to each other. Yes. I can't # there. And that's what we actually said from the beginning. When I'm alone – he's never objected to me teaching the children Sorbian and that they really are everywhere and everything. He also comes along. And when he has had enough, he goes home. Or sometimes he doesn't come at all. Then it was like that. Yes, when we had something at school or so. And if it was all in Sorbian, he just stayed at home. Yes, that was certainly my job, with the children.

The remaining fragment corroborates how Angela applies her own linguistic resources in a compartmentalised way according to whether Jürgen is with the rest of the family (then speaking German) or not (then speaking Sorbian with the children). The monolingual ideal of a harmonious community with one common language makes bilingual language practices undesireable and restricts the use of Sorbian to a separate constructed monolingual space. So, while at first glance the use of German seems to be a strictly pragmatic choice to accommodate for someone who does not understand Sorbian, it also reinforces the asymmetry between German and Sorbian skills and makes accommodation an eternal justification, whereby language spaces that enable the use of Sorbian shrink and disconnect further.

Karola Domsch (C1) who does also mostly speak German in the family when Stephan (D2) is present, says that she principally does not like it when Sorbian is spoken in the presence of people who do not understand Sorbian. During our interview she was very much an advocate for the German-speaking. Talking about her job where she has many Sorbian colleagues, who often speak Sorbian between them, she states that she feels pity for the German colleagues when they cannot follow the conversations between their Sorbian colleagues (61). Karola opposes such a rather assertive use of Sorbian and uses German on her part when working together with colleagues of differing language backgrounds.

(61) Karola Domšowa/Domsch (C1, 44)

C1: Na haj. To pak na dźěle takle pytnješ. To maš ty też druhdy takle te situacije, zo su nětko, zo je jedna němska pódla a zo te pon automatisch zaso započeja serbsce powědać. No. Hdyž ja prajim, m, to tla wona też njerozumi, to tla škoda. Ale te su pon em, tak šćěpjene najskerje […], zo wone praja: Hdyž chceće Wy nětko jowle dźěłać, jow su serbske sobudźěłaćerje, to dyrbiće Wy też jónu, m, to em je tak,

hdyž te serbsce jenož jónu powědaja. To pak ja nětko njefairne namakam, hdyž te pon ničo njerozumja, no.

smi: %m. %m.

C1: Hyno. Ja, also ja přeco hladam, zo my šón spytamy, z tymi pon němsce rěčeć, zo te tež něšto rozumja. Mi to pon žel čini. Na haj. To pak takle wjele pon druhdy, to maš někotrych, te su pon bóle takle: Čehodla dyrbimy nětko ... Ně, my serbsce powědamy a fertig. @@ No. To tajke njeje, to so mi tak njelubi. Na haj. To maš přeco jemol něšto. No. Haj.

C1: Well, yes. But you also notice it at work. Sometimes you have situations where a German is there and they automatically start speaking Sorbian again. Yes. Where I say to myself, hm, she doesn't understand that, that's a pity. But then they are probably so inoculated [...] that they say: If you want to work here, there are Sorbian employees here, you also have to, um, it just happens that sometimes they only speak Sorbian. But I think that's unfair if they don't understand anything, yes.

smi: %m. %m.

C1: Yes. I always make sure that we try to speak German with them so that they understand something. I feel sorry for them. Well, yes. But there are many who sometimes, you have some who are more like: Why do we have to ... No, we speak Sorbian and that's it. @@ Yeah. That's not, I don't like that. Well, yes. There's always something. Yeah. Yes.

Accommodative convergence (switching to German) is perceived as polite and the maintenance of the own preferred language choice (speaking Sorbian) is perceived as unfair. The norm of linguistic subordinantion is not perceived as such because of the asymmetry inherent in the language repertoires and the lack of Sorbian skills in Germans. Those who say that it is important to speak German in groups where Germans are present present their arguments in terms of politeness. Hence their understanding of accommodative behaviour follows a rule of politeness.

Different than Angela and Karola, Alexandra Bluhme (F1) speaks Sorbian to her children in the presence of her German-speaking husband André (F2). However, in contexts beyond the nuclear family she agrees in opinion with them. She told me for instance about her cousins in another bilingual village with whom she and other family members always spoke German. Even with her mother, with whom she normally spoke Sorbian, she spoke German in the presence of her cousins, arguing that it is appropriate to speak German when others do not understand Sorbian (62).

(62) Alexandra Bluhmowa/Bluhme (F1, 30)

Pon smy poprawom wšě němske powědali. To je tež, also ja tla sym kuziny a kuzenki tež měła B. Z tymi smy my komplett němske powědali. A z mamu? To smy my pon tež němske powědali. Pon bě woprawdźe wšo němske. Dokelž jen prajił, to je tež dźensa moje měnjenje, te su einfach tež słuše, hdyž su němsce pódla a te jenoho njezrozumja, zo jen to pon tež němske powěda.

Then we actually all spoke German. That's also, well, I had cousins in B., too. With them we spoke everything in German. And with mum? We also spoke

> German there. Then everything was really German. Because we said, and this is still my opinion today, that if there are Germans around and they don't understand you, it's only right that you speak German.

Alexandra's example about the specific context for using German with her mother with whom she normally spoke Sorbian as a child shows that language choice patterns can differ across domains. While she decided to use Sorbian with her son in the presence of her husband who would not understand it, she does accommodate speakers of German and speaks German to her children in other contexts. It is plausible to see the threshold for using child-directed speech in the presence of someone who does not understand Sorbian as lower than having a conversation between adults or fluent speakers. The former is highly context dependent and provides a lot of cues for what is being said and thus is less prone to create a feeling of excluding someone or being excluded. Complex adult conversations can quickly be overwhelming for someone not understanding the language, while language directed at a child can easier be picked up due to its repetitiveness etc.

Judith Dreißig (D4) makes a further distinction between contexts in which she thinks the accommodation of German speakers is appropriate and those in which it is not necessary. She had a friend who had a very negative opinion about the Sorbs in general. One of his complaints was that they used Sorbian in the presence of Germans, which he considered disrespectful. Although she agreed in principle, Judith firstly defended the Sorbs by arguing that not all of them would continue to speak Sorbian in the presence of someone who did not understand it. Secondly, and more importantly at this point, Judith makes a distinction between a conversation in which a non-speaker is involved and should, in her view, be accommodated, and a conversation in which a non-speaker is only a bystander and not directly involved. While the friend also complained about the latter too, she finds this kind of use of Sorbian perfectly acceptable and appropriate (63). The fact that Judith finds it acceptable to speak Sorbian in the presence of Germans who are not directly involved in the conversation as, may be due to subtle changes in the monolingual ideal or due to more general differences in how firmly people adhere to the rule of politeness. Its validity as a basic norm for coexistence, and how long it takes to overcome the expectation that minority language users should use the majority language, is illustrated by a case from 2003 that gained sad notoriety in the Sorbian-speaking community. It is discussed in detail by Kimura (2014) and concerns an employer's instruction to the employees not to speak Sorbian in the presence of non-Sorbian speakers, under threat of consequences under labour law. It took ten years and a new director before the order was officially lifted (Kimura 2014: 264). This case received a lot of attention, because the order was visibly posted in writing. Similar cases will probably never be documented because the Sorbs involved do not make them public. In 2003, Daniel Petasch (J2) and Frank Symmank (A2) were in their early and middle twenties. In 8.5.1 I will document the experiences they had in their youth with the avoidance of speaking Sorbian outside the Sorbian-speaking area. They date back a little from this incident. However, the fact that the prohibition to use Sorbian in the presence of non-Sorbian speakers was issued in the Catholic Sorbian-speaking area, underlines how deeply rooted the norm of linguistic subordination is. Returning to the quote from Judith, it is also clear that distinctions are made in the strictness of the rule of politeness, depending on whether the conversation was overheard or taken part in.

(63) Judith Dreißigec/Dreißig (D4, 28)

Haj. Ja prajim, haj to je cyle, cyle, schwierig, dokelž to też dosć Serbow, to su dosć Serbow, kiž to pon też genau tak činja kaž wón to widźał a prajił, zo woni to činja, zo woni einfach mol njemóža němsce powědać, hdyž něchtó němsce pódla je, jen Němc. A tajke wěcy, hdy ja prajim, haj, ich versteh dich voll und ganz, ich versteh's auch nicht, wie man sowas machen kann, aber es sind eben nicht alle so. A wón pak přeco wot tym šoł a prajił: Na haj, te to ta wšě tak činja. Te to ta wšě njemóža někak regulěrwać, te ta wšě tak respektlos tym němsku, em, entgegen přińdu a přeco dyrbja serbsce powědać, zo woni móža ablästerwać a tajke něšto. A da ja prajim: Ně, to njeje. To dawa dosć a **ja přeco też na tym eigentlich, na to hladam, zo hdyž wirklich něchtón pódla je, kiž to njemóže, zo ty pon wirklich němske powědaš, dokelž ja też přeco prajim, hdyž ty něhdźe druhdźe přińdźeš, ty so też njewohl čuješ, hdyž te pon, hdyž ty wěš, te móža, a te to pak nječinja**. A da ja też prajim, ně, za mnje je to eigentlich einfach tajki gegenüber, tajki respekt wěca, zo ja prajim, haj, to dyrbi tak być. Zo woni mje też móža, also zo ja, zo woni móža mje rozumić. Obwohl ja přeco praju też, to też **tak dołho kaž ty hromadźe sedźiš, zo TY sy rozmołwješ**, hdyž ja pak pódla sedźim, dokelž wón pon też měnješe: Na haj, tam su też ludźi, kiž eben gefühlt, jedne blido dale sedźa, tak in der großen runde a so poměča a pon serbsce powědaja, to ty nječiniš. Ja sym prajiła: Na haj, aber die reden ja miteinander. Das hat ja mit dir jetzt nichts zu tun. Te voll in ihrem su a te dwejo so pon też rozmołwjeja. Sym ja prajiła: Z tym ja nimam žan problem. Hdyž pon někotři abo hdyž TY w jednym kołje sedźiš a powědaš, sym ja prajiła, pon to něšto hinaše**. Hdyž ty so miteinander tam rozmołwiš. Ja sym prajiła, hdyž woni to separat činja, da hab ich kein problem damit. A to je też prawje, hdyž woni to činja**. Hab ich gesagt, das ist ja was anderes. Nó, ně.

Yes, I say, yes, that's very, very difficult, because there are also enough Sorbs, there are enough Sorbs who do exactly what he perceived and said that they do, that they simply can't even speak German when someone German is there, a German. And things like that, where I say, yes, I understand you completely, I don't understand either how you can do something like that, but not everyone is like that. But he always assumed that and said: Well, they all do it like that. They can't regulate it somehow, they're all so disrespectful towards the Germans, and they always have to speak Sorbian so that they can gossip and stuff like that. And I say: No, it's not like that. There are enough of them, **and I always make sure that if there really is someone who can't do that, that you really do speak German, because I always say that when you go somewhere else, you also feel uncomfortable if they, if you know that they can, but they don't do it**. And I also say, no, for me it's a matter of respect that I say, yes, it has to be like that. So that they can understand me, so that I, that they can understand me. Although I always say it's **so long as you're sitting together, that YOU are talking**, but if I'm sitting nearby, because he also said: Well, there are also people who sit, let's say, one table further away, in a big group, and they talk to each other and then speak Sorbian, that's not okay. I said: Well, but they are talking to each other. It has nothing to do with you. They are fully in their own and the two of them talk to each other. I said: I have no problem with that. Then when some or when YOU sit in a circle and talk, I said, then that's

something else. **If you talk to each other there. I said, if they do it separately, I have no problem with that. And that's right if they do that**. I said that's different. Yes, no.

Judith's account of her friend's complaints reveals a fundamentally sceptical position towards the Sorbs, paints a picture of unreliable people and senses disrespectful gossip in every Sorbian conversation. 'Well, they all do it like that. They can't regulate it somehow, they're all so disrespectful towards the Germans, and they always have to speak Sorbian so that they can gossip and stuff like that.' The most striking formulation is that the Sorbs are unable to control their language use, depicting their language practices as a kind of defect. Thus, the Sorbs are seen both as disrespectful by choice, in that they tend to disregard social or moral norms, and irrevocably disrespectful, in that 'having to speak Sorbian' seems to be part of who they are. In Judith's case, the two have probably argued about these accusations, and others have had encounters in which they have been told that their use of Sorbian is rude. But direct confrontation is not necessary to gain an understanding of the potential for exclusion through speaking Sorbian.

I will now turn to some examples of first-hand experiences of being exposed to Sorbian and feeling overwhelmed. Christina Petasch (J1), who has only limited understanding of Sorbian, describes various gatherings where the Sorbs did not accommodate her, and it is interesting to follow her thoughts as she reasons why they do not speak German when she is part of the crowd. She begins by describing a party at which she did not know most of the people. Christina says that it was very exhausting because people did not know that she did not know Sorbian properly. In the rest of the quoted account she thinks about more recent gatherings, now that she is part of the local community. There, she says, are people who keep forgetting that she does not speak Sorbian or who simply do not care. She mentions those who do not care about her limited ability to participate in conversation last, and expresses a certain loyalty or empathy towards the Sorbs by interpreting their use of Sorbian as unconscious and automatic (64). While for Judith's friend above the uncionsciousness of the Sorbs' language use shows how problematic it is, for Christina the unconsciousness somewhat mitigates that it is problematic. It is important to note that Judith's friend is an outsider and has no interest in participating in anything to do with the Sorbs, whereas Christina is part of the local community and is trying to integrate into it.

(64) Christina Pjetašowa/Petasch (J1, 35)

Und dann waren wir mal, hatte der Geburtstag gefeiert **und die wussten alle nicht, dass ich nicht so richtig Sorbisch konnte**. Und da hab ich mich dort echt zulaufen lassen. @@@ Also das war dann schon anstrengend. Also ich muss sagen, manchmal ist das auch anstrengend, weil gerade bei so Feiern**, es gibt halt echt Leute, die's entweder ständig vergessen, dass du's nicht kannst. Oder denen das eigentlich egal ist**. Ja. Wo ich mich manchmal auch nicht wunder, dass da zwischen Deutsch und Sorbisch manchmal so ein Gerangel ist, sage ich mal. Weil ich hab das schon oft erlebt, dass du, dass jetzt angenommen Jemand mit DIR deutsch spricht, weil der weiß, du kannst nicht Sorbisch und dann sitzt da Eine daneben und die quatscht Sorbisch weiter. **Und der ANdere kommt dann automatisch wieder in das Sorbische und du bist wieder raus**. Also, ... ne, also ich kann das dann auch verstehen, wenn man dann einfach sagt: Die sind total unhöflich. Weil ich steh dann echt total da wie

so'n Plöbs, und dann hast du keinen schönen Abend. Also, ich hab das schon ganz oft gehabt, dass ich dann einfach mein Weinglas hatte und dann hab ich irgendwann abgeschaltet, weil's mir einfach zuviel war. Also Viel ist ja so, dass man ein Wort mitkriegt und dann weiß man: Ok, darum geht's. Aber grade so ins Detail bin ich dann raus. Ja. Genau. @

And then we were once, it had been his birthday party **and they all didn't know that I didn't really know Sorbian**. And I really got drunk there. @@@ So that was indeed exhausting. Well, I have to say, sometimes it's also exhausting, because especially at such parties, **there are really people who either constantly forget that you can't understand it. Or they don't really care**. Yes. Sometimes I'm not surprised that there's such a struggle between German and Sorbian, I'd say. Because I've often experienced that, let's say someone speaks German to YOU, because they know you don't speak Sorbian, and then there's someone sitting next to them, and she goes on chatting in Sorbian. **And the other person automatically reverts to Sorbian and you are out again.** Well, ... No, I can understand if you just say: They are totally impolite. Because then I really stand there like an idiot, and then you don't have a nice evening. Well, I've had that quite often that I've just had my glass of wine and then I've switched off at some point because it was just too much for me. A lot of times you will get one word and then you know: OK, that's what it's about. But when it comes to the details, I'm out. Yes. Exactly. @

Although Christina has some understanding for the Sorb's use of their language, it remains challenging for her. The poignant consequence of getting drunk at an early gathering of many Sorbian-speaking people and the less drastic image of focusing on a glass of wine and zoning out emphasises how demanding the immersion in a language is you are not proficient in. Turning to language practices within the nuclear family, I would like to point out to an instance of feeling excluded that was reported by Patrick Schurig (B2). Patrick, who normally does not mind when Kata (B1) speaks Sorbian with the sons, points out that there are certain moments when it is an overload for him. Patrick describes them as petulant phases, implying that he is not only bothered by unpleasant language use then but irritable in general. As described for the Bluhme family (quoting Anton (F3): (3)), Sorbian is the language used to address the children or the Sorbian-speaking parent and German is the language used to address the German-speaking parent also when all are together. When Kata or one of the sons switch to German it is clear that they address Patrick. In (65) he describes how he zoned out during the Sorbian conversation prior to such a switch to German and admits to subsequently have asked sarcastically why they would want to talk to him now.

(65) Patrick Šurig/Schurig (B2, 49)

Em. Manchmal, wenn ich meine bockige Phase hab und am Tisch nur noch Sorbisch geredet wird, werd ich genauso bockig. Also werd ich dann sowieso bockig, weil ich hab ja dann meine bockige Phase, ja. Ne, das ist ja dann irgendwo, wo ich dann sage: Ah, wisst ihr was, Kata redet mit Karol dann über die Schule oder sowas, und dann sage ich: Naja, dann bin ich außen vor und dann schalte ich ab und dann fragen sie mich auf einmal in Deutsch was, sag ich: Wieso? Was wollt denn ihr jetzt von mir? Nee, also dann werd ich dann auch so

bisschen zickig, weil ich's halt nicht, äh ... Das ist dann so, man fühlt sich dann irgendwo ausgeschlossen.

Um. Sometimes when I am in my petulant phase and there is only Sorbian being spoken at the table, then I get just as petulant. Well, then I get petulant anyway, because then I am in my petulant phase, yes. No, it's a point where I say: Ah, you know what, Kata is talking to Karol about school or something, and then I say: Well, then I'm left out and then I switch off and then they suddenly ask me something in German, I say: Why? What do you want from me now? No, then I get a little bit bitchy, because I just don't, uh ... It's like, you feel left out somehow.

Immediately after the quoted fragment, Patrick puts his strong reaction into perspective and says that by knowing more Sorbian he could avoid such situations (compare excerpt (84)). Just as Patrick, André Bluhme (F2) learned Sorbian along with his children. However, being able to follow child-directed speech or conversations about typical topics, including kindergarten or school, does not mean being prepared for other contexts. André for a short time participated in the activities of a local association. Although he dropped out again mainly due to a lack of time, he also mentions being overwhelmed by the use of Sorbian. Noticeably he experienced a familial cohension among the members of the association, but his personal experience was affected by limited comprehension (66).

(66) André Bluhme (F2, 33)

Und ja, na, das war eben auch so ein familiärer Zusammenhalt. Und aber eben das Sprachliche hat mich dann eben auch wieder üb-, na ja, ein bisschen überfordert eben. Wenn man nicht so richtig Alles versteht und [L.] dann doch eben, weil alle anderen natürlich URsorben waren, immer nur auf Sorbisch oder WEnig auf Deutsch gesagt hat. Ja. Das passte dann einfach nicht so ganz.

And yes, well, that was also a kind of familial bonding. But also the linguistic aspects were - well, they were a little bit overwhelming for me. When you don't really understand everything and [L.], because all the others were of course original Sorbs, he only ever used Sorbian or said very little in German. Yes. It just didn't quite fit.

Returning to Christina Petasch (J1), it becomes clear that accommodation is not a stress-free solution either. She says that she would like others to use German when she is with them but that she does not feel comfortable with the awareness that to them it is an extra effort they take for her (67). She feels sorry when her presence leads to not using Sorbian and on the other hand she feels excluded when the others do not use German with her.

(67) Christina Pjetašowa/Petasch (J1, 35)

J1: Wenn du dann die einzigst Deutsche bist, ist das ECHT ... SCHWIErig, du kommst dir dann manchmal so überflüssig vor, du willst ja auch nicht, dass die jetzt aus ihrem #Rallern dort gerissen werden, aber **es ist halt einfach**

anstrengend, wenn die alle nur wegen dir jetzt sich beMÜhen, umzuswitchen. No, das ist halt, manchmal tut's mir dann Leid und manchmal ist es mir zuviel, dass es man dann manchmal so 'ne ... ja, ... so 'n Gewissenskonflikt, sag ich mal.

smi: Ja. Also, dass du meinst, dass sie versuchen ins Deutsche umzuswitchen oder ...

J1: Ja, **auf der einen Seite, dass ICH-**

smi: Hab ich das richtig mitgekriegt?

J1: **das ja gerne wöllte, dass ich mitreden kann. Aber DIE ja dann sich ständig bemühen müssen**, weißt du. Und dann sind dann solche Abenden, wo ich dann eigentlich auch meistens, wenn ich die Möglichkeit hab, nicht so lange bin. Oder ... Wo's mir dann halt auch einfach selber nichts bringt, sag ich mal so, no, wenn's ... ja ... Gerade wenn du gar keinen #Ausweich hast, weil die alle halt Sorbisch können.

smi: Ja, ja, ja. Genau. No, no.

J1: Sonst kannst du dir ja immer noch 'ne Lücke suchen. Wenn du irgendjemand anderen noch hast, aber ... M. Genau.

J1: When you're the only German, it's REALLY ... DIfficult, sometimes you feel so superfluous, you don't want them to be torn out of their #chatter, but **it's just exhausting when they all make an effort to switch just because of you**. Yeah, it's just, sometimes I'm sorry and sometimes it's too much for me, that sometimes it's such a ... yes, ... such an inner conflict, I guess.

smi: Yes. So you mean that they try to switch to German or ...

J1: **Yes, on the one hand, that I-**

smi: Did I get that right?

J1: **would like to have a say. But then THEY have to make an effort all the time**, you know. And then there are evenings when I usually don't stay that long, if I have the chance. Or ... Where it just doesn't do me any good, I'd say, yeah, when it's... Yes... Especially if you have no #alternative, because they all know Sorbian.

smi: Yes, yes. Exactly. Yeah, yeah.

J1: Otherwise you can always find a gap. If you have someone else, but ... Hm. Exactly.

I am closing this section by briefly mentioning the (feared) accusation of people gosipping when using Sorbian. Sometimes, it is mentioned as a reason for why in certain situations the decision not to use Sorbian is made anticipatory. Here, I will focus on experienced suspicions. Christina describes instances of private talk in public situations as moments of doubt whether others did not gossip (68).

(68) Christina Pjetašowa/Petasch (J1, 35)

Ja, das hat man manchmal so, wenn die Sorbei so mal so für sich schnell reden will @dann @ @@kommt @dann @so, reden sie schnell Sorbisch untereinander und du als Deutscher denkst dann, Haben die jetzt gelästert? Oder ... Ja.

Yes, sometimes it happens that the Sorbs want to talk quickly for themselves @then @it @@comes, they speak quickly among themselves in Sorbian and you as a German think, Have they just been gossiping? Or ... Yes.

The practice that is valued as useful among many of the participants (7.4.5) gets interpreted by Christina in the way it is applied by many, namely 'to talk quickly for themselves'. While it indeed is used that way occasionally (see Jasmin (42)), it is suited rather for a short exchange than for a long gossiping session. When Alexandra Bluhme's (F1) son was born and she began speaking Sorbian with him, she did away with the uneasy fealing of her parents in law and explained them that there is not much to gossip about with an infant (69).

(69) Alexandra Bluhmowa/Bluhme (F1, 30)

F1: Te też wědźa, zo ja njelästerwjem. @
smi: Sy ty měła tón zaćišć, zo su woni druhdy skeptiske, hač to nětko wo nich dźe?
F1: Haj. Haj. Na započatku haj. Ale te pak su wědźeli, zes dźěćom, z małkim dźěćom, pon sym ja prajiła: Što dyrbju ja z tym małkim dźěćom powědać, što z wami je? Ja sym prajiła: To wy njetrjebaće žan strach měć.

F1: They also know that I don't gossip. @
smi: Did you get the impression that they are sometimes sceptical about whether it's about them?
F1: Yes. Yes. In the beginning, yes. But they knew, with a child, with a little child, then I said: What am I going to talk to the little child about what's going on with you? I said: You don't have to be afraid.

Alexandra says that she explained them her intention to teach her child Sorbian and assured them that she would not use the language to hurt them. Again, the fact that child-directed language is easy to read helped to build trust.

8.4 The Sorbs, a closed group

In a few domains and on certain occasions, Sorbian is the unquestioned language. Environments in which Sorbian is the dominant language tend to be situations, in which the number of bilinguals is significantly higher than the number of monolinguals. The above mentioned examples of Christina's and André's experiences at social gatherings and in an association have shown that such spaces can be perceived as very hard to access by people who do not speak and understand Sorbian (well). The Sorbs become perceived as a closed group that separates itself from others. Christina's feeling that there are occasions when the use of German is out of place make her, as someone who does not speak Sorbian, feel uncomfortable about attending. She describes how the language used in an invitation indicates whether Sorbs or Germans are invited to an event (70).

(70) Christina Pjetašowa/Petasch (J1, 35)

J1: manchmal bei den ganzen sorbischen Veranstaltungen, da merkst du halt einfach, dass Deutsche unerwünscht. Also das steht nicht so ... dazu, ne? Aber wenn die ganze EINladung auf Sorbisch ist, und das ist dann manchmal, wo du halt einfach merkst, Nee, das sind so die Sprachräume, die sich ich glaub auch

einfach die Sorben schaffen, wo sie noch ihre sorbisches NUR Sorbisch sein können.

smi: M.

J1: Was auch ok ist.

J1: Sometimes you notice at all these Sorbian events that Germans are not welcome. Well, it's not ... written down that way, is it? But when the whole inviTAtion is in Sorbian, and that's when you notice sometimes: No, these are the language spaces that I think the Sorbs create for themselves, where they can still be their Sorbian ONLY.

smi: Hm.

J1: Which is fine.

Christina experiences a reversed version of the monolingual ideal. The monolingual ideology implies that German as the key to community cohesion can be used as a neutral language in linguistically mixed situations, and leads to the seemingly conflict-free omission or disregard of Sorbian. Against this background, I see the spaces in which the position of the neutral language is claimed for Sorbian and in which the use of Sorbian is possible without much consideration or conflict. The result is a multilingualism that is compartmentalised into separate monolingualisms in which there is no doubt about the overall dominant language with regard to the included domains. Sorbian spaces tend to integrate meaningful German, while German spaces may integrate Sorbian at least symbolically. While a bilingual invitation does not indicate the extent to which both languages will be used during an event, an invitation written entirely in German does not suggest much use of Sorbian, and one written entirely in Sorbian may imply that Sorbian will be used without excuse. Both monolingual approaches are sometimes challenged, but generally accepted. Although in her example Christina tells the story of the Sorbs as a closed group, she ends up concluding that it is all right if the Sorbs separate themselves to be able to speak Sorbian. The challenge lies in the fact that while one can claim free of emotion that Sorbian-dominant spaces are crucial for language use and maintenance, in real life, personal encounters with linguistically inaccessible spaces and events can be emotionally charged. Despite of Christina's sharp awareness of her linguistic environment, her account suggests resignation rather than motivation to overcome the language barrier.

Someone who takes a more critical stance towards the separation of Sorbian and German spaces and imagines a much more fluid and inclusive space is Alexandra Bluhme (F1). I allow her to speak in a very long excerpt (71). Alexandra's outlook is a positive one, where she envisages an opening up of the Sorbian community to pave the way for speakers of German to learn more about and get to know the Sorbs and, importantly, also to learn the language. She is very enthusiastic about developing this vision, but without ignoring possible obstacles. Alexandra is of the opinion that the Sorbian language will definitely loose ground if the community does not open up and if the language spaces continue to be separated. Her plea for opening up the Sorbian community is a plea for taking risks for a possible gain, rather than avoiding risks and having the certainty of loss.

(71) Alexandra Bluhmowa/Bluhme (F1, 30)

F1: Ja sej myslu, to so jow też runje cyle wjele wočini. Jen měrkwje, jow so cyle wjele hiba, zo so wjele zas nowe skónčnje nastaji. Zo my skónčnje tla zas jemol

nowy puć jow nutř dóstanjemy. A ja sej myslu, jow wjele dołho spodźiwnje běžało. A einfach, zo te ludźi so zas wotewrjeja, jen nowe wěcy, za nowe einfach też zas tu je. A wjele też jemol přemysli, ČEhodla tak běži. Nic jenož nětko, štož wěra, ale też praji, eben, štož wo rěč dźe. Kak móže jen hinak myslić**. A ja też prajim: Čehodla w Kamjencu na šuli njedawa žana serbšćina?** […] A to je přec prajene: Ně, to njedawa, štóž chce serbske wuknyć, móže do Budyšina hić. Wot koho to přišło, ja njewěm, ale zo sej ja myslim, **čehodla jen to einfach njeje wotewrjeny a praji, a hdyž jen jenož jednu AG čini serbšćinu. Zo jen te ludźi za serbšćinu tak prajene też zajimować móže, zo woni praja: Ej, to je jedna zajimawa rěč, ja chcem to wuknyć**. A ja sej myslu, to ma też z rěč něšto činić. Přez to, ZO te Serbja praja: Ně, jenož pola nas, by jen so bóle wotewrěł a Kamjencu a tak też te serbšćinu bóle wočinił, njeby też te ludźo wotwonka też tak přez nas Serbja myslili. Kak husto sym ja słyšała: Ihr Sorben, ihr seid ja ein Volk für euch und ...! Ja sej myslu, to by jen wjele wjac móhł też za to, zo te praja, ok, akceptancu # hdyž by jen so bóle wotewrěł.

smi: A kak by ty mysliła, jowle, tene serbšćinu takrjec jako, też einfach jako poskitk za wšěch. Abo ...

F1: Nó.

smi: Abo- dokelž to tla pon też zaso jen rozdźěl je, hač jen přinjese něšto sobu abo hač jen einfach chce jemol něšto zeznać.

F1: To, to je ćežko. Ale ja sej myslu towodla, też, hdyž jen to hromadźe přiwjeze. **Te Serbja, kotrež zno maja pozadk a te nic. Samo te hromadźe móža sej mjezsobu něšto pokazać. Móža sej mjezsobu pomhać tón rěč nawuknyć. A ja sej myslu, to nječini jenož něšto zes rěču, tak jen lochšo tón rěč nawuknje, ale też te socialne a tak prajene, tón akceptancu wjele lěpšo přiwjeze. Also ja sej myslu hromadźe njeje hubjene**. […] Also to njeje było hubjene, hdyž jen druhdy takle za sebje je, ale wjele wjace hromadźe přiwjesć! Też, zo so jen hromadźe to wuknje. To by ja sej wjele wjac přała**. Ale genau tak kaž nětko w zakładnej šuli. Wjele wjace HROmadźe wzać. A jen tla tak prajene do tej rěče NUTŘ PŘIŃdźe. A to NUTŘ wuknje. Hdyž jen nutřka je tak prajene. Kak su wone prajili?: Eintauchen in die Sprache und Mitschwimmen**. To šće ja so móžu takle ...

smi: Haj, haj.

F1: **To njeńdźe pola kóždeho hić. Njeklopwje pola kóždeho. Ale ja sej myslu pola wjele by to echt wjele přiwjezło. Zo jen einfach też tene, so bóle wočini**.

smi: Haj. A mysliš sej ty, zo by za to jen, zo by zajim za to był też pola druhich, hdyž by jen nětko dale do toho směra šoł? Kak sej ty myslič, kak bychu ludźo takrjec k tomu ... ?

F1: O, ja sej myslu, runje, štož nětko naša generacija je. Also te młode, ja sej myslu, te buchu jara wjele wotewrjene byli. Ja sej šón myslu, zo bychu to jara wjele sobu činili a hdyž jen to woprawdźe wot započatka komunicěrwje a praji: Hier, tak chcemy to činić, zo jen woprawdźe wot započatka te ludźi sobu wza a kóždy swoje ideje móže sobu nutř přiwjesć, ja sej myslu pon jen by wjele zajimcy móhł za to namakać. Tón problem je halt, štož ja husto widźim, to hodwje wšo zno hotowe činjene a praji: Hier, jow wy maće! Takle wodwje činjene, čińće sobu! To te ludźi halt přec kusk bóle, m. Ale hdyž jen pak wot započatka praji: Ej, pójće, my chcemy, to je ta ideja, činiće wy sobu? Ja sej by móła předstajić, zo to wjele

sobu činja a zo to wjele zajimce so namakaja. Oju. Gut, #wot #samo, w Kamjencu, gut ja hišće njemóžu, ja njewěm, kak te tamne takle su. Jen wša so tak dołho njeznaje a ja sej by móhła šón předstajić, zo tam wjele su, kotrež zajim maja za te Serbstwo. A kotrež bychu to RAdy chcyli jemol bóle znać wuknyć. Dokelž jen dyrbi też widźeć […]to su někotre […]: Die Sorben, was ist denn das? Wo wohnen denn die? A te su wot KAmjenca wot wokoliny přišli. A njejsu NIčo wědźeli, što to je. Hdyž ja prajim: TO šón je ... (Hx) @zajimawe. @ Zo jen nic jemol dźesać kilometry dale njewě, što to je a štó to je.

F1: I think that a lot is opening up here right now. You can see that a lot of things are in motion here, that a lot is finally being re-establishing anew. That we are finally finding a new way in here. And I think a lot of things have been strange here for a long time. And just that people are opening up again, that new things, that people are just ready for something new again. And thinking a lot about why things are going the way they are. Not only in terms of faith, but also in terms of language. How can one think differently. **And I also say: Why are there no Sorbian lessons at school in Kamenz?** [...] And they always say: No, that's not possible, if you want to learn Sorbian, you can go to Bautzen. I don't know from whom that came from, but I think to myself, **why don't you just open up and say, and if you only have a Sorbian after-school club. So that people would be interested in Sorbian, so that they would say: Eh, that's an interesting language, I want to learn it**. And I think that also has something to do with the language. By the fact THAT the Sorbs say: No, only here with us. If we were to open up more, and also open ((an offer of)) Sorbian in Kamenz and so on, then people from outside wouldn't think that way about us either. How often have I heard: You Sorbs are a people of your own and ...! I think we could do a lot more for them to say, ok, acceptance # if we were to open up more.

smi: And how would you think, here, Sorbian, so to speak, as, also simply as an offer for everyone. Or ...

F1: Yes.

smi: Or- because that's another difference, whether you bring something with you or you just want to get to know something new.

F1: That's difficult. But I still think that if you bring it together**. The Sorbs who already have a background and those who don't. Even together they can show each other something. Can help each other to learn the language. And I think that doesn't only do something for the language, that it's easier to learn the language, but it also does something for the social aspect and brings, so to speak, acceptance much better. So I think together is not bad.** [...] So it wasn't bad to be on your own sometimes, but still, bring people together much more! Also that you learn together. I would like to see that much more. **But just like now in primary school. Much more together. And you sort of get into the language. And learn into it. WHEN you are in it, so to speak. What did they say? Dive into the language and swim along**. I can still remember that...

smi: Yes, yes.

F1: **It won't work for everyone. It doesn't work for everyone. But I think it would really help a lot of people. Just to open up more.**

smi: Yes, and do you think that there would be an interest in that, also among others, if we went further in that direction? How do you think people would, so to speak, ...?

F1: Oh, I think, especially our generation. So the young people, I think a lot of them would be open. I think that a lot of people would join in and if you really communicate it from the beginning and say: Here's how we want to do it, that you really take people along from the beginning and everyone can contribute their ideas, I think you'd find a lot of people interested. The problem is, what I often see is that everything has already been done and said: Here, here you have it! This is how it's done, join in! People are always a little bit more, hm. But if you say from the beginning: Eh, come on, we want to, that's the idea, will you join in? I could imagine that a lot of people would join in and a lot of people would be interested. Yes, well, #from #alone, in Kamenz, I can't, I don't know what they're like there. You don't know each other for so long and I could imagine that there are many people there who are interested in Sorbian. And who would like to get to know it better. Because you also have to see [...] there were some [...]: What are the Sorbs? Where do they live? And they came from the area around KAmenz. And they knew NOTHING about what that is. Where I say: THAT is already ... (Hx) @ interesting. @ That even ten kilometres away you don't know what it is and who it is.

As I will show in the next section, the risks are high. The positive attitude of non-speakers often manifests itself in a view of Sorbian as a valuable old heritage worth preserving, rather than as a sympathetic means of communication. Their motivation to learn Sorbian tends to be limited to understanding Sorbian or being able to interact in child-related activities and speech. The latter also is also the context in which speakers of Sorbian seem to be most inclined to use Sorbian, disregarding the limited language competence of non-speakers. If the norm of accommodation discussed in 8.3 were to persist, an opening up would not lead to more speakers of Sorbian, but would run the risk of further reducing the use of Sorbian to a symbolic use serving the need to perform group identity.

8.5 German, the legitimately or unavoidably dominant language

Sometimes, the dominance of German comes through subtly in the use of words, and sometimes it is implied in descriptions and explications of instances of accommodation or linguistic subordination. People are usually aware of the habitual accommodation and subordination. They may accept it and either explain it, or find it so obvious that they do not mention it. They may also regret it and either do something about it or not challenge it. Challenging these patterns of language choice may begin in certain domains and environments while still conforming to them in others. The norm to speak German is most evident in the German-dominated environment outside the bilingual area. Within the bilingual area, the instances in which the use of German is expected are negotiated more variably and subtly. In this section I will first discuss instances in which speaking Sorbian is not obvious to speakers of Sorbian. Then I will discuss how learning or speaking Sorbian is not obvious to speakers of German.

8.5.1 When Sorbian is not the obvious or preferred choice to speakers of Sorbian

The following short and concise summary by Judith Dreissig (D4) is an excellent illustration of the dominance of German.

(72) Judith Dreißigec/Dreißig (D4, 28) (compare the longer excerpt (34))

a to so pon eigentlich też tak dale ćahnyło, zo my přeco smy wědźeli, z tych ty dyrbiš pon też němsce powědać, a z tych móžeš ty serbsce powědać.

and it continued in such a way that we always knew that you would have to speak German with those people and that you could speak Sorbian with those people.

German is necessary and Sorbian is additional, optional. With the exception of certain people with whom Judith's relationship is or was shaped by Sorbian (see also (34)), Sorbian is the optional language. This has to do with the instrumental value of German when the other person does not know Sorbian, and it has to do with the habit of language choice in groups, according to which one person without Sorbian language skills is enough for German to be spoken. The 'have' therefore has a component of the inevitable, but also a component of the morally right. The 'can' in turn has a component of possibility, but also a component of limitation through optionality. Sorbian cannot be used on as many occasions as German.

The question now is how the participants in the study find out when they can use Sorbian. For example, I asked them how they speak to people they do not know or how they find out whether they speak Sorbian. Not surprisingly, it turns out that most of them do not try to find out at all. Judith, for example, says quite clearly that strangers would have to speak to her in Sorbian in order to find out whether she speaks Sorbian (73). Towards the end of our interview Judith told me that ahead of our interview she thought about in which language to do it and that German was her comfort zone. When I began to speak Sorbian to her, however, she did not know how to decline my language choice and then decided to try to comply with it. I then admitted that I had thought a lot about in which language I would approach the participants. I chose Sorbian because I was afraid that if I began in German, in some cases I would not get to know if the conversation would have had been possible in Sorbian as well. Judith agreed. Despite the fact that in Judith's case linguistic insecurity plays a role for her to mainly approach others in German, she also orients according to the perceived expectation to speak Sorbian. If she enters a space where people already converse, she uses Sorbian if everybody speaks Sorbian. When others approach her in German though, she does not try to find out whether they could speak Sorbian. When greeting people, she uses Sorbian in those villages she knows that most people speak Sorbian, but German in those villages where she knows people less well and the chance to address a speaker of German is greater. She says that she feels awkward to greet someone in Sorbian who turns out to speak German and recalls an experience when after the initial exchange of Sorbian greetings she identified an unknown person as speaker of Sorbian and started to talk in Sorbian, whereafter that person said not to understand Sorbian.

(73) Judith Dreißigec/Dreißig (D4, 28)

smi: Also nětko jow, w tych swójbach, to tla jen pon sobu krydnje też. Ale hdyž jen druhdy też wonka po puću je, druhdy to einfach schowane wostanje, hyno.

D4: Na haj, genau. **Hdyž ze mnu něchtó njepowěda serbsce, pon wón też njezhoni, zo ja serbsce móžem**.

smi: So now here, in the families, you notice it at some point. But when you're out and about, sometimes it just stays hidden, doesn't it?

D4: Well, exactly. **If someone doesn't speak Sorbian to me, they don't find out that I speak Sorbian**.

When I first met Jasmin Domsch (C3), I joined her while she was chatting in a group of three. They were speaking German. I knew the others casually and as far as I remember, I tried not to disrupt their conversation too abruptly – possibly greeting them with a language-neutral "halo". At some point one of them asked me about my current activities and I began to tell them about my research project on Sorbian-German families. Sometime around that point we switched to Sorbian. Actually, one of the two did not speak during the further conversation, but followed the conversation and signalled participation visually, by nodding etc. I cannot forgive myself until today not having taken a note about how the language switch came about. As far as I remembered, it was not me who began to speak Sorbian. During the interview with Jasmin, I said that I did not remember when the language change occurred. Interestingly, she said that it was clear that the language to use with me was Sorbian. Thus, unfortunately, nothing can be said about the context of the switch. However, our dialogue revealed that Jasmin was surprised to see that her acquaintances would actually know Sorbian and it turned out that the three had met several times but did not know each other that well. In the following, I will quote a longer excerpt from our conversation and highlight the thought process (74).

(74) Jasmin Domšec/Domsch (C3, 17)

smi: My tla smy, hdyž smy so my B. tam na tym [… ((zarjadowanju))] zeznali, sym ja wam kusk k tomu přišła. Dokelž sym ja L. a N. znała žno. Also z N. zno sym ja jemol někak rěčała a L. sym ja też kusk znała, also nic Bóh wě kak derje. **A, wy šće na započatku němsce rěčeli. A my smy pon irgendwann přišli přez to, dokelž kusk ta rozmołwa přišła na to, što ha ja nětk eigentlich činim.** A pon sym kusk započała powědać.

C3: **A #pon/my smy wšě serbsce rěčeli, haj**.

smi: A ja njewěm, irgendwann smy my přeskočili. Ja pak wjace njewěm, hdy. Ich glaub, ja to njejsym była, ale ja njejsym sej wěsta.

C3: Haj, ja dyrbju, ja sym najskerje irgendwie pon **… Ale ja gor njejsym wědźała, also ja sym L. kusk takle znała. Sym sej mysliła: Ok, němsce rěči, přeco němsce takle**, no, ab und zu widźała na [… ((zarjadowanje))] němsce **a też do toho, ja sym z L. přeco do toho tam też zno stała a tam su też přećele wot jej přišli a z tej němsce rěčeli. Ja sej myslach: M, ok, přeco němsce rěča**. **Pon šće N. dazu přišła**, tón sym ja jen, dwě mole po [… ((zarjadowanje))] widźała, ta pola nas też mol była.

smi: Achso.

C3: **Z tej sym ja też myslała: Ok, ta też němsce rěči. Z tymi su wone też přeco němsce rěčeli. Pon sym ja z tymi halt němsce rěčała. A pon sy ty přišła a pola tebje bě klor serbsce, a pon smy započeli. A pon sym ja sej myslała: Te tla serbsce rěča, te móža serbsce! Ja gor njejsym wědźała!**

smi: M. M.

C3: **To ja gor menich gor njejsym wědźała, zo te to też móža. Přez to smy najskerje němsce rěčeli. A te su bestimmt te samsne wot mnje też myslili**.

smi: Haj, haj.

C3: @@@

smi: Hačrunjež ja njewěm, ich glaub, N. je, oder irgendněchtó je prajił: Na, to tla móžeš ty sobu činić! ((zo móže so C3 na mojich slědźenjach wobdźělić)) Abo sy ty sama prajiła? Abo sy ty započinała powědać, kak to pola was doma było, to też móžno.

C3: Haj, bestimmt.

smi: To ja njejsym sej wěsta. Ale ja pon blos, **dokelž L., tam ja njejsym sej wěsta. Also wona garantiert něšto rozumi, ale ja em też njewěm, kak wjele**.

C3: **M. Bóle němsce, #hyno**

smi: T- tak derje, gut, to sym ja mjenujcy wćipna była, kak to pon ...

C3: Haj, tak derje ja tych šće gor njeznajem, přez to ...

smi: Ach, cool, widźiš, da bě to wšo jen wulki-

C3: **Ja sej myslach, te su halt komplet němsce**, also

smi: připad. Na, N. nic, ně.

C3: **A pon sym ja też zhoniła, zo N. čini nětko tene**, [... ((dźěłowe městno))] **a ja sej myslach: Ok. A pon tam też přeco něšto serbsce dazu stajiła** ((najskerje w socialnych syćach)). **A nowinje też. A ja sej myslach: Ok, ta je serbska** @@@@.

smi: When we met in B. at [... ((the event))], I joined you a little. Because I already knew L. and N.. I had already spoken to N. once and I also knew L. a little, but not who knows how well. **And you spoke German in the beginning. And at some point we, because the conversation turned a bit to what I was actually doing at the time**. And then I started to talk a bit.

C3: **And then we all spoke Sorbian, yes.**

smi: And I don't know, at some point we switched. But I don't know when. I don't think it was me, but I'm not sure.

C3: Yes, I must, I've probably somehow ... **But I didn't know at all, well, I knew L. a little bit. I thought: OK, she speaks German, always German**, yeah, I've seen her sometimes in [... ((event))] German **and also before, I've already stood there with L. and friends of hers have also come there and spoken German with her. I thought: Hm, ok, they always speak German. Then N. came along**, I saw her once or twice at [... ((event))], she was also with us once.

smi: I see.

C3: **I thought of her too: OK, she also speaks German. They always spoke German with them too. So I also spoke German with them. And then you came and it was clear that you spoke Sorbian, and then we started. And then I thought: they speak Sorbian, they can speak Sorbian! I didn't know that at all!**

smi: Hm. Hm.

C3: I **didn't know that they could also speak Sorbian. That's probably why we spoke German. And they must have thought the same of me.**

smi: Yes, yes.

C3: @@@

smi: Although I don't know, I think N. is, or someone said: Well, you could take part! ((C3 could take part in the research)) or did you say that yourself? Or did you start talking about what it was like at home, that's also possible.

C3: Yes, for sure.

smi: I'm not sure about that. But then I just, **because L., there I'm not sure. I'm sure she understands something, but I don't know how much.**
C3: **Hm. More German, #isn't**
smi: Th- that well, well, because I was curious how that would ...
C3: Yes, I don't really know them that well yet, so...
smi: Oh, cool, you see, so it was all a big-
C3: **I thought they were completely German**, so...
smi: coincidence. Well, N. not, no.
C3: **And then I also found out that N. is now doing this** [... ((job))] **now and I thought: OK. And then she also always put something Sorbian there** ((probably on social media)). **And also in the newspaper. And I thought: Ok, she is Sorbian** @@@@.

When I say that they were speaking German when I joined them, Jasmin remembers that we switched languages. But for her, it is not important when the switch took place. She begins to remember how surprised she was that the other two spoke Sorbian. Since Jasmin has met L. as a German-speaking person and had previously also heard others speaking German with L., their conversation was in German. Jasmin also remembers hearing others speak German to N. When the language changed to Sorbian after I joined the group, Jasmin noticed for the first time that that her acquaintances spoke Sorbian. Later, she also saw that N. probably posted in Sorbian on social media (which is my interpretation of Jasmin's statement, which is a bit vague) and that she had written something for the (probably Sorbian) newspaper, or someone had written about her. So Jasmin concludes 'Ok, she is Sorbian' and laughs. Interestingly, she reasons that they spoke German because neither of them knew that the other could speak Sorbian. This suggests that Jasmin is quite open to using Sorbian when others speak it. This is also supported by Jasmin's statement that she thought they were 'completely German' when we wonder about whether L. speaks Sorbian and how well she understands it. It seems that Jasmin found our conversation pleasant or at least not strange and did not notice negatively that L. had not said much. Despite this openness to speaking Sorbian, the above extract from my conversation with Jasmin shows above all the finely tuned attention to whether someone speaks German in the first encounters with unknown people. Whenever the clues suggest that this is the case, German is chosen for the conversation with this person. As a result, the possibility of speaking Sorbian remains unnoticed. Like Jasmin, many people do not proactively approach others in Sorbian or ask them if they know it. Rather, language choice is guided by initial cues. In this way, even in the Catholic area, where one could assume that at least every second person would at least understand it, the opportunities to speak Sorbian are disconnected.

The monolingual ideology shows more clearly outside Sorbian-speaking Lusatia when the question of whether or whether not to adapt to the surroundings arises. In the Domsch family, Stephan (C2) is said to prefer when the family members speak German with each other. In quote (75), Karola (C1) mentions that he is vigilant about this, laughing, and says that she is not so strict about it.

(75) Karola Domšowa/Domsch (C1, 44)
C1: Na haj, my smy, Stephan je, mój muž je jara, jara, jowle, hdyž my němdźe smy, zo my ja němsce powědamy. Also serbsce powědać němdźe w cuzbje, to njeje fajn. @
smi: Haj.

C1: No, to tón přeco jara ... To zno ja nětko sym kusk wotpołožiła. Ja to pon druhdy towa serbsce powědam z Jasmin a z Vincentom. Oju. To tón pon jara na to dźiwa.

C1: Well, we have, Stephan has, my husband is very, very, I mean, when we are somewhere, that we do speak German. So, to speak Sorbian somewhere out of place, that's not nice. @
smi: Yes.
C1: Yes, he's always very ... I've already put that aside a bit. Sometimes I speak Sorbian with Jasmin and Vincent anyway. Yes, he pays a lot of attention to that.

Karola uses both languages with her older children when the family is on vacations or a trip. Here I claim, that we nicely see how children's agency and their own preferences play into the language practices in a family. In (31) I have cited Vincent, who says that he cannot and will not change the preferred language when he is in an unknown place. Hence likely Karola is more prone to speak Sorbian with the children because they do not speak German with her, as Stephan might prefer. Christina Petasch (J1) recalls that her father had a totally different stance when the family went for holidays together. He even preferably spoke Sorbian in non-Sorbian environments. In quote (76) Christina describes how he could not understand that others behaved differently during holidays and did not attend Mass and did not speak Sorbian then.

(76) Christina Pjetašowa/Petasch (J1, 35)
J1: und wenn L. hier irgendwie ... im Urlaub oder so war, da sind die auch nicht in die KIRche gegangen und dann haben die sich auch immer übelst angepasst. Also dann reden die die ganze Zeit deutsch, dass JA keiner mitkriegt, dass die irgendwie 'ne andere Sprache oder- Das konnte der überHAUPT nicht verstehen.
smi: Der L. aus B. oder ...?
J1: Ja. So, Das gehört doch daZU! Mein Vater war ja IMmer so Überall, also am besten noch im URlaub, so, Wir kommen woanders her.

J1: and when L. was somehow ... was on holiday or something, they didn't go to church either and then they always adapted completely. So they speak German all the time, so that nobody notices that they somehow speak another language or- He couldn't understand that AT all.
smi: L. from B. or ...?
J1: Yes. Like, But that's PART of it! My father was ALways, EVERYwhere, so, especially on HOliday, like, We come from somewhere else.

Christina is slightly amused by the insistence of her father. She seems to see it a bit as a performance ('like, We come from somewhere else.'), since they in general did not have any Sorbian conversations. The different positions show that the preferences are not unanimous and that some, like Christina, are more aware of the subordination than others. In the example cited, it also plays a role that Christina's family did not live in the Sorbian-speaking part of Lusatia and that speaking Sorbian was unusual in this environment anyway. L., on the other hand, lived with his family in a Sorbian village and usually spoke Sorbian there.

Cases in which people do not speak Sorbian in order to avoid trouble also clearly speak of its subordinate status in relation to German. My participants talked about this in retrospect, as in the next example, and also pertaining to current experiences. Frank Symmank (A2) remembers his youth and says that he and his colleagues never spoke Sorbian outside the Sorbian-speaking villages. In the fragment already cited in (9), Frank said that he nowadays is not afraid anymore to use Sorbian in private conversations during holidays. The fragment provided next, (77), is the continuation of Frank's account, in which he explains that as an adolescent, he did not dare to speak Sorbian in other places. The villages he mentions are places adjacent to Sorbian villages and have a Sorbian place name besides the German one.

(77) Frank Symank/Symmank (A2, 45)

A2: Prjedawšich časach, haj, **hdyž smy my młodostne byli, my sej to njejsmy zwěrili**, to je fakt było, dokelž smy my, **my so njejsmy nětko za to hańbowali, ale** zo, zo, zo pf(Hx), **jen ženje njeje wědźał, kak te druhe reaguja na to**. No, to je ...

smi: Haj.

A2: Punkt. A nětko je to hinak. Kaž prajene, nětko je to bóle multi kulti, nětko je to też wšo bóle kak dyrbi jen nětko prajić, bóle aufgeklärt.

smi: Haj.

A2: No, štož to je, kaž to je w mojej młodostno-, štož sym ja měnił z toho kónca, z J. ((German name of village)) oder J. ((Sorbian name of village)) tam, K. ((Sorbian name of village)), te njejsu byli takle, za tych su to byli wšo něhdźe někajke idioty, kotrež jow w Serbach něhdźe wokoło lětaja.

smi: **A šće wy to jónu někajke njelube dožiwjenja měli**? Also hdyž, hdyž někak, also hdyž je jen serbsce rěčał, a zo je pon něhdźe někak, also ...

A2: Ně.

smi: Maće wy to někajke dopomnjenki?

A2: %m%m %m%m %m%m

smi: To pak je einfach też, #

A2: Kaž prajene, jen to, **jen to njeje unbedingt prowokował**.

smi: Nó, nó.

A2: Dypk.

smi: M.

A2: My to njejsmy ženje też jow w našich młodostnych, oder našich cyłych, w mojej starobje oder tajke něšto. Jen to njeje prowokował. Dypk. Dokelž tak nationalistisch šće my to też njejsmy. A zo ja dyrbju nětk unbedingt, kaž sym ja prjedy prajił, ja też njeńdu ze serbskej chorhoju jow nihdźe wokoło ćahać.

A2: Before, yes, **when we were young people, we didn't dare**, that was a fact, because we did, **we weren't ashamed of it, but** that, that, that pf(Hx), **you never knew how the others would react to it**. Yes, that's ...

smi: Yes.

A2: Full stop. And now it's different. As I said, now it's more multicultural, now everything is more, how shall we say, enlightened.

smi: Yes.

A2: Yes, when it comes to that, in my youth, what I meant earlier, from that corner, from J. ((German name of village)) or J. ((Sorbian name of village)) there, K.

((Sorbian name of village)), they weren't, for them they were all some kind of idiots who were running around here in the Sorbian ((villages)).

smi: **And did you ever have any unpleasant experiences**? Well, when, when somehow, when someone spoke Sorbian, and then somehow, well ...

A2: No.

smi: Do you have any memories?

A2: %m%m, %m%m, %m%m

smi: But that is also simply, #

A2: As I said, one, **one didn't necessarily provoke that**.

smi: Yes, yes.

A2: Full stop.

smi: Hm.

A2: We also never did that here in our youth, or in our whole, in my age or something. It wasn't provoked. Full stop. Because we are not that nationalistic. And that I would need to, as I said earlier, I'm not going to parade around here somewhere with the Sorbian flag.

Frank clarifies that it was not because of being ashamed of speaking Sorbian that they spoke German but because of being afraid of negative reactions from others upon being recognised as Sorbs. When asked whether they have had any unpleasant encounters, he vehemently negates and says that they never tried to use Sorbian. The words he uses emphasise the monolingual ideology being in operation: 'You did not provoke it.', hence speaking Sorbian being a provocation. Whereas it is not clear what 'it' might be, what could be triggered by speaking Sorbian, the anticipation that something bad could happen, shows the abnormality connected to speaking another language than German. The language choice in Frank's description is conspicuously guided by a firm nation-state ideology that begins to link the German language as soon as to the first village whose inhabitants do not speak Sorbian. Parallelly, speaking Sorbian is also confined to a limited territory. Strikingly enough, Frank adds that he is not a nationalist and will not show off as a Sorb ('I'm not going to parade around here somewhere with the Sorbian flag') at home, somehow linking assertive language use with nationalism. That is, nationalism is negatively connotated to him and he links with this a language use that signals which particular language is the expected language. In concrete terms, Frank is pleased not to make others feel bad about speaking German instead of Sorbian and gladly uses all his linguistic resources to converse with others. The thing is just that while rejecting a Sorbian nationalism, he accepts, may it be readily or less readily, German nationalism by anticipatory subordinating to the language associated with the German state.

As Frank's account suggests, the understanding that speaking Sorbian can potentially lead to trouble is not acquired individually by those who themselves have had unpleasant experiences when speaking Sorbian, but one is already socialised into this scepticism towards the neighbouring Germans. In a similar way to Frank, Daniel Petasch (J2) also reported this to me and above all emphasised the avoidance of possible insults or unequal treatment. In (78) I quote the corresponding excerpt from our interview. He attributes the described mood to a certain time, the 1990s. In his view, this was one of the reasons why Sorbian-speaking parents spoke German with their children. In their stories about the change in linguistic behaviour towards more self-confident Sorbian-speaking, both Frank and Daniel also note a change in language attitudes, or rather in the way language attitudes are expressed.

(78) Daniel Pjetaš/Petasch (J2, 40)

J2: A tón je też přeco prajił, Berufsschule gehänselt und das geworden- War ja hier, wir wurden ja Alle gehänselt in H. in der- Alle Sorben wurden in der Berufsschule ge- gehänselt. SORbenköppe und, was denkst du denn, was da los war.

smi: Móžeš so ty to dopomnić šće na tajke situacije? Tam? Abo?

J2: Ně. Du warst da halt immer, ech, sorbische immer belei- wurdest immer beleidigt oder hinten angestellt und ... so zweite Klasse so hingestellt. War so. Wirklich. Und da hat man ja auch gesagt, Ej, das tu ich mir so NICHT an, jetzt wird DEUTSCH geredet. Das Gehänsel, das kann ich meinem Sohn nicht antun oder meinen Kindern. Und deswegen wurde das immer mehr deutscher. In die neundscher Jahre. Das wird doch JETZT erst wieder richtig sorbisch. Das war so. ...

smi: Kak sće wy pon na to reagowali, hdyž su wone-

J2: **Na my smy wšě němsce powědali. Ganz einfach. A pon DOma serbsce**.

smi: Haj, haj.

J2: **Na klar. Kaž prajene, B. won, klak, němsce powědać. Und JA nicht sagen, und JA nicht sagen, wo du herkommst! To jen čas było**.

smi: **A hdyž sće wy hromadźe po puću byli kiž su wot jow byli a hewak serbsce rěčeli**? Oder sy ty -

J2: **Ně. My smy- Kaž prajene, Haslowje, Šunowje je klar, ale BUdyšinje oder Kamjency, das war alles deutsch. Du hast NIRgends Sorbisch geredet, nirgends**.

J2: And he always said that he was teased at the vocational school and- It was like that, we were all teased in H. at the- All Sorbs were teased at the vocational school. *SORbenköppe* and, what do you think was going on there?

smi: Can you still remember such situations? There? Or?

J2: No. You were always, oh, Sorbian, always insulted or treated like the back of the group ... put down as second class. That's how it was. Really. And you said, Eh, I'm NOT going to put up with that, now we're going to speak GERman. I can't allow my son or my children to be teased like that. And that's why it became more and more German. In the nineties. It's only NOW that it's really becoming Sorbian again. It was like that. ...

smi: How did you then react when they-?

J2: **Well, we all spoke German. Quite simply. And then Sorbian at HOME.**

smi: Yes, yes.

J2: **Of course. As I said, from B., click, speak German. And don't EVER say, and don't EVER say, where you come from! It was like that for a while.**

smi: **And when you were out and about together, those who came from here and who otherwise spoke Sorbian**? Or did you-

J2: **No. We did- As I said, in Haslow, in Šunow, that's clear, but in BAUtzen or Kamenz, it was all German. You didn't speak Sorbian ANYwhere, nowhere**.

Daniel states unapologetically that in order to avoid bullying based on being Sorbian, Sorbian was spoken at home – in the clearly Sorbian villages and at the party venues in two Sorbian villages –

and German was spoken outside the home – as soon as leaving the last Sorbian village, which means that the nearest towns like Budyšin/Bautzen, Wojerecy/Hoyerswerda, Kamjenc/Kamenz where places to speak German and to hide your origin and background. Daniel mentions teasing and insults quite tangibly, but like Frank, claims not to have experienced them personally because he spoke German.

Although things have changed and become more open according to Frank and Daniel, Frank continues to use Sorbian cautiously in contexts where language loyalties are not clear. He recalls a supra-local fire brigade operation where, after the job was done, it turned out that most of those involved - who had not met before - could speak Sorbian, to general amusement and delight. Frank nevertheless defended the use of German during the operation. In quote (79), he refers to the fact that, like him and his colleagues, a Sorbian policewoman involved only later revealed that she spoke Sorbian.

(79) Frank Symank/Symmank (A2, 45)

Ale wona pak to też njeje, ta policistka to też njeje won pójsła, zo wona serbska je. Wona to też njeprjedy mol čakała, što so stanje oder kak to je. Te dźa šón jeje, jich nazhonjenja genau tak činić. No, za tych to też njeńdźe jednorje wšo. A hdyž jen pon my přijědźemy něhdźe na zasadźenje a tam něhdźe započinamy serbsce rěčeć, (H), (Hx) móže też pon kritisce wuńć, hdyž něhdźe někajki komisch tam je. Oder něšto hinaše je. Nó, to je ... @@@ Dawaja kritiske wěcy. My smy to dožiwili ## Aber na haj. Musst du drüber stehen und gut.

But she didn't, the policewoman didn't let on that she was Sorbian either. She waited to see what would happen or how it would be. They too will make their own experiences. It won't be easy for them either. And if we go on a mission and start speaking Sorbian somewhere, (H), (Hx) that can also be critical if there's a strange person somewhere. Or something else. No, that's ... @@@ There are also critical things. We have experienced that ## But well. You have to get over it and that's it.

The reason for not speaking Sorbian is to avoid trouble. Sorbian is therefore restricted to familiar situations and the private sphere. It is not granted the function of a neutral means of communication. Even if they do not express it directly, the quoted participants are well aware that Sorbian is considered inferior in certain situations and that the reactions they are trying to avoid would be inappropriate. However, they choose self-protection and accept this state of affairs ('But well. You have to get over it and that's it.'). The dominance of German is once again underlined. The atmosphere in which Frank grew up still shapes him.

However, if we look at situations, where it is clear who speaks which language and in which speaking Sorbian does not serve as a trigger for discriminatory actions, and if we look at the private sphere, neither these areas are spared the effects of hierarchy between the two languages. With regard to the former, the practice of accommodation can again be clearly observed. For the purpose of my explanations, I will return to the voluntary work for the fire brigade, in which several of the participants in the study are involved. I have already written in section 8.1 on German as the language for professional advancement that German is preferred for technical language. I have

quoted Frank's argument that the German terms needed for firefighting have to be trained in (48). Another firefighter is Philipp Dreißig (D3), who also says that in his team there is a difference in language use between meetings and casual conversation. He does not justify this with the necessary technical language, but with the fact that there are people in the (leading) team who do not speak Sorbian at all. (Incidentally, Daniel Petasch (J2) also expressed a similar opinion, although he also worried about the lack of young people, saying that there are too few young people coming up who, in addition to the necessary commitment to the fire brigade, could also help to ensure that more Sorbian is spoken in the team). However, Philipp also compares his fire brigade team with another one in which also the meetings are held in Sorbian. He assumes that there is no one there who does not understand Sorbian, but also suggests that the municipality there has a pro-Sorbian language policy (80).

(80) Philipp Dreißig (D3, 30)

D3: Na haj, kaž nětko pola nas nětko wojenjowej woborje, my tla eigentlich wšě sej znajemy. Em. B., tam je nětko moja feuerwehr nětko za našu wjesku nětko. **Tam my tež druhdy versammlunki činimy. Ale to pon wšo na němsce dźe. Dokelž tam su tež** jara w- oder jara wjele nic, **dwaj, tři pódla**, mamy my pon tež kaž tajki vorstand a tam su tež te nutřka, **kotrež gor žan serbsce njemóža**. A to my wot započatka glei na němsce tun pon činimy, tun unterhaltunku. **A hdyž my sej tam po piwa sedźimy, ty to pon tež wěš, tón serbsce rěči a tón, a to my to pon eigentlich přec serbsce, hdyž tajke něšto je, rěčimy**. […] w C., tam eigentlich wšo serbsce dźe. Dokelž to wot bürgermeister přińdźe někak, vorgaben a dokelž dyrbi tak a tak wjele dyrbi so serbsce […] rěčeć.

smi: Haj. Aha.

D3: M. A gmejnsku radu tam, te tež wšo serbsce činja.

smi: Haj. A, em. Kak je to tam, […] rozdźělene wot ludźi sem? Je to tež podobnje kaž w B.?

D3: Em. Tam su eigentlich wšo, kotrež serbsce móža, we C. Tam eigentlich nětko njeje nichtó pódla, kotryž njemóže serbsce.

smi: Haj. Aha. A hdyž wy nětko B. tam po wašej zhromadźiznje sedźiće a šće jedne piwo pijeće, kak ty rozsudźiš, z kim ty kak? Also w kajkej situaciji wy rěčiće němsce a w kajkej situaciji wy rěčiće serbsce? Dokelž ty zno sy prajił kusk takle, ta zhromadźizna je němska a pon po tym, te piwo, to serbsce skerje.

D3: Haj. **Na, to tla pon druhdy šće nutřka sedźa te ludźi. Haj, na hdyž my tam nutřka pon sedźimy pon, eigentlich přeco němsce tohodla dale dźe. A por dźeja pon přec won, wonka piwo pić abo jednu kurić a te pon wonka, hdyž te wonka pon steja, serbsce rěča. Wot sich aus pon serbsce rěča. A pon, hdyž ja pon pozdźišo won dźem, mi tam sobu stajim, pon to wšo na serbsce dźe**.

smi: Aha.

D3: Tak to je eigentlich. Also unbewusst tež zas najskerje aufgeteilt a pon to činim tam tak. Haj. Dokelž nutřka, to su em jenož jen, dwajo, kotrež němsce jenož móža. A dla toho najskerje němsce sowieso wšo rěčimy a pon potym dale, ale hdyž tam nětko won dźeš a tam druhe ludźi steja a te serbsce móža, my tam tež wšo serbsce rěčimy pon.

D3: Well, like with us now in the fire brigade, we actually all know each other. Um. In B., that's where my fire brigade is now, for our village. **Sometimes we have meetings there. But it's all in German. Because there are** many, well, not many people, **two or three**, we also have a board and there are also people **who don't know any Sorbian**. And we have the conversation in German right from the start. **And when we sit down for a beer, you know that he and he speak Sorbian, and we always speak Sorbian in these situations.** [...] in C., everything is actually in Sorbian. Because it somehow comes from the mayor, requirements, and because a lot of Sorbian has to be spoken anyway [...].

smi: Yes. Aha.

D3: Hm. And the local council there, they also do everything in Sorbian.

smi: Yes. And, um. How is it there, [...] distributed among the people? Is it similar to B.?

D3: Um. There are actually all those who know Sorbian in C.. There's actually nobody there who doesn't know Sorbian.

smi: Yes, I see. And when you sit in B. after your meeting and drink a beer, how do you decide with whom and how? In which situation do you speak German and in which situation do you speak Sorbian? Because you've already told a bit that the meeting is German and then afterwards, the beer, it's more Sorbian.

D3: Yes, **well, sometimes people are still sitting inside. Yes, well, when we're sitting inside, it still goes on in German. And a couple always go outside to drink a beer or smoke a cigarette, and outside, when they're outside, they speak Sorbian. They speak Sorbian of their own accord. And then, when I go out later and join them there, it's all in Sorbian.**

smi: Aha.

D3: That's actually how it is. So it's probably unconsciously split again and then I do it like that. Yes. Because inside, there are only one or two people who only know German. And that's why we probably speak all German anyway and then continue afterwards, but if you go out there and there are other people standing there and they can speak Sorbian, then we speak everything in Sorbian there.

The most interesting part of the quoted excerpt appears towards the end. It visually demonstrates the functioning of the accommodation norm. Sorbian is only spoken in private talk, outside, physically away from those who do not know Sorbian. Apparently, the context where the official meeting took place, does not constitute a space for carefree and comfortable use of Sorbian. Speaking Sorbian outside the meeting room can not disturb and it can not make anyone who does not understand Sorbian feel awkward because of not understanding. Yet, it could make feel awkward someone who is sensitive to the language practices of speakers of Sorbian and notices, like Christina as quoted in (67), when people take extra effort. Another important plausible assumption pertains to the transfer of the language choice for covering the official agenda – which was probably also made out of practical reasons to make everyone comprehend without the additional effort as for instance translations – to casual language use. What Philipp initially described as division between German in the official part and Sorbian in the casual part, turns out in the second description as strict adherence to the norm of accommodation. German is so apparently the language for group cohesion in that particular Sorbian context that I comment no further on how the dominance of German plays out in the use of Sorbian not being a carefree behaviour in the Sorbian Catholic area.

I would like to conclude the section on Sorbian speakers using German when they could also use Sorbian by looking at the private sphere. For even the strictly private is not a general refuge for the informal use of Sorbian. Alexandra Bluhme (F1) says with regard to her childhood (81) and youth (82) that German was cooler for her than Sorbian and that she therefore tended to speak German with her peers.

(81) Alexandra Bluhmowa/Bluhme (F1, 30)

ja šće móžu so dopomnić w zakładnej šule: Wy dyrbiće serbske powědać na dworje, němske powědane njehodwje! **A jako dźěćo to přeco běše, němske je bóle cool kaž serbske**.

I can still remember in primary school: You have to speak Sorbian in the schoolyard, no German is spoken! **And as a child, German was always cooler than Sorbian.**

(82) Alexandra Bluhmowa/Bluhme (F1, 30)

Ale tak jen ... To je pon z časom, to **halt runje, hdyž je jen młodostne. To je tak było, to jen wjac njeje serbske powědał. To je uncool było serbske powědać. A přez to smy my pon němske powědali**.

But that's how you ... That came with time, **that's what happens when you're young. That's how it was, you didn't speak Sorbian any more. It was uncool to speak Sorbian. And that's why we spoke German**.

According to Alexandra, Sorbian had no appeal in the times of her youth. Sorbian had not only have less instrumental value, but also less appeal among its users. In the interviews, today's young people did not say that one language is hipper than the other. Perhaps this is a retrospective assessment and it remains to be seen what this younger generation will say about their current language use when they are adults. However, their cohort has grown up with the discourse of beneficial bilingualism, which only began to gain ground when Alexandra was born (Ratajczakowa 1998). For the time being, the young people simply say that they speak German when others speak Sorbian less well or when they are used to speaking German together.

Jasmin's explanation adds a further dimension in that she refers to a lower proficiency in Sorbian in terms of the lexicon, which led her and her friend to speak German between themselves (83). In this case, it is a purist view of language that prevents the use of Sorbian.

(83) Jasmin Domšec/Domsch (C3, 17)

Also to bě jedna přećelka tatsächlich, z tej ja sym bóle němsce rěčała, obwohl my wobojdwejo serbsce móžemy. Nó. A my smy přeco němsce rěčeli, dokelž my smy na to přišli, zo, hdyž my serbsce powědamy, my irgendwann jemol dale njepřińdźemy. Nam te słowa faluja. My wšě słowa tež na serbsce direkt njewědźemy, to pon scheiße klinči, hdyž jen ordentlich serbsce njerěči. Přez to smy prajili, ok, komplet na němsce. Blos ab und zu jemol na serbsce. rěčeli. Ale hewak němsce, dokelž to so einfach lěpje činiło.

Well, that was actually a friend of mine, with whom I spoke more German, although we both know Sorbian. Yeah. And we always spoke German because we realised that if we spoke Sorbian, we wouldn't get on at some point. We don't have the words. We also don't know directly all the words in Sorbian, which sounds like shit if you don't speak Sorbian properly. So we said, OK, completely in German. We only spoke in Sorbian from time to time. But otherwise German, because it just worked better.

8.5.2 When speakers of German do not consider being learners or becoming speakers of Sorbian / learning or speaking Sorbian

All but one of the parents who identified themselves as German in this study have attended at least one basic Sorbian language course. All of them have at least limited receptive knowledge of Sorbian as a result of living in a Sorbian environment, two have learned a lot through their partner's interaction with the children, and one has solid receptive Sorbian language skills acquired during childhood and youth at home and at school. While the courses, which were usually attended at the beginning of the relationship with the Sorbian partner, speak of a basic interest or motivation to learn about the local language. During the interviews, none of them expressed any ambition to acquire active Sorbian. The active use of Sorbian does not seem to be considered necessary for life in Lusatia and not advantageous enough to make the effort of active learning worthwile. Patrick Schurig (B2) is the only one who did not take part in any formal language course and acquired his receptive skills exclusively by listening to others interact in Sorbian, first at work, later in his family. The other family members routinely use Sorbian in Patrick's presence. In (84) I give an excerpt from our interview that followed immediately after the part quoted in (65), in which Patrick says that he sometimes feels excluded when the others speak Sorbian. He then immediately comments that if he learned Sorbian he would not feel excluded, and then explains that his main aim would be to understand, not to speak Sorbian.

(84) Patrick Šurig/Schurig (B2, 49)

Ne, aber man hätte ja auch sagen können, ich lerne vielleicht Sorbisch, aber, ich sag mal so, **wenn ich Sorbisch lernen würde wollen, würde ich's nur verstehen wollen, aber nicht sprechen wollen**. Weil das ist genauso wie: "Ich sitze jetzt auf'm Tisch." Ich hab deinen Vater gerade aufgenommen, ne. Das ist so äh, genau, ich sitz da auf dem Tisch. ((poćahuje so na anekdotu wo mojim dźěćatstwje: potym, zo je nan wopačnu prepoziciju wužiwał, njejsym so za, ale na blido sydnyła)) Ne, und die, die lachen. Ne, also ich würd das sagen, äh, **Verstehen ja, Sprechen** "haj, ně", "piwo pić, palenc pić" ja, ok, oder "dźakuju, prošu". Also, **was schnell über die Lippen geht, und wo du weißt, das sprichst du richtig aus**, aber jetze irgendwas Komplexeres oder Komplizierteres, würde ich sagen: Nö, dann lieber in der Muttersprache bleiben. ...

No, but you could also have said, I could learn Sorbian, but, let me put it this way, **if I wanted to learn Sorbian, I would only want to understand it, but not speak it**. Because that's just like: "I'm sitting on the table now." I just quoted your father. It's like, uh, exactly, I'm sitting there on the table. ((he refers to an

anecdote from my childhood: after my father used the wrong preposition, I didn't sit at but on the table)) Nah, and they, they laugh. Nah, so I would say that, uh, **understanding yes, speaking** *"yes, no"*, *"drinking beer, drinking liquor"* yes, okay, or *"thank you, please"*. So, **something that comes off your lips quickly, and where you know you're pronouncing it correctly**, but something more complex or complicated, I'd say: Nope, it is better to stick to your mother tongue. ...

While he says that he uses simple Sorbian expressions, which he also did during our interview, he claims that he would prefer to use German to speak about more complex things even if he understood Sorbian better. A similar stance is taken by André Bluhme (F2), the second German partner who engages in bilingual conversations with the other family members, who between them use Sorbian (compare 9.1.1.3). In contrast, in the Dreißig family, Sorbian is not spoken when Jürgen (D2) is with the family. Jürgen claims that he understands Sorbian, but says that despite taking a basic language course, he never used Sorbian actively and always used German in his family (85). When contemplating the opportunities that he had to learn Sorbian, he concludes that he was not interested and in fact, did not care. Importantly, he argues that not speaking Sorbian never was an obstacle and everyone spoke German to him.

(85) Jürgen Dreißig (D2, 58)

D2: Grundkurs war das gewesen. Weil ich sagte- **na und zu Hause habe ich dann auch nicht geredet**, ja, lag dann an mir wahrscheinlich genauso, oder irgendwas, dass es halt so geblieben ist, wie es heute ist. Achzig Prozent versteht man, wenn sie sich hier unterhalten und das reicht, man kann mitreden. Ja, manche, die das nicht wissen, die gucken dann erst mal nochmal, wie man da einfach mitreden kann, wenn man da eigentlich nichts versteht. Kann auch interessant sein. **Man hätte jetzt auch mit den Kindern mitlernen können jetzt in der Schule, wo das war, aber ... Interesse hat auch gefehlt. Hat ja so funktioniert**. Sag ich mal. **Einstellung war wahrscheinlich ja dann auch noch mal bisschen anders damals**. Na, dass man gesagt hat: Na gut, es geht ja so.

smi: Wie meinen Sie, dass die anders war?

D2: Na, **dass es mir egal war**. **Dass man gesagt hat, na gut, ich komme ja dann so, ich verstehe ja, was ist, da muss ich ja jetzt nicht noch Sorbisch reden zu Hause alles.** Und, no.

smi: Ja.

D2: In der Richtung.

smi: Und Sie haben dann aber mit den Kindern so bisschen mitgehört und mitgelernt und dann ...

D2: Ja, aber auch immer Deutsch geredet mit #se #dann.

smi: Da ... Aber haben Sie da, als Sie dann, Sie haben dann mit den Kindern deutsch gesprochen und ihre Frau hat dann Sorbisch gesprochen.

D2: Genau. Genau.

smi: Und, eh, haben Sie sich da anfangs irgendwie ..., lief das so automatisch oder haben Sie da am Anfang sich da irgendwie darüber unterhalten oder ...

D2: Nö. Das war, das war einfach so. No.

smi: Also haben Sie nicht explizit mal gesagt: Wir machen das so und so
D2: Nö.
smi: oder das hat sich so
D2: Das hat sich so
smi: hat sich so ergeben.
D2: ergeben einfach.
smi: Ja, ja.
D2: Ja, bist irgendwo hingekommen, an die Schule, in den Kindergarten, irgendwo, dann haben sie schon mit mir schon Deutsch geredet. Und ...
smi: %mm. No.
D2: Das, ja, alles so reingewachsen. Das hat sich so entwickelt alles.

D2: That was the basic course. Because I said- **well, and then I didn't talk at home either**, yes, it was probably because of me, or something, that it just stayed the way it is today. You can understand eighty per cent, when they're talking here and that's enough, you can have your say. Yes, there are some people who don't know that, and they look again to see how you can just take part in the conversation when you don't really understand anything. That can be interesting too. **You could have learned along with the children, when they were at school, but ... interest was also lacking. It worked like that**. I'd say so. **The attitude was probably a bit different back then**. Well, that you said: Well, it works like that.
smi: How do you mean that it was different?
D2: Well, **that I didn't care. That you said, well, I get ((along)), I understand what's going on, so I don't have to speak everything in Sorbian at home**. And, yeah.
smi: Yes.
D2: Something like that.
smi: And then you would listen and learn a bit with the children and then ...
D2: Yes, but I also always spoke German with #them.
smi: So... But did you, then, when you, you then spoke German with the children and your wife then spoke Sorbian.
D2: Exactly. Exactly.
smi: And, uh, at the beginning, did you somehow ..., did that happen automatically or did you somehow talk about it at the beginning or ...?
D2: No. It was, it was just like that. No.
smi: So you didn't explicitly say at any point: We'll do it this way and that way
D2: Nope.
smi: or it turned out
D2: It just
smi: like this.
D2: turned out that way.
smi: Yes, yes.
D2: Yes, you went somewhere, to school, to kindergarten, somewhere, then they already spoke German to me. And ...
smi: %mm. Yeah.
D2: That, yes, you grew into everything. Everything developed like that.

The optionality the parents all had and continue to have in not engaging actively with Sorbian is not given for their children with regard to school attendance. If they attend a bilingual school in the Catholic area, which are the closest schools, they all learn Sorbian and partly also through the medium of Sorbian. While Jürgen's children were in a B-class, due to the change of the teaching system for Sorbian schools, this was not possible anymore for the Domsch children, something that is much to the annoyance of Stephan (C2). Stephan himself attended a B-class and says that it is enough to understand Sorbian in order not to be lost when you are exposed to it (86).

(86) Stephan Domš/Domsch (C2, 40)

Damals war ja noch das Gute, es gab A- und B-Klassen. **Das ist das, was mich heutzutage ein Bisschen gewaltig ärgert. Dass die zum Beispiel in B. alles total sorbisch erziehen wollen und überhaupt keine Rücksicht auf die deutsch oder muttersprachlich deutschen Kinder nehmen**. No, und deswegen merkt man's ja dort auch, dass viele, gerade so aus dem Umland, ich sag jetzt mal C. oder D., die schicken ihre Kinder woanders hin, weil denen ist es einfach viel zu sorbisch. **Und das Problem gab's zu DDR-Zeiten hier nicht. No, da gab's 'ne A-Klasse**, wie bei, **das waren die rein sorbischen und die B-Klasse, no wir haben dann paar Stunden Sorbisch-Unterricht in der Schule gehabt. Uns konnte keiner Sorbisch verkaufen**. Aber, wurde nicht so gelehrt, wie es jetzt bei denen, bei der heutigen Jugend so ist.

The good thing about those days was that there were still A and B classes. That's what annoys me quite a bit today. That in B., for example, they want to educate everything in a totally Sorbian way and have no regard at all for the German or mother-tongue German children. Yeah, and that's why you notice that a lot of people, especially from the surrounding areas, I'll say from C. or D., send their children somewhere else, because it's just too Sorbian for them. And this problem didn't exist here in GDR times. Yeah, there was an A class, as in, those were the pure Sorbian and the B class, yeah, we had a few hours of Sorbian lessons at school. Nobody could make a fool of us in Sorbian. But it wasn't taught the way it is today with them, with today's youth.

Stephan never needed to actively decide whether to learn or not to learn Sorbian. Through his parents speaking Sorbian and having Sorbian lessons in school, he acquired a good knowledge of Sorbian. The way he uses it, however, is in line with the (hypothetical) aspirations of Patrick, André and Jürgen (and in fact also Katrin and Christina) that are limited to better comprehension. It is worth noting that in detail, the attitudes of all three differ greatly. Stephan uses his Sorbian skills receptively, and very rarely actively. He probably could quickly get used to speaking Sorbian as well, provided he would decide to do so, but he seems to position himself as German. In addition, Stephan's use of his receptive language skills is very specific.

I would like to recall the beginning of this section, from which it emerged that Sorbian speakers sometimes generally prefer German in first encounters with unfamiliar people, or observe whether they recognise any indications of the other person's language skills or language preference. Excerpt (74) from the conversation between me and Jasmin, Stephan's daughter, showed that Jasmin was positively surprised to learn that two acquantances she thought to know only German actually

spoke or understood Sorbian. One can surmise that she did not deliberately choose not to address them in Sorbian. Stephan, on the other hand, does not only not make use of his receptive knowledge of Sorbian, but hides it away when meeting new people. During the interview with Stephan, we had a bilingual conversation for some time, when he continued to speak German and I spoke Sorbian. I switched to Sorbian when Stephan told me he understood what I had initially said in Sorbian to Jasmin (who was with us during the first part of our interview) and then repeated to him in German. Below in quote (87) is an excerpt of our conversation.

(87) Stephan Domš/Domsch (C2, 40)

C2: Ja. Ich habe dich verstanden.

smi: Nó. Na, genau, das wollte ich nämlich fragen. Weil, du verstehst doch bestimmt alles.

C2: Freilich.

smi: Also bych ja nětko móhła serbsce rěčeć z tobu a

C2: Žan problem njeje.

smi: A ty wšo rozumiš.

C2: Na klar.

smi: Ale, činiš ty to, abo je to njepřijomne? Je to, je to něšto, hdyž bych ja nětko přišła a bych cyły čas serbsce z tobu rěčała,

C2: würde ich dir immer deutsch antworten.

smi: a ty by němsce wotmołwił.

C2: Na klar.

smi: Ale to by ok było.

C2: To scheißegal je.

smi: Ok.

C2: Kannst du probieren. Kannst auch schwierige Sachen probieren.

smi: Ale ty pak to nikomu, genau, **ale ty pak to nikomu njeprajiš: Ty móžeš serbsce rěčeć!**

C2: Ně.

smi: A ja ći němsce wotmołwju.

C2: **Nein, warum?**

smi: **Njewěm?**

C2: **Na siehst du! Geheime Sachen.**

smi: **Na haj, tohodla so ja tebje prašam. Also, ja**

C2: **Nein, also du kannst mit mir den ganzen Tag sorbisch reden, du wirst von mir immer, oder meistens eine deutsche Antwort kriegen.**

smi: **na haj, to je ok. Ale ja mam tón zaćišć, zo runje to, also to ja cyle zrědka dožiwju, zo něchtó so tak bjesaduje. Zo jen serbsce rěči a tón tamny němsce wotmołwi.**

C2: **Na, fetzt doch aber, oder?**

smi: **haj, also <u>wegen mje</u> móže jen to husćišo činić. Ale**

C2: **Mojedla tež.**

smi: **Ale kak jen na to přińdźe? Also kak jen sobu krydnje, haj tón poprawom móže serbsce?**

C2: **Das ist eben das komplizierte. Das-**

smi: Wěš, dokelž hdyž ja tebje nětko něhdźe zeznaju a te praja: Ach ně, tón tla bóle němsce rěči. Da bych ja najskerje započała z tobu němsce rěčeć.

C2: M.
smi: A ja najskerje njeby jako prěnje prajiła: Haj, dobry dźeń a bych serbsce rěčała. A pon ja tla ženje sobu njekrydnjem, hač to dźe. @@
C2: Na ja. Ist aber so, funktioniert.
smi: To funkcionĕrwje, genau. Ja sym jemol měła-
C2: "Funguje" to rěka!
smi: Haj, to funguje. @@ Prajiš ty, radšo porjadnje rěčeć, hač, e,
C2: Auf jeden Fall.
smi: hač měšane? A- Also porjadnje abo gor nic?
C2: Genau so.
smi: Haj?
C2: A nic tajke konsum-serbsce.
smi: Nic komsum-serbsce. A čehodla nic?
C2: Na, das ist Quatsch. Entweder ganz oder gar nicht.
smi: Ok. E, sy ty někajke dožiwjenja měł, zo něchtó jemol někak prajił: E, to tla ja połojcu rozumim. Abo něhdźe tajke něšto?
C2: Erlebe ich oft. Erlebe ich oft, dass wenn so Hightech-Sorben das probieren, weißt du. L. ((person)), Hightech-Sorben, B. ((village)), Hochburg. Da tu ich dann manchmal wieder einen Brocken heraushauen: Tak nic! Da guckt sie immer blöde und dann ist wieder Ruhe.

C2: Yeah. I understood you. ((in German/G))
smi: Yeah. Well, that's exactly what I wanted to ask. Because you surely understand everything. ((G))
C2: Of course. ((G))
smi: *So I could talk to you in Sorbian now and-* ((in Sorbian/Sb))
C2: *No problem.* ((Sb))
smi: *And you understand everything.* ((Sb))
C2: Sure. ((G))
smi: *But, do you do that, or is it uncomfortable? Is that, is that something, if I were to come now and speak to you all the time in Sorbian,* ((Sb))
C2: I would always answer you in German. ((G))
smi: *and you would answer in German.* ((Sb))
C2: Of course. ((G))
smi: *But that would be OK* ((Sb)).
C2: *I don't give a fuck.* ((Sb))
smi: OK.
C2: You can try. You can try difficult things. ((G))
smi: *But you don't, exactly,* ***you don't tell anyone: You can speak Sorbian!*** ((Sb))
C2: *No.* ((Sb))
smi: *And I answer you in German.* ((Sb))
C2: **No, why?** ((G))
smi: ***I don't know?*** ((Sb))
C2: **There you go! Secret things.** ((G))
smi: ***Well, that's why I'm asking you. Well, I-*** ((Sb))
C2: **No, you can talk to me in Sorbian all day long, you'll always, or mostly, get a German answer from me**. ((G))

smi: ***Well, that's OK. But I have the impression that this is precisely, that I very rarely experience someone talking like that. That one speaks Sorbian and the other answers in German.*** ((Sb))

C2: **Well, it's fun, isn't it?** ((G))

smi: ***Yes, as far as I'm concerned you can do it more often. But*** ((Sb))

C2: ***As far as I'm concerned too.*** ((Sb))

smi: ***But how do you find out? So how do you find out, yes, he actually knows Sorbian?*** ((Sb))

C2: **That's the complicated part. That-** ((G))

smi: *You know, because when I meet you somewhere and they say: Oh no, he rather speaks German. Then I would probably start speaking German with you.* ((Sb))

C2: Hm.

smi: *And I probably wouldn't start by saying: Yes, dobry dźeń ((hello)), and speak Sorbian. And then I'd never know if it was possible.* @@ ((Sb))

C2: Well, yes. But it is like that, it works. ((G))

smi: *"To funkcionĕrwje" (('It works')), exactly. I once had-* ((Sb))

C2: *"Funguje" (('It works')), it's called!* ((Sb))

smi: *"Haj, to funguje." (('Yes, it works.')) @@ Do you say it's better to speak properly, than, uh,* ((Sb))

C2: Absolutely. ((G))

smi: *than mixed? S- So properly or not at all?* ((Sb))

C2: Exactly like that. ((G))

smi: *Yes?* ((Sb))

C2: *And not that Konsum*[12]*-Sorbian.* ((Sb))

smi: *Not Konsum-Sorbian. And why not?* ((Sb))

C2: Well, that's rubbish. Either completely or not at all. ((G))

smi: *Ok, Uh, did you have any experiences, that someone once said: Uh, I understand half of it. Or something like that?* ((Sb))

C2: I often do. I often experience that when such high-tech Sorbs try it, you know. L. ((person)), high-tech Sorbs, B. ((village)), stronghold. Then I sometimes throw in a chunk again: *"Tak nic!"* (('Not that way!')) She always looks stupid and then it's quiet again. ((G))

Stephan says that he would be perfectly comfortable with a bilingual conversation and later confirms that it would be entertaining. On my question how I would know that he would be fine with such a conversation style, he gives no answer and says that he would always answer in German when spoken to in Sorbian. I have the impression that by hiding away and not sharing the fact about his knowledge of Sorbian, Stephan wants to keep the situation under his control. Having skills that others do not expect him to have seems to be empowering. Strikingly, towards the end of the excerpt, he summarises his attitude to language use as 'Either completely or not at all,' and makes fun of people who do not use standard Sorbian. Funnily enough, my semi-conscious use of more colloquial Sorbian and the interspersing of German expressions or phrases, which I used with the children to make them feel more at ease speaking Sorbian with me, did not catch on with him at all. My advantage, however, was that it provoked him to share his view regarding purism. The topic of our

[12] Konsum was a grocery and retail chain in the GDR, which also had shops in the Sorbian villages. (This was the first time I had heard the expression 'konsum-serbsce'. Another expression I know that is used for Sorbian which includes code-switching is 'wasserpolnisch'.)

conversation was language use anyway. But in other cases, meta-linguistic comments or corrections like those made by Stephan, can turn the topic from something else to language use. Instead of using Sorbian and German in a hypothetical bilingual conversation to talk about other topics, in a way, the conversation is interrupted – despite the claim that bilingual conversations would be interesting.

In the discussion of accommodation and subordination of speakers of Sorbian, I already mentioned the underlying nation-state ideology (Pujolar 2007). It is considered as somehow normal to use German in official and semi-professional contexts, as shown with the example of the volunteer fire fighters. On the other hand, there are official occasions whenSorbian is used. One of the typical domains for possible official use of Sorbian is the educational domain. In this context, Christina Petasch (J1) clearly feels where the limits of her receptive skills in Sorbian are. In the excerpt quoted in (88) below, Christina talks about parents' meetings at school and in kindergarten which are held in Sorbian. She has no real understanding for the use of Sorbian in this context and contests it quite emotionally during our interview. Several times she mentions that there are limits. Limits in general, limits as to how much Sorbian use she is ready to innerly accept, and limits because she needs the information she cannot access. While she ponders about those limits, she says feeling like a foreigner at times. One of the experiences she refers to is a parents' meeting where the parents were asked if it would be all right that the meeting would be held in German because not all parents are proficient in Sorbian. The alternative offer was to separate the group and hold two parallel meetings. To me, the school personnel's question seems rhetorical and not meant to evoke any endorsement to separate the parents into two groups. It seems to be more of a statement to indicate that in an ideal world the meeting would have taken place in Sorbian, but since they are being pragmatic they will use German. Christina felt that she was being made a fool of and does not understand why it was not obvious to speak German during the meeting when some of the parents did not understand Sorbian. She then compares herself with a mother of a child in a class with many Turkish children, where the teacher asks the Turkish parents for consent to hold the meeting in German. Inherent in this comparison is the sense of German as the legitimate language for everything official within the state of Germany. Christina's relations vividly show the negotiations that take place, where the involved teacher(s) navigate between the expectations of Sorbian and German parents (and of parents who expect a more assertive use of Sorbian and parents who tend to have a more accommodative stance) and try to meet all needs to some extent and not disregard any completely. The quote therefore is a long one, without discussing every aspect of it.

(88) Christina Pjetašowa/Petasch (J1, 35)

J1: Wo es dann auch so Grenzen gibt. So wie im Kindergarten, wenn die sich dann aufregen, dass nicht noch das Protokoll vom letzten Elternabend auf Sorbisch hingehangen wird. Dann denke ich mir manchmal, Das ist ja auch mal gut, oder?! Also das sind dann für mich so Grenzen, wo ich mir sage, Das ist mir zum Beispiel zu Obersorbisch. Also es versteht ja jeder Deutsch und Deutsch ist auch immer noch 'ne Behördensprache, sag ich immer. Also, ... Ja. Wenn ich mich dann wie so ein Ausländer fühle, so weil ALLE wegen MIR jetzt Deutsch gesprochen haben, das war zum Beispiel beim Elternabend von der Schule, wo ich mir denke, Oh, ernsthaft jetzt so? Das war der erste Elternabend, wo es hieß: Ist das jetzt ok, WENN wir, WÄre das WIRKlich jetzt ok, WENN wir den ELternabend jetzt auf DEUTSCH sprechen würden, weil nicht alle Eltern können, sonst würden wir die Gruppe TEIlen. Wo du dir ECHT denkst, ERNSThaft jetzt?!

Also, DA kommst du dir zum Beispiel WAHNsinnig ausländisch vor. Da, da fragst du dich auch, wenn's so, wenn du so hingestellt wirst, wie ... Das sind ja jetzt DIE Eltern, die UNsere MUttersprache nicht beherrschen, deswegen MÜSSten wir uns jetzt- Da fühl ich mich so, wie 'ne deutsche Mutter in 'ner haltürkischen Klasse, wo auf einmal die TÜRkischen Eltern gefragt werden, ob das ok ist, wenn man auf Deutsch weitermacht. Also, da fühl ich mich manchmal sehr ausländisch, muss ich echt sagen so, das ist ... Das sind so für mich dann so Grenzen, die ich dann einfach so-

smi: Und wie wär's dir dann lieber in so einer Situation?

J1: Na ja, EINfach dieses, es sind, es ist nun mal mehr Sorbische, und des-, äh Deutsche, und deswegen sprechen wir Deutsch. ((she probably means that there is more than one German, not that there are more Germans than Sorbs)) Und nicht DIEses, da fragt eine MUtter, no also fragen drei Mütter, und drei Mütter fragen die Frage auf Sorbisch. Und die SCHULleitung antwortet auf Sorbisch. Du stehst als Deutscher da und ... denkst, Ej, sind die alle bescheuert?! Also das ist so wirklich für mich, wo dann eine GRENze erreicht ist, weil ich mir sage, das ist was Offizielles, es geht hier auch um MEIN Kind und ich will das auch verstehen. Aber ich b-, frag dann halt eben auch mal, bisschen, Was WURde denn jetzt hier gesagt? @ Meine NACHbarin oder so. Weil ich nicht verstehe, dass die das nicht machen. Also. Es ist- Ja, da bin ich wahrscheinlich auch echt, aber das ist für mich dann so eine Grenze, die dann erreicht ist. No, wenn's so um offizielle Sachen geht, wo du halt einfach auch die Informationen brauchst. Die dann halt einfach, ich sag mal, wie verwehrt werden oder so. Ich weiß nicht, ob's Unwissenheit ist, aber von der Schulleitung denk ich spätestens da kann man die Frage auf Deutsch wiederholen und auf Deutsch auch antworten. Dafür sind die auch genug studiert, denk ich mir so. Ja.

smi: M.

J1: Ich weiß nicht, wie du das jetzt siehst, die Meinung? @@@@ @ Nee, kannst du ruhig mal sagen, ob ich das so- Aber es ist für mich dann so eine Grenze immer.

smi: No. Na ja, die Frage ist, wie man damit umgeht. Wie man, wie man jetzt, also was für einen Weg man findet. Weil, jeder hat ja einen anderen Hintergrund, den er mitbringt, und eine andere Motivation, beziehungsweise 'nen anderen Grund, weshalb, also dafür, wie er die Situation jetzt aufnimmt. Beziehungsweise wie er sich da zurechtfindet.-

J1: Aber es sind ja wirklich mehrere Eltern, die dann, ähm, so zu tun haben. No. Also ich steh' da ich glaub auch nicht alleine da. Das ist dann manchmal, das ist so dieses (TSK) Wo ich mir sage, DAS ist anstrengend in der Sorbei. Also das ist ... Sprache gut und schön, aber wenn man es übertreibt, dann ...

J1: Where there are also limits. Like in kindergarten, when they get upset that the minutes from the last parents' meeting aren't hung up in Sorbian. Sometimes I think to myself, That's enough at some point, isn't it? So for me, these are the limits where I say to myself, That's too Upper Sorbian for me, for example. Everyone understands German and German is still the language of the authorities, I always say. So... Yes. When I feel like a foreigner because EVERYbody spoke German because of ME, for example at the parents' evening at school, I think to myself, Oh, seriously now? That was the first parents' evening where that was said: Is that OK now, IF we, WOULD that REAlly be OK now, IF

we spoke GERman at the Parents' evening, because not all the parents can, otherwise we would diVIde the group. Where you REAlly think, SEAriously now?! Well, THERE, for example, is where you feel REAlly foreign. There you also ask yourself, if it's like this, if you're put in such a position, like ... Those are the parents who don't speak our mother tongue, that's why we HAVE to- I feel like a German mother in a half-Turkish class, where all of a sudden the Turkish parents are asked if it's OK to continue in German. So, sometimes I feel very foreign, I really have to say that, that is ... For me, these are the limits that I just have...

smi: And how would you prefer things to be in such a situation?

J1: Well, simply this, there are, there are more Sorbian, and theref-, uh, Germans, and that's why we speak German. ((she probably means that there is more than one German, not that there are more Germans than Sorbs)) And not THIS, a mother asks, yeah, so three mothers ask, and three mothers ask the question in Sorbian. And the head of school answers in Sorbian. You stand there as a German and ... think, Eh, are they all stupid?! So that's where I really reach a limit, because I say to myself, this is something official, this is also about MY child and I want to understand it. But I a-, I too, ask then just sometimes, a bit, What WAS it that was said here now? @ My NEIGHbour or something. Because I don't understand why they don't do that. So. It's- Yes, I'm probably really, but that's a limit that's reached for me. Yeah, when it comes to official things, where you just need the information. Which is then simply, I'll say, denied or something. I don't know if it's ignorance, but at the latest the head of school, I think, can repeat the question in German and also answer in German. They had enough education for that, I think. Yes.

smi: Hm.

J1: I don't know how you see it now, the opinion? @@@@ @ No, you can tell me if I-, But it's always a limit for me.

smi: Yeah. Well, the question is how to deal with it. How you, how you now, that is, what kind of way you find. Because everyone has a different background that they bring with them, and a different motivation, or a different reason why, that is, for how they take the situation now. Or how they find their way around.-

J1: But there are really several parents who have to deal with it. Yeah. I don't think I'm alone in this. That's sometimes, that's this (TSK) where I say to myself, THIS is exhausting in the Sorbian lands. So that's ... Language is all well and good, but if you overdo it, then ...

Christina has an exceptional sociolinguistic awareness, which is linked to the experience of language-related conflicts in her family of origin and the comparison with her reflections on the new experiences in her own family. Because she recognises and approves of the fact that others like to speak Sorbian, she avoids certain confrontations when she does not feel comfortable with the use of Sorbian by others. In the meeting described above, too, she does not ask the large group what has just been discussed, but asks the person sitting next to her to summarise. Nevertheless, she has no understanding for the fact that parents ask their questions in Sorbian, in spite of the decision of the school staff to hold the meeting in German. In Sorbian-speaking Lusatia, too, a certain expectation is evident that German speakers should be able to live through German, at least in official contexts. Moreover, separating German identity from the possibility of learning to communicate in Sorbian

seems inconceivable. That is to say, a German speaks German, does not speak (and in some cases does not understand) Sorbian, and a change in this situation is not within the horizon of expectations.

At the end of this section I would like to mention one participant who broke this dichotomy between Sorbian speakers who adapt to German speakers and German speakers who never learn Sorbian - often perceived as Sorbs and Germans respectively. There are other examples among the people described by the participants, but none is as clear as Daniel Petasch (J2), Christina's husband, who is perceived by others as a Sorb. Similar to Stephan Domsch (C2), Daniel grew up in a bilingual Lusatian village, and although it would have been possible, the parents did not speak Sorbian with the children at home. So Daniel spoke German with his parents and one set of grandparents, and attended B class at school with Sorbian as a foreign language. In the fragment in (89) he tells how it came about that he consciously began to speak Sorbian. He mentions his other set of grandparents, his friends and colleagues at work as his teachers and emphasises that he felt comfortable among people who spoke Sorbian. Daniel had a great motivation to speak Sorbian and the language was also a means for him to belong more closely to the local circle of friends and acquaintances. These experiences are still important to him today and he is determined that his daughters learn Sorbian so that they are not denied the language as a means of access to the community that he had to reclaim for himself as a young man.

(89) Daniel Pjetaš/Petasch (J2, 40)

Also ja sym, ja sym, ja sym tajki, tajke, na wie sagt man, ich bin ... wie sagt man, wenn du immer unter Leuten bist? Ich bin ein ... ich will immer mit. Serbske spěwać, also spěwać ja móžu, čitać ja móžu, no. My tla smy B., ja njewěm, kotre dinki to su byli, no. To su přeco někajki sp-, spěwne wječory byli, oder Dorffeste oder so und da wurde ja geSUNgen und da bin ich immer mit dabei gewesen. Přeco. A te su PŘEco serbsce rěčeli. **A my smy pak doma ... přeco NĚMsce powědali. A to, štož ja serbsce móžu, tón małkus jowle, to sym ja přeco po našej dźěda a wowki wuknył, oder em po přećele, no A. oder na dźěłje pon jowle po L., tam my smy přeco serbsce rěčeli**. Ja sym, ich war ja SELber erschrocken, die Leute in A., die, bin ja selber erschrocken, ja sym serbsce powědał z někajkimi fremdsłowami něke, no, also wirklich, das war IRre, das war Wahnsinn. Du bist immer nur dorte, dann nach dem Feierabend noch bisschen sitzen und Sorbisch. Es ist dann bisschen wieder verloren gegangen, ale ... em, ja sym chcył nětko prajić, te, te, te, **te serbske je PŘEco WAŽne, dokelž hdyž ty w serbskej wokolinje bydliš, oder im Kerngebiet, hyno, dyrbiš ty serbsce móc**. Ganz einfach. Erstens bist du immer, kommst du viel leichter rein, in eine Clique, im Chor zum Beispiel, to je, to TEN tak było. Nětko je vielleicht to lochšišo, ja njewěm. Oder šćent HÓRŠišo, ja njewěm. Ale te su PŘEco prajili, ja njewěm, **ich hab so eine Aura gehabt, oder weil ich immer mitgemacht hab, oder pilny był, oder luby oder što ja wěm, keine Ahnung, warum. Aber ich hatte immer ein, ein, was Gutes. Anderen haben sie gesagt, Němc. Preč. A, a, zu mir haben sie immer gesagt, Pój, Daniel, pój do srjedźa und spěwaj sobu und to a to. Ja sym, ja sym so dobry čuł w tym kołorju přeco**, hdyž je, no. C., oder B. oder ... D. nic, ale @@ Su wone s-, byli E. oben. Das ist. Das fehlt. Die Polterabende mit dem SORbischen SINgen. Damals gab's ja keine DIScos und sowas. No, da hast du en mass, dort einer gespielt,

Akkordeon, und es wurde gesungen. Zack, zack, kurz ausruhen, weiter gesungen. Ob deutsch, sorbisch ... Wahnsinn. Das war früher richtig, richtig geil. To mi tež nětko faluje. Ně, also, **to je ważne, zo moje dźěći tež serbsce móža, štož wone ČINja, hač wone blos němsce pon rěča oder to a tamne**. Ale ja, ja, ja sym tež kusk frech był, ja sym, ich sage auch, hab auch meinen Eltern gesagt, Warum habt ihr mit mir nicht s- besser sorbisch beigebracht oder meine Mutter hat sich gegenüber meinem Vater durchgesetzt oder tajke něšto, ja njewěm. Em, ich lass mir, **ich will mir keine Vorwürfe machen lassen. Oder anhören müssen**.

So I'm, I'm, I'm such a, such, well, how do you say, I'm ... how do you say it when you're always around people? I am a ... I always want to participate. Singing in Sorbian, so I can sing, I can read. We were in B., I don't know what that was. There were always some sing-, singing evenings, or village festivals or something like that and there was SINGing and I was always there. Always. And they ALways spoke Sorbian. **But at home we ... always spoke GERman. And what I know in Sorbian, the little bit here, I've always learned at our grandpa's and grandma's, or just with friends, in A. or at work then here, with L., there we always spoke Sorbian**. I am, I was shocked mySELF, the people in A., the, I was shocked myself, I spoke Sorbian with all sorts of foreign words, so really, that was CRAzy, that was madness. You were always just there, then after work you would still sit a bit and Sorbian. I lost it again a bit then, but ... um, I wanted to say now, the, the, the, **Sorbian is ALways imPORtant, because, if you live in a Sorbian environment, or in the heartland, you have to know Sorbian**. It's that simple. First of all, you get in much easier, in a clique, in the choir for example, that's, that's how it was back THEN. Maybe it's easier now, I don't know. Or even WORSE, I don't know. But they ALways said, I don't know, **I had such an aura, or because I always went along, or because I was hardworking, or nice, or whatnot, I don't know why. But I always had a, a, something good. To others they said, Němc ((‘German’)). Away! And, and, to me they always said, Come on, Daniel, come to the middle and sing along and this and that. I've, I've always felt good in this circle** when C., or B. or ... D. not, but @ @ When they were up in E. That is. Missing. The wedding-eve parties with the SORbian SINGing. In those days there were no DIScos and so on. Yeah, you had en mass, someone played there, the accordion, and there was singing. Chop-chop, short rest, singing on. Whether German, Sorbian ... Madness. That was really, really cool in the past. I miss that too now. So, **that's important that my children also know Sorbian, what they ((will)) DO, whether they will only speak German or this and that**. But I, I, I was also a bit rude, I also say, I also said to my parents, Why didn't you teach me s- better Sorbian or my mother asserted herself over my father or something, I don't know. Um, I don't let, **I don't want to be reproached. Or have to listen to reproaches.**

While Stephan and Daniel had similar starting points in their families and at school, they have different relationships to Sorbian and value it very differently today. Stephan is satisfied with the fact that he had formal instruction in Sorbian and now sees his interaction with Sorbian more as an intellectual challenge or a game. He does not want to use it actively because he has perfectionist

standards and distances himself from the colloquial language of those who speak Sorbian in everyday life. Daniel does not mention his Sorbian lessons at school. His approach to Sorbian is defined purely by human contact, by celebrating, singing and working together. He describes how his language skills change depending on how much contact he has with other Sorbian speakers at any given time, and recalls a particularly intense time when he had friends and work on the spot: 'I was shocked mySELF, the people in A., the, I was shocked myself, I spoke Sorbian with all sorts of foreign words, so really, that was CRAzy, that was madness. You were always just there, then after work you would still sit a bit and Sorbian. I lost it again a bit then, but ...'. Daniel also has no inhibitions about using German when speaking Sorbian and is not afraid of making mistakes. While Stephan emphasises that he understands Sorbian well and can follow more complex topics, Daniel considers his knowledge of the language to be limited and says that he has a bit of a command of it ('And what I know in Sorbian, the little bit'). It stands to reason that their role in the marriage in terms of language also contributes to their current language practices. Daniel is aware that he is the one who provides the Sorbian input for his children, whereas for the Domschs this is the role of Stephan's wife.

With this section I want to show that the assertive use of Sorbian has the potential to be inclusive and to promote the use of Sorbian. In Daniel's case this was closely linked to positive experiences in large (!) Sorbian groups. While he signalled that he wanted the others to speak to him in Sorbian, they did exactly that. So Daniel had the opportunity to use Sorbian more and more. To be fair, it must also be taken into account that he turned to Sorbian in his youth.

8.6 Sorbian, an inferior language

At the end of this chapter, I address statements implying that Sorbian is not merely subordinate to German because of its lower utilitarian value, but also because of its sheer inferior status. The section in which I wrote about cases in which speakers of Sorbian avoid speaking Sorbian in order to avoid trouble already hinted at this. Frank Symmank's justification for speaking Sorbian in public with his sons on family trips to West Germany, because he is 'not afraid anymore' (see (9)), is indicative of this power imbalance. The fear of xenophobic insults, ridicule and discrimination as a reaction to the use of Sorbian clearly points to the linguistic dominance of German. In some cases, theer is also a fear of physical attack. Ingrid Piller (2016: 151) states that the fear of and "the danger of linguistically motivated violence presents the most extreme aspect of linguistic domination". In Lusatia, this fear of linguistically or ethnically motivated attacks is normalised and played down in the context of public parties in the Catholic Sorbian-speaking area. In one of the above quotes, Daniel Petasch (J2) mentioned that there were only two places where he and his friends had spoken Sorbian when went out in their youth (see (78)). Now, the parties at these locations are specifically associated with being Sorbian parties, where Sorbs can be sure to meet others with whom they can converse in Sorbian. The possibility that it might come to linguistically motivated attacks during a party is seen as inevitable part of having a public party with a Sorbian orientation. It is tolerated in a pragmatic approach in order to be able to have the party at all. One aspect of this pragmatic approach is cooperation with the police, who help to prevent incidents or intervene quickly by increasing their presence around the party venue. In (90) I quote Frank Symmank (A2) who shakes his head (metaphorically speaking) at this.

(90) Frank Symank/Symmank (A2, 45)

Mó smó cwor něke měli jow tón wulku […] party jow […], do toho je jara wjele policije było, přez to je měr był. No, also te kale su tej přišli z H. zase, […]. Also, jow přišli zase su. Hale přez to, zo ta prezenca jow tajka sylna była je, je to … Ale tam tón, ka jen praj, der aufwand und nutzen je jara wje- je jara wulki. Tón coł policiju ha tón coł klapperadatsch jow. Hyno. Wegen tajkej serbskej party, blos, zo móža wone serbske swjećić. To je einklich … Wot towo dingsa to nonsens je.

We had this big [...] party here [...], before that there was a lot of police, so it was quiet. Yeah, the guys from H. came again, [...]. So they came here again. It was only because the presence here was so strong that the … But there the, how do you say, the effort and the benefit is very much- is very big. All the police and all the mess here. Isn't it? Because of a Sorbian party, just so they can celebrate in Sorbian. That's really... From that point of view, it's nonsense.

Frank clearly focuses on the pragmatic aspects of guaranteeing security for the participants of the party and sees the expenditure it takes for it. However, he does not ponder about whether it should be perceived as worrying to deem the efforts necessary. Alexandra Bluhme (F1) also remembered the parties during her youth as contexts in which xenophobic attitudes towards the Sorbs became noticeable (91). Although the conflicts may hypothetically be attributed to inter-village rivalries, they are perceived as anti-Sorbian. Still, Alexandra hesitates to attribute acts of vandalism in the vicinity of the party venue to the youth from whom they used to run away.

(91) Alexandra Bluhmowa/Bluhme (F1, 30)

F1: also to ja njejsym znać wukła, zo je lóze přez nas powědane wodwało. To jen pon woprawdźe hakle sobu dóstanył, hdyž jen młody był. Hdyž jen na disco jow šoł. […] To jen jara husto sobu dóstanył. To ta je husto su přec prajene hodwało: Jetzt kommen die G. ((a certain village)), haut alle ab!

smi: Ok.

F1: To šće ja wěm, to je husto było, zo jen pon dyrbjał hladać, zo jen ćeknje. Te su jenož přišli, zo bychu wone móhli na te Serbja hić. A te su też husto, # ja njewěm, hač su te woprawdźe někak němsce byli, ja njewěm, štó je, to běše, zo je jen čas dołho też cyle wjele […] dokoławokoło randaliert wodwało a tajke něšto. To pak ja, hač ma to woprawdźe nětko z tym serbstwom činić, abo einfach zo su te, zo tym wostudło było, to ja njewěm.

F1: I didn't experience people talking badly about us. You only really noticed it when you were a teenager. When you went to the disco here. [...] You noticed that very often. People often said: Now they're coming from G. ((a certain village)), everybody take off!

smi: OK.

F1: I remember that; it was often the case that you had to run away. They only came so that they could go after the Sorbs. And they often, # I don't know if they were really German in any way, I don't know who they were, that for a while there was a lot of [...] rioting around the place and so on. But I don't know whether

that really has something to do with Sorbian or that they just, that they were bored.

A specific context for insults is football, where besides the players of the teams, also emotional spectators are involved. Practically everyone who plays football could contribute an anecdote, although most comment that the relevant incidents are not as severe and as frequent as outsiders perceive it. Philipp Dreißig recalls his time in the local football team during youth in the fragment in (92). The incidents he recalls, were also described by younger participants who have experienced similar incidents more recently. Besides insults by various people Philipp mentions a trainer of the competing team shouting that they should speak German and a referee demanding the same and threatening to quit the game. In Philipps account, as in the account from another younger participant, their trainer stood up for the team's right to speak Sorbian and defended the players. Apart from that direct reaction, usually all participants said that the incidents were not further made a subject of discussion.

(92) Philipp Dreißig (D3, 30)

smi: %mm. A móžeš šće so ty na tón kopańcu dopomnić?

D3: Haj, kusk tak. Ten smy tam też eigentlich přeco serbsce rěčeli. Też pola treninka, ale hdyž smy też mol dale preč jěli eigentlich wšo na serbsce. A też na sportplatz. To běše też ten ale tajki akt też šće druhdy, hdyž smy do H. ((German town)) abo do B. ((nearby German village)) abo tajke rózki smy jěli, ale na sportplatz přeco smy serbsce rěčeli. A tam su też druhdy tajke trenery wot tamneho mustwa pódla byli. Te su pon też wótře wodwali, swarjeli, nahaj, my dyrbimy też němsce rěčeć, kaž ausländer a tajke něšto su nas też beschimpfwali tajke něšto. A jemol je też jen tajki schiedsrichter pon prajił, tón hru nětko dale nječini. Entweder my jow na tón spielplatz nětko też němsce dale rěčimy kaž te tamne abo zas wostanje.

smi: Ok.

D3: Dokelž to za nas też kaž kusk vorteil běše, hdyž tam also kusk wotrěčeć na tón spielfeld, ja nětko jemol prajim, no. Te tamne to njejsu rozumili. A hdyž tón nětko praji: Ja, schießt den Ball jetzt zu mir rüber! To kóždy pon glei wědźał, štó něk tón bul krydnje. Hyno. Ja nětko njecham prajić, zo to kriegsendscheidend běše, ale to, to kusk vorteil też běše za nas. Haj.

smi: Na haj, je to tajka lěpšina, zo móže to rozsudźić něšto?

D3: Na, lěpše nic, ach. To su tajke małke wěcy. My tla smy amateury. Ja praju, hdyž to nětko te wulke fußballere nětko někak činja, něšto druhe, ale tak. To njeje nětko ničo dale było za nas, no. To tla my smy też prajili: Schieß den Ball #třiha oder tam. Ale pomhało to tla druhdy kusk je.

smi: A kak šće wy pon na to reagowali? Also kak šće wy też mjezsobu z tym wobchadźeli?

D3: My jako hólcy, hrajerje, njejsmy nětko ničo k tomu prajili. Ale naš trenar pon też fuchtig wodwał. Tón pon też kusk swarjeł a też prajił: Na ja, my tla móžemy rěčeć kaž MY chcemy. Wir kommen aus dem Sorbischen, da können wir auch Sorbisch reden. Na haj, to druhdy też kusk tam so horje-, also bissl hochgeschaukelt. Też druhdy sinnlos běše, ale tak husto tla to nětko też njeběše. To běše dwaj, tři moli tajka situacija. Haj. To běše. @

smi: […]

D3: Haj. M. To je druhdy tak. Ja mi pon też mysle nječinim. To je jemol tak a gut. Ja mje nětko persönlich njejsym tam angegriffen fühlwał. To halt ta cyła skupina hromadźe. Te su halt ausländer oder ja njewěm što.

smi: Haj. Na haj. Ale to so po tym-, tematizuje so to potym někak?

D3: Ach, ničo. Ach. Kaž prajene, my smy pon po tym zas domoj jěli, piwo pili a smjeli a gut. Druhdy to pon šće tema běše. My smy tam też naše späße činili wot to. Prajili, ist doch gut, bestätigt doch, zo smy tla něšto praje smy činili. A na haj, a gut. Ale zo to někak něšto lóze wodwało, to eigentlich njeje było. Jenož pon po tej hru, što tam prajili su, ale hewak wšo gut. Also ničo rassistisch oder tajke něšto. Haj.

smi: %mm. And can you still remember the football?

D3: Yes, a little bit. We always spoke Sorbian there. Also during training, but also when we travelled further away, everything was actually in Sorbian. And also on the pitch. At that time it was sometimes an act when we went to H. ((German town)) or to B. ((nearby German village)) or other places like that, but we always spoke Sorbian on the sports field. And sometimes there were coaches from the other team there. They became loud and scolded, well, we have to speak German, too; foreigners and so on, they also scolded us. And once a referee said he wouldn't let the game go on. Either we speak German on the pitch from now on, like the others, or he stops.

smi: OK.

D3: Because it was also a bit of an advantage for us to be able to communicate a bit on the pitch, I don't know. The others didn't understand that. And when someone says: Yes, kick the ball to me now! Then everyone knew right away who was going to get the ball. Right. I don't want to say that it was decisive, but it was a bit of an advantage for us. Yes.

smi: Well, is it such an advantage that it can decide something?

D3: Well, it's not better, ah. It's little things like that. We're amateurs. I say, if big footballers do it somehow, that's something else, but like that. It was nothing special for us, yeah. We also said: Shoot the ball # or there. But sometimes it helped a bit.

smi: And how did you react? How did you deal with it amongst yourselves?

D3: As boys, as players, we didn't say anything about it. But our coach got angry too. He scolded them a bit and said: Well, we can speak the way WE want to. We come from the Sorbian region, so we can speak Sorbian. Well, sometimes it got a bit out of hand. Sometimes it was pointless, but it wasn't that often. There were two or three situations like that. Yes. That happened. @

smi: [...]

D3: Yes. Hm. It's like that sometimes. I don't think about it. It's just like that and that's it. I didn't feel personally attacked there. It was just the whole group together. They're just foreigners or I don't know what.

smi: Yes. Well. But is this discussed in any way afterwards?

D3: Oh, nothing. Nothing. Like I said, we went home afterwards, drank beer and laughed and that was it. Sometimes it came up. We joked about it there too. We'd say, That's good, it confirms that we did something right. And well, and that's it. But it didn't really turn into something nasty. It was just at that game

> that they said it, but otherwise everything was fine. So nothing racist or anything like that. Yes.

Towards the end of the quote, Philipp says that he and his teammates used to laugh about such incidents. So, in a way, they helped to unite and distance themselves. While this reaction shows that the team can strengthen their team spirit by reacting, I have also noticed other reflexes, such as doubting whether it is a good idea to do the training all in Sorbian and not prepare the children to use German as an alternative.

9 Language management

In the previous two chapters I have already touched on various negotiations of practices. This chapter now deals with negotiations – explicit, implicit, but also with cases where no negotiations take place. I will discuss attempts to modify or change practices and, to a more limited extent, changing attitudes. However, I will also discuss how practices and beliefs are confirmed and reinforced. Modifications of or attempts to modify behaviour are reflectively applied by the participants to their own practices or are directed at the practices of others. Some of the changes can be traced over longer periods of time, they only become apparent in a longer perspective. Some of the changes can be deduced from the description of activity at a particular moment, they are apparent from a perspective in the now and here (of the narrated text).

Most of the families portrayed did not explicitly discuss their family language policy. The general goal of raising children bilingually was implicitly negotiated. The details of these implicit family language policies are developed and modified on the go and according to current needs, including unforeseen compromises. Although my analysis of the management instances is not embedded in the Language Management Theory (Nekvapil 2006; Neustupný & Nekvapil 2003), it is inspired by the useful distinction between simple, ad hoc management within a particular interaction and organised management directed generally at potential specific interactions. While I was able to identify many instances of simple management, including repeated simple management, clear examples of organised management are difficult to classify because, as noted above, the families do not follow a comprehensive family language policy, and in Lusatia there is no language policy officially directed at the language use of individuals in their families. Instead, the interviews reveal many instances of management of an intermediate nature. The second feature of Language Management Theory that proves useful in the discussion of the participants' management of language choices is its processual approach. In essence, it helps to reveal the ongoing processes of negotiation. Management interventions are initiated when linguistic behaviour is viewed critically, i.e. when it is unexpected or when it deviates from norms that are considered important. Attention to interventions reveals norms of language use between individuals, within families, as well as wider social norms.

I will begin the discussion with parental choices that are relevant to the structure of the linguistic environment and for the linguistic input children receive, as well as the opportunities children have to engage with Sorbian. First, I will discuss the mostly implicit negotiation of language use between partners, with children and within the nuclear family. Secondly, I look at the choice of school. Thirdly, I turn to the families' participation in church life.

In section 9.2, I look at some of the more common cases of management that are discussed by my participants and that go beyond the family domain.

Section 9.3 is devoted to factors that are relevant to linguistic socialisation but that are not subject to management in the families studied. Some of them are difficult to influence, others are not recognised as opportunities to support Sorbian, and still others are not used as such because they conflict with the attitudes and values of the parents.

9.1 The impact of parents' choices on the structure of the linguistic environment and the linguistic input children receive

As previously mentioned, and in a sense summarising chapter 7, all the children (who were already able to speak at the time of my research) acquired at least some productive Sorbian skills, and all of them have a solid knowledge of German. In other words, their linguistic environment was conducive enough to support their linguistic journey in bilingual Lusatia. The children have at least one parent with positive attitudes towards Sorbian who spoke to them in this language from birth, and they have other relatives who speak Sorbian to them. In principle, there are peers in all the children's social networks with whom they could speak Sorbian. They live in villages where, apart from family members, there are other people who speak Sorbian, they went or are going to kindergarten where Sorbian is spoken, most of them also went or are going to primary school with Sorbian as (one of the) language(s) of instruction, and some of them also went or are going to secondary school with Sorbian as (one of the) language(s) of instruction. Most participate in church life in parishes where Mass and other activities are held in Sorbian. Some are members of sports clubs where Sorbian is spoken. All the children have a parent who speaks to them almost exclusively in German, they have other relatives who speak to them in German and they have peers who speak to them in German. Some have been educated in German and all have been at least partly instructed in German at school. Some regularly attend German Mass in church. Some have extracurricular activities that take place in German. These opportunities outside the famiy to hear and engage with the languages are similar for all the families. For two of them, however, the linguistic environment changed to the bilingual one only after they moved to the Sorbian-speaking part of Lusatia. Prior to their move, German had a much more prominent place in their linguistic soundscapes, to use a term used by De Houwer (2009).

The people with whom and the occasions on which the participants speak Sorbian are usually linked to the habitual use of Sorbian. Under certain conditions, however, the choice of Sorbian can be modified and German used instead. The situation is different for interactions that are habitually conducted in German. In such cases there is usually no alternative to speaking German.

In the following sections I will further discuss the differences in the patterns of language use in the nuclear family, in the parental choice of language for formal schooling and in the language-related negotiation of participation in religious life.

9.1.1 The negotiation of language use between partners, with children and whithin the nuclear family

In most cases the couples implicitly negotiated the division of language between the partners. The Sorbian-speaking parents assumed that their German-speaking partners would speak German to the children and that it would be their own task to provide the children with Sorbian language input. The German-speaking parents either took a supportive stance towards the partner's wish to pass on Sorbian to the children or came to the conclusion that they would not prevent the use of Sorbian with the children. In view of this, the question of switching to Sorbian or using more Sorbian in the future never came up in my interviews with them.

As I wrote in chapter 7, the accommodation of the German parent in the nuclear family varies between the families studied. A closer look at the extent to which the German partner is accommodated within the family reveals that the accommodation practices seem to be influenced by the experiences of the individual parents in their own families of origin (and in confrontation

with other people outside the family of origin). The strong influence of parents' personal experiences of growing up bilingually, of learning a second language and of the critically evaluated practices of other parents on their own decisions to raise children bilingually is discussed by King and Fogle (2006). They caution that the participants in their study may have been disproportionately thoughtful and proactive. Nevertheless, personal experiences of language use and competence can be found to inform language practices in the present study, even though such experiences are not always explicitly discussed in the decision-making processes related to child rearing. Moreover, in some of the couples the partners do not both have a proactive attitude towards raising children with Sorbian, or a supportive attitude may have evolved into a more neutral one. If the habitual language use pattern experienced by a parent in his or her family of origin has been evaluated positively, this pattern can also be traced in the language choice patterns in the observed families. If the habitual language use pattern in the family of origin was evaluated negatively, or as deficient, then different practices can be observed in their own families. These differing practices are the result of a conscious choice to do something differently, and language awareness plays a role in this. It is important to note that when familiar monolingual patterns (experienced in Lusatia either in relation to German or to Sorbian) had to be translated into a new bilingual approach, the normative accommodation practice in Lusatia was transferred quite rigidly into the family. In addition to the own childhood experiences of family life, other circumstances can lead to a greater language awareness, which in turn can lead to more reflected and self-confident instances of management in negotiations. Two of the families in which the Sorbian-speaking parent does not accommodate the partner when speaking to the children, had lived outside a Sorbian-speaking environment when the first children were born.

Most parents said that they had not discussed with their partner which language they would use to talk to the child. In some of the couples one partner answered my question in the affirmative and the other partner in the negative, both stating that, Yes/No, they had simply spoken their own language to the child.

9.1.1.1 The Domsch's

One parent who told me that they simply spoke the way they spoke, was Karola Domsch (C1). She rather negotiated with Stephan (C2) about the extent to which German should be supported in the family. In quote (93) she recalls that Stephan sometimes told her to speak more German with the children, but she does not see this as a problem, since they shared the wish that their children should acquire German at home.

(93) Karola Domšowa/Domsch (C1, 44)

smi: Nó, nó. Na haj. A prajće jónu, sće sej Wy takrjec, em, na započatku někak prajili: My chcemy tak a tak to činić, also ja nětko serbsce rěču a ty němsce.

C1: Ně, to my gor njejsmy prajili. %m%m.

smi: To je so takle wuwiło.

C1: Haj. To smy einfach tak činili. %m(Hx) Vielleicht smy my měli tež druhdy jemol wjace tajke fazy, hdyž je wón prajił: Ty dyrbiš jemol wjace z tymi, jowle němsce powědać, mój muž takle prajił, hyno. To šón tež. Wón je přeco jara na to dźiwał, zo my, zo jow němsce powědane wodwje tež. Ale to najbóle, hdyž wón nětko tu je oder přijědźe, zo my nětko němsce powědamy. Hdyž wón je tu. Ale, hdyž wón tu njeje, pon, pon ja serbsce powědam z nimi @@.

smi: Yes, yes. Well, yes. And tell me, did you somehow say at the beginning: We want to do it this way and that way, so now I speak Sorbian and you speak German?
C1: No, we didn't say that at all. %M%m.
smi: That's how it developed.
C1: Yes, we just did it that way. %m(Hx) Maybe sometimes we had more of those times, when he said: You have to speak more German with them, my husband said so, right. That too. He always made sure that we also spoke German here. But most of the time, when he is here or comes here, we speak German. When he is here. But when he's not here, then I speak Sorbian with them @@.

Karola and Stephan are both bilingual, but Stephan does not speak Sorbian. While to him it would probably be fine if the children were spoken to only in German at home, like his parents did with him, Karola wants that they know both languages because as a young adult she felt inhibited to speak German due to her monolingual Sorbian upbringing. Karola's language use differs from that of her parents in that she speaks Sorbian and German to her children, instead of exclusively Sorbian. Like his own parents, Stephan talks to his children only in German, but unlike his parents who used Sorbian between them, he also speaks German with Karola. To Stephan it is of utmost importance that the children speak proper German that does not give away that they might speak another language. Karola first attempted to follow the principle of each parent sticking to one language and spoke Sorbian do Jasmin and Vincent. But because she took over the main part of care work and spent most time with the children, she was afraid that the children would not learn German and began to speak to them in German too, also in the absence of Stephan. In light of this, I return to quotation (93) and would like to draw attention to how both partners contest each others approach to language use with the children without perceiving any kind of clash as seen from the moment of narration. Stephan, who is satisfied with his own linguistic socialisation, would like to adopt a similar approach in their family. Karola, who views her own linguistic socialisation as insufficient, wants both languages spoken actively in their family. When Stephan demands from Karola that she should speak more German with the children (maybe because he found their active use of German insufficient or flawed by Karola's use of Sorbian), Karola acknowledges the importance of German, but holds on to her belief that both languages should be spoken in order to be acquired by the children. She mainly speaks German to the children when the whole family is together, but continues to also speak Sorbian, especially in the absence of Stephan.

Karola used the argument that children can acquire two languages simultaneously in her attempts to convince also her parents in law to use more Sorbian with the grandchildren. While they spoke Sorbian with Karola, they used German with the grandchildren just as they had with their son Stephan. In fragment (94) Karola recounts how she subtly tried to show that it is possible to speak more than only one language. For instance, she tried to integrate her mother in law into playing games in Sorbian by talking to the children and to her in Sorbian and asking her questions. To me, Karola also mentions to have read about raising children bilingually. She probably did not refer to literature when she spoke to her parents in law, but she certainly used it to support her position towards Stephan.

(94) Karola Domšowa/Domsch (C1, 44)
C1: Ja sym to pon jemol, ja sym wjele čitała takle, kak móže jen dźěći wotćahnyć a to sym ja pon něhdźe čitała, zo móža te bjez problemow pjeć rěčow nawuknyć,

hdyž su te małke. Hač do pjeć lět a pon je to kusk ćešo dźe. Nó. A to sym ja spytała přeco jemol kusk, ja sym tu ((přichodnu mać)) potom spytała přeco jemol kusk přeswědčić, zo wona móže też jemol serbsce powědać. Ta pak je přeco spytała němsce powědać z Jasmin a Vincentom, to bě ekstrem. Ale to je nutřka třało, wot mojeho muža em. No, to je richtig nutřka třało. Ta je dołho trjebała, prjedy hač so ta takle dołho do toho namakała, zo to wobojdwoje dźe. Pola teje je to voll nutřka było, to je było te němske a fertig je. Ta to ženje njeje wědźała, zo to wjace rěčow też najenmol dźeja.

smi: Haj. Ale to šće Wy ju potom přeswědčili, zo wona hdys a hdys jemol abo zo wona kompletnje přešła?

C1: Nó haj, kusk takle. Spielerisch takle kusk. Ja njejsym nětko też jowle, to tla njemóžeš pon, no.

smi: Ně, nó ja sym wćipna, ja so prašam kak?

C1: Achso.

smi: Ja njewěm, kak.

C1: Ja njewěm kak? E. M. Hdyž smy něšto hrali hromadźe abo tak, to sym ja pon einfach serbsce powědała abo zo sym so ja serbsce prašała oder někak? Ach, to ja wjace njewěm. Ja jedenfalls to njejsym sej wuzwingwała, dokelž zo sym ja prajiła, hdyž ja nětko takle auf druck, pon to njepóńdźe. To tla pola dźěći też tak je, #sogar wšudźe, in der erziehung. A tak dyrbiš z tej wowku pon też někak spytać.

C1: Once I, I used to read a lot about how to raise children, and I read somewhere that they can learn five languages without any problems when they are small. Up to the age of five, and then it's a bit harder. Yeah. And I always tried a little bit, I always tried to convince her ((the mother-in-law)) that she could also speak Sorbian. But she always tried to speak German with Jasmin and Vincent, that was extreme. But it was ingrained in her, because of my husband. Yeah, it was really ingrained in her. It took a long time for her to see that both is possible. It was completely ingrained in her, it was German and that's it. She never knew that you can have more languages at the same time.

smi: Yes, but then you convinced her to switch from time to time or completely?

C1: Well, a little bit. Playfully, a little bit. I didn't, you can't do that, yeah.

smi: No, well, I'm curious, I wonder how?

C1: Oh, I see.

smi: I don't know how.

C1: I don't know how? Uh. Hm. When we played something together or something, I just spoke Sorbian or I asked questions in Sorbian or something? Oh, I don't remember. In any case, I didn't force it, because I said that if I put pressure on it, it won't work. It's the same with children, even everywhere, in education. And so you have to try it with the grandmother too, somehow.

Karolas strong belief in the possibility of a bilingual upbringing contributed to a common bilingual family ideology that is also embraced by the children, who are very proud to have grown up bilingually. Stephan in turn, took it up when telling me that young children could pick up several languages and that the children would learn Sorbian en passant while playing with other children in the wider community. Implicitely he assumes that there are enough families who pass on Sorbian, so that the community is able to function as socialising environment for Sorbian.

Contrary to Stephan's claim in (87) to be open to bilingual conversations, he is said to adopt a monolingual German stance at home (see Karola in (4)) and when the family is travelling (see Karola in (75)). In addition to speaking German in Stephan's presence, the children also learned to speak German to the other family members when the family had German-speaking visitors. The pro-active stance to accommodation and the adherence to the rule of politeness is shared by both parents. I already quoted Jasmin in (8) when she told me about the use of German in the presence of visitors. In (95) I provide her explanation too. It suggests that Karola and Stephan explained the expected language choice for such situations and repeatedly told them to speak German when speakers of German were around.

(95) Jasmin Domšec/Domsch (C3, 17)

Na haj, němske smy halt přeco rěčeli, hdyž smy zum beispiel tež doma měli wopyt abo tak. To přeco rěkaše, bóle němsce rěčeć, dokelž te serbsce njerozumja, serbsce njerěča.

Well, we always spoke German, for example, when we had visitors at home or something. We were always told to speak more German because they didn't understand Sorbian, didn't speak Sorbian.

Karola had a strong impact belief (De Houwer 1999) and saw it as her task to enable her children to learn both languages at home. Just as she is convinced that her parents could have had taught her some German during her childhood, she is convinced that when someone speaks both languages to a child, the child will learn both (recall also (49) for her argument that language use at home is important). However, while she expected her children to respond to her in the language she addressed them, she did not expect them to use a particular language among themselves or with friends. She knew that they spoke Sorbian because they spoke Sorbian to her, and she observed with interest and without judgement which language choices they made with others. Interestingly, in the Domsch family, although the older siblings spoke German among themselves, spoke Sorbian to Markus, following the example of their mother, who mostly spoke Sorbian to Markus. In fragment (18) I quoted Jasmin as saying that she always speaks Sorbian with Markus, but German with Vincent. Thinking about an explanation for this preference, she said, "Well, I don't know. It's probably because I was old enough when the little one was born. And I would say that my mother took care of us more than my father. And that's how she, she is the Sorbian for us, spoke Sorbian, and then we also always spoke Sorbian with the little baby, so to speak." So Markus had Sorbian input from more people in his immediate family than Jasmin and Vincent had had. I can only speculate whether Karola spoke more Sorbian to him than she had to Jasmin and Vincent, perhaps because she was more relaxed, since it was already clear that the children could acquire both languages. In any case, she of course spoke Sorbian to Jasmin and Vincent, and so for Markus more overheard speech was in Sorbian than for his older siblings, who had probably mainly heard their parents talking – in German.

When Karola spoke German to Markus, he always responded in Sorbian. At a certain point, Karola started to be troubled because he did not respond to her in German, when addressed in that language. So she thought of a way to motivate the youngest son to speak German. Karola decided that on the next holiday trip, all family members would speak German to each other, and Stephan's constant presence would help to maintain this choice during vacation. Stephan's preference for German

outside of Lusatia or in German-speaking environments was an advantage to Karola's plan. The strategy was implemented and, indeed, Markus started to reply to his mother in German. Below is an interesting segment of the conversation between myself, Markus and Karola on this topic (96). Karola was with us during my language portrait session with Markus and asked him additional questions relating to certain events in the past. All questions in the fragment are addressed to Markus.

(96) Markus Domš/Domsch (C5, 11), Karola Domšowa/Domsch (C1, 44)

C1: ((k C5:)) Na haj gut, dokelž sy ty ..., kaž sy ty prajił, ty sy najprjedy serbsce wuknył. Ty tla sy, hdyž sym ja němsce z tobu powědała, to sy ty přeco serbske wotmołwił. Wěš šće ty to?

C5: %M.

C1: A pon smy my jemol do dowola jěli a pon sym ja

C5: Haj. T-

C1: prajiła: Nětko je schluss. Nětko budźemy jemol hladać -

smi: ((k C5:)) **Kak je to za tebje było?**

C1: @@@

C5: **Na, ja sym chcył přeco zas serbsce rěčeć też d-, ale w dowolu to tla jen blos němsce rěči a tak, dokelž to tla bě na** [... ((placename))].

C1: Na haj, my smy, Stephan je, mój muž je jara, jara, jowle, hdyž my něhdźe smy, zo my ja němsce powědamy. Also serbsce powědać něhdźe w cuzbje, to njeje fajn. @

smi: Haj.

C1: No, to tón přeco jara ... To zno ja nětko sym kusk wotpołožiła. Ja to pon druhdy towa serbsce powědam z Jasmin a z Vincentom. Oju. To tón pon jara na to dźiwa. **Ně, mi pak to wo to šło, zo wón też jemol něšto němsce praji**. A tohodla smy sej my

C5: @@

C1: takle prajili ... **To bě te jeničke, štož smy sej my takle prajili. Nětko budźemy jemol němsce jenož powědać. @ Nó. A pon sy ty najemol němsce powědał.**

smi: ((k C5:)) A pon pak to klopwało?

C5: %m.

C1: **To kaž brjek tón sej to njeje zwěrił najprjedy, no**.

C5: @@

C1: ((k C5:)) Ty sy sej myslił, haj, ty budźeš něšto wopaki prajić oder što?

C5: Ts ... To ja sam wjac njewěm.

C1: To ty njewěš. Ty sy zu małki był, no.

C5: **Ja blos šće wěm, hdyž smy přeco irgend něhdźe do urlaupa jěli a tam sym ja dyrbjał němsce rěčeć. Smy pak trotzdem unter uns serbsce rěčeli**.

C1: Na haj, hdyž smy my pon sami mol. My tři. @@ Štyrjo.
Najbóle my pon němsce powědamy, hdyž papa pódla.

smi: Nó.

C1: Oder jedna wosoba, kotraž němsce ... Ja mam přećelki też, no, pon ja też němsce powědam.

C5: **Hdyž smy też byli w**, em, [... ((place name))]. Tam też, **ta žona, ta je też prajiła, dokelž my smy runje serbsce rěčeli, ta je też prajiła: To tla je derje, zo wy móžeće tak gut serbsce. Oder wjacore rěče.**

smi: %Mm.

C1: ((k C5:)) Je ta was jemol słyšała, hdyž šće wy hrajkali wonka, oder što?

C5: Na haj, hdyž smy my sogar lós činili, em, zas domoj.

C1: %Mm.

C5: @@@

C1: ((to C5:)) Well, because you ... as you said, you learned Sorbian first. When I spoke to you in German, you always answered in Sorbian. Do you remember that?

C5: %M.

C1: And then we went on holiday once and then I

C5: Yes. Th-

C1: said: Now that's enough. Now we'll see-

smi: ((to C5:)) **How was it for you?**

C1: @@@

C5: **Well, I always wanted to speak Sorbian again, also o-, but on holiday you only speak German and so on, because that was in [... ((place name))].**

C1: Well, we have, Stephan has, my husband is very, very, here, when we are somewhere, that we speak German. So it's not good to speak Sorbian somewhere in a foreign place, that's not nice. @

smi: Yes.

C1: Yeah, he's always very ... I've already got over that a bit. Sometimes I speak Sorbian with Jasmin and Vincent anyway. Yes, he's very careful about that**. No, but I wanted him ((C5)) to say something in German too**. That's why we

C5: @@

C1: said ... **That was the only explicit agreement. Now we'll only speak German. @ Yeah. ((to C5:)) And then suddenly you spoke German**.

smi: ((to C5:)) And then it worked out?

C5: %m.

C1: **It was as if he didn't dare at first, yeah.**

C5: @@

C1: ((to C5:)) You thought, yes, you will say something wrong or what?

C5: Ts ... I don't know anymore myself.

C1: You don't know that. You were too little, yeah.

C5: **I only remember when we went on holiday somewhere and I had to speak German there. But we still spoke Sorbian to each other.**

C1: Well, when we were alone. The three of us. @@ Four of us.
Mostly we speak German when dad is with us.

smi: Yeah.

C1: Or a person who speaks German ... I have friends too, yeah, then I speak German too.

C5: **When we were in**, um, [... ((place name))]. **The woman there also said, because we had just spoken Sorbian, she also said: It's good that you speak Sorbian so well. Or several languages.**

smi: %Mm.

C1: ((to C5:)) Did she hear you once when you were playing outside, or what?
C5: Well, when we left, um, back home.
C1: %Mm.
C5: @@@

It is interesting to see how mother and son perceive the language use differently. Whereas for Karola speaking German during a particular holiday trip was a way of motivating Markus to use German, for Markus it became a general rule to use German during holidays. A rule that was very difficult to comply with. While Karola speculates that Markus' non-use of German might have been a sign of shyness or insecurity (like Stephan's hypothetical fear of making mistakes in Sorbian), Markus says he does not remember. What he does remember, is how he and his siblings spoke Sorbian among themselves during holidays, despite the parental rule of German, and how they were told by an unknown woman what an asset it was that they knew Sorbian, or in general, that they were bilingual. Markus, like his older siblings, therefore values his bilingualism.

While it is sometimes difficult to trace the ad-hoc management of the past in narrative interviews, Karola shared a strategy that she still uses today. When she hears her children using German words while speaking Sorbian that she considers easy or common enough for them to know, she repeats the words in Sorbian, so that they have a chance to pick them up and use them if they want to. Such "adult repetitions" are neutral with in terms of socialising children into using a particular language (De Houwer 2009: 24), but when used with her adolescent children, Karola sees them as an offer. Apart from the accommodation-related use of German, I cannot reconstruct how Karola interactionally tried to create the need for her children to use exactly one of the two languages at a given moment. However, as she spoke more about the need to do something to establish German as a possible language, it seems that the children readily used Sorbian when talking to Karola. Throughout their childhood, Karola tried to ensure that the children would speak both languages actively. However, like most of the other five Sorbian-speaking parents in the study, she later sums up her ambitions in much more moderate terms, saying that she is happy that they understand everything in Sorbian. While Stephan implies that he would have delegated the socialisation into Sorbian entirely to the community, Karola hopes that whenever the children will have to do with people who speak Sorbian preferably, they will get more into the habit of speaking it and acquire additional vocabulary (97).

(97) Karola Domšowa/Domsch (C1, 44)
C1: Ně, ja sym to šón hladała, zo te to, zo te wobojdwoje, zo te tak wotrostu, zo te wobojdwoje móža a rozumja. To nětko njejsu zwar tajke super, zo wone, ja tym druhdy też pomham, ja tla też přeco tak jara porjadnje njeřěčim, ale hdyž je mi jedne słowo, štož je nětko něšto, jedne lochke słowo, pon ja tym to też praju, ja to njewuporjedźam, ale to šće jemol wospjetuju a pon wone to też kusk wědźa. Tak ja to najbóle činim, haj. Oju. @@ Nětko mam ja, hdyž naš wulki, tón nětko dźesaty a tón chce pon po L. wuknyć, a tón je też bóle serbsce najskerje bóle powědaja, no. To zno wón nětko też prajił, wón pon druhdy takle zno budźe započeć, vielleicht budźe wón też tam kusk bóle serbsce pon zaso nawuknyć. @@@ Mol hladać.
smi: %mm.

C1: Ale te tla wšo rozumja. To tla je gut. No. Also, ja přeco praju, tež pola mojeho muža. Toho nichtó njemóže verarschwać, ja njewěm. Tón wšo rozumi, ale tón em njecha. Dokelž zo so wón to njezwěri tak prajić. Tón ma strach, zo wón něšto wopačne praji, abo tón wuraz je wopaki. A to wón njecha so blaměrować, to wón přeco praji takle.

smi: Haj, haj.

C1: Ok. Haj. Haj, to je mje mjerzało, zo to w šuli tak było je, zo sym ja tam jenož tene serbske a serbske. A tohodla sym sej ja potom prajiła, to ja njebudu činić.

C1: No, I have certainly tried to make sure that they grow up knowing and understanding both. They're not so great that they, I help them sometimes, I don't always speak very well myself, but if there's a word, something that is, an easy word, then I tell them, I don't correct it, but I repeat it and then they also know it a little bit. That's how I usually do it, yes. Yes, I do. @@ Now I have, our older one, he's in tenth grade now and he later wants to study with L., he's also more Sorbian, they probably speak more Sorbian, yeah. He's already said that he's going to work there sometimes before he starts, maybe he'll learn a bit more Sorbian again. @@@ Let's see.

smi: %Mm.

C1: But they understand everything. That's good. Yeah. Well, I always say, even with my husband. No one can fool him, I don't know. He understands everything, but he doesn't want to. Because he doesn't dare to say anything. He's afraid he'll say something wrong, or that the expression is wrong. And he doesn't want to embarrass himself, that's what he always says.

smi: Yes, yes.

C1: OK. Yes. Yes, it annoyed me that it was like that at school, that I only ever had this Sorbian and Sorbian there. And that's why I said, I'm not going to do that.

In summary, it can be said that the interparental negotiations about the implicit goals of simultaneously transmitting Sorbian and German, on the one hand, and ensuring a solid knowledge of German language skills, and on the other, led to several different management activities. These included Stephan's requests to speak German, Karola's attempts to persuade the in-laws to use both of their languages with the children instead of only German, the explicit reminders to the children to speak German in the presence of German-speaking visitors, Karola's continuing Sorbian lexical advice to the children, and of course the prominent orchestrated "German-during-holidays" rule to ensure that the children would actively use German[13]. Interestingly, Karola does not speak of any attempts to persuade anyone other than her parents in law to use Sorbian alongside German, and it seems that this intervention took place during toddler age. She expected her children to speak Sorbian with her, but not to use Sorbian with their peers or other speakers of Sorbian.

9.1.1.2 The Schurig's

None of the other families reported that they were worried, or had been worried in the past, that their children would not start to speak German in time. For the Schurig's, for example, this has never been an issue.

[13] This management measure was not restricted to the mentioned aim. The use of German outside Lusatia is also related to views related to monolingual language ideologies of anonymity.

Kata (B1) and Patrick (B2) both grew up mainly with one language, Kata with Sorbian, Patrick even more so with German. Unlike Stephan (C2), Patrick did not experience the parallel worlds of Sorbian and German in one place. In fact, he did not experience actively spoken Sorbian until he was an adult. Unlike Karola (C1), Kata did not experience any challenges with German. Kata and Patrick's common language is German, interspersed with the occasional Sorbian word. When their first son was born, they both spoke to him in their own language. Before they moved to a Sorbian bilingual village when Karol (C3) was 6 years old, no one in the immediate environment spoke Sorbian except Kata. Like many other intermarried couples, the Schurig's have had to tackle the challenge that one of them did not understand the language the other one used with their child. Patrick was generally open and supportive of Kata speaking Sorbian also in his presence. He learned to understand Sorbian by observing and overhearing Kata talking to the children. Although he is still occassionally challenged by the others' conversations in Sorbian (compare the moments when he blocks the family's bilingual practices discussed in (65) and (84)), he does not generally challenge the use of Sorbian in his presence. Rather, learning to understand Sorbian alongside his son's language acquisition has helped him to feel more relaxed in other situations where a majority of people speak Sorbian. In quote (98), Patrick describes that he has also started to use some Sorbian with his sons here and there, but immediately adds that it is not very much, as the sons never made fun of any mistakes (expecting many mistakes in the case of attempts to say more complex things).

(98) Patrick Šurig/Schurig (B2, 49)

Das ist ja so, dann, du lernst ja dann auch das Verstehen, mit den Kindern mit. No, dieses Sorbisch Verstehen. Weil das geht ja wirklich vom wie man so in der Sprache halt lernt. Und man merkt ja, dass man dann mit den Kindern auch die Kleinen Sachen so auf Sorbisch spricht. Ne, so'n #reicht. Na, ich meine, mich haben sie noch nicht ausgelacht, also sprech ich nicht so oft damit, mit Sorbisch, also zu neunundneunzig Prozent spreche ich Deutsch. Aber weil ich mir aber auch nicht die Mühe gemacht hab, irgendwo wirklich mich hinzusetzen und irgendwie so zu lernen oder zu sagen, ich geh jetze Mal in einen Sorbischkurs, die ja jetze hier auch angeboten werden. Aber ich denke mal, da haben wir uns ganz gut auch arrangiert. **Es ist, hat ja auch viel mit Respekt und Toleranz zu tun, und ich denk mal, wenn's mir zu viel wird, sag ich dann was, dann wird vielleicht auch Deutsch geredet, also und dann, und wenn nicht, dann ist es halt so. Dann bin ich aber auch nicht der Typ, der jetze dann hier rumtrunkt oder irgendwas und das absolut verbietet. Wo ich da auch manche Familien gehört hab, die wollen nicht, dass, ... also, in der Gegenwart von den Deutschen nur Deutsch gesprochen wird. Da sag ich dann auch: Nee, das ist eure Muttersprache. Ich meine, ich kann mich ja genauso anpassen und versuchen Sorbisch zu verstehen. Aber ich bin ja eher der Zuhörer. Und wenn ich nichts verstehe, dann verstehe ich dann halt nichts. Frag dann auch nicht nach großartig**. ...

It's like, you also learn to understand together with the children. Yeah, that, understanding Sorbian. Because it's really about how you learn with the language. And you notice that you also say the little things with the children in Sorbian. Yeah, it's such an #enough. Well, I mean, they haven't laughed at me yet, so I don't speak it that often, Sorbian, so ninety-nine percent of the time I

speak German. But because I haven't made the effort to really sit down somewhere and learn somehow, or to say, I'm going to a Sorbian course now, which is also offered here now. But I think we've come to terms with that quite well. **It also has a lot to do with respect and tolerance, and I think if it gets too much for me, I'll say something, then maybe we'll speak German, and then, and if not, then that's just the way it is. But then I'm not the kind of person who would just come in here and start trumpeting or something and absolutely forbid it. I've also heard of some families who don't want ... They want that only German is spoken in the presence of the Germans. Then I also say: No, that's your mother tongue. I mean, I can adapt just as well and try to understand Sorbian. But I'm more of a listener. And if I don't understand anything, then I don't understand anything. Then I won't ask either...**

At the end Patrick says that Sorbian is the mother tongue of his wife and his children, indicating in a way that it is part of them, something one cannot or should not reject. Indirectly he positions himself as German (in other families everyone speaks German in the presence of Germans). Patrick's relaxed and supportive stance towards the use of Sorbian in his presence and the absence of a need to be able to follow every part of a Sorbian conversation is conducive in passing on Sorbian. Nevertheless, the Schurig's lived in a German-speaking environment without other speakers of Sorbian in the vicinity, when the older children were growing up. To all sons, German today is the stronger language that they use more spontaineously than Sorbian. When Karol (B3) remembers the beginning of school, the way he describes his previous experience of Sorbian does not let assume an alltoo great role of Sorbian (99).

(99) Karol Šurig/Schurig (B3, 15)

B3: Em, in der Schule hatte ich dann auch Förderunterricht für Sorbisch, weil ich nicht wirklich gut Sorbisch sprechen konnte am Anfang.

smi: %mm

B3: Em, weil ich das bloß so zum Teil gehört habe, von meiner Mutter. Und von meinen sorbischen Großeltern.

B3: Um, at school I also had special classes for Sorbian, because I couldn't speak Sorbian very well at the beginning.

smi: %mm

B3: Um, because I only heard it to a certain extent from my mother. And from my Sorbian grandparents.

Karol's words point at a deficit. A deficit in his active Sorbian skills and a deficit in Sorbian language exposure. For the years prior to school he does not report to have spoken Sorbian. Instead of maybe saying that he used Sorbian just a little, he says that he heard it just to a limited extent. Contrary to his description, Kata would have portrayed his skills at that time more positively, acknowledging that German was Karol's stronger language but surely pointing to active Sorbian skills too. When writing about management, the quoted segment of course points to the support for Sorbian that he received at school, but I will return to the school later.

Kata is a bit melancholic about the fact that her sons frequently answer her in German instead of Sorbian. We spoke about the boys' language use during a loose conversation outside the biographic interview and I base this description on my written field notes. First, I will summarise some of Kata's thoughts. She relates her sons' language use partly to the fact that the older two went to a kindergarten, where staff and children all spoke German. Matej (B4), for instance, mostly speaks German and often falls back into German when Kata speaks to him in Sorbian. Levi (B5), who already went to a Sorbian kindergarten, also speaks German, but returns to Sorbian more easily when Kata speaks to him in Sorbian. Karol (B3), Matej and Levi speak German among themselves and with their friends. Kata regrets that the Sorbian-speaking children speak German to all of her sons. During my visits to the family, my observations were similar. Aside from the planned interviews, I mostly spoke to the younger Matej and Levi, less with Karol. The three brothers spoke German among each other and also with their visiting friends. German was spontaneously used by Matej and Levi to comment video games. Like Kata, I addressed the boys in Sorbian. Unlike Kata described for their interactions, it was Matej who mostly spoke Sorbian to me, including when he initiated a question or alike. Sometimes he was thinking about a Sorbian equivalent, but he used the German one only when not being able to think of the Sorbian one. Levi more spontaneously used German also with me. During the more task-related language portrait session, he made an effort to speak Sorbian and I had the impression that had I given the instructions in German and had he spoken German, it would have been easier to him to express himself. Thus, all in all, the boys stronger language is German.

Again, it is not possible to reconstruct past interactional strategies based on Kata's narration. But she reported about what did not work for her. Today, she allows bilingual conversations with her sons. When they answer her in German, she moves on in Sorbian in the hope to give them a basis to join in with Sorbian at any point. The effect of continuing in Sorbian is a signal of comprehension and of acceptance for the use of German by her sons. Interactionally, there is no need for them to speak Sorbian (Lanza 2007; De Houwer 2009). Kata remembers a period, still living in a German-speaking environment, when she demanded her sons to answer her in Sorbian but she gave up this strategy when they signalled not to talk to her anymore. Other peoples' advice to give the boys time, they would start to speak Sorbian at some point, was not helpful to her because she had the determination to pass on active Sorbian to her children. Today, she keeps reminding the friends of her sons that her sons know Sorbian, but the friends usually switch to German when one of the Schurig boys joins them.

During their early childhood, Karol and Matej grew up in an environment that is similar for many children who hear their heritage language from only a limited number of people. The change after their move to the bilingual region brought them new opportunities to hear and engage with Sorbian, but peer contact resembled contexts were bilingual children speak the majority language to each other. German was already established as the main language between the siblings and also Levi, who had earlier contact to peers who spoke Sorbian, speaks and is spoken to in German by his peers and friends.

To sum up, Kata and Patrick agreed that Kata and the boys use Sorbian in every context, even when Patrick, who does not know Sorbian fluently, is with them. Kata does speak Sorbian with the boys, but they usually speak German with each other and with Patrick, and usually also when talking to Kata. Kata has given up her demand for Sorbian answers and has not been able to motivate the boys' peers to use Sorbian. It seems that the children who speak Sorbian amongst themselves only do that if the others are happy to use Sorbian too.

9.1.1.3 The Bluhme's

Like the Schurig's, the Bluhme's initially lived in a German-speaking environment, although they spent fewer years outside Sorbian-speaking Lusatia and moved there earlier than the former.

André (F2) grew up monolingual with German, Alexandra (F1) with both Sorbian and German. Alexandra wanted to pass on Sorbian and André accepted that she would speak Sorbian to their firstborn, Anton. The challenge for André and Alexandra was that, unlike Patrick and Kata Schurig, who had first met in a Sorbian context, the question of language came up quite late and did not come to the fore before the birth of Anton. André knew that Alexandra's family spoke Sorbian but because they were rarely in Lusatia, it was not really relevant in everyday life and the couple had to arrange anew. The negotiation of language use in the Bluhme family shows no signs of a direct confrontation. Here, each parent negotiated how to deal with the situation on their own. Alexandra spoke Sorbian to Anton in André's presence. I attribute this, on the one hand, to her awareness that she was the only person in the city they lived to be able to provide Anton with Sorbian language input. Secondly, she grew up in a household, where Sorbian and German were spoken interchangeably in the presence of all family members. André, who had no lived experience of bilingualism, tried to find his place in the bilingual family practices and began to observe and learn to understand Sorbian from the interaction between Alexandra and Anton. In (100) he describes how, linguistically, they found a suitable way and how he tried to learn to understand Sorbian so that Alexandra, and later also Anton, would not have to translate everything for him.

(100) André Bluhme (F2, 33)

F2: Na im Prinzip hab ich immer auf Deutsch mit dem Anton gesprochen und die Alexandra immer auf Sorbisch. Auch wenn ich dabei war. Ähm. Und haben wir uns dann immer so darauf geeinigt, dass das eben passt. Also Alexandra spricht AUCH Deutsch mit den Kindern. Und … Aber sie versucht eben ihre Muttersprache eben weiterzugeben. Das hat sich ja auch so durchgesetzt. **Und damit hab ich mich dann**, was heißt abgefunden, aber mich **arrangiert**. **Und ja im Prinzip dann wirklich versucht eben mitzulernen**. Dass … **dass ich das auch verstehen kann, was die zwei untereinander sich sagen, dass man das nicht dann nochmal übersetzen muss und so weiter. Ja. War nicht einfach, aber hat irgendwie geklappt**.

smi: Ja, ja. Und wie würdest du dieses Mitlernen beschreiben? Also du hast einfach, wenn sie dann sich unterhalten haben, die Ohren gespitzt- oder, unterhalten, ich meine erstmal in die eine Richtung, erstmal die Alexandra.

F2: Genau. Na, schon eben aufmerksam zugeguckt, oder zugehört und geschaut was eben teilweise gemacht wird. Und dann eben auch nachgefragt die Alexandra, was das jetzt heißt und so weiter. Ja. @ Wie's halt, wie man sich halt irgendwie versucht dann reinzufinden.

F2: In principle, I always spoke to Anton in German and Alexandra always in Sorbian. Even when I was there. Um. And we always agreed that it would fit. Well, Alexandra ALSO speaks German with the children. And … But she tries to pass on her mother tongue. That's what has become established. **And I have**, well, not made peace with it, but I have **come to terms with it. And in principle I really tried to learn along with him**. That … **that I can**

understand what they say to each other, that I don't have to translate it again and so on. Yes. It wasn't easy, but somehow it worked.

smi: Yes, yes. And how would you describe this co-learning? Well, when they were talking to each other, you just listened - I mean, talking, first in one direction, first Alexandra.

F2: Exactly. Well, you just watched attentively or listened and looked at what was going on in some cases. And then I would also ask Alexandra what it means and so on. Yes. @ Like, you just try to find your way in somehow.

André says that the learning process was not easy for him but at no point he mentions to have considered not to try to understand. When he mentions that doing so he tried to avoid additional translations, it seems that from hindsight, this was simply the most practical approach. André's efforts to learn to understand Sorbian facilitated Alexandra's adaptation of the bilingual approach from her family of origin. In (101) she describes how she remembers that situation and says that, basically, that is how she goes about languages in her family today. It is apparent that she does not feel any inhibition to speak Sorbian to the children in front of André.

(101) Alexandra Bluhmowa/Bluhme (F1, 30)

Also to bě doma poprawom woprawdźe normalne, wšojedne hač w wšědnym dnje, kaž prajene, **hdyž sym ja wot mać něšto chcyła, jen serbske z njej powědał, woprawdźe kaž dźeń běži a hdyž je nan tu był**, naš nan je sam firmu měł, tón je był samostatny, tón njeje wjele doma był, **ale z nim je jen cyle jednorje němske powědał**. **A kaž při blidźe nětko, hdyž su wšě hromadźe, je jen woprawdźe móhł też z mamu powědać, also ty serbske powědaš, hdyž ty pon papje durich dźeš, pon ty z papu němske powědaš. A wón tla je towodla wšo zrozumił. Naš nan, tón tla móže serbsce**. […] A tohodla jen to wšo einfach tak wostanje kaž to je. A kaž prajene, hdyž te dwejo pódla mje steja a ja z mamu powědam serbske, pon chcem ja papje něšto prajić, pon ja zas němske powědam. A pon je zas serbske durich. To so přeco takle dało. A pon je to, to nětko njeběše auf zwang, dokelž je to einfach, **to je tak běžało a to pola nas nětko też tak**. To einfach běži, jen einfach tak powěda, jen na to gor tak jara njedźiwje.

So that was really normal at home, whether in everyday life, as I said, if I wanted something from my mother, you spoke Sorbian with her, really, as the day went on, and when my father was there, our father had his own company, he was self-employed, he wasn't at home much, but with him you just spoke German. And like at the table, when everyone is together, you could really speak to your mother, so you speak Sorbian, when you go over to dad ((turn to him)), then you speak German to dad. And he understood everything. Our father, he knows Sorbian. [...] And that's why you just leave it as it is. And as I said, when the two of them are standing next to me and I speak Sorbian with mum, then I want to say something to dad, then I speak German again. And then it's Sorbian again over there. It's always been like that. And then it wasn't forced, because that's just the way it was, and that's the way it is with us now. It just happens, people just talk like that, you don't pay too much attention to it.

The interchangeable use of Sorbian and German between the different family members was unproblematic in Alexandra's family of origin because her father understands Sorbian very well. He spoke German to his children, but he had acquired Sorbian through formal education and could follow and take part in all Sorbian conversations. An approach totally different from the Domsch's rule of speaking German in the presence of Stephan (C2). Seen purely from the angle of interactional patterns in the input languages, they were fairly symmetric in Alexandra's family of origin[14]. Translations were not necessary from any language. This is different, if one of the partners does (initially) not understand Sorbian. A possible strategy instead of the general use of German as the common family language are translations for the German-speaking parent. However, while stimulating metalinguistic awareness, they reinforce the societal asymmetry between Sorbian and German and the differing practical requirement to know them. Translations from German into Sorbian are never strictly necessary (although reported in the spontaneous practices of younger children who strongly link each language to a person (D)). However, this certainly was not part of André's reasoning for learning Sorbian, and until today it did not prevent Anton from continuing to speak Sorbian to his mother.

While Anton grew older, Alexandra's pattern of language use in the family changed. Recalling Anton's explanation from quotation (3), it is clear that now that the children take part in conversations, she does not exclusively address the children in Sorbian anymore. She continues to use Sorbian in André's presence when addressing the children directly, but uses German when what she wants to say also concerns André. Anton describes that the siblings translate when the mother misses the language and speaks to them Sorbian, although the father should also know what is going on. Importantly, in Anton's account language competences implicitely have a developmental perspective. When Anton says about André "Yes, he can understand, but not yet speak so much. Only about two words," this implies the possibility of change in the direction of more use of Sorbian. Of course, this does not simultaneously mean that Anton expects his father to speak Sorbian. After all, according to Anton's reasoning the translations are intended to facilitate comprehension for the father. But still, receptive knowledge implies the realistic chance that the language could also be spoken if wanted, needed, required etc. And in fact, the translation strategies may also serve the function to symbolically include the father in the family conversations.

Before looking at more obvious instances of negotiation and management, I would like to turn once more to the subtle aspects in the negotiation of the Bluhme's language use patterns. In the next two quotations, André and Alexandra mark in retrospect how they perceive the linguistic development in the family with regard to André's relation to Sorbian. While both describe a positive progress linked to André's increasing knowledge of Sorbian, André's account (102) suggests a reduction of inconvenience or discomfort, while Alexandra's account (103) suggestsan expansion of skills and perspectives. By saying that Anton, Jonas and Emilia were spoken to in Sorbian by Alexandra, André implies that he had no choice but to acquire Sorbian comprehension skills. He shows that understanding Sorbian makes life in his bilingual family and/or in Lusatia more pleasant and yet he does not hide the fact that he does not always feel at ease.

(102) André Bluhme (F2, 33)

Und dann mit der Zeit wurde das natürlich besser. Es ist zwar immer noch so, dass ich an manchen Stellen eben dieses Gefühl hab: Na ja, du passt halt hier

[14] At this point, I am abstracting from the frequencies of input.

so nicht rein, weil, **Verstehen kann ich zwar jetzt schon viel, weil der Anton ja quasi sorbisch erzogen wurde von der Alexandra, und da habe ich quasi mitgelernt. Bei den anderen zweien auch**. Also ich verSTEH schon relativ viel. Ganz auf der Nase kann man mir nicht rumtanzen, aber Sprechen WILL ich, was heißt will ich nicht, MAG ich nicht. Kann ich auch nicht so richtig erklären warum, aber ... ich mag das einfach nicht.

And then, of course, it got better over time. I still have this feeling at some points: Well, you just don't fit in here, because **I can understand a lot now, because Anton was practically brought up by Alexandra Sorbian, and I have learned along with him**. With the other two as well. So I already understand quite a lot. You can't walk all over me, but speaking, I don't WANT to speak, I mean, what does mean I don't want to, but I wouldn't like to speak. I can't really explain why, but ... I just don't want/like to.

The end of the quote contains André's statement that, unlike understanding, he does not want to actively speak Sorbian, without being able to explain why. Note, that he uses two different verbs for 'to want' in German, 'wollen' and 'mögen'. While 'mögen' can also have the meaning of 'to like', here it is used in the sense of 'to want'. André's search for the right word suggests that he does not choose not to speak Sorbian out of malice, but rather that he is uncomfortable with the idea of speaking Sorbian.

The excerpt from Alexandra's account confirms that she left André no room to potentially dissuade her from speaking Sorbian to Anton (103). It is worth putting her statement into context, because she said this while advocating that Sorbs should use Sorbian much more openly to also awake the interest of Germans. In her opinion both groups should get together more, to enable language learning and to promote mutual understanding. She is happy that things have worked out well for her family and does not talk about the potential challenges this has brought. On the contrary, she is amused when André corrects the German words she uses when speaking Sorbian, pointing out the Sorbian equivalents when Alexandra is not paying attention to avoid code-switching.

(103) Alexandra Bluhmowa/Bluhme (F1, 30)

F1: **Kaž prajene, mój muž je też dyrbjał einfach serbske @pon ... Tón nětko też zno wšo ZROzumi. Tón ničo njeje zes serbstwom činić měł a zes Antonom hromadźe tak prajene serbske nawuknył**. A kak husto my wječor sedźimy, ja něšto němske prajim: Das heißt aber so und so! @ Ja prajim: Ok, DŹAkuju!

smi: Wón pon praji, kak to serbsce rěka.

F1: Haj, haj, wón pon praji, kak to serbske rěka. @ Ale TAK wón serbske njepowěda. @ Ale hdyž wón móže nas korigować, pon je wón voll pódla.

F1: **As I said, my husband also just had to ((get used to/adapt to)) Sorbian @then ... Now he already understands everything. He had nothing to do with Sorbian and has learned Sorbian together with Anton, so to speak.** And how often do we sit in the evening and I say something in German: But that's called so and so! @ I say: OK, thank you!

smi: Then he says what it's called in Sorbian.

F1: Yes, yes, then he says what it's called in Sorbian. @ But otherwise he doesn't speak Sorbian. @ But if he can correct us, then he is fully engaged.

André and Alexandra have found a way to integrate both Sorbian and German into their shared family space, without doing away with the division between "your language" and "my language". What is important, however, is that they do not make a problem out of it, but see it as a functioning way of bringing everyone together.

Turning to more explicit negotiations, I would like to point out to Alexandra and how she explained to André's parents that she wants to pass on the Sorbian language as a link to her roots. They confronted her and signalled that they do not understand Anton, suggesting that it felt awkward bonding with the grandson when he did not use words in their language. Alexandra assured her parents in law that Anton would learn German and continued to talk to Anton in Sorbian in their presence. She maintains that by experiencing him and his siblings growing up bilingually and using both languages with the appropriate people, they lost their uneasiness and "they've grown with it" (104).

(104) Alexandra Bluhmowa/Bluhme (F1, 30)

F1: **Jeničke běše halt, kaž schwiegerstarši, te zes serbstwom njejsu ženje ničo činić měli, te su pon prajili: MUSST du jetzt Sorbisch reden mit dem, wir verstehen den nicht und so**. To smy my kusk takle problemy měli. **Ale samo woni nětko** akceptěrwjeja, **widźa, kak to běži, a woni so też samo dźiwaja kak gut móža te dźěći mjez serbskimi a němskimi rozeznawać**. Samo zno Jonas wě, z kim dyrbi wón němske powědać, z kim serbske powědać. A z tym woni to też nětko akceptěrwjeja. Also te su też z tym horje rostli nětko, also dale horje rostli a te to też nětko mjeztym wšo akceptěrwjeja. A kaž prajene, mój muž njebě gor žan problem. To bě bóle swój bok takle kusk, kiž bě-

smi: Haj. Kak sće wy z tym pon wobchadźeli? A kak sće wy sami za to, abo ty, kak sy ty pon, also što je tebi pon přez hłowu chodźiło? Kak sy ty to pon hendlwała?

F1: **Na ja sym tym to rozkładła, ja sym tym prajiła: Ja chcem rady, zo moje dźěćo serbske wuknje, zo wone tón rěč znaje a moje dings, a moje korjenje tak prajene. Ja chcem je dale dać a to su woni pon też akceptěrwali. To su DYRbjeli akceptěrwać. Ja to też njejsym ze mnu diskutować wostanyła. Ja sym prajiła, ja chcu to tak činić a te dźěćo towodla budźe němske wšo móc, a z tym su woni dyrbjeli wobchadźeć**.

F1: **The only thing was that my parents-in-law, they had never had anything to do with Sorbian, they would say, Do you have to speak Sorbian with him now, we don't understand him?** So we had a bit of a problem. **But even they** accept it now, they **see how it works, and they themselves are surprised at how well the children can distinguish between Sorbian and German**. Even Jonas already knows who to speak German with and who to speak Sorbian with. And so they accept it now. So they've grown up with it now, they've grown with it and they accept it all now. And as I said, my husband wasn't a problem at all. It was more his side that-

smi: Yes, and how did you deal with it? And how did the two of you, or you, how did you then, so what went through your mind? How did you handle it then?

F1: **Well, I explained it to them, I told them: I want my child to learn Sorbian, to know the language and my thingamajig, my roots, so to speak. I want to pass them on and they accepted that. They had to accept that. I didn't let them argue with me. I said I want to do it this way and the child will still be able to learn German, everything, and they had to deal with that.**

Although she speaks Sorbian with the children when André is with the family and although she spoke Sorbian with Anton in the presence of her parents-in-law when he was an infant, Alexandra now makes sure that the children learn to accommodate people who do not understand Sorbian by speaking German. In (105) she explains that she now speaks German with the children when they are together with the parents-in-law. She explains to her children that no one should be left out and models this through her own behaviour.

(105) Alexandra Bluhmowa/Bluhme (F1, 30)

Hdyž su Němcy pódla, tež wowka a dźěd němske pódla, pon my němske powědamy. To ja prajim, pon so to einfach słuša. To ja tež dale dam, zo woni wědźa, wo što dźe. A zo woni wonka njesteja tak prajene. To ja prajim, to je ważne. A to woni tež akceptěrwjeja. Also kaž prajene, to woni tež sobučinja a mjeztym woni to wšo zrozumja a praja: Ok.

When Germans are with us, including the German grandmother and grandfather, we speak German. So I say that's the way it should be. I also pass that on, so that they know what it's all about. And that they are not left out, so to speak. I say that this is important. And they also accept that. So, like I said, they go along with it, and by now they understand everything and say, OK.

André, in turn, contributes that the children can use Sorbian by not expecting them to answer him in German and allowing bilingual conversation. Although it does not happen too often, Jonas sometimes turns to André in Sorbian. In quote (15), André explains that he understands what Jonas is saying and then responds ("react") in German. This is what Elizabeth Lanza calls the Move On strategy, a bilingual way of having a conversation that accepts the child's language choice and does not expect them to use a particular language (Lanza 2007). It can only be used by those who understand the other language (De Houwer 2009). Looking at Jonas' and André's interaction through the lense of Language Management Theory (LMT), confirms that no change in the child's language choice is intitiated with the Move On behaviour. While (first) taking note of the fact that Jonas does not speak German with as expected, André (secondly) does evaluate this neutrally or even positively in that he focuses on his own Sorbian language competence and ability to comprehend rather than on the person-language link. Thus the potential third and fourth steps of thinking about and implementing an adjustment are not taking place and André does not bring Jonas to repeat or continue in German. Crucially, André's use of the Move On strategy supports the children's use of Sorbian in that it balances the use of the Move On strategy by Alexandra. She most

probably uses Sorbian with the children in a similar way, or at least does not consistently use interactional discourse strategies that would stimulate the children to always use Sorbian with her.

In fact, the children do not always speak in Sorbian with Alexandra. In our interview Alexandra told me that she mainly involves Anton in her efforts to get the siblings to use Sorbian. She explicitly asks him to speak to her in Sorbian and also expects his active cooperation in speaking Sorbian to the younger Jonas and Emilia (106). Her strategy is to explain to Anton that she wants that his siblings learn to speak Sorbian and that therefore it is necessary that she and Anton speak to them in Sorbian. While signalling that she has no problem with the use of both languages, she explicitly emphasises that a language can only be acquired through language use. She therefore explained to Anton why she asks him to speak Sorbian and keeps reminding him of this. In (107) Alexandra's reminders give the impression of a kind of ritual between her and Anton. Her cue "Anton, Sorbian!" or simply "Anton!" evokes his "Yes, Mum, Sorbian!", which shows that the siblings often use German between them. This example demonstrates how Alexandra upon noticing the undesired use of German by Anton, more or less automatically calls him to switch to Sorbian. The LMT-steps of evaluation (negative) and adjustment design (admonition) proceed very quickly to the implementation.

(106) Alexandra Bluhmowa/Bluhme (F1, 30)

Štož ja nětko činim, Anton radšo němske powěda, přez šulu tež, a to ja prajim: Ach Anton, PROšu powědaj serbske ze mnu. Abo tež, zo wone z tymi dwaj małkimi, prošu serbske powědane. Na to ja dźiwam. Ale hewak, ja prajim, tak kaž běži, tak běži. Ja chcem jenož, zo te małke tež serbske MÓža. To je mi ważne.

What I do now, Anton prefers to speak German, also because of school, and there I say: Oh Anton, PLEASE speak Sorbian with me. But also, please, to speak Sorbian with the two little ones. I pay attention to that. But otherwise, I say, what goes, goes. I just want also the little ones to KNOW Sorbian. That is important to me.

(107) Alexandra Bluhmowa/Bluhme (F1, 30)

Gut. Pola Antona ja wjac nutř njepowědam. Pola Antona ja wostanjem powědać. A Jonas to wotsamoh. Also gut, pola Antona šće, štož ja pola Antona činim, hdyž tón z tymi małkimi. To pak ja Antonej tež rozkładźem. To ja prajim: Anton, ja chcem rady zo Emilia a Jonas tež porjadnje serbske nawuknu a zo woni serbske powědaja. Towodla bych so ja wjeseliła, hdyž by ty tež serbske z tymi powědał. A to ja pon- Also ja to dwaj moli porjadnje rozkładła sym a pon druhdy ja pon jenož hišće wołam: Anton, serbsce! Abo hdyž ja jeho słyšim a jenož wołam "Anton!" a pon zno: Haj, mama, serbsce. @@@ Ale wón wě, čehodla. Also my wo tym powědamy, čehodla ja to rady chcem. A wón, ANton to tež zrozumi, što ja chcem. A towodla pon tež dosaha, hdyž ja druhdy wołam: Anton! @ A pon wón: Haj, mama, serbsce.

Well... With Anton, I don't interfere anymore. With Anton, I let him talk. And Jonas does that on his own. Well, with Anton still, what I do with Anton, when he's with the little ones. But I explain that to Anton. I say: Anton, I would like

Emilia and Jonas to learn Sorbian properly too, and I would like them to speak Sorbian. So I'd be happy if you spoke Sorbian with them too. And then I- Well, I've explained it properly twice, and then sometimes I just shout: Anton, Sorbian! Or when I hear him and just call: Anton! And then already comes: Yes, Mama, Sorbian. @@@ But he knows why. So we also talk about why I want this. And he, Anton, also understands what I want. And that's why it's enough when I shout sometimes: Anton! @ And then he says: Yes, mum, Sorbian.

Alexandra clearly supports the use of both languages and has a very positive relation to both. When the children speak to her in German, she moves on in Sorbian or repeats something that was said in German in Sorbian and continues. But although she says that she would like her children to speak Sorbian actively, she is aware of the fact that Sorbian may not be their preferred language. In the course of quote (108) she puts her goals in a more moderate way. First she says that she does not expect the children to speak pure Sorbian, as she does not speak it herself. Later she says that she wants them to speak at least some Sorbian and is optimistic that they will learn more themselves if they want to. In the end she says that the main thing is that they understand Sorbian so that nobody can make a fool of them.

(108) Alexandra Bluhmowa/Bluhme (F1, 30)

F1: Nó, a kaž prajene, **nětko pomałku wón ((F4)) też započał je serbske powědać. Dołho němske, abo em tene jara mischmasch, JAra wjele němske a te tamne serbske a nětko wón pomałku započe LĚPšo serbske powědać. A nětko komplett serbske, to ja też njepowědam, ja też mam wjele němske pódla, to ja njetram gor wužadać, zo wón ryzy serbske powěda**. Ale tak, zo wón so móže serbske rozmołwjeć, zo te tamne WŠO njezrozumja. @ Obwohl su też wjele mi přišli, mi nětko runje nutř padnje, wot-mój schwager, tak prajene: Ich muss da einfach überall hinten ein watsch dran machen, dann kann ich doch auch schon Sorbisch. Na haj. Haaj, ok. Maš prawje. Dokelž jen tla kusk tak powěda.

smi: Haj, ale ... Što ty k tomu měniš?

F1: Ach. To ... To ta je też tak. Ja prajim, kak husto jen skoku powěda eben. Jen je nutřka w powědanju a pon jen einfach wza te němske słowo, dokelž jenom te serbske nutř njepadnje.

smi: Haj.

F1: To je, ja pak to tak njewidźim. A ja sej to ničo wot toh nječinim. Ja prajim, ja sej prócu dam tak derje kaž hdźe. Ja też cyle husto, gut, to nětko tene cyłe apps dawaja. To móže jen cyle skoku hladać, kak to serbske rěka. A pon jen zas nutř přińdźe a praji. A da tón njech tak powěda dale. Ach, mi je to wšojedne. Prajim: To dźe wo te dokładnje- zo wědźa, što serbske je, zo móža kusk porjadnje powědać a wšo druhe ... A tene jara ekstrem serbske, nětko blejde prajene, JA #njebjerjem**. Kusk takle. Kusk znajmjeńša. @ Nó. A wšo druhe budźe so dać. Jen tak a tak, ja prajim wunuzwać jen tak a tak njemóže. Hdyž woni chcedźa, budźa woni to móc a hdyž nic, da to ok je. Kaž prajene, powědać, zo tebje nikoho nichtó njemóže ničo też złe prajić tak prajene. Halt, dass dich keiner verarschen kann. Von deinen Freunden**.

smi: Na to šón nic.

F1: Haj. To pak też dawa. Też zno wšo słyšała. Zo te serbske pon z tymi němskimi činja, štož woni chcedźa.

smi: Haj?

F1: Also ja sama nic. Ale jen je jenož druhdy słyšał: Oh, haben die wieder Sorbisch über mich geredet und über mich gelästert und ich hab's nicht mitgekriegt. To jen też zno wšo słyšał je. Słyšał jen to wšo zno je**. To ja prajim: Wy dyrbiće serbske zrozumić, powědać njetrjebaće, ale znajmjeńša zrozumić, zo wam nichtó wjac zaki njenapraska, pon je wšo gut.**

F1: **Well, and as I said, now he ((F4)) has slowly also started to speak Sorbian. For a long time he spoke German, or this very mishmash, VEry much German and the rest Sorbian, and now he's slowly starting to speak BEtter Sorbian. And now completely Sorbian, I don't speak that either, I also have a lot of German, I don't need to demand that he speaks pure Sorbian**. But in such a way that he can speak Sorbian, so that the others don't understand EVERYthing. @ Although many people have come to me, I have just remembered, my brother-in-law, as I said: I just have to put a "watch" at the end of everything, then I can already speak Sorbian. Oh well. Yes, OK. You're right. Because one does speak a bit like that.

smi: Yes, but... What do you think?

F1: Oh. That's... It's like that. I say, how often do you speak quickly? You're in the middle of something and then you just use the German word because you can't think of the Sorbian one.

smi: Yes.

F1: That's, but I don't see it as a problem. And I don't make anything out of it. I say I try as hard as I can. And quite often, well, there are all these apps now. You can quickly find out what it's called in Sorbian. And then you find back and say it. And so he should just keep talking like that. Oh, I don't care. I say: It's about the exact - that they know what Sorbian is, that they can speak a bit properly and everything else ... And this very extreme Sorbian, to put it stupidly, I don't take. **A little bit. At least a little bit. @ Yeah. And everything else will come. You can't, I say, you can't force it anyway. If they want to, they will be able to and if they don't, that's fine. Like I said, talk so that nobody can say anything bad to you, so to speak. Just so no one can fuck you over. By your friends.**

smi: Well, I guess not.

F1: Yeah. But it does exist. I've heard it all before. That the Sorbs do what they want with the Germans.

smi: Yes?

F1: Well, not myself. But sometimes you've only heard it: Oh, they talked about me in Sorbian again and made fun of me and I didn't notice. You've heard it all. You've heard it all. So I say: **You have to understand Sorbian, you don't have to speak it, but at least you have to understand it so that no one can make a fool of you, and then everything is fine.**

In summary, like Kata and Patrick, Alexandra and André came to speak German and Sorbian in their shared family space. Alexandra based her language choices on her experience of growing up in a bilingual family. She was also aware of the strong influence that the initial German-dominant

environment in which the Bluhme's lived had on the acquisition of Sorbian. André had no previous experience of lived bilingualism and found his way of contributing to its functioning by learning to understand the other family members. Both are open to bilingual conversation. Looking at how this might impact the children's language use, their approach seems to be slightly more conducive to the use of German. However, even if Alexandra's moving on in Sorbian in response to the children's German utterances is neutral in establishing a need to use Sorbian, André's moving on in German in response to the children's Sorbian utterances supports the use of Sorbian. Alexandra tries to counteract the amount of German her children use by explicitly encouraging and asking them to use Sorbian as well. Her admonitions do not seem to have a lasting effect, but they do emphasise to the children that they help to shape the language use in the family. The Bluhme's have benefited from an earlier move to Lusatia and from the fact that all the children attend(ed) a Sorbian kindergarten. All in all, Alexandra's firm but relaxed approach to pass on Sorbian seems to avoid tensions between her and the children that might have arisen if the unbalanced use of German and Sorbian, especially in the early years, had been judged negatively.

9.1.1.4 The Dreißig's

In the Dreißig family, Sorbian is the language of the mother and the children, while the father was mostly not involved in activities and events in (dominantly) Sorbian environments. In fragment (60), quoted above, Angela (D1) already said that it was her task to bring up the children and implied that this also included passing on Sorbian. While Jürgen (D2) says that the use of languages in the family developed over time (see the later part of quote (85)), Angela says that it was clear right from the beginning that she would speak Sorbian, Jürgen German and that the common language would be German. In (109) Angela mentions that she took a long parenting leave from work and therefore spent a lot of time with the children, during which she spoke Sorbian to them. She does not explicitly say that she decided to do this for purely linguistic reasons, but it seems that these thoughts were a part of the decision.

(109) Angela Dreißigowa/Dreißig (D1, 58)

smi: Sće Wy zes Wašim mužom hdy jemol takle richtig wo tym rěčeli, kak budźeće Wy to z Wašimi dźěćimi činić, abo je so to takle wudało? Zo kóždy takrjec, also Wy šće serbsce rěčeli, Waš muž němsce.

D1: Ně. **To smy my rěčeli. A to smy my też tak šli, ja tla sym te pjeć lěta doma była. A ja sym tak a tak najwjace z tymi dźěćimi hromadźe była, też pon, hdyž sym ja na dźěło chodźiła a hdyž su woni pon do šule chodźili. Hdyž sym ja z nimi hromadźe była, smy my serbsce rěčeli, hdyž je nan k tomu přišoł, smy my němsce rěčeli. Tam smy my pon němsce, jako swójba smy my pon němsce rěčeli.**

smi: Did you ever properly talk with your husband about how you were going to do it with your children, or did it just turn out that way? That each of you, well, you spoke Sorbian, your husband spoke German.

D1: No. **We talked about it. And we also went like this, I mean, I was at home for those five years. And I was together with the children most of the time anyway, even when I went to work and they went to school. When I was with them, we spoke Sorbian, when the father joined us, we spoke German. There we spoke German, as a family we spoke German**.

Just as the Bluhme's, in the Dreißig couple both partners found their own approach to language in the family. However, unlike them, the Dreißig's do not share a common bilingual space but separate the languages. Jürgen continues to live his life through German amidst the bilingual Sorbian community. Growing up, Sorbian was already present in other groups he used to encounter, but it was not part of his family of origin. Angela continues to use Sorbian in the Sorbian community. Growing up, Sorbian was used by everyone around her, while at the rare occasions when someone visited and spoke German, as a child she just used to sit and listen. Both take for granted that the language in shared spaces is German unless people have the opportunity to split into smaller groups. In a way, thus, they adapted their both monolingual ways of growing up to combine them in their family. Just as Alexandra Bluhme (F1), Angela knew that she wanted to speak Sorbian to her child. But while Alexandra did not see any other way than speaking Sorbian also in the presence of her husband because she knew that she was the only person to speak Sorbian, Angela took opportunity of the fact that she could spend a lot of time with her child and separated the times when she spoke Sorbian and German.

Something Angela shares with Karola (C1) and Alexandra (F1), is that they do not aim to influence with whom their children speak Sorbian. They are determined to teach their children Sorbian and indeed, they try to stimulate the use of Sorbian by and with the people whom they deem important or helpful for the acquisition of Sorbian (grandparents or siblings). But apart from them, they leave the choice of language to their children. Philipp (D3) and Judith (D4) Dreißig behaved differently when they began to speak. Philipp used to respond in Sorbian, Judith in German. In the next quote, Angela describes how she succeeded to bring five year old Judith to speak to her in Sorbian too.

(110) Angela Dreißigowa/Dreißig (D1, 58)

Naš hólc wot prěnjeho dnja kaž je wón započał rěčeć, tón je ze mnu wšo serbsce rěčał, tón je tež wšo wotmołwił serbsce, wšo. **A naša holca**, to je te woprawdźe zajimawe, […]. A **ta njeje žane słowo serbsce rěčała**. To samo mój nan swarjeł. Wón je prajił: Wostań tu holcu na pokoj! Ta njemóže. **Hdyž sym ja přeco prajiła: Ta móže! Dokelž sym ja cyły dźeń z woběmaj hromadźe. A Philipp tež wšo serbsce rěči. Ta holca móže. Ta njeje chcyła. A pon běše wona pjeć lět a** […], je so to našej holcy wězo tež lubiło, ta narodna drasta. **A pon je wona mi prajiła, wona chce tež rady družka być. Hdźež sym ja rjekła: Ně, ty njeńdźeš žana družka! Družki su holcy, kiž serbsce rěča. A to běše ... A pon je wona do łoža a kaž je wona rano stanyła, je wona serbsce móhła. Perfekt serbsce**. To je zajimawe! Samo pěstowarni w B. su te dźěći wšě serbsce mjezsobu rěčeli. Wona pak ma tajki, wona wě, što wona chce, hač do dźensnišeho, a und hat ein unheimliches Durchsetzungsvermögen. A ta je samo w pěstowarni šafła, zo su wone wšě serbsce rěčeli, jenož, hdyž su wone wot našej holcy něšto chcyli, su wone našu holcu dyrbjeli němsce narěčeć. @ Pěstowarki su přec serbsce rěčeli, ja prajim, to je woprawdźe zajimawe, kak dźěći, hdyž wone njechaja, što te šafnu. No**.** A nahaj, potom běše wona pjeć a potom ja njejsym hinak móhła, pon je wona, **pon sym ja ju dyrbjała z pjeć lětami, sym ja ju jako serbsku družku dała hić. Sym ja dyrbjała. Dokelž hewak bych ja, njebych moje słowo dźeržała. A wot toho časa je wona była serbska holca**.

> **Our boy spoke Sorbian from the first day he started speaking, he spoke Sorbian with me, he answered me in Sorbian**, everything. **And our daughter**, that's the really interesting thing, [...]. And **she didn't speak a single word of Sorbian**. Even my father scolded me. He said: Leave the girl alone! She can't. **Whereas I always said: She can! Because I spend the whole day with both of them. And Philip also speaks all Sorbian. The girl can. She didn't want to. And then she was five years old** and [...], of course our girl liked the traditional costume. **And then she told me she also wanted to be družka. Where I said: No, you won't be a družka! Družki are only girls who speak Sorbian. And that was ... And then she went to bed and as she got up in the morning, she knew Sorbian. Perfect Sorbian**. That's interesting! Even in the kindergarten in B. the children all spoke Sorbian among themselves. But she has such a, she knows what she wants, to this day, and and has an incredible assertiveness. And she even managed in kindergarten that they all spoke Sorbian, only when they wanted something from our girl, they had to address our girl in German. @ The kindergarten teachers always spoke Sorbian, I say that's really interesting, how children, when they don't want something, what they manage. Yeah. And well, then she was five and then I couldn't help it, then she**, then I had to let her go at five, I let her go as družka. I had to. Because otherwise I wouldn't have, I wouldn't have kept my word. And from that time on she was a Sorbian girl**.

Considering that Judith understood but did not speak Sorbian until the age of five, Angela must have generally accepted her German responses and the dual-lingual mode of their interaction. Even though Philipp recalls his mother to have instructed Judith to answer in Sorbian and to not answer in German, Angela's main strategy probably was to continue speaking Sorbian when Judith spoke German. So while the use of Sorbian was excluded during the time when the whole family was together, German was (even if unintentionally) accepted during the time when Sorbian was used. This means that the family language rules were not equally monolingual within the divided spaces, as it might seem at first glance. Judith's agency in not adopting her mother's langauge choice can be clearly seen. As Joseph Gafaranga (2010: 266) concluded in the face of the ongoing community-wide language shift in the Rwandan community in Belgium, keeping to speak a language when the child routinely replies or begins to speak in the other language "can be seen as a maintenance-oriented strategy, if only a very weak one". However, Cassie Smith-Christmas' research, embedded in the Gaelic autochthonous context, also highlights how much dedication it takes, while not necessarily yielding sustainable results: "dual-lingualism takes considerable effort" but "this practice is actually the tip of the dismantlement process" because the adults "are unable to negotiate more monolingual-centred strategies with the third generation" (2016: 87–88). Interestingly, the opportunity that Angela used to motivate her daughter to speak Sorbian was linked to the Catholic community life. It is during Catholic church festivities that girls and woman wear Sorbian Catholic festive costumes, with the girl's costumes being particularly richly decorated. Angela's resoluteness and Judith's desire to wear the Sorbian costume resulted in Judith's beginning active use of Sorbian. Noteworthy, Angela's conlusion that from then on, her daughter was 'a Sorbian girl' illustrates the strong link between ethnicity and language. Speaking Sorbian appears to be a precondition for being perceived as a Sorb.

It is not clear how exactly the language practices between mother and daughter or mother and children changed after this incident. Angela talked mostly about the siblings' childhood but did not say much about the current language use in the family. It seems that to her it is important to have taught her children Sorbian as a basis from which they can draw themselves if they want to. In other words, that they in principle know Sorbian makes them Sorbs, and Angela's goal of Sorbian language transmission is accomplished. It is not relevant to her, whether the children actually speak Sorbian. This is in line with how Philipp describes how they later all gradually went over to talk German together (111).

(111) Philipp Dreißig (D3, 30)

smi: A ty sy rjeknył, ty sy w tym klas-, wy sće doma wjele serbsce rěčeli a pon sy ty takrjec w šuli bóle tón němčinu měł. Kak ha je to pola was doma było? Also sće wy-, takle w swójbje. Kak sće wy to, kak sće wy mjezsobu, kak je so wam mjezsobu tak jazyk najlěpje kulał, abo kak sće wy to činili?

D3: Na haj, kaž doma, ten smy jara wjele doma šće serbsce rěčeli, też z maćerju. To nětko też wjac tak njeje, my eigentlich nětko wšo němsce skoro činimy. Also Judith nětko kusk wjace, moja sotra kusk wjace nětko serbšćinu doma šće rěči, ale ja tak richtig nic wjac. Też njewěm, čehodla. Je einfach tak. A kaž prajene, hdyž papa pódla był, přeco wšo na němsce a hdyž papa tón ten też wjele dźěłać był oder po puću oder tajke něšto, to my smy też wjele časa měli, wšo na serbsce eigentlich. To ničo druhe eigentlich gor dawało njeje ten, tón čas. Zo my smy mjeńše byli. A nětk to kusk, na haj, hinak. @

smi: Móžeš ty powědać, kak je so to wuwiło? Also dokelž, zo ty prajiš, wy šće najprjedy bóle serbsce, też z maćerju, a zo to nětko bóle do němčiny dźe. Móžeš ty powědać, kak so to takle wuwiło?

D3: Na haj, vielleicht to kusk też na te přećele, dokelž moja prěnja přećelka, ta też žan serbsce njeje móhła. A hdyž wona jowle była, pon smy też natürlich wšo na němsce rěčeli. Genau. Kak je to na tune #schienu kusk, njewěm. To pon najemól tak běše. Mać pon też njeje wjac tak wjele serbsce, also z nami serbsce rěčała. So, pon smy jow sedźeli, też, hdyž nan njeje pódla był, tohodla wšo na němsce rěčeli. To einfach tak było. A nichtó pak njeje prašał, čehodla my to nětko činimy abo nic. To je einfach #přišło tak.

smi: Nó, nó.

D3: Genau.

smi: A kak je to z twojej sotru było?

D3: Na haj, njewěm. Wona pon wot samoho najskerje pon też prajiła, gut, kusk wjace serbsce pon też rěčim oder ja kusk wjace z tym myslim, da dyrbju ja zas kusk wjace rěčeć najskerje. Dokelž ten ja sym šće kusk lěpše serbsce móhł kaž moja sotra. To nětko kusk hinak wokoło. @@ Haj. Na haj, to pon też faluje, hdyž jen pon takle wjele serbsce njerěči wjac. No. A, na te pisanje my generell tak wjele važne gor njejsmy położili. Ten w šuli smy kusk to móhli pisać, ale tak, hdyž jemol nětko tekst pisam, čitać, to natürlich, to dźe, ale pisać, to ja nětko njebych šafnył wjac na serbsce.

smi: And you said that you spoke a lot of Sorbian at home and then you had more German at school. What was it like at home? So did you-, so in the family. How

did you, how did you talk to each other, what was the best way for you to talk, or how did you do it?

D3: Well, like at home, at that time we spoke a lot of Sorbian at home, also with our mother. That's no longer the case, we do almost everything in German now. So Judith now speaks a bit more, my sister now speaks a bit more Sorbian at home, but I don't really speak it anymore. I don't know why. It's just the way it is. And as I said, when Dad was there, everything was always in German, and when Dad, he was at work a lot back then, or on the road or something, so we also had a lot of time, everything was in Sorbian. There was nothing else at that time, the time. When we were smaller. And now it's a bit, well, different. @

smi: Can you tell how that developed? Well, because you say that at first you spoke more Sorbian, also with your mother, and that now it's going more into German. Can you tell how that developed?

D3: Well, maybe it was also a bit related to the friends, because my first girlfriend didn't know any Sorbian either. And when she was here, then of course we spoke everything in German. Exactly. How that got on this track a bit, I don't know. Suddenly it was like that. Our mother didn't speak Sorbian so much anymore, that is, with us in Sorbian. So, then we sat here, even if our father was not there, nevertheless everything spoken in German. That was simply so. And nobody asked why we were doing it or not. It just came like that.

smi: Yeah, yeah.

D3: Exactly.

smi: And how was it with your sister?

D3: Well, I don't know. She probably said on her own, well, I speak a bit more Sorbian or I think a bit more with it, I probably have to speak a bit more again. Because at that time I could speak Sorbian a little better than my sister. Now it is a bit the other way around. @@ Yes. Well, that is also lacking when you do not speak so much Sorbian anymore. No. And, we generally didn't put so much importance on writing. Back then at school we could write a little bit, but when I write a text now, reading, of course, that's possible, but writing, I wouldn't be able to do that anymore in Sorbian.

The Dreißig's pretty consequently spoke German when someone did not speak Sorbian and the children adopted this habit as well. This dramatically limited the occasions at which they could speak Sorbian. While Angela put a lot of effort into the consequent use of Sorbian when Philipp and Judith were children and supported their participation in the Sorbian customs in the village, by the time they reached adulthood, she went along with their preferred choice of German. This reminds of the role children play in FLP. With regard to dual-lingual interactions Kusters et al. (2021: 700) mention that "Since children will often not reply in the minority language, this can be the beginning of a language shift process in families because over time, parents adopt children's preferred code." (An important difference to the present study is, however, that the minority languages, namely the ones in signed modality, were the inclusive ones, wheras in the Dreißig family, the majority language German is the inclusive on.) Philipp and Judith reflected about their language journeys as grown-ups and by now they manage language choices their way. Both use Sorbian when others assertively address them in Sorbian. While they do not actively try to modify the preference for German in their circles of friends and while they do not introduce themselves as Sorbs to unknown people without being prompted, they position themselves as speakers of Sorbian in more Sorbian

contexts. Philipp speaks Sorbian with people to whom he did not have a close connection during childhood or youth, for instance with his fire fighter colleagues (112). Judith, who realised how important the Sorbian part of her identity is to her, tries to speak Sorbian more often and consciously chooses to speak Sorbian to people who she knows to speak Sorbian frequently. She acknowledges that she cannot speak Sorbian as fluently as German but is content with her Sorbian language skills (113).

(112) Philipp Dreißig (D3, 30)

Na, što ja mi kusk tak móžu předstajić, je, dokelž te su wšě wědźeli, hdźe my małke też šće byli, dokelž mój nan, tón je Němc, a hdźe ja sym k tomu přišoł, te su glei na němsce dale rěčeli. Obwohl te su eigentlich też wědźeli, my smy serbsce. Na haj. A dokelž ja mi pon też njejsym najskerje prócu dawał pon sobu serbsce rěčeć, dokelž te su vielleicht myslili, ja njemžu serbsce, ale ja sym móhł. A to pon tajki umdenken přec běše. A to ja sej myslim, to wot toho časa vielleicht šće tak nutřka pola tych ludźi też. A nětko ja pak tohodla, hdyž nětko kaž wojenjowa wobora a tajke něšto, serbsce tam rěča, pon ja tam też serbsce pon sobu rěčim. Haj. To ja pon kaž, prajim, kusk te ludźi, erziehen nětko njecham prajić, ale te pon też měrkwjeja: Na haj, gut, z tym móžeš też serbsce rěčeć. Haj.

Well, what I can imagine a little bit is that they all knew when we were still small, because my father is German, and when I came along, they immediately continued to speak German. Although they actually also knew that we were Sorbian. Well, yes. And because I probably didn't bother to speak Sorbian, because they might have thought I couldn't speak Sorbian, but I could. And that was always a change in thinking. And there I think, from this time maybe that is still in the people. And now I nevertheless speak, if like the fire department or something, they speak Sorbian there, then I also speak Sorbian there. Yes. I don't want to say that I educate the people a little bit, but they realise: Well, you can speak Sorbian with him. Yes.

(113) Judith Dreißigec/Dreißig (D4, 28)

Ja přeco prajim, mój najwjetši respekt wot tych, kiž so móža wirklich cyle, cyle, cyle akuratnje tam ... wupowědać. Aber, ně, ja přeco: na haj gut, ja to njemóžem. Ja też přeco prajim, also ja přeco tak erstaunt sym, hdyž my z našej maćerju powědamy, to tajke něšto też pon dosaha jako rozmołwa a hdyž wona pon, hdyž jow pak něchtó sedźo ma, kiž tak cyle hochsorbisch wšo móže, wona pak to też cyle akuatnje móže. Ich m-, wona też tak wuknyła. Wona też tak narostła. Ja měnim, to vielleicht też šće něšto cyle hinaše, kak wona narostła ze serbšćinu. Aber to ja też přeco prajim: Also hut ab, kak wona to pon na jemol też tene wokable znaje. Kiž prjedy eben hinak su byli. A najemol to pak dźe. A, ně, kóždem swoje a ja też přeco prajim, to je jara fajn, hdyž ty to tak richtig powědać a pisać móžeš a čitać a wšo, aber mi też to kaž ja to nětko móžem a z tym ja też total zufrieden sym. Also to je in ordnunce. @ Bych ja nětko tak prajiła za mnje.

> I always say, my greatest respect for those who can really express themselves very, very, very accurately. But, no, I always say: well, I can't do that. I always say, I'm always amazed when we talk to our mother, something like that is enough for a conversation and when she then, when she has someone sitting here who can do everything so highly orbital, she can also do it very accurately. I m-, she also learned that way. She also grew up like that. I mean, maybe it's really different, the way she grew up with Sorbian. But I always say: Well, hats off to her, how she suddenly knows these words. Which were different before. And suddenly it works. And, no, to each his own, and I always say, that's very fine, if you can speak and write correctly and read and everything, but I also like it the way I can do it now and I'm totally satisfied with that. So that's fine. @ I would say for myself now.

In (113), Judith also indicates that their mother speaks a more simplified Sorbian with her and Philipp than she does when in conversation with other fluent speakers. And as if on cue, the two had to schedule some practical issues during our meeting and I could overhear how Angela, now that Judith speaks Sorbian of her own accord, manages Sorbian language use again (114).

(114) Angela Dreißigowa/Dreißig (D1, 58), Judith Dreißigec/Dreißig (D4, 28)

D1: Budźe jen schód jutře přińć? *Die Treppe*?
D4: Ja wěm, što jen schód je. Ja pak jutře dyrbim zazwonić.

D1: Will there be a staircase tomorrow? *The stairs*?
D4: I know what a staircase is. But I have to call tomorrow.

Angela repeats the word in German that she assumes Judith does not know. She is wrong, however, and Judith promptly dismisses her mother's assumption. It seems that the Dreißig's have gone through a period dominated by Angela's management of the family's language use (ensuring family cohesion by balancing language use between German and Sorbian spaces), through a period in which the members resigned from speaking Sorbian, to the point where Philipp and Judith begin to consciously reshape their habits of language use and speak more Sorbian in certain contexts.

9.1.1.5 The Symmank's

The Symmank family is another family in which Sorbian and German are partly separated, depending on whether the German-speaking parent is present or not. In the interviews with Katrin (A1) and Frank (A2) we did not go into detail about the usual pattern of language use in the nuclear family. Frank speaks Sorbian with Dominik (A3) and Tobias (A4), Katrin speaks German with them. Katrin's statement in (5) about the family's use of German during joint meals or trips suggests that Frank seems to speak German frequently when the whole family is together. On the other hand, Frank's description of language use during family trips in (9) includes speaking Sorbian in the absence of strangers and speaking German when shopping or interacting with third parties, which leads to the assumption that Frank also speaks Sorbian with the sons in the presence of Katrin, but at the latest in joint conversations.

Katrin and Frank did not explicitly work out how they would speak to their children. Both simply spoke their own language when Dominik was born. Frank wanted to speak to him in Sorbian, and

for Katrin it was important to speak German to him and Tobias. Both see themselves as responsible for the transmission of one language and their partner as responsible for the other. Frank presents his ambitions at the time in moderate terms, saying that although he wanted to pass on Sorbian, he was not determined that his sons should reach a certain level in Sorbian (115). In this way he saves himself from possible disappointment about the fluency or extent of his sons' use of Sorbian.

(115) Frank Symank/Symmank (A2, 45)

Nětko ja wróćo přińdu na to, zo smy sej jow předewzali, ja sym to spytał činić, dokelž #ja #tón serbsku #rěč, Kak daloko ja budu přińć, to my njejsmy wědźeli ten, to, to jen tla njewě, kak so to wuwije.

Now I come back to what I said that we have planned here, I have tried to do that because #I #the #Sorbian #language- How far I will get, we did not know at the time, it, you do not know how it will develop.

In their families of origin, neither Katrin nor Frank had experienced problems of understanding. Everyone in Katrin's family and in her everyday environment spoke German. Her mother spoke Sorbian only on occasional family visits to her childhood village and had otherwise dropped the language. So Katrin knew about her mother's first language, but did not experience her using it in everyday life. Frank spoke Sorbian with his mother and German with his father, although I cannot outline whether this pattern was used from early on or whether it emerged later. His father, who himself came from a Sorbian family, most probably understood the language, so that in Frank's family of origin the use of both Sorbian and German in shared family time is a realistic scenario. However, Frank had always spoken German with part of his extended family.

In both families, the speakers of Sorbian adapted and spoke German when someone else showed a preference for German. For Frank, this is a reasonable approach to language use and he continues to use Sorbian when he has the opportunity and German when it is the only language commonly understood and spoken. Consequently, he did not expect his wife to learn Sorbian and does not want to be the one to teach her. He argues that he is not 'fanatical' or 'nationalistic' and says that he accepts that her language is German. He says it is important that she accepts that he and his parents speak Sorbian to the children. Katrin, on the other hand, generally agrees with the aim of teaching Sorbian to children. However, she has never mastered enough Sorbian to feel comfortable at fully Sorbian events and looks for niches where she can use German. If something is particularly important to her, she will point out that the use of German is necessary for German speakers to understand and participate. Hence, everything that involves conscious efforts with regard to language (apart from passing on the mother tongue) is suspicious.

Both spouses understand the language learning process as something that takes place across generations, as opposed to learning through instruction or self-motivated and self-directed learning. Frank stresses the 'naturalness' of the process, while Katrin emphasises the responsibility of the parents. She believes that if they know both languages of the society, they should not expect others to ensure that their children become fluent in German, the dominant language. Frank's perspective is well described in quote (116). By saying that the Sorbs should pass on Sorbian to the next generation and that others should accept that Sorbian speakers speak this language to children, he acknowledges the Sorbian community's agency in the decision to speak and pass on Sorbian. On the

other hand, he rejects an assertive and vocal use or advocacy of the Sorbian language. Although he emphasises deeds (speaking Sorbian) over words (positioning oneself as a Sorb), his attitude towards German as the common language of communication restricts the use of Sorbian to conversations between people who are fluent in Sorbian. For those who do not speak Sorbian, it is not envisaged - even if unintentionally - that they will ever be able to fully access such conversations between Sorbs.

This reveals another aspect of the general dominance of German in Lusatia, namely authenticity. Frank is convinced that 'coercion and money' will not secure the Sorbian language. Although we did not specify what he meant by this during the interview, it could possibly refer to language campaigns, Sorbian signage in public places, educational infrastructure, teaching Sorbian to all children at school, etc. By ignoring the potential for adults to learn Sorbian (and thus the communicative use of Sorbian within peer groups) and focusing on (unidirectional) language transmission (and thus adults speaking Sorbian to children), the quoted line of thought corresponds to the ideology of sociolinguistic naturalism (Woolard 2016b). The use of Sorbian is only perceived as authentic if Sorbian has been acquired naturally, i.e. unconsciously and not through conscious learning.

(116) Frank Symank/Symmank (A2, 45)

> kaž prajene, ja to njebudu nihdźe prowokować oder ja to njebudu spytać nihdźe někak serbskej chorhoju jow něhdźe wokoło lětać, to mi njeje, to mi njeleži. A te tamne … budźe kaž budźe. **My budźemy hladać, zo budźemy dźeržeć jow, to hólcam dale dać.** A pon budźemy my hladać. A z gwałtom to njebudźe wodwać. To je moje měnjenje. **Hdyž budźemy my spytać a hdyž budźe to dale akceptowane wot wšěch**, zo budźa też němske partnerje přińć oder druheréčne, zo budźa te to akceptować, to je to najwažniše. **Zo tón tamny jen partner eben oder zo ta wowka z nimi eben serbsce rěči oder dźěd**. A to je to, štož bychmy my kusk hladać dyrbjeli. Z gwałtom z pjenjezami my to šafnyć njebudźemy jowle.
>
> As I said, I'm not going to provoke this anywhere or I'm not going to try to somehow run around with the Sorbian flag somewhere here, that's not me, that doesn't suit me. And the rest … will be as it will be. **We will see that we keep it here, that we pass it on to the boys.** And then we will see. And we won't do it by force. That is my opinion. **If we try and if this is further accepted by all**, that also German partners will come or partners speaking other languages, that they will accept this, that is the most important thing. **That the other partner speaks Sorbian with them, or that the grandma speaks Sorbian with them, or that the grandpa speaks Sorbian with them**. And that is what we have to look at. We won't be able to do that here by coercion and money.

The Symmank's have therefore negotiated their use of Sorbian and German around the joint agreement to accept each other's language use with the children. Furthermore, the family's language practices are shaped by the implicit understanding that the joint conversation draws on the parents' existing language resources and does not take into account a possible further acquisition of receptive Sorbian skills by Katrin. This option is, in a certain way, perceived by them as "phanatic". It is worth noting that such an approach to avoiding tensions caused by problems of understanding is probably

not only due to general language attitudes, but also to the practical division of tasks between the spouses. In the Symmank's case, Katrin is mainly responsible for bringing up the children, while Frank is very involved in his work. I will come back to this topic later in 9.3.2.

9.1.1.6 The Petasch's

In the Petasch family, just as in the Symmank family, it is the father who speaks Sorbian with the children. However, the Petasch's speak both languages when they are together, which is largely influenced by how Christina (J1) and Daniel (J2) reflect on their childhood and youth experiences with Sorbian. Both had grown up with German in their families of origin, Christina in a German village and Daniel in a village in the Sorbian Catholic region. While Christina's father tried to speak to her in Sorbian, Daniel's parents both spoke German to him, as did his grandparents, who lived nearby. Christina describes the (limited) use of Sorbian in quote (117) and Daniel tells more about how his parents came to speak German to their children instead of Sorbian in quote (118).

(117) Christina Pjetašowa/Petasch (J1, 35)

smi: Und wenn ihr dann zum Beispiel zu Hause am Tisch saßt, also, weil du hast ja gesagt, dass er auch wo ihr draußen unterwegs seid, hat dein Papa doch sorbisch auch mit dir gesprochen auch wenn die anderen jetzt dabei waren und das vielleicht nicht verstanden haben. Ähm, und, wenn ihr jetzt zum Beispiel zu Hause alle zusammen wart, also mit dir alleine wahrscheinlich, also ich w-

J1: Er hat das immer versucht. Also es waren wirklich ganz, keine großen Sachen.

smi: Und wenn ihr jetzt dann zum Beispiel zusammen am Tisch saßt?

J1: Dann war IMmer Deutsch. Das war keine Frage. Das war dann nur mal so beim Tischdecken jetzt beispielsweise. Daj mol jenu łžičku! Oder Začiń jemol tón durje. Oder Hdźe tón butru jo? Also so solche Sachen. Also wirklich, mein Vater war kein großer mit dem man Gespräche führen konnte.

smi: And when you were sitting at the table at home, for example, well, because you said that he also spoke Sorbian to you when you were out and about, your dad also spoke Sorbian with you, even when the others were there and maybe didn't understand. Um, and, for example, when you were all together at home- probably with you alone, I-

J1: He always tried. So it was really very, no big things.

smi: And when you sat together at the table, for example?

J1: Then it was ALways German. It was not a question. It was just when we were setting the table, for example. Give me a spoon! Or Close the door. Or Where is the butter? So things like that. So really, my father was not one to have big conversations with.

As the above quote illustrates, in the home, Christina's father mainly used Sorbian for frequently repeating instructions, for example while laying the table, whereas the joint conversations were in German. Daniel explains in the following quote that, as a child, his father did not know German but that the grandparents later stopped to speak Sorbian to Daniel's father and the siblings and began to speak German with them. An hospitalisation incident outside the Sorbian area made Daniel's grandparents aware of the obstacles their children may face when not being able to communicate in German, and the grandfather decided that in order to teach his children German, the family would

from then on speak only German. Daniel's father, who had experienced this abrupt change of language use from Sorbian to German as a child, and Daniel's Sorbian mother spoke only German to their children from the beginning. The Sorbian language played only a marginal role in Daniel's home.

(118) Daniel Pjetaš/Petasch (J2, 40)

smi: Haj. Ok. Kak je to pola was doma było? Šće wy, e, kwasi wšo němsce rěčeli abo ...? Abo šće wy-

J2: Na haj, fünfundneunzig Prozent, haj.

smi: Abo hdyž šće wy takrjec na přikład, wy, hdyž šće wy při blidźe hromadźe sedźeli. Na přikład.

J2: Ně. Němsce. Naš vater, naš vater, je, also te su WŠĚ serbsce byli, no. […] A pon je tón […] chorowni ležał. […] A te su serbsce rěčeli jako dźěći a tón je, njeje richtig wotmołwił, also němsce wotmołwić móhł, wěš.

smi: Ok, haj. M.

J2: A dort hat er, mein Opa prajił, Jetzt ist Schluss! Jetzt werden alle Deutsch reden! Kommen wir hinter, hinter, Kamenz ist, ist Sorbisch vorbei, a to su wjele generacije tam tak byli.

smi: Ale to pak bě twój opa žno a je pon

J2: Te su wšě serbsce, te su serbsce rěčeli. Ale dokelž tón naš, naš vater njeje dochko- dochtorka oder tym sotrami wotmołwić němsce. No. Also, es ist ja auch bisschen M. Und dort sind die wahrscheinlich wach geworden und haben gesagt, Nee, nee, jetzt ist Schluss. Die müssen Deutsch reden. Und so ist das Sorbische in der Familie abgestumpft.

smi: Yes. Okay. What was it like at home? Did you, uh, basically speak everything in German or ...? Or did you-

J2: Well, ninety-five percent, yes.

smi: Or when you, so to speak, for example, you, when you sat at the table together. For example.

J2: No. German. Our father, our father, has, so they were ALL Sorbian, yeah. [...] And then he was in the hospital. [...] And they spoke Sorbian when they were children and he didn't, didn't answer properly, so he couldn't answer in German, you know.

smi: Okay, yes. Hm.

J2: And there he, my grandpa said, Now that's enough! Now everybody will speak German! When we get behind, behind, in Kamenz, Sorbian is over, and there were many generations like that there.

smi: But that was already your grandpa and he has then

J2: They all have, they spoke Sorbian. But because our, our father could not answer the doctor or the nurses in German. Yeah. So, it is indeed a bit hm. And there they probably woke up and said, No, no, that's enough. They have to speak German. And so the Sorbian in the family blunted.

As I discussed at the end of section 8.5.2, Daniel is the only parent in the sample for this thesis whose home socialisation was in German but who speaks Sorbian to his own children. In the mentioned

section I included how he gradually began to use more Sorbian in the community. From Daniel's account quoted in (89), it becomes clear that he does not agree with his parents' decision not to speak Sorbian in the family. I repeat the respective part of his account here: 'I was also a bit rude, I say also, I also said to my parents, Why didn't you teach me s- better Sorbian or my mother asserted herself over my father or something, I don't know. Um, I don't let, I don't want to be reproached. Or have to listen to reproaches.' (J2). Consequently, Daniel wanted to make sure that his children learn Sorbian. From the quote it emerges that the decision for German in his family of origin came mainly from his father. He regrets that his mother did not speak Sorbian to him despite all. It is apparent that Daniel is convinced that a more flexible approach and variable use of languages in the home are possible. The quote also shows that he is more willing to be assertive with his desire to speak Sorbian to the children without regard to possible contrary views of his partner, something he does not attribute to his parents.

That Daniel speaks Sorbian with the children in the first place might of course also be linked to the fact that Christina does not speak Sorbian fluently and uses at most certain phrases in Sorbian while otherwise speaking German. So Daniel is the one who is more able to provide Sorbian language input to the children, even if he translanguages a lot and cannot speak Sorbian without drawing also from German (which, as a practice, stands out among the participants of this study). That Daniel uses Sorbian in Christina's presence and that the two do not limit the use of Sorbian to situations when Christina is absent, however, is also related to Christina's childhood and youth experience of bilingualism. The Sorbian-German bilingualism and biculturalism in her family of origin was very asymmetric and characterised by tensions and thus related to negative affect. In being aware of this, Christina tries not to replicate tensions that may be based on her limited Sorbian comprehension skills and that might impact her children's relation to the parents and their languages. In quotation (119), Christina describes how her mother struggled with the Sorbian language during family gatherings and voiced her feelings of alienation and how her father argued that Sorbian was rightfully spoken and defended its use in Lusatia. The parents did not agree in what the right language choices in various circumstances are, and Christina says that she experienced those differences in opinion on language use as 'split' or 'division'.

(119) Christina Pjetašowa/Petasch (J1, 35)

> Und meiner Mutter war das zum Beispiel auch immer WAHNsinnig, die hat dann immer geschimpft, Du immer mit deinem Sorbisch! Ich versteh auf den Feiern nichts! Also, ich hab halt ich glaube auch diese ... diese, na ja, die- ... diese, warte mal, wie sagt man das, na diese unterschiedlichen Meinungen voll abgekriegt. Also meine Mutter immer VOLL fürs Deutsche auf den Feiern und mein Vater immer, […] mein Vater hat gesagt, Wir sind in der SorBEI, es wird Sorbisch geredet. Und dann konnte meine Mutter den ganzen Tag #dort #sitzen. @ Das hat die natürlich auch echt genervt, aber die hat sich auch NIE bemüht glaube ich so wirklich da mal einen Zugang zu kriegen, […] Ja. Also, ich glaube das prägt auch ganz viel, wenn, wenn da immer so eine SPALtung ist von der Sprache her eigentlich, ne. Ich meine zu einem gewissen Punkt sage ich ok, no, man nimmt es ja auch an, man nimmt ja auch den Partner an, wie jetzt auch- ein bisschen klar, kann man auch auf sich achten, ne, oder-

And with my mother, for example, it was also always inSAne, she always scolded him, You and your Sorbian! I don't understand anything at the celebrations! Well, I think I also got this... this, well, this... these, wait a minute, how do you say it, well, I completely got these different opinions. So my mother was always TOtally in favour of German at the celebrations and my father was always, [...] my father said, We're in the Sorbian lands, Sorbian is spoken! And then my mother could #sit #there all day. @ Of course, that really annoyed her, but she also NEver made an effort, I think, to really get access to it, [...] Yes. So, I think that also leaves its mark very much when, when there is always such a diVIsion in relation to language, right. I mean, up to a certain point I say, ok, yeah, you also accept it, you also accept your partner, like now- obviously, you can also take care of yourself a little bit, right or-

At the end of the quote it becomes apparent that despite the evaluation of the inter-parental tensions as a rather negative experience and the wish to avoid its repetition, it is not easy to overcome the negative affect connected with non-comprehension. Christina says that she accepts her partner and his language, meaning basically that she avoids to point out emphatically when she does not understand or when she feels left out in a Sorbian conversation. However, she also mentions to take care of herself, which means that she does not always adapt or expose herself to a Sorbian-speaking situation or environment. In the end, this means that Christina is more open towards others speaking Sorbian, not lest because the family lives in bilingual Lusatia, but she does not take the step to actively learn Sorbian with the long-term perspective to understand everyday or more complex conversations.

The effort it takes to learn a new language is apparent in the following quote (120). Christina says that she would have to be focused on it if she were to learn more Sorbian. When her husband tries to motivate her by simply starting to speak Sorbian with her, she is overwhelmed and says that she would need a free mind for this. I will return to the effort involved in language learning later when I discuss some general aspects of language socialisation. But to anticipate, it can be said that for many, everyday family life already presents enough challenges for them to consider expanding their knowledge of Sorbian through active listening and analysis. The Petasch's stand out in the group of the six families discussed, in that Daniel is the only one who is said to actually address his partner in Sorbian. Of course, he knows that Christina does not understand longer pieces of speech, but he signals to her that he would be happy if she learned more Sorbian. Christina, on the other hand, understands this message, but cannot use the complex utterances for her own learning.

(120) Christina Pjetašowa/Petasch (J1, 35)

Da bin ich bei Daniel auch so. Manchmal hat der auch solche Allüren, wo dann alles mit mir Sorbisch ... Wo ich so sag dann, Ich hab da jetzt einfach keinen Zugang. Weißt du so, du musst da auch einfach den Kopf frei haben.

I'm the same with Daniel. Sometimes he also has such airs and graces, where he then talks to me in Sorbian... Where I say, I just don't have any access to it now. You know, you just have to have a clear head for it.

As outlined above, the way Christina and Daniel arrived at using Sorbian and German in their shared family time was very much connected to their reflection of their childhood experiences of a very limited use of Sorbian at home. In the remaining part of this section, I point out current instances of language management in the Petasch family, as related by Christina. In the following quote (121), Christina says that Daniel tries to speak Sorbian to everyone he knows speaking Sorbian. She emphasises that the use of Sorbian in the home is important to Daniel because he experienced how important this is for actually learning to speak the language. (Remember that Daniel did not speak a lot about his Sorbian lessons at school. They consisted of instructions but did not have any effect for the socialisation into language use.) She also mentions that he would like to speak more Sorbian, which might pertain to his translanguaging. I conjecture that, with their daughters, he uses both languages interchangeably as he did during our interview. Since I was usually speaking or answering in Sorbian, he may have used even more Sorbian during our interview than with someone who rather moves on in the language just heard. On the other hand, he may also use more Sorbian when speaking to children and in interactions focusing on familiar topics.

(121) Christina Pjetašowa/Petasch (J1, 35)

> Und, dem Daniel ist das auch immer wichtig, dass der, das wird der dir ja dann noch erzählen, dass Sorbisch bei uns zu Hause gesprochen wird, **und der auch immer versucht, wenn der weiß, der ist Sorbisch, mit dem Sorbisch zu REden**. Ähm, weil dem seine Eltern dem das damals verboten haben. Also der Vater war dagegen und dadurch wurde zu Hause kein Sorbisch geredet. ... Aber er merkt halt einfach, dass, dass es halt fehlt. No, er hätte eigentlich doch mehr gerne.
>
> And, for Daniel, it is always important, he will tell you himself later, that Sorbian is spoken here at home, **and he always tries, when he knows that someone is Sorbian, to talk to him in Sorbian**. Um, because his parents forbade him to do so that at the time. So, the father was against it and so no Sorbian was spoken at home. ... But he simply notices that it is missing. Yeah, he would actually like to have more.

From the next quote (122), it emerges that Daniel does not only use Sorbian himself, whenever he sees an opportunity, but he also asks other people to speak Sorbian to his daugthers. While he did not tell me beforehand that he would be happy if I used Sorbian with them, after my first visit to the family, during which he was absent, he asked Christina whether I spoke Sorbian to the girls. Christina mentions that Daniel asks his friends and the godparents of the girls to talk to them in Sorbian. Possibly, he is not asking his parents to speak Sorbian to their grandchildren and unfortunately, I missed out asking about the language use between Daniel's parents and children. Turning to using Sorbian in this constellation can be very challenging, as the experience of Karola Domsch with her parents in law showed earlier. However, Daniel asks the girls themselves to speak Sorbian to each other and admonishes them to do so. This again hints at the use of German between the siblings.

(122) Christina Pjetašowa/Petasch (J1, 35)

Weil dem das SCHON sehr wichtig ist. Der hat auch gestern gleich gefragt, wo du da warst, so, Und wie war's? Wie hat die sich mit den Kindern unterhalten? Auf Sorbisch? Ich sage, Ja auf Sorbisch. Das ist dem Übelst wichtig, dass wenn Leute da sind und die Sorbisch können, dass die sich auch mit Sorbisch unterhalten. Genauso bei den Paten oder Freunden, wenn die da sind und die Kinder reden, müssen die Sorbisch mit den Kindern reden. Oder wenn unsere Kinder miteinander spielen, ermahnt der die auch, dass die miteinander Sorbisch spielen sollen. Also das ist dem sehr, sehr wichtig, weil er das eben zu Hause ... nicht hatte.

Because it REALLY is important to him. Also yesterday, when you were there, he immediately asked, like, And how was it? How did she speak to the children? In Sorbian? I say, Yes in Sorbian. It is exTREmely important to him that when people are there and they know Sorbian, that they also speak in Sorbian. The same with the godparents or friends, if they are there and the children are speaking, they must speak to the children in Sorbian. Or when our children play together, he also admonishes them that they should play together in Sorbian. So that's very, very important to him, because at home he ... didn't have this.

The next quote, (123), illustrates how Christina and Daniel also integrate Sorbian recourses that the girls bring from kindergarten. When I asked about the family's grace practices, which Christina mentioned to always consist of a German and a Sorbian prayer, she says that they use a Sorbian prayer that the girls learned in kindergarten. Since she and Daniel did not use to say grace in Sorbian in their families of origin, they readily adapt what is available through the practices in the institution the children are in. As she says, this pertains also to poems that are related to different seasons and alike. Importantly hence, what they learn in Sorbian outside the home, is acknowledged by the parents.

(123) Christina Pjetašowa/Petasch (J1, 35)

smi: Genau. Na. ... Genau, Tischgebet hattest du gesagt, macht ihr beides, macht ihr in beiden Sprachen.

J1: No, aber. Das andere kommt eher vom Kindergarten, was die da so mitbringen.

smi: Ah, ok.

J1: No. Das Ist eher das, was die dann so gelernt haben und dann lassen wir die hier plappern. Oder so Weihnachten, dann bringen die auch das aus dem Kindergarten mit. Die Mathilda hatte jetzt ein schönes Gedicht, das hat die dann dem Weihnachtsmann vorgetragen. Keine Ahnung worum's da ging, aber ... Also sowas da. Nö. Das soll auch so sein. Da machen wir uns da ...

smi: Exactly. Well. ... Right, table prayer you had said, you do both, you do in both languages.

J1: Yeah, but. The other comes more from the kindergarten, what they bring from there.

smi: Ah, ok.

J1: Yeah. That's more what they've learned and then we let them babble here. Or for Christmas, then they also bring things from the kindergarten. Mathilda had a

> nice poem that she recited to Father Christmas. I don't know what it was about, but... So that kind of things. Nope. That's also the way it's supposed to be. So we do...

In conclusion, it can be said that the language management of the Petasch's is very flexible. Its main orientation towards the integrated use of Sorbian and German in the home is shaped by the contestation of the exclusion of and objections to Sorbian in the Daniel and Christina's childhood. The specific use of the language continues to be negotiated in the moment. Daniel tries to encourage the use of Sorbian and uses as much Sorbian as possible. He does not aim for a perfect, puristic, ideal Sorbian; he translanguages in order to bridge what he lacks in Sorbian. Christina supports him and at the same time trries to navigate everyday life without any significant active (receptive and productive) use of Sorbian. Their aim is to enable their daughters to actively participate linguistically in the Sorbian community without insisting that they should actually choose to use the Sorbian language later in life.

9.1.2 The choice of school

While the negotiation of family language practices between the parents is mostly implicit and the practices continuously evolve over time, the choice of which type of school to enrol the children in explicit. Apart from the decision to move to the bilingual region from outside Lusatia, this is the most conscious choice that the parents make with regard to their children's socialising environment. For all families, the school in their own municipalities is a bilingual Sorbian-German school. Before the introduction of the "2plus" teaching model, the schools either had a one-track system of teaching in Sorbian in all classes or a two-track system of teaching in Sorbian or German in separate classes. With the beginning of "2plus", pupils are not meant to be devided into different classes according to the language of instruction, but instead within each class, three different groups are formed for a number of subjects. In these groups, language use for instruction differs according to whether more Sorbian or more German is used. In all other subjects, both languages are used.

All children have attended or are attending educational institutions in the bilingual municipalities and have at least some Sorbian at school. However, the parents' decisions differ in how much emphasis they put on Sorbian and how much on German. In none of the families were the children enrolled in Sorbian-medium education or in the Sorbian oriented language group 1 during their entire school time. This is either the because the parents attach considerable importance to German or because unforeseen developments led to the children being placed in language group 2 or 3.

When the parents consciously chose a bilingual school, it was firstly because Sorbian was important to them and they expected the school to play a role in the development in the Sorbian language. Secondly, they took into account the local embeddedness of the school and emphasised the importance of ties between the local children. When the parents resolutely decided to enrol their children in a German medium class or in the German oriented language group 3, the choice was related to the perceived instrumental value of German for further education after school, to the desire or need of the German-speaking parent to be involved in the children's learning (or more or less the insistence to be able to follow the school communication), and to the own experience of later struggles with German by parents who went through Sorbian-medium education and grew up in a dominantly Sorbian environment.

The Bluhme's sent their children to the nearest bilingual kindergarten and their eldest son also to the nearest primary school. They sent Anton to primary school with the expectation that all lessons would be taught through Sorbian, as had been the case during Alexandra's school time. In the meantime, the "2plus" system was already in place and Anton was not placed in language group 1, but was placed by officials in a second group with a few other children who were not as fluent in Sorbian to be placed in language group 1. Although Alexandra does not question this decision in general ("It was not BAD."), she had a very different perception of Anton's abilities and is more than disappointed that she was not involved or informed about the procedures and decisions. In retrospect, she also concludes that the smaller group of children who were not taught in the subjects of Sorbian, German and a third unnamed subject in language group 1, were in a way separated from the rest of the class, which had a negative effect on the social relations between the pupils. Quote (124) shows how the decision for Sorbian-medium education was ultimately not implemented in the expected way.

(124) Alexandra Bluhmowa/Bluhme (F1, 30)

Haj, genau, to je poprawom nětko tak, štož ke mni je, štož ja z dźěćimi šće prajić móžu, štož je mi nadpadnyło kaž z našim Antonom. Tón je pon wodwał ... [...] ... wón do šule přišoł. A to je, also ja sym sej mysliła, zo je B. ryzy serbska šula, zo to takrjec kaž po nas tak prajene hišće, zo serbske powědaja. A pon je wón druhi dźeń wot šule domoj přišoł a je prajił: Mama, ja mam serbšćinu, němčinu a ... što to běše, třeće, ja gor njewěm, hišće jedne. - Mama, ja w jednej ekstra skupinje. Sym ja prajiła: Kak, w jednej ekstra skupinje? Na haj, to mam ja z pjeć druhimi ekstra hodźinu. To sym ja so dźiwała, pon sym ja halt B. zawołała, prajiła: Što ha to je? A da je wona ke mni prajiła, haj, woni halt tene dwaj-plus činja a za te dźěći, kotrež tak derje serbske njemóža abo kotrež wot němskej swójbu pochadźa, te hodwjeja w tych třoch hodźinach ekstra wzate a tak prajene hišće jemol bóle němske hodwje wučbje činjene a wone tak prajene hinak k tej serbšćinje ron přińdu. Nětko jemol tak prajim. A to sym ja so echt dźiwała, zo nichtó njeje ze mnu powědał. Zo so mje NIchtó njeje prašał, hač ja to chcem. Hač ja widźim tež to, zo Anton to trjeba, dokelž ja hač do dźensnišeho njejsym zrozumiła, čehodla wón to činił. To njeje HUbjene było. Ale tohodla, ja sym toho měnjenja była, ZO wón derje serbske powědał, ZO wón wšo zrozumi. A přez to je pak też było tene socialne, tene pjećo su wot rjadownje bóle auswaertere byli.

Yes, exactly, that's actually how it is now, as far as I'm concerned, what I can add about the children, what I've noticed, like with our Anton. He was then ... [...] ... he then went to school. And I thought that in B. there was a purely Sorbian school, that they still spoke Sorbian, so to speak, like in our time. And then he came home from school on the second day and said: Mum, I have Sorbian, German and ... what was it, the third, I don't know, something else. - Mum, I'm in an extra group. I said: What do you mean, in an extra group? Well, I'm in an extra group with five others. I was surprised, then I called in B. and said, What's that? And then she said to me, yes, they do this two-plus, and for the children who don't know Sorbian so well, or who come from a German family, they were taken separately for these three hours and, so to speak, more is done in German in the lessons and they come to Sorbian in a different way, so to speak. I'll put it

that way now. And I was really surprised that nobody spoke to me. That NO one asked me if I wanted it. Whether I could see that Anton needed it, because to this day I still don't understand why he did it. It was not BAD. But still I was of the opinion THAT he spoke Sorbian well, THAT he understood everything. And because of that the social aspect- those five were more the outsiders of the class.

Kata Schurig (B1) represents a further voice for Sorbian-medium education in quotation (125). To Kata it was important that the children do not only have Sorbian as a subject but that they are also taught through Sorbian and that they can learn in a Sorbian educational environment. Patrick entrusted education-related desicions to the competence of Kata and agreed to choose a school, where Sorbian would be used in a substantial part of the children's education. The decision where to enrol the oldest son was made when the Schurig's still lived in a town where the schools teach through German. When considering to choose a school in a Sorbian village, they needed to take into account longer transportation. This is what they decided for and Karol had to take a far longer bus ride to reach his school than he would had the parents enroled them in a nearby school. Only with their move to their current place of living, the local school of the municipality then was a bilingual school and thus the obvious choice in terms of logistics.

(125) Kata Šurigowa/Schurig (B1, 38)

Dokelž mi je to też ważne było, zo wón serbsce wukubłany wodwje. Also nic jenož wón, też te tamne dźěći. to běše mi em přeco ważne. My smy tehdom so we H. w tej […] šuli też powabili a ja sym pon też jednu jara rjanu rozmołwu zes tej direktorku měła, hdyž je wona mi pon też prajiła: Wěsće Wy što knjeni Šurigowa, z tej nadźiju, štož Wy nětko jow přińdźeće, je Karol jow definitiv šće daloko zno. Wón je móhł serbsce rěčeć. Wona praješe: My mamy němske dźěći, kotrež z měšanych swójbow přińdu, hdźež pak ta němčina ekstremnje přewažuje. Wona praješe: My mamy serbšćinu jako hodźinu, ale po tym je wšo němsce. No, a to nětko njeje naš wotmysł był a też nic mój wotmysł. Patrick bych wězo so nětko wjesć też dał, ale tón je tam mi jara, tón je mi tam woprawdźe swobodu dał. Wón praješe, tak kaž ty rozsudźiš, tak budźe to też prawje. Nó, a tohodla smy toho Karola pon też do B. dali.

Because it was also important to me that he be taught in Sorbian. Not just him, but the other children as well. That was always important to me. At that time, we also applied to the […] school in H. and I had a very nice conversation with the principle, where she also told me: You know what, Mrs. Schurig, in the hope that you are coming here now, Karol is definitely too far advanced. He could speak Sorbian. She said: We have German children who come from mixed families, but where German is extremely predominant. She said: We have Sorbian as a subject, but after that it's all German. Yes, and that was not our intention and not my intention either. Patrick would of course have let himself be guided, but he gave me a lot of, he really gave me freedom there. He said, The way you decide is the right way. Yes, and that's why we gave Karol to B.

These two rather clear decisions in favour of schooling through were made by parents who had experienced the lack of a supportive linguistic environment for Sorbian while living outside Lusatia.

In both cases, the German-speaking partners were supportive of the decision, but were not themselves the driving force behind it. Another relevant aspect is that although the German-speaking fathers support and engage in their children's learning, the main support is provided by the Sorbian-speaking mothers. If it is mainly one of the parents who is involved in the children's learning at school, and if this parent is the speaker of German, this may influence the decision in favour of a more German-oriented education. Such a constellation can be found in the Symmank family.

Katrin Symmank's (A1) account in (126) suggests that the decision to send the children to the local bilingual kindergarten and primary school was not one made without a pinch of reservation. The main argument for doing so was to enable the children to be part of the local community, in that the sons would go to kindergarten and attend school together with the other children from the village and would share the same experiences with them. Most of the children at that time went to the same local educational institutions, and to consider different ones would have meant separating them from the rest of the children and preventing them from forming ties based on the same experiences. Katrin says that this was important to both her and Frank ("That was actually important to us."). However, she adds "Even though I don't really know Sorbian," suggesting that her agreement to enrol the children in the local bilingual school was based on a concession or compromise on her part. This does not necessarily mean that she is against all Sorbian at school, but rather that she is in favour of Sorbian as a subject and German-medium education in other subjects or subjects that are considered as serious, such as science. This would also be in line with the importance attached to German in terms of further professional education and activity (see 8.1).

(126) Katrin Symankowa/Symmank (A1, 42)

und die Kinder sind dann halt beide hier in B. in den sorbischen Kindergarten gegangen. Das war uns eigentlich wichtig, weil, ja, damit die hier auch so aufwachsen und die Kinder hier aus dem Dorf, dass die Kontakte auch so gepflegt werden. Und ja, dann sind die auch beide nach B. in die Grundschule gegangen. Das haben wir auch so gesagt, weil das dann halt gleich vom Kindergarten so in die Grundschule, dass halt auch wieder die Kinder zusammen sind und ... Das war uns eigentlich wichtig. Obwohl ich so ja nicht so richtig Sorbisch kann.

and the children both went to the Sorbian kindergarten here in B. That was actually important to us because, yes, so that they would grow up like that here and the children from the village here, so that the contacts would also be cultivated. And yes, then they both went to the primary school in B. We also said that because that way it goes directly from the kindergarten to the primary school, so that the children are together again and ... That was actually important to us. Even though I don't really know Sorbian.

Frank Symmank (A2) confirms Katrin's concerns whether she would be able to support their sons' learning (127). Otherwise the choice for the Sorbian-German primary school appears to be rather obvious to him.

(127) Frank Symank/Symmank (A2, 45)

A wone ta su pon też dyrbjeli do B.-skeje šule dźeja, oder šli #abo chodźa też. Klar, zo su byli wobmyslenja wegen tych pon serbskich nadawkow, hač budźe wona jim pomhać móc wšo. Tam su por wěcy, kotrež ćežke su

And then they also had to go to school in B., or went #or go too. Of course, there were also concerns about the Sorbian tasks, whether she would be able to help them with everything. There are some things that are difficult

While Frank helped with school every now and then, engaging with learning, as well as attending parents meetings, was clearly Katrin's task, who apart from her husband did not have anybody to turn to when having questions about homework in Sorbian. The division of responsibility in the family is important with regard to school, because less than being concerned with how her sons would be able to cope with Sorbian at school, it is a question of how Katrin perceives her own agency in relation to the school as well as her authority in relation to her sons. As the person taking responsibility for the successful backing of the boy's educational trajectories, she is in the role of a competent and self-reliant person. However, not speaking and understanding Sorbian, takes away part of her autonomy. The fact that Katrin does not consider a co-construction of competence between herself and the boys, in that she helps them with homework and they share with her their knowledge of Sorbian, apart being influenced by the preponderant responsibility for parenting on her shoulders, points toward questions of attitudes, ideologies and affect. On the other hand, it is important to bear in mind that this pertains to the narrated text and the sons are already in secondary school. Since Katrin helped the boys with their homework she probably engaged a lot with Sorbian material during their primary school time.

The Petasch family is in a similar situation when it comes to the responsibility for parental school engagement. It is mainly Christina Petasch (J1) who looks after homework and attends parents' meetings in school and it is Christina who speaks German to her children and husband. At the time of our meetings, the oldest daughter was in primary school, and Christina told me about how through practicing with Hedwig, she learns to read some Sorbian and that she understands the easy primary school texts. Hedwig visits the local bilingual primary school. Nevertheless, the amount of Sorbian is limited in Hedwig's education, as Christina states in (128), referring to Sorbian as a subject (not necessarily as a language of instruction).

(128) Christina Pjetašowa/Petasch (J1, 35)

Also, die ist ja Deutsch. Und durch den ganzen Lockdown und alles, die haben ganz, ganz wenig Sorbisch. Also die hat einmal die Woche nur noch Sorbisch.

Well, she is German. And because of the whole lockdown and everything, they have very, very little Sorbian. So once a week she only has Sorbian.

With "she is German" Christina means that they did not enrol Hedwig into language group 1. While Daniel assertively decided that he would speak Sorbian to his children, he did not insist on a Sorbian-oriented school education. He himself went through German-medium education and learned standard Sorbian within a separate subject. As I already mentioned earlier, this fact is not very

prominent in his account and community socialisation is much more important to him. Apparently, Daniel does not consider the school as a possible environment for Sorbian language socialisation for his girls even if he concedes that his own Sorbian competences are limited to a certain extent. So, again, Christina as the parent who is a speaker of German and at the same time the most important agent in the support of the childrens' schooling, hesitated to opt for a more Sorbian-oriented school education for her daughter and she has an important voice in the couple's decision. In (129) Christina describes the concerns over her and Daniel's capacities to support Hedwig within the language group 1, which was one of the main influences of their decision not to choose it.

(129) Christina Pjetašowa/Petasch (J1, 35)

und daraufhin haben die gesagt, ähm, wir machen eine rein sorbische Klasse. Und eine gemischte Klasse. Und weil die Hedwig halt erstens eh schon keinen Bezug hatte zu der […] Gruppe ((der Kinder, die in der sorbischen Klasse sein würden)) […], ist die halt in die gemischte Klasse […] ... rein. Obwohl dann auch einige gesagt haben, Was? Wie könnt ihr die denn nicht ins SORbische schicken? ((sehr leise:)) Und, ich behalt das für mich, wo ich gedacht habe, Ja wenn wir's nicht können. Wir können das ja nicht abfangen. Ich will ja nicht STÄNdig irgendwo beim Nachbarn klingeln, dass die mir die Hausaufgaben erklären. Das bringt uns ja nicht weiter. No. Und, ... Ja. Dann haben wir das eben so. Und deswegen ist die jetzt in der, […], in der gemischten Klasse […].

and then they said, um, we'll do a purely Sorbian class. And a mixed class. And because Hedwig already had no connection to the [...] group ((of children who would be in the Sorbian class)) [...], she joined the mixed class [...] ...[15] Although some people said, What? How can you not send her into the SORbian? ((very quietly:)) And, I keep that to myself, where I thought, Yes, if we can't do it. We can't absorb it. I don't want to ring the neighbour's doorbell ALL the time and have them explain the homework to me. That won't get us anywhere. Yeah. And... Yes. Then that's the way it is. And that's why she's now in the, [...], in the mixed class [...].

Interestingly, Hedwig was considered by acquaintances of the Petasch's to be an active enough Sorbian speaker to learn through Sorbian at school and they voiced their astonishment about Petasch's decision. By speaking very quietly, Christina signals not to have told them that she did not want to send her daughter to the "Sorbian class". The fact that it was made up mainly of children with whom Hedwig did not go to kindergarten together makes it easier for Christina to explain to others why they enroled Hedwig in the other class, which is more German-oriented.

In contrast to Christina and Katrin, who do not state outright that they do not want Sorbian-medium education for their children, the Domsch and Dreißig couples speak openly about their focus on German-medium education. However, their explanations and justifications also point to the

[15] Although according to the "2plus" concept pupils with different Sorbian language competences are supposed to learn in the same class and are separated according to language level for the main subjects while learning together in the rest of the lessons, in Hedwig's year the division of classes was made along the language groups. One class comprises only pupils who are in language group 1, basically allowing Sorbian-medium education throughout, and the other class comprises pupils with various levels of Sorbian competences. Hedwig is learning in the latter class.

different stances to the role of Sorbian in education within the Sorbian community. In the case of the Dreißig's, the former school system with the A/B-class division into classes with Sorbian and classes with German as the medium of instruction was still in place. The couple decided to enrol their children in a B-class with German as the medium of instruction. One of the reasons was that Jürgen Dreißig (D2) wanted to be able to follow the communication between the school and the parents, although he was later no longer involved in his children's learning. Angela Dreißig (D1), who strove to pass on Sorbian to her children on her own during Jürgen's absence, says that she wanted to teach them everything they would need at home. Thus Angela took upon herself the entire responsibility for the transmission of Sorbian and socialisation into Sorbian. Like the previously mentioned families, she did not see the school as a socialising environment for Sorbian, but instead considered the village community as more important in fulfilling this function. This is related to the meso- and macro-sociolinguistic fabric, where German is often the language of professional education and activity. Angela reflects on her own experience with the transition from a predominantly Sorbian environment to an exclusively German environment and wants to spare her children of the difficulties she once had. This is reflected in quote (130). Angela sees no contradiction in applying to her childrens' bilingual upbringing the logic of thinking about the benefits that a more intensive German education might have had for her own acquisition of German in the context of her monolingual Sorbian upbringing. While her experience of not being able to express herself fluently and flexibly in German created negative affect that she does not want her children to have to face, it is probably the need to create cohesion in a family environment where Sorbian is only used in the absence of the German-speaking parent that led to the decision for German medium schooling and for the argumentation that in this way the children would avoid similar experiences.

(130) Angela Dreißigowa/Dreißig (D1, 58)

Ja pak sym, dokelž sym ja tak ćežko měła, hdyž sym ja šła do wukubłanja, sym ja prajiła, naše dźěći póndźetej do B. do šule. Do B-rjadownje. Dokelž sym ja to m-, e, dokelž ja sym rjekła, pisać, čitać wonej nawuknjetej, a wšo druhe ja jim doma dam. A tak smy my to činili.

But because I had such a hard time when I went to vocational training, I said that our children would go to school in B. In the B class. Because I-, uh, because I said, they will learn to write, to read, and everything else I will give them at home. And that's how we did it.

A similar experience to Angela's was made by Karola Domsch (C1). Like Angela, she does not want that her children have difficulties with German and like Angela, she thinks that a completely Sorbian-oriented education would hinder this. Again, she disregards in her argumentation that her children grow up bilingually and have the opportunity to actively use German since the beginning, which is what she did not have. Stephan Domsch (C2) is also very much in favour of German-medium education. The difference between the two families is that the Domsch children entered school when the 2plus system and the bilingual schools were already in place and a purely German-medium education was not available in those schools anymore. The closest they could come to the former B-class, in which also Stephan was educated, was to have their children learn in language

group 3, which is the most German-oriented. In quote (131), Karola explains their stance and describes what literacy acquisition in language group 3 looks like.

(131) Karola Domšowa/Domsch (C1, 44)

Haj, my smy pon wobojdwejo, my mamy te měnjenje tak, zo to njeje gut, hdyž te nětko jenož te serbsce tak jara wuknjeja. Tohodla sym ja te potom we B. měła w šuli a sym prajiła, e, serbšćina běži jako pódlanska rěč, no. A tohodla su te dyrbjeli najprjedy te němske wuknyć w tej grundschuli. Najprjedy němski alfabet a potom tón serbski a takle, nor.

Yes, then we both, we both have the opinion that it is not good if they only learn Sorbian so much. That's why I had them in B. at school and said, uh, Sorbian is a secondary language, yes. And that's why they had to learn German first in primary school. First the German alphabet and then Sorbian and so on, right.

None of the parents described any differences of opinion when discussing the choices on the educational paths of their children. For some of these interlingual couples, arriving at a common point meant expressing and/or putting into practice an orientation towards German in school education. The attitudes towards German as the language of professional advancement and the higher position of power of German (see 8.1 and 8.5) are clearly discernible in the parents' reasoning.

9.1.3 Participation in church life

In view of the importance of Sorbian in the religious domain in Catholic Upper Lusatia (see 7.4.4), it is worth taking a look at the church attendance of the participants. In four of the families both spouses are Catholic and two couples are intermarriages between a Catholic and an atheist. As I have already discussed the negotiation of language practices and the choices for the childrens' linguistic environment in relation to the shared family time and the school choice, I will not focus on the processes of language negotiation with regard to church and religion. A major difference from school-related choices is that engagement in the community's religious life does not require a one-time decision and church attendance can be negotiated on an ongoing basis. Basically, the language choices in this domain are the result of the negotiations between the parents. They are a compromise between the German-speaking and the Sorbian-speaking partner and are not so much influenced by their considerations as to how attending a Sorbian or German Mass might influence the childrens' linguistic adaptation. However, this also has to do with the fact that in Catholic Upper Lusatia, the religious life in Sorbian is more vital than in German and is to some extent the default option. Sorbian and German services are held separately, if German services are held at the local church at all. Kimura discusses that while outside the church it is normal to accommodate German speakers, in church the use of Sorbian is maximised (Kimura 2016: 64; Kimura 2015). This also applies to the casees of negotiation reported by parents in the current study, where the clergy did not give in to the suggestion of inclusing some German.

The church was not experienced positively by all participants. Neither was the linguistic separation and the exclusive use of Sorbian in Sorbian Mass accepted without contestation by all German-speaking parents. Nevertheless, regardless of the frequency of church attendance and of the degree of involvement in a parish community, religiousness or spirituality played an important role in all families. Furthermore, I argue that it is linked to the Sorbian language. In families in which the

German-speaking partner is not religious, attendance of Holy Mass on Sundays, rites and church events is mostly in Sorbian. The frequency depends on whether the Sorbian-speaking partner often attends Sunday Mass and on whether the children are actively involved, for example as altar boys and girls. In these families the use of Sorbian is not contested in this domain. In the families where both partners are religious, the practices vary. They range from the regular attendance of Mass in Sorbian by all family members, but not necessarily together (132), to the joint attendance of Mass in German, but separate attendance of Mass in Sorbian without the German-speaking parent, see (133), or the joint attendance of Mass in Sorbian, but separate attendance of Mass in German by the German-speaking parent (134), to sporadic attendance of mainly German Mass (135).

(132) Karola Domšowa/Domsch (C1, 44)

C1: […] a hdyž sym ja pon jow přišła, pon do B. ((na serbske kemše)). A najskerje je moja schwiegermać, hdyž je jeje muž šće žiwy był, je wona přeco němske kemše jězdźiła.

smi: Haj.

C1: A potom wona ze mnu zaso jězdźiła na serbske.

smi: %mm.

C1: Nó. A mój muž, tón rady dźe, […] tón rady sedymich na rańše dźe. ((kiž su serbske))

smi: Haj.

C1: Nó, a to tón pon z našim hólcom, […] , dokelž zo tón fussball hrał, a tón je dyrbjał druhdy njedźelu też hrać, spiele, dźewjećich. A to je, přez to je so to potom tak sčiniło, zo te hromadźe sedymich jědu kemši.

C1: and when I came here, I went to B. ((to the Sorbian Mass)). And probably my mother-in-law, when her husband was still alive, she always went to the German Mass.

smi: Yes.

C1: And then she went to the Sorbian Mass with me again.

smi: %mm.

C1: Yeah. And my husband, he likes to go, [...] he likes to go to the early Mass at seven. ((which is Sorbian))

smi: Yes.

C1: Yeah, and then he ((goes)) with our boy, [...] because he played football, and sometimes he had to play on Sundays, games, at nine. And that's how they came to go to Mass together at seven.

(133) Philipp Dreißig (D3, 30)

smi: Nó. A šće wy w swójbje, tak w dźěćatstwje, sće wy někak, šće wy zes swójbu do cyrkwje chodźili abo so modlili doma abo ...

D3: Oju, eigentlich přeco, haj. Also my smy do D. zas jěli do kemše wjele. Dokelž tam přeco na němsce też běše. To naš nan też přec sobu přišoł. Ale kaž tene wulke feierlichkeiten, to smy halt też pon B. abo C. też šli a tam też wšo serbsce a to też #šće je klopwało, to pak pon naš nan njeje sobu přišoł. Tón pon doma wostał. A tak modlili też wšo na serbsce a też firmung a erstkommunion też wšo na serbsce smy ten wukli. To eigentlich klopwało.

smi: Yeah. And in the family, so in your childhood, did you kind of, did you go to church with the family or did you pray at home or...?

D3: Yes, actually always, yes. So we often went to Mass in D.. Because it was always in German there. Our father always came along too. But for these big festivities, we also went to B. or C. and there everything was in Sorbian and that worked too, but then our father didn't come along. So he stayed at home. And we prayed everything in Sorbian and we also learned everything about confirmation and first communion in Sorbian. That actually worked.

(134) Katrin Symankowa/Symmank (A1, 42)

A1: In B. ist alles Sorbisch. Und wir teilen uns dann halt manchmal. Also ich geh auch manchmal in die sorbische Messe mit, aber manchmal brauch ich's einfach auch so für MICH selbst, auch mal 'ne deutsche Messe und da fahr ich entweder nach C., […], oder D. […] Oder ich fahr mal nach H. oder I. dort, wo wir früher in die Kirche gegangen sind. Das ist auch immer Sonnabend Vorabendgottesdienst. Da

smi: smi: Ja. %Mm.

A1: A1: sind wir auch manchmal, also so wie's gepasst hat, aber Dominik war dann auch Ministrant gewesen […].

smi: smi: %Mm.

A1: A1: Von daher, seit der dann halt ministriert hat, also vorher haben wir schon auch gewechselt und sowas. Aber seit der halt dann ministriert hat ((ist die Familie häufiger in sorbische Messen gegangen)).

A1: In B. everything is in Sorbian. And we sometimes split up. sometimes I go to the Sorbian Mass, but sometimes I just need it for mySELF, a German Mass, and then I either go to C., [...], or D. [...] Or I go to H. or I., where we used to go to church. That's also always the Saturday evening service. Sometimes

smi: Yes. %Mm.

A1: we are there too, if it was suitable, but Dominik was also an altar boy later [...].

smi: smi: %Mm.

A1: A1: So since he was an altar boy, before that we also alternated and so on. But since he was an altar boy ((the family went to Sorbian Mass more often)).

(135) Christina Pjetašowa/Petasch (J1, 35)

Wenn wir in die Kirche fahren, fahren wir eigentlich TAtsächlich meistens nach H. ((wo die Messen deutsch sind)). Das ist meine Kirche. Nó. Und wir fahren auch oft nach I.

When we go to church, we actually usually go to H. ((where the Mass is in German)). That's my church. Yeah. And we also often go to I.

The attendance of German Mass sometimes was not only linked to a linguistic preference, but also to its more convenient time, see for example (136). One teenager also told me to go with the German-speaking parent to the later German Mass in order to be able to sleep longer on Sunday morning.

(136) Philipp Dreißig (D3, 30)

Nahaj, ta druha wěc. My eigentlich wjele njejsmy do B. ((na serbske kemše)) jěli, dokelž też za nas pře zahe też běše. To dyrbi jen też tak prajić. Napoł dźewjećich. My njejsmy tak zahe pon přeco stanyli @@ Haj. To też jen grund běše. A tam ((druhdźe)) to pon dźesaćich oder napoł jědnaćich běše přeco ((a kemše běchu němske)). To smy pon najprjedy snědali a pon smy durich jěli. Haj. To też šće kusk tajki punkt też ten běše najskerje. Haj. Też tak nutř liči. @@@@ Haj.

Well, another thing. We actually didn't go to B. very often ((to the Sorbian mass)) because it was always too early for us. You have to say that. Half past eight. We didn't always get up that early @@ Yes. That was also a reason. And there ((elsewhere)) it was always at ten or half past ten. ((and the Mass was German)) So we had breakfast first and then went over. Yes. That was probably another point. Yes. That also plays a role. @@@@ Yes.

Regardless whether the families are sporadic or regular church-goers, the most important Masses in year are celebrated in Sorbian. This holds for Easter and the pilgrimages to the central Sorbian pilgrimage site in Róžant/Rosenthal that take place several times a year and which are closely linked to the Sorbian Catholic self-conception. Alexandra Bluhme says that in her bilingual family of origin, they attended Sorbian church services together, and even if they did not go to church regularly, the main church festivals were all in Sorbian (137). Hence even if the engagement within church differs in frequency and even if the Sorbian language in church may be experienced only on the main church festivals, the religious domain becomes associated with the Sorbian language.

(137) Alexandra Bluhmowa/Bluhme (F1, 30)

F1: A kaž prajene my smy šli hdyž überhaupt kóžde dwaj, tři njedźele jemol do cyrkwje a pon pak smy my přec wšě też do serbskej.

smi: Aha. Also wy sće pon do ...

F1: To je do B., abo my smy najbóle sobotu wječor do C. jěli. A to bě we C. serbska.

smi: Ach so!

F1: Nó, sobotu wječor su we C. přec byli serbske kemše. To pak bě cyle jednorje, dokelž je moja mać też prajiła, njedźela je jenički dźeń, hdyž je naš nan doma. A towodla my njedźelu rano njeńdźemy do cyrkwje. @ Nó. **A hewak smy my też, štož je halt tene, tene wulke swjedźenje kaž jutry a tak. To smy my přeco šli też do serbskich. To smy my też přec wšě do serbskich kemšow.** Ale tak prajene, tajki wulki fokus wěra po nas njeje měła, z modlenjom a tak ...

F1: And as I said, we went to church once every two or three weeks, if at all, and then we all went to the Sorbian ((Mass)).

smi: Aha. So you went to ...

F1: That was to B., or we usually went to C. on Saturday evenings. And at at that time there was a Sorbian ((Mass)) in C.

smi: I see!

F1: Yeah, there was always a Sorbian Mass in C. on Saturday evenings. But that was simply because my mother also said that Sunday was the only day when our father was at home. And that's why we don't go to church on Sunday mornings.

@ Yeah. **And otherwise we also went to these, these big festivities like Easter and so on. Then we always went to the Sorbian one. Then we all always went to the Sorbian Mass**. But as I said, faith didn't play such a big role with us, with praying and so on ...

While the exclusive use of Sorbian in Mass was not left uncontested by all German-speaking parents, all participants who spoke about linguistic insecurities in Sorbian, for example with regard to literacy practices, if going into detail about their own language use in church, stated that using Sorbian in church was easier for them. For example, they mentioned to read more fluently during the singing of hymns or during the joint reading of prayers from the hymnbook than they do with other texts such as from the newspaper or a book (138). This was usually positively connotated. The ritual use of Sorbian and the repeated recitation or reading of text in community with others thus provide a kind of safe space (O'Rourke & Walsh 2020) to use the language. Particularly the hymns were mentioned in this context and they were always positively connotated. Singing together adds a bodily dimension to the language. This differs significantly from spontaneous speech, where one has to formulate ones own thoughts. In quote (138) it becomes clear, how for Judith Dreißig (D4), the religious aspect is part of her attachment to her place and region of origin. Although her family went to German Mass regularly, to Judith, German Mass does not evoke any significant feelings of attachment, while Sorbian Mass does. When she mentions the traditions and costumes that are part of Sorbian Catholic church life she says how enthusiastic she is about them and how she would like to pass on this love to her future children. All of this is also connected to language, since the Sorbian hymns are of course also sung in the Easter and pilgrimage processions. The special attire and being in move during these festivities add to the embodied experience of the Sorbian language.

(138) Judith Dreißigec/Dreißig (D4, 28)

ja sym zno přeco chcyła zaso domoj přińć a jow přińć, zo ja też wšo tak mam, dokelž mi to też jara ważne, zo ja pon prajim, hdyž ja dźěći mam, ja chcem, zo woni rady, zo wone serbsce pon też wuknu vielleicht też tak kaž ja, mi to dosaha, tak, zo ja so móžu rozmołwić, vielleicht nic cyle perfektnje rozmołwić abo tak, zo ja wěm, ja to zno móžem wšo, ja wěm, što tón druhi wot mnje chce, ja też móžem rozmołwić so a ja móžem też mol něšto wotmołwić abo hdyž ja nětko sprawna sym, pisać bych zno jara ćežko za mnje było. **A něšto čitać, ja přeco dyrbim sama so kusk smjeć, hdyž my kěrluše w kemšach spěwamy, te čitanje te cyle skoku dźe a hdyž ty pon jednu knihu maš oder nětko Serbske Nowiny oder něšto, da to, to doch jen kusk wjace trjeba jako wot časa sem.** Abo, ja prajim, to dźe. **A tajke něšto ja też rady chcem, zo moje dźěći to pon sobu wzaja, a zo wone to też wuknu a też tón lubosć namakaja, też naše tradicije. To je tajke něšto rjane, ja přeco prajim, haj, tajkeho křižerja oder tajku družku, to je něšto jara fajn. A ja wo tym zno tajk-, ja sym zno feuer und flamme za tajke něšto a ja bych to rady, zo moje dźěćo to pon też mol maja. Dokelž ja też přeco widźim, ja mam też wšo tu a to by fajn było, hdyž tam mol irgendněchtó tak nutř rosće a to pon też tak, tajku lubosć za to dóstanje.** Also, mi to šón bych jara ważne było, hdyž ja pon mol dźěći dóstatnjem, zo to pon wšo tak dźe, dokelž pola nas też wšo tak normal je, zo znajmjeńša tajki, tajki hauch von serbšćina nutřka je.

> I've always wanted to come back home and come here, to have everything like that, because it's also very important to me that I say, when I have children, I want them to like, that they learn Sorbian, maybe like me, for me that's enough, so that I can talk, maybe not answer perfectly, but so that I know I can do it all, I know what the other person wants from me, I can also talk and I can also answer something, but if I'm honest, writing would be very difficult for me. **And reading something, I always have to laugh a bit myself when we sing hymns in church, reading goes very quickly and when you have a book or the Sorbian newspaper or something, then you need a bit more time.** But I say it's okay. **And I would also like my children to take this with them, and that they also learn this and find this love, also our traditions. That is something so beautiful, I always say, yes, such an Easter rider or such a Družka, that is something very fine. And I'm really, I'm really enthusiastic about it and I would like my child to have it too. Because I always see that I have everything here and it would be great if someone would grow into it and also get such a love for it.** So that would be very important to me, if I have children, that it all goes like that, because everything is so normal with us that at least such a, a touch of Sorbian is in it.

In conclusion, the Sorbian-speaking parents mostly convey the connection between religious life and the Sorbian language. Among the German-speaking parents who are also Catholics, only those who understand Sorbian regularly attend the Sorbian Mass. In the other families, the members alternate between Sorbian and German Mass. For the most important church festivals, however, they either join the others for the Sorbian Mass or let them go alone. The decision to go to the Sorbian or the German Mass is often a matter of accommodation for the Sorbian or the German partner. Children have a closer relationship with the Sorbian parish, even if their parents do not plan for it. This is a result of the embodied experience they have in the Sorbian parish, especially on important church holidays.

9.2 Management beyond the family domain

In the previous sections of the empirical chapters, I have already discussed that the use of Sorbian between its speakers is not always obvious and how individuals negotiate and influence language choices. In this section, I will focus on language management beyound the family domain. First, I discuss attempts to influence the language choices of children by motivating them to use Sorbian, which can be seen as simple management (Nekvapil 2006). Second, I turn to an example where a management incentive at the municipal level translates into acts of simple management or self-management among the village youth. Third, I look at how young people navigate within the linguistic frame that is set by organised management in the school and how they try to renegotiate language use in opposition to it. Fourth, I discuss examples where organised management is a) positively received by adults or, on the contrary, b) perceived as unsatisfactory and adults try to renegotiate language use.

9.2.1 Requests to children and youth to speak Sorbian

The management mechanism for an increased use of Sorbian by children that was most frequently described by my participants was explicit requests by third persons to the children to speak Sorbian with each other. Often, kindergarten and school teachers were said to admonish the children to

speak Sorbian. This instance of simple management occurs repeatedly and most is probably largely automated, as I have discussed it to be for Alexandra Bluhme's (F1) reminders to her son Anton (F3) to switch to Sorbian in the home context (see the discussion of quotes (106) and (107)). As quote (139) from Alexandra shows, some school and kindergarten teachers refer to the school or kindergarten as a Sorbian institution in order to legitimise their demand. She remembers from her own schooltimes how teachers told the pupils during the breaks or during after-school activities that they had to speak Sorbian because they were in a Sorbian school. Observing her own children, she noticed that the same happens in the kindergarten today. Her son Jonas (F4), who goes to the local kindergarten, told his three-year-old sister (F5), who does not yet go to kindergarten, when she spoke German that they were in a Sorbian kindergarten and that they should speak Sorbian.

(139) Alexandra Bluhmowa/Bluhme (F1, 30)

Tež w horće tež a kaž, ja so móžu dopomnić we šuli kaž wčera, #šće přeco w přestawkach němske powědał, to su te wučerje přišli: My smy serbska šula, wy dyrbiće serbske powědać. A te zajimawe je, nětko hakle před dwaj tydźenjami přińdźe Jonas domoj. Emilia němske powěda. My smy serbskej pěstowarni! My dyrbimy serbske powědać! @@@ Also to přec hišće dawa.

Also in the after-school care and like, I can remember school like yesterday, you always spoke German in the breaks, that's when the teachers came: We are a Sorbian school, you have to speak Sorbian. And the interesting thing is that Jonas came home only two weeks ago. Emilia speaks German. We are in a Sorbian kindergarten! We have to speak Sorbian! @@@ So that still exists.

Such requests to speak Sorbian have the main function to signal to the children that the use of Sorbian is desired. However, their effects are not very long-lasting, as the following quote by Jasmin Domsch (C3) and the same experience of brother Vincent (C4) demonstrate. Once the language use between peers is established it is hard to change it by demanding them to speak Sorbian. In (140) Jasmin explains that she could not speak Sorbian to Vincent, with whom she has been used to speak German since early on. She claims that they tried to speak Sorbian but that German felt better.

(140) Jasmin Domšec/Domsch (C3, 17)

Pon je mój bratr přišoł do pěstowarnje a to bě takle na haj, irgendwie angewohnt, zo my němsce rěčimy mjezsobu. A te su unbedingt přeco chcyli, zo my serbsce rěčimy. Te su přeco prajili: Haj, pójće, rěčće serbsce! To smy kusk činili. To pak njejsmy móhli, dokelž je to tak angewohnt a to nam so lěpje činiło, němsce mjez sobu rěčeć hač serbsce

Then my brother went to kindergarten and we were somehow used to speaking German with each other. And they always wanted us to speak Sorbian. They always said: Yes, come on, speak Sorbian! We did that a bit. But we couldn't because we were so used to it and it was better for us to speak German with each other than Sorbian.

Vincent relates how the kindergarten teachers not only tried to encourage him to use Sorbian with his sister but also with a good friend who like him knew Sorbian but with whom he used to speak German (see quote (29)). Just as Jasmin, he concedes that he and his friend tried to speak Sorbian, 'but it never worked, we always automatically switched back to German'.

Teachers were also told to ask students to speak Sorbian with learners of Sorbian. Strictly speaking, it is not clear how the language background of the students who were mentioned by my interlocutors looked like. Jasmin describes the school colleague(s) as "someone of the Germans" (141) and "a rather German ((girl))" (142). The teachers tried to appeal to Jasmin's competence in Sorbian and to motivate her to speak with learners and to "teach them a little Sorbian". It can be suspected that the teachers (not only tried to bring learners to speak Sorbian but probably) tried to activate Jasmin's ability to speak Sorbian and bring her own agency into play in their attempts to encourage her to speak Sorbian. It is worth remembering that Jasmin learned in language group 3, whose students normally have the least knowledge of Sorbian. But Jasmin perceived the requests to speak Sorbian with learners as coercive (141) and teaching others Sorbian as not being her task (142).

(141) Jasmin Domšec/Domsch (C3, 17)

Ale to su wone też prajili, hdyž sym ja z jednych z tych němskich rěčała: Haj, spytaj jemol kusk serbsce tym, em, z tymi rěčeć, tym kusk serbsce nawučić. Hdyž sym ja sej myslała: Das muss jetzt nicht auf zwang! Genau.

But they also said that when I spoke to someone of the Germans: Yes, try to, um, speak a little Sorbian with them, to teach them a little Sorbian. And I thought to myself: It doesn't have to be by force! Yeah.

(142) Jasmin Domšec/Domsch (C3, 17)

Haj, te su prajili wirklich, to bě jen mol bloß, a to sym ja z tajkej bóle němskej rěčała na němsce a te su prajili: Haj, wy tla móžeće kusk serbsce rěčeć a Jasmin, ty tla móžeš kusk serbsce a nawuč tym to kusk a spytaj jemol kusk serbsce rěčeć z tymi. A ja takle: Ok, to eigentlich waš nadawk. Ja takle, sym sej ja takle mysliła. Tym serbsce nawučić. Ale, ok, ja sym druhdy też spytała wirklich pola jedneje přećelce też jemol kusk takle serbsce nawučić. To wirklich zno jemol było. Ale pon jen skoku zas irgendwie tla na te němsce přińdźe.

Yes, they really said, it was only once, and I spoke to a rather German ((girl)) in German and they said: Yes, you could speak a bit of Sorbian and Jasmin, you can speak a bit of Sorbian and teach them a little bit and try to speak a bit of Sorbian with them. And I was like, okay, that's actually your job. I was like this, I thought to myself. To teach them Sorbian. But, okay, sometimes I really tried to teach a friend a bit of Sorbian. That really happened once. But then you quickly come back to German somehow.

Jasmin says that this happened only once. Notably, however, even if she dismisses the teachers' attempts to bring them to speak Sorbian, she says that she tried to follow their request – without much success, but the students tried. This indicates that even if it may be difficult for teachers to find the right balance in motivating the students to overcome language barriers and language habits

and to avoid their opposition, they are open to experiment. By giving Jasmin the role of a competent person who could share her knowledge, her teachers did not simply disapprove of her language choice (as in the cases when they tell students who are able to speak Sorbian confidently to actually use the language) but gave her the chance to think about her own position. Jasmin thus was not criticised for a seemingly wrong language choice – the teacher did not expect her to always speak Sorbian to someone who could probably not understand fluently – but the possibility of jointly increasing language competences was pointed out to the students.

This is extremely important when looking at how students who are not in language group 1 can be perceived as quite unequivocally German and how this leads the students whose language of instruction is more Sorbian-oriented to speaking German with them. The following quote indicates, on the one hand, how the choice of a different language group than group 1 in school can hamper peer socialisation into the use of Sorbian and how, on the other hand, teachers try to counter this by encouraging students to use Sorbian between them. Tobias Symmank (A4) reports, similarly as Jasmin, that his teachers in primary school told him and the other students from language group 1 to speak Sorbian with the others because they have to learn Sorbian (143).

(143) Tobias Symank/Symmank (A4, 13)

Haj, also, to bě tak, zo tam tej w paralelrjadownje su ganz schön, also por, su pon tak, zo tajka němska skupina bóła a to su tej por z našej rjadownje a por z paralelki bóli a z #tej #B/tymi jo jen pon wjace němsce pójedało, ale te wučerje su tej prajili, mó dyrbimo z tymi serbsce pójedać, dókelž te tej dyrbja to wuknć. Also ... haj.

Yes, well, it was like this that there was a German group in the parallel class and there were also some from our class and some from the parallel class and we spoke more German with them, but then the teachers said that we have to speak Sorbian with them because they have to learn it. So ... yes.

The bilingualism of the students is a challenge for creating a socialising environment for Sorbian. Those who are more confident in Sorbian use German with those who are less confident in Sorbian. Whereas the former make use of their linguistic resources, the latter do not get a direct incentive to increase their competence in Sorbian by their peers. If teachers would not try to motivate interaction among all students in Sorbian, this would confine the use of Sorbian to situations when students who are confident in Sorbian are among themselves. That this is no easy task, considering the widespread accommodation in the Sorbian community, becomes apparent when reading quote (144), which pertains again to Jasmin's memories from kindergarten. She describes the requests to speak Sorbian to have been selective. Kindergarten teachers only admonished her to speak Sorbian with her brother, who was confident in Sorbian too, but not with her friend who only had German at home. The challenge of not speaking German when it is the only language the other person speaks, in order to support the acquisition of Sorbian, illustrates the challenges of simultaneous language maintenance and revitalisation efforts.

(144) Jasmin Domšec/Domsch (C3, 17)

C3: A sym halt tam też genau tak jedna była, jedna přećelka wot mnje, z tej kotrež sym ja serbsce rěčała a jedna bóle němska była. Ta wirklich była z němskeho boka a jenož němsce móhła a też kusk zno pěstowarni nawuknyła serbsce. A z tej sym ja pon też bóle němsce rěčała a z tej přećelku serbsce a z tymi kubłarjemi zas bóle, te su wšě serbsce byli, also serbsce pon też. No. Ale, to je pon šło. **Te też ničo njejsu prajili, hdyž sym ja z tej němskej sym němsce rěčała a tak. To tym wšojedne było. Ale blos z mojim bratrom**, to so tych ... Hdyž smy druhdy hromadźe byli rano, prjedy hač je lós šło, hdyž smy so wšě hromadźe trěchili, **to tych kusk myliło, zo smy my hromadźe přec bóle němsce rěčeli**.

smi: M. Ok.

C3: Ja też njewěm, čehodla. Te su chcyli unbedingt te serbsce měć, dokelž su wone wědźeli, haj, naša mać je serbska, wy dyrbiće serbsce rěčeć. Njewěm, to bě echt ... Haj.

C3: And I have, there was also one, a friend of mine, the one with whom I spoke Sorbian and there was another one who was more German. She was really from the German side and could only speak German and had also learned a little Sorbian in kindergarten. And then I spoke more German with her and more Sorbian with the other friend and more with the teachers, who were all Sorbian, so Sorbian as well. Yeah. But that was OK. They didn't say anything when I spoke German with the German girl. They didn't care. But only with my brother, they didn't... Sometimes when we were together early, before we started, when we all got together, it bothered them a bit that we always rather spoke German together.

smi: Hm. OK.

C3: I don't know why. They really wanted to have Sorbian, because they knew that yes, our mother is Sorbian, you have to speak Sorbian. I don't know, that was really... Yes.

Apart from teachers, it is also parents who ask their and other children to speak Sorbian. I have already mentioned Kata Schurig (B1) who asks her sons' friends to speak Sorbian with them, Alexandra Bluhme (F1) who asks her son Anton to speak Sorbian with his siblings, and Daniel Petasch (J2) who tells his daughters to play in Sorbian. The children themselves also report about such instances of language management, often with a certain amount of amusement. For example, when I asked Philipp Dreißig (30) whether he could imagine to start speaking Sorbian with friends with whom he is used to speaking German, he told me that he speaks Sorbian with a cousin who preferably speaks German (145). This was because his uncle wanted them to speak Sorbian. The uncle turned to his son, Philipp's cousin, and said that Philipp could speak Sorbian, which suggests that the Dreißig siblings were perception as rather German-speaking. According to Philipp, they speak Sorbian especially when his uncle is present, but also beyond such situations, because 'it doesn't hurt us, but to him it is important'.

(145) Philipp Dreißig (D3, 30)

smi: A možeš sej ty předstajić na přikład, zo ty z tajkimi přećelemi, z kotrymiž sy ty přeco němsce rěčał, zo ty z tymi jemol započnješ serbsce rěčeć?

D3: Na, kaž mój kuzenk […], z tym my smy jara wjele serbsce rěčeli. Tón pon wot samoh přec započał němsce rěčeć. A tón nan pon přeco swarjeł, tón je prajił: Nee, Philipp kann auch Sorbisch. A pon smy halt, dokelž tón nan přeco pódla, druhdy pódla je, a pon też serbsce dale rěčimy, dokelž nam to njeboli, nó, ale tón kusk drauf hlada.

smi: And can you imagine, for example, starting to speak Sorbian with friends with whom you always speak German?

D3: Well, like my cousin [...], we spoke a lot of Sorbian with him. He was the one who always started speaking German. And his father always complained and said, No, Philipp can speak Sorbian, too. And then we, because the father is always there, sometimes there, and we continue to speak Sorbian, because it doesn't hurt us, yes, but he pays a bit of attention to it.

Dominik Symmank (A3) reports to change from German to Sorbian when his friend's mother rhetorically asks them whether they cannot speak Sorbian. The friend's mother applies a territorial logic by saying, "We are in the Sorbian lands, so you can as well speak Sorbian". Dominic also says that the language choice when being with his friends depends on the topic or on the previous informational input. This highlights the special situation in an established minority-majority context, where parents cannot resolve to resources in the minority language produced in a kin-state or country of origin or alike. Neither can the youth themselves. They need to make a conscious choice in order to speak in Sorbian about topics that exceed beyond what is relevant in the best established domains of the home, the school and the church, and adapt such topics into Sorbian.

(146) Dominik Symank/Symmank (A3, 16)

A3: hale na přikład, **hdyž jen přećel zes B., ta mać druhdy na to dźiwje, hdyž my tak pola jowo dóma němsce pójedamo něšto ha wona won šińdźe ha to słóši, pon wona so** pon prošu- pon **praše tak: Haj, njemžeće wó PROšu serbsce pójedać jowe? Mó smó serbskim kraju, to móžeće wó tej serbsce pójedać. Ha pon mó tej serbsce pójedamo. Hale ... To tej druhdy małkus směšne jo, hale ... hoj.**

smi: Ok, ale wó pon, wó pon šestajće?

A3: Haj, mó pon tej na serbšćinu přestajimo.

smi: Haj.

A3: Hale mó tej sami druhdy tak serbsce pójedamo abo tej němsce. To šec wot situacije wotwisne jo. Hdyž jen něke wot kemši dómoj, e dyle šińdźe, pon klor, pon jen glei serbsce dale pójeda, dókelž to pon małkus KOmisch jo pon němsce pójedać. Hale hdyž ty něke, haj, nihdźe něšto němsce słóšał sy, pon ty so tej němsce rozmołwiš.

A3: **But with a friend from B., for example, the mother sometimes pays attention; when we speak German at his house and she comes out and hears that, then she asks: Yes, please, can't you speak Sorbian here? We**

are in the Sorbian lands, so you might as well speak Sorbian. And then we speak Sorbian. But … sometimes it's a bit amusing, but … yes.

smi: OK, but you, you switch over then?

A3: Yes, then we switch to Sorbian.

smi: Yes.

A3: But we also speak Sorbian by ourselves sometimes or also German. It always depends on the situation. When you come home from the Mass, uh, downstairs, then of course you continue to speak Sorbian, because it's a bit strange to speak German. But if you have heard something in German somewhere, then you also speak German.

Markus Domsch (C5), whose mother says that she hears Markus and his friends mainly speaking German, says that they speak Sorbian when one of their parents tells them to (147). Interestingly, he had previously told me that he spoke both languages with his friends. When I picked up on this statement, he confirmed it, to which his mother commented on what she overhears, to which Markus again agreed. Markus does speak Sorbian with his friends, but our interview shows that this is often induced by adults and does not last long.

(147) Markus Domš/Domsch (C5, 11), Karola Domšowa/Domsch (C1, 44)

smi: A ty tla sy prajił, z tymi přećelemi to druhdy so změni. Tam wy to wšelako činiće.

C5: Haj.

C1: Najbóle, also ja je słyšu najbóle němsce powědać.

C5: Haj, najbóle.

smi: Haj. A hdy wy z nimi serbsce rěčiće?

C5: Hdyž em ta mać wot tych přećelow oder wot, oder pon ty prajiš: Rěčće jemol serbsce. @@

C1: Ale to ja njejsym to prajiła. # #

C5: Oder ja wjac njewěm. Ale hauptsächlich wot tych přećelow.

C1: Wot tych, jowle, L. M.

smi: A wostanjeće wy potom při tym abo …?

C5: Na haj. My spytamy.

C1: Na chwilu to dźe a pon to zaso, no?

C5: Nó.

smi: Haj.

smi: And you said that sometimes it changes with friends. You do it variously there.

C5: Yes.

C1: Mostly, well, I hear them speaking German mostly.

C5: Yes, mostly.

smi: Yes, and when do you speak Sorbian with them?

C5: When the mother of the friends or of, or when you ((C1)) then say: Speak Sorbian. @@

C1: But I didn't say that. # #

C5: Or I don't know anymore. But mainly from the friends.

C1: From the, here, L.'s. Hm.

smi: And do you stick with it, or...?
C5: Well. We try.
C1: Well, it goes for a while, and then ((you switch)) again, right?
C5: Yeah.
smi: Yes.

All in all, these reminders to speak Sorbian, instances of simple management, were reported by members of every family. Irrespective of whether the families themselves use them or simply find them amusing and not matching their attitudes, they underline the difficulty of maintaining or creating peer environments that would have a positive effect on Sorbian language socialisation. Of course, the examples mainly refer to the school and to groups of closer friends. As Daniel Petasch's (J2) trajectory of language use has shown, things can be different in other contexts, such as in his case the wider village community. In addition, the schools in particular have undergone a significant change from a more monolingual to a more bilingual orientation in the attempt to increase Sorbian language use among children who come from homes where Sorbian is not spoken. However, Daniel's example cannot be generalised, nor can the fact be overlooked that despite the increasing value placed on bilingualism, German is still socially dominant and considered indispensable, which guides the continuing accommodation practices, which in turn lead to subtle or overt renegotiation of monolingual spaces, both to ensure opportunities for children to engage with Sorbian and for speakers of German not to have to engage with Sorbian. While it is probably a valid educated guess that today in Lusatia, couples with two speakers of Sorbian rarely decide to speak only German to their children, a growing number of interlingual couples face the challenge that even within the bilingual community, Sorbian language socialisation does not happen automatically. There are opportunities to speak Sorbian, but just as in heritage language acquisition contexts, the use of Sorbian is optional.

9.2.2 Incentives for Sorbian-oriented self-management among young people

Dominik Symmank (A3) told me about the language use in the local youth club. He said that the young people there try to speak more Sorbian than they would without paying attention to it (148). I was curious what he meant by 'attention is paid to speaking Sorbian' and whether they would remind themselves to switch from German to Sorbian, for example. Dominik did not describe this, but instead told me where the motivation to think about using more Sorbian came from, namely from the municipal council. According to Dominik, the council offers financial support to the youth club on the condition that the young people use more Sorbian amonge themselves.

(148) Dominik Symank/Symmank (A3, 16)
A3: Ha tej w klubje hodwje tej WJAce na to dźiwane, zo to serbsce pójedane hodwje. Tej něke mó smó sóbotu jenu zhrómadźiznu měli, to bě tej serbsce komplett. Haj. Ha towodla.
smi: Ha hdyž ty prajiš, zo so na to dźiwa, also, ka to wonhlada?
A3: Nahaj, dókelž jo nam gmejna prajiła, hdyž nas, naš klub wjace serbsce pójeda ha tajke něšto, pon mó tej druhdy něš- por fenki dóstanemo za [... ((wjesny swjedźeń))] abo jenu party, zo woni druhdy něšto zapłaća abo tajke něšto, a towodla mó wjace na to dźiwemo, zo serbsce pójedane hodwje.

A3: And also in the club, MORE attention is paid to speaking Sorbian. This Saturday we had a meeting that was also completely in Sorbian. Yes. And that's why.
smi: And when you say that attention is paid to it, well, what does that look like?
A3: Well, because the municipality told us that if our club speaks more Sorbian and so on, then we sometimes get a bit of money for [... ((the preparation of a village festival))] or for a party, that they sometimes pay something and so on, and that's why we make sure that Sorbian is spoken.

In quotation (149) we discussed this a bit further and Dominik explains that it is especially the club leader and a few others who 'pay attention' that Sorbian is used. It is possible that it is the older youth, who take the initiative to keep Sorbian as a language of communication in the club and motivate the younger ones to use it too.

(149) Dominik Symank/Symmank (A3, 16)
smi: @ Ha jo to pon tak, zo wó to wotsamoh činiće abo dókelž ty prajiš, zo so na to dźiwa? Praj to pon nichtó? #
A3: Mó to tej wotsamoh činimo. Hale tej klubšef abo tajke něšto, te pon tej druhdy na to dźiwjeja. Ale te tej njejsu něke ŠEce tu. Eher małkus zrědka. Hale mó to take wotsamoh na to dźiwjemo, zo to tej małkus serbsce wostanje.
smi: Jo to pon šelako, hdyž wó, also wot toh wotwisne, štó runje tu je, štó tam runje sedźi? Ka so to měni? Dókelž wó ta zawěsće šće jena cyle pisana skupina.
A3: Haj. Nahaj, klor. Dókelž jen, dwajo, te su tej němsce, klor pon njemže jen něke serbsce pójedać. Hale hejak tej wot tych ludźi wotwisne, hdyž něke na přikład tón L. ((šef kluba)) jo, tón pon tej šón jace serbsce pójeda, hale tej němsce. Ha ... druhdy, druzy tej jac njemža tak wjele serbsce, dokelž te doło jac njejsu serbšćinu měli, towola mó pon małkus němsce pójedamo. A tajke ŠTICHLwano take, něšto serbsce prajmo a pon so prašemo, hač wona to něke ro- zrozumiła jo. Ha, hoj.

smi: @ And is it then, do you do it of your own accord, or, because you say that attention is paid to it? Does someone say that then? #
A3: We also do it on our own. But our club boss or something like that, they also pay attention to it sometimes. But they're not ALways there. Rather a bit rarely. But we ourselves make sure that it stays a bit Sorbian.
smi: Is it different when you're, I mean, does it depend on who's there at the moment, who's sitting there? How it changes? Because you are certainly a very colourful group.
A3: Yes, well, of course. Because one or two are also German, of course, then you can't speak Sorbian. But otherwise it also depends on the people, for example if there is L. ((the club leader)), he speaks more Sorbian, but also German. And ... sometimes some people can't speak so much Sorbian any more, because they haven't had Sorbian for a long time, so we speak a bit of German. And there's this kind of TEAsing, like, we say something in Sorbian and then ask if she understood it. And, yes.

Dominik's last turn in the quote is interesting because it illustrates the influence of those who simply speak more Sorbian themselves. It may be that they consciously use Sorbian when others would

start speaking German or that they explicitly prompt others to speak Sorbian, or, as Dominik mentions, that the board of the youth club holds club meetings in Sorbian. However, the quote also shows how the young people struggle to balance the use of Sorbian and German when the level of Sorbian competence ranges from none (or only some passive competence) to fluency and at the same time everyone is able to express themselves in German. To speak seriously Sorbian to someone who is not fluent, but with whom you share German, is not a real option for the young people. Instead they use it in a joking way. Although this may be their way of testing whether their friend would come along and communicate with them in Sorbian (passively or actively), this is very unlikely to happen. As Dołowy-Rybińska discussed in the context of language practices at the Sorbian grammar school, such short humorous Sorbian interactions between fluent and less fluent speakers of Sorbian, are more of a performance to build a connection rather than they are for real communication (Dołowy-Rybińska 2023: 165–167). But even if they are formulated in jest, not everyone perceives rhetorical statements made by Sorbs about their interlocutor, who certainly understands everything in Sorbian, as neutral. During my interviews, a German-speaking parent told me that such statements were very off-putting. The young people have the advantage that everyone who attends a Sorbian school learns Sorbian, so theoretically a certain level of comprehension can be assumed.

What I would like to show with this example is how an act of organised management inspired the young people to think about their linguistic self-management and how acts of simple management take place as a result. The municipal council's financial support for the local youth club is actually based on the decision to spend the participatory budget, which municipalities can apply for in order to promote bilingualism (i.e. the use of the Sorbian language), on the youth. The condition of course is, that the youth integrates the Sorbian language into their events, be it through active language use of the language or the use of Sorbian in writing or symbols such as the Sorbian flag or the Sorbian lime tree leaf. In his explanation, Dominik only mentioned the active use of Sorbian as a condition for financial support from the municipality. Thus, even if this measure does not immediately help the young people to overcome the challenges of the common accommodative practices, they are actively involved in consciously reshaping language practices in order to include more Sorbian in common spaces. The young people's use of Sorbian is already less restricted to separate spaces, as I have discussed using the example of the fire brigade meetings in (80). Nevertheless, as I mentioned earlier, the challenge is not so much to use Sorbian symbolically as it is to have meaningful communication in the language.

9.2.3 Students negotiating language use in school

The previous section was devoted to attempts to gently influence language choices towards the use of more Sorbian. Organised and simple management were aimed at a similar goal. The current section deals with the negotiation of language use at school, the institution where children develop or learn the Sorbian language. I will look at how children contest the use of Sorbian there. Here, the organised management in the form of bilingual teaching (and the intended increase in the use of Sorbian) is contested by acts of simple management aim at ensuring the possibility of using German.

Alexandra Bluhme (F1) argues for the integration of children who already know Sorbian and children who are learning Sorbian at school (see (71)) in order to increase mutual understanding and interest during their joint learning process. She argued for this in the context of German-medium schools that do not teach Sorbian, but are attended by Sorbian-speaking children, in order to teach Sorbian to a larger number of interested people without a Sorbian language background. In general, however, Alexandra advocated opening up, so that speakers of German would experience the need

to learn and the advantage of knowing Sorbian. Alexandra's vision of mutual learning is in a way reality in Vincent Domsch's (C4) description of community between his classmates in primary school (150). He told me how they helped each other and how those who knew Sorbian supported those who did not know it. The way to help was to use the German language to explain things that had been said in Sorbian or to ask the teacher to repeat an explanation in German that the classmates had not understood in Sorbian. The Sorbian-speaking children thus acted as mediators and translators.

(150) Vincent Domš/Domsch (C4, 16)

Nó, also pola nas šuli to pon tak bě, zo smy wjele, also eigentlich wšě wučerje, te su serbsce powědali. A to su te němsce halt problemy měli, e, to wšo, em, rozumić. A to smy my pon, also w zakładnej šuli to pon njebě tak, zo smy prajili: Pech gehabt. Oder tak. Pon smy tym halt pomhali, to, em, to rozkłasć, oder tym wučerjam smy też prajili: Te to njerozumja, móžeće šće jemol rozkłasć, ale na němsce? Oder tak. Oder my halt, jako šulerje, my smy tym pon pomhali. Also to njebě wjace tak, zo su te ausgegrenzt wodwali, to bě pon, my smy eigentlich wšo jedna hromada byli a my smy pon kóždym pomhali dale.

Yeah, at our school it was like that, that a lot of, actually all the teachers spoke Sorbian. And the Germans had problems, um, understanding, um, all that. And then, in primary school, we didn't say, Tough luck. Or something like that. Then we helped them, um, to explain it, or we told the teachers: They don't understand it, can you explain it again, but in German? Or so. Or we, as pupils, helped them. So it was no longer that they were excluded, it was, we were actually all a bunch and helped everyone.

The ideal result of learning together, namely that it leads to the joint use of Sorbian, and not only to the translation from Sorbian into German, is not so easy to achieve. This is indicated by Jasmin Domsch's comments on this topic. She contested the bilingual teaching at school because she had a completely different understanding of what bilingual meant than the teachers. While to her it was the right to choose either Sorbian or German, the teachers aimed at developing and strengthening Sorbian and they used it also for explaining subject matter in classes with pupils with a lower competence of Sorbian. Quotation (151) refers to a struggle about school textbooks that is indicative of the students grassroots agency in negotiating within the scope of the school's and the individual teachers' language policies. Jasmin and her colleagues did not agree with the fact that they had to use a Sorbian textbook and asked the teacher to provide them with German ones. In the process, Jasmin advocated for her classmates who knew less Sorbian than she did.

(151) Jasmin Domšec/Domsch (C3, 17)

smi: Genau, ty sy pon prajiła, […] zo su te wučerje započeli też, also, zo su wone husto wam te serbske knihi dali a też tym němskim šulerjam. A ty sy prajiła, zo bě to irgendwie kusk hłupje, dokelž wone njejsu tak spěšnje sobu přišli. Sy ty to z tymi sobušulerjemi někak, sy ty wot tych sobu dóstała, kak su te na to reagowali abo što su wone na to prajili?

C3: Also my smy prěnju hodźinu to krydnyli a najprjedy su so te, wjele so, **also te, kotrež su němske byli tež, so wšě přez to hóršili, pon pak wone njejsu chcyli ničo činić**, to smy najprjedy tón hodźinu wostanyli, **pon smy my přestawce**, sym ja z tymi rěčała, z tamnymi, kotrež su na mojim levelu, **smy, tež z tymi rěčeli a my smy so prašeli: Haj, to tla šón kacke, oder? Te tež: Haj. Gut, pon smy přichodnej hodźinje** to prajili, **so wšě za to einsetzwali, zo my to krydnjemy, pon su te krydnyli endlich jich němske knihi, dokelž su te pon prajili: Ok, können wir wirklich nicht machen. A wenigstens, zo je přec na jednym blidźe jedna němsce a jedna serbska, ale, ach, to pon tež njeje přeco było, te su pon blos tym wirklich jara němskim dali jednu němsku knihu a mi zum beispiel nic**. Ja sym přeco měła jednu serbsku irgendwie hromadźe a te z absicht činja to, dokelž te z absicht maja, ja mol prajim, pjeć, šěsć němske knihi a dwaceći serbsce. A to wone ekstra tež tak bestellweja. Also, tón jen dźěl wot tych, also tón, tene speziell dwě wučerje, ja mol prajim. Hewak, tón rest je eigentlich cyle ok. @@

smi: Exactly, you then said [...] that the teachers had also started, that they often gave the Sorbian books to all of you and also to the German pupils. And you said that this was somehow a bit stupid, because they didn't keep up so quickly. Did you somehow talk to your classmates, did you notice how they reacted to it or what they said about it?

C3: Well, we had them in the first lesson and at first they, many of them, the ones who were also German, all complained about it, but then they didn't want to do anything, so we left it for the lesson, then in the break I talked to them, to others who are at my level, we talked with them and we asked ourselves: Yes, it's crap, isn't it? They also said: Yes. Well, then we said it in the next lesson, we all fought for us to get it, then they finally got their German books, because then they said: OK, we really can't do that. And at least that there should always be a German book and a Sorbian one on one table, but, oh, that wasn't always the case either, they only gave a German book to the really very German ones and not to me, for example. Somehow I always had a Sorbian book together and they do that on purpose, because they deliberately have, let's say, five or six German books and twenty Sorbian ones. And they also order them like that on purpose. Well, some of them, that is, especially these two teachers, I'd say. Otherwise, the rest is actually quite OK. @@

In Jasmin's eyes, it was not fair that the German-speaking children had to use Sorbian textbooks because they could not understand them. She herself preferred to learn through German and to write in German. Like their parents, the older Domsch siblings see German as the language of education and Sorbian as one of the languages of interpersonal relations. Jasmin accepted Sorbian as a subject and enjoyed learning it there, but she did not like learning other content through Sorbian. For her, learning through Sorbian had something forced about it, while learning languages without the need to learn additional content through them was much more playful and enjoyable for her.

9.2.4 Positively perceived and contested instances of meso-level language management directed at the use of Sorbian

In order to understand the distinction that is made by the children between having to use Sorbian and being free to engage with it, it is useful to look again at the attitudes of adults. While several participants stated that they could not imagine or would not support the use of interpreting aid at assemblies and meetings (parents' meetings at school, meetings of the fire fighters) or during leisure evening lectures or presentations on cultural topics, they considered the simultaneous translations provided by the Sorbian-German theater to be a very good measure. The Sorbian-German theatre with its main stage in Budyšin/Bautzen produces two main plays in Sorbian during every theater season. During the performance, someone reads the translation of the play, and people who do not understand Sorbian can follow the plot on headsets provided by the theatre. As Frank Symmank (A2) says, this enables him to attend the performances together with his wife (152). In this case, the organised management of the theatre makes it possible for speakers and non-speakers of Sorbian to attend performances together. The use of Sorbian is mediated by the translation provided and is clearly separated from free speech, so that it does not interfere with established norms of language use. In addition, it is a leisure offer and the likelihood of missing out on critical information is low.

(152) Frank Symank/Symmank (A2, 45)

A2: E, to je, klor, zo so serbsce hraje, ale te rjane je, nětko přec**,** zo so přec tón ... ta přełoženska technika,
smi: Haj.
A2: em, staji.
smi: %mm
A2: A potom je to jara rjane kaž mój přikład, oder hdźe je, hdyž ja z mojej žonu móžu tež wječor na premjeru hić.
smi: Nó.
A2: Dokelž so tam simulatnje přełoži. Dokelž my smy wjele moli tež na premjeru oder na někajke zarjadowanje […], potym je kusk reje oder kusk přikuska, tajke něšto, pon je to natürlich kusk hłupe, hdyž wona dwě hodźinje tam sedźi, na přikład, hdyž moja žona, wona małkusk rozumi, ale pon kusk tón poćah faluje, oder kusk, kak jen praji, tón zusammenhang kusk, kusk faluje. Potom to jara rjane, štož wone tam činja, zo so tam něchtó namakał je, kotryž to jara derje tež simultanje přełoži. No. A přez to je to, njeje hubjene.

A2: Uh, it's clear that the play is in Sorbian, but the nice thing is that now the ... the translation technique is always
smi: Yes.
A2: provided.
smi: %mhm.
A2: And then the nice thing is, like in my example, or where it's like, I can also go to the premiere in the evening with my wife.
smi: Yeah.
A2: Because there is simultaneous translation. Because we are often at a premiere or at some event [...], afterwards there is a bit of dancing or a snack, something like that, then of course it is a bit stupid if she sits there for two hours, for example, when my wife, she understands a bit, but the connection is missing a bit, or a bit,

how do you say, the context is missing a bit. Then it's very nice what they're doing there, that they've found someone who translates it very well simultaneously. Yeah. And that makes it, that's not bad.

On the other hand, organised management that is directed at the use of Sorbian and does not offer any mediation through German, is contested by the adults alike. In quote (61), I cited Karola Domsch (C1) who says that at work she always tries to speak German when German colleagues are around in order to include them in a conversation. She mentioned that her German colleagues seem to be told by their employer that they need to accept when their Sorbian colleagues speak Sorbian in their presence. Because to Karola this is not fair, and her German colleagues can not demand the use of German, she tries to speak to them in German and to subtly turn joint conversations into German.

The language use in the church domain, as the only one that has a very consequent monolingual Sorbian orientation (Kimura 2015), is not uncontested either. Katrin Symmank (A1) would have liked to have some German integrated in the important Mass for the first communion of her son, but her wish was turned down. She argued that not only the family members living in bilingual Lusatia, like herself, would be taking part but also German godparents and other relatives who usually did not have to do with the Sorbian language. Thus, in her argumentation, the whish to integrate them symbolically by using some German sticks out. The priest on the other hand did not consider this and rather took Katrin's wish as a general questioning of the language use in the parish. The organised management on the parish level, i.e. using Sorbian in all liturgic functions, or rather not using any German during the liturgy, has not been changed hence.

(153) Katrin Symankowa/Symmank (A1, 42)

Und die sind da auch'n bisschen, ja, manchmal auch ein bisschen verbohrt. Also, die haben zwar auch teilweise dafür Verständnis. […] Aber, ja. Halt, als es zum Beispiel damals darum ging, bei der Erstkommunion […], da hatte ich dann zum Beispiel mal darum gebeten oder hatten auch einsi- einige andere, wir sind ja jetzt nicht die einzige zweisprachige Familie hier im Ort, oder in der Gemeinde. Es gibt ja viele Mischehen. Und da hatte ich dann zum Beispiel mal gefragt, ob er vielleicht IN der Messe auch zum Beispiel was Deutsches sagen kann. No, weil von meiner Familie, […] alle anderen können's zum Beispiel nicht. Und da sind ja auch Paten, also auch viele andere Paten, die dann in der Kirche auch nichts verstanden haben, no. Und da hat er gesagt: Na, wenn du das auf Deutsch haben willst, dann kannst du, musst du nach B. gehen. Das war dann halt die Antwort. Und das hatte mich so ein bisschen, ja, das sind halt so bisschen Sachen, die mich dann halt ärgern,

And they are also a bit, yes, sometimes a bit stubborn. Well, they do have a certain of understanding for that. [...] But, yes. For example, when it came to the First Communion [...], I asked for it or some others asked for it, we are not the only bilingual family here in the village or in the parish. There are many mixed marriages. And then, for example, I asked if he could say something in German IN the Mass. Yeah, because in my family, [...] for example, all the others don't know it. And there are also godparents, many other godparents, who didn't understand anything in church either, yeah. And he said: Well, if you want to

have it in German, then you can, you have to go to B. That was the answer. And I was a bit, yes, these are things that annoy me,

The discussed acts and attempts of language management beyound the family illustrate the wider context in which the individual family language policies emerge. They show that the language practices of adults model many situations in which Sorbian should not be used or in which it is experienced as rude. Not surprisingly, children do not speak Sorbian with peers who are not confident in Sorbian, and often not with peers with whom they could speak Sorbian. This leads to requests from parents and teachers to use more Sorbian.

9.3 Accidental management: other influences on bilingual language socialisation

The final section on language management deals with some more aspects and circumstances in families that are relevant to children's linguistic socialisation. The first, the parents' personalities, is difficult to influence and cannot be changed, but it can be taken into account when thinking about the use of languages in the family. The second factor, the division of parenting and paid work in the family, is also not always freely negotiable, but can have a major impact on the language input that children receive in their early years of language acquisition and beyond. Finally, the third factor, the use of media in different languages, is much easier to influence and choose as a resource for language socialisation.

9.3.1 Parents' personalities

'But I'm more of a listener. And if I don't understand anything, then I don't understand anything. Then I won't ask either.' (Patrick Schurig, B2) 'Well, I was never much of a daredevil [...].' (André Bluhme, F2). These are the self-descriptions of two German-speaking fathers who are not overly talkative and who do not mind their wifes speaking Sorbian to the children in their presence. With their calm personalities and their openness to gradually learn to understand Sorbian, they made it possible for their families to have bilingual language use patterns during joint family time and a greater share of Sorbian language input.

In two of the families in which only German is used during joint family time, the German-speaking fathers are much more assertive in their expectation to be able to participate through German. '[…] it's the same with my husband, he thinks that German has to be spoken when he's there.' (Angela Dreißig, D1). 'You have to speak more German with them ((with the children)), my husband said so, right. That too. He always made sure that we also spoke German here.' (Karola Domsch, C1) In this way, they co-shaped the rather strict separation of the two languages.

The Sorbian-speaking mothers in all four families are confident in their use of Sorbian. In the first two, they self-evidently used Sorbian with the children in most contexts. In the latter two, the mothers' use of Sorbian with the children took place very consciously during the time they spent alone with the children. The importance of this is reflected in Christina Petasch's (J1) comment on the personality of her Sorbian father: 'So really, my father was not one to have big conversations with.' (see also quote (117)). In addition to the obstacle of being the only one in the immediate environment who regularly spoke Sorbian to his children, and the discrepancies in opinion regarding language use in the family, his quiet and not very talkative manner meant that the Sorbian language input he offered his children was not sufficient for them to fully acquire the Sorbian language.

9.3.2 The division of parenting responsibilities in the family

One of the families where the father is the Sorbian-speaking parent is the Symmank family. Frank (A2) is a talkative person and also very sociable. However, as he works more than his wife, he spends less time with his children and there were much fewer times during their language acquisition when the Symmank children received Sorbian language input from their father. In addition, the shared family times were times when both parents spoke German to the children and to each other. In a way, Katrin (A1) and Frank therefore rely more on Sorbian language socialisation through the community than the Sorbian-speaking mothers mentioned above. Consequently, the Symmank's chose the Sorbian kindergarten and primary school for their sons, so that they could be part of the village children's community. The Symmanks also live next door to Frank's parents, who speak Sorbian with their grandchildren. Nevertheless, there are challenges to this arrangement. Katrin's statement points to the emotional work that may accompany the unequal distribution of childrearing and paid work in the family .

(154) Katrin Symankowa/Symmank (A1, 42)

Also, mein Mann […] kommt dann Abend nie, oder meistens nie vor um sieben […] ((nach Hause))]. Und das ist doch schwierig in vielen Situationen. No. No. Da muss man sich halt ja, immer wieder halt irgendwie versuchen ja, dass man dann trotzdem zusammenhält […]

Well, my husband [...] never or mostly never comes [... ((home))] before seven in the evening. And that is difficult in many situations. Yeah. Yeah. Well, you have to keep trying somehow to stick together in spite of it [...].

The pragmatic decision in favour of the majority language, German, as the common family language also emerges in the face of mundane everyday tasks. Katrin was interested in the Sorbian language, and at the beginning of her relationship with Frank, she learned Sorbian in two beginners' language courses. However, parenthood and everyday life soon pushed dedicated language learning into the background. Frank emphasises that the most important thing about language is that both accept that they speak their respective languages to their sons. He says that he would neither ask Katrin to learn Sorbian, nor would he want to be her language teacher. He acknowledges that she is the one who mainly brings up the sons and has been involved in their learning at school from the beginning, despite the fact that much of the schooling is in Sorbian. The time they spend together is no longer spent experimenting with languages. The Symmank's approach to a common and harmonious family 'we' is based on the assumption that Katrin does not need to become receptively or actively bilingual. While this works well within the family, it excludes the prospect of expanding Katrin's access to and participation in Sorbian community spaces.

When it comes to raising the children, Christina Petasch (J2) also seems to be the one pulling the strings in family life. She is the one who practices reading with her eldest daughter, who attends parents meetings, follows the villages parents' chat room and coordinates the kids' freetime activities. All this requires at least a basic engagement with Sorbian. Daniel confronts her with Sorbian also in the family and occasionally speaks to her in Sorbian. Christina does not respond to this and tends to block such attempts if she does not have the energy to try to understand Sorbian in everyday life. But the Petasch's pattern of family language use is based on the awareness that children only learn Sorbian at home if their parents also speak it at home and that adults can still

become users of Sorbian and thus gain better access to the community. Daniel therefore speaks Sorbian with the children as much as he can, although he also falls back to German. He therefore tries to involve friends and acquaintances by asking them to speak Sorbian with the children. Daniel's expectation that Christina should be open to (learning) the Sorbian language may sometimes be demanding for Christina, but at the same time it takes her seriously as an individual with her own agency and opens up the perspective of participation in Sorbian language spaces (with gradually increasing linguistic skills). This does not mean that all obstacles are out of the way, as is highlighted by Christina's account about an instance when Hedwig missed out an activity with other children because neither she nor Daniel had checked the village parents' chat (155). Parents' cooperation is all the more important for a harmonious approach to Sorbian-German family life, when it is the speaker of German who has the main responsibilty for parenting.

(155) Christina Pjetašowa/Petasch (J1, 35)

Also, wie letztens stand da die Information, dass [… ((eine Veranstaltung stattfindet)] und die Kinder mitgehen können. Ja. Daniel hat's vergessen, ich les' sowas nicht, weil ich's nicht verstehe. Also, ich frag da auch nicht. Weil das mir zuviel Zeit kostet. Ich denk mir so, wird schon nicht so wichtig sein. Und im Endeffekt hat die Große geheult, weil sie's, weil sie keiner hingeschickt hat. Weißt du. Was mir dann so bissl Leid tut.

So, like the other day, there was a written information that [… ((an event is taking place))] and the children can go. Yes. Daniel forgot, I don't read these things because I don't understand them. Well, I don't ask either. Because it takes too much time. I think it's not going to be that important. And in the end the eldest was crying because no one had sent her there. You know… Which makes me a bit sorry.

The Sorbian-speaking mothers from the Dreißig and the Domsch families where Sorbian is not spoken when the fathers are present, spent most of the time with their small children and had the main responsibility for parenting tasks too. In quote (109) Angela Dreißig (D1) described how she and her husband arrived at the pattern to use German when the whole family is together. Angela consciously used the time when her husband was at work to speak Sorbian to her children: '[…] I mean, I was at home for those five years. And I was together with the children most of the time anyway, even when I went to work and they went to school. When I was with them, we spoke Sorbian, when the father joined us, we spoke German.' It was similar in the Domsch family, where Karola spoke Sorbian with the children during most time of the day when her husband was working. A difference is that Karola was not as consequent about speaking Sorbian as Angela has been with her children because Karola actually was worried that the little time the children spend with their father would not be enough for them to learn German at the same time as Sorbian. Therefore she began to speak also German when she was alone with them (156).

(156) Karola Domšowa/Domsch (C1, 44)

Te dźěći sym ja, móžeš prajić, wjele sama dybjała wotćahnyć, dokelž zo mój muž je přijěł wječor pozdźe domoj, hdyž zno su te łožu byli. So. Pon sym ja pak strach

> měła. Ja njejsym chcyła, zo te jenož serbsce móža, a tohodla sym ja z nimi powědała wobojdwoje. Štož jen eigentlich njesmě činić. Lěpje je přec Eine Person – eine Sprache. To pak ja nětko njejsym móhła tak činić a to sym ja potom wjele takle měšała kusk takle. Haj. Te pak su to pon też někak hinkrydnyli z tym róznodźerženjom.
>
> You could say that I had to bring up the children a lot by myself, because my husband would come home late at night when they were already in bed. Yes. Then I was afraid. I didn't want them to only know Sorbian, so I spoke to them in both languages. Which you're actually not supposed to do. It's always better to have one person - one language. But I couldn't do that now, so I mixed them up a bit. Yes. But they still managed to separate somehow.

Nevertheless, Sorbian is the main language that Karola usesd with her children. It is still firmly established between them, and all the children address their mother in Sorbian.

The relationship between the work-share and language in these three examples reminds of Toshie Okita's (2002) important study. She highlighted the "contextual demands and situational pressures" (Curdt-Christiansen 2018: 425) in the bilingual upbringing of children, the latter of which she described as "invisible work". Okita studied families with Japanese mothers and British fathers in the UK, addressing issues such as conflicts in values, feelings, emotions and language choices, as well as language-related tensions in family relationships. Most mothers were the sole providers of Japanese for their children, and most breadwinning fathers did not learn Japanese but expected their children to grow up bilingual and learn Japanese naturally from their mother, unaware of their wives' efforts. The stances towards language use and responsibility for language transmission in the Lusatian families are somewhat different. However, even when embedded in a potentially supportive community context where Sorbian is spoken, the division of income and parenting work between the parents has a real impact on language use in the family when one parent is solely responsible for Sorbian in the family.

9.3.3 The (non-)use of Sorbian media

The extent to which Sorbian is an oral language of interpersonal communication for my participants (see 8.2) is conspicuously underlined by a topic that was not raised by my participants themselves. Namely literacy practices. Nor was the use of the Sorbian radio and television programme mentioned in connection with considerations of the children's linguistic environment. When thinking about the role of languages in the family, parents mainly talked about which languages they and others use to speak to their children. As I mentioned earlier, speakers of Sorbian see interaction with other members of the Sorbian community and events where Sorbian is spoken as meaningful environments for the use of the Sorbian language. Often, they rely mainly on participation in the community or the involvement of members of the extended family or friends as opportunities to expand the Sorbian language input for the children. When asked about reading and writing, some Sorbian parents reported that they provide their children with Sorbian books while others admitted that they did not make use of any kind of Sorbian media. This means that the homescapes, the linguistic landscapes at home (Yu 2022; Melo-Pfeifer 2022), may contain very limited amounts of written or printed Sorbian in some families and thus offer little opportunity to engage in Sorbian literacy practices together or alone. In addition to this, the soundscapes (Birnie 2022) in the home or within the nuclear family may contain Sorbian more or less only in the form of one parents' speech

directed at the children, thus missing out on the diversification of the soundscape through, admittedly scarce, further recourses.

Angela Dreißig (D1) admits that Sorbian media does not play any role in her family (157). The Dreißig's do not subscribe to the Sorbian daily or the Catholic weekly and Angela says to listen to the Sorbian radio when she's driving the car, which means when she is alone. Because she also does not use Sorbian for writing, it can be concluded that the Dreißig children did not have any opportunity to engage in or observe Sorbian literacy practices at home or with their mother in general. Instead, they went to their grandparents when something relevant was in the Sorbian newspaper, and at school they read the Sorbian childrens' magazine during Sorbian lessons. Apart from Sorbian lessons at school, participation in Sorbian Mass in church offered the opportunity to sing and read along the text in the hymn book. Angela thus focused exlusively on the oral use of Sorbian, and at best may have discussed the stories from German childrens' books in Sorbian with her children. She mentioned that books were in German and did not elaborate on how she read them.

(157) Angela Dreißigowa/Dreißig (D1, 58)

smi: [...] Ja chcych so kusk prašeć kusk wokoło poskitka serbskich medijow, knihow, rozhłosa a tak dale, kak sće Wy to w swójbje- also kajke městno abo rólu abo hač docyła abo ...

D1: Nic wjele.

smi: A što vielleicht? Haj. Powědajće.

D1: Nic wjele. Nic wjele, to móžu ja hnydom rjec. Nic wjele. Pola mnje, zo mam ja w awće, te radijo, rozhłós. Nó, a to jen pon přeco poska. To je tak. Ale hewak dyrbju ja cyle sprawnje prajić, nic wjele.

smi: M. Also nowiny tež docyła nic abo Posoł.

D1: Ně.

smi: M.

D1: M. Nó. Doma, haj. Hdyž šće smy my doma bydlili.

smi: Haj. Haj.

D1: Štož mój staršiski dom, haj. Ale to dyrbju ja cyle sprawnje prajić, to sym ja zakomdźiła, to je tak.

smi: A šće Wy to pon skerje němske ...

D1: Němsce, haj.

smi: brali abo ...

D1: Haj.

smi: pon tež knihi abo přečitanje za te dźěći na přikład.

D1: Haj, němsce.

smi: Ja njewěm, hač Wy docyła šće rady čitali, abo ...?

D1: Němsce. Němsce.

smi: I wanted to ask a little bit about the offer of Sorbian media, books, radio and so on, how did you do it in the family - so which place or role or if at all or ...

D1: Not much.

smi: And maybe what? Yes. Tell me.

D1: Not much. Not much, I can tell you right away. Not much. With me, that I have the radio in the car, rozhłós. Yeah, and that's what you hear all the time. That's how it is. But otherwise, I have to say, to be honest, not much.
smi: Hm. So no newspaper at all or Posoł.
D1: No.
smi: Hm.
D1: Hm. Yeah. At home, yes. When we still lived at home.
smi: Yes. Yes.
D1: Which is my parents' house, yes. But I have to say, to be honest, I missed that, that's true.
smi: And did you then rather take German ...
D1: German, yes.
smi: or ...
D1: Yes.
smi: then also books or reading to the children, for example.
D1: Yes, German.
smi: I don't know if you liked reading at all, or ...?
D1: German. German.

Today, as an adult, Philipp Dreißig (D3) leafs through the Sorbian newspaper when it is laid out somewhere, like at the fire department. More regularly, however, he checks the written news of the Sorbian radio station on social media. In this sense, social media has become an additional platform for self-directed engagement with written Sorbian that is not modelled by parents, but also does not depend on an active decision to pay for the service or to physically go to a bookshop.

Apart from the fact that the opportunities for learning and using the language through a rich linguistic family landscape and soundscape have simply not been considered, the reason for not consuming Sorbian language media can also be a matter of taste. Examples reported by participants include not listening to Sorbian radio because they do not like it, or cancelling their subscription to the Sorbian newspaper because they are annoyed by the way Sorbian issues were covered. The fact that this could impoverish the Sorbian linguistic environment for the children is not taken into account in these decisions.

Importantly, parents tend to not buy Sorbian resources just for the sake of it but because they find them relevant for their children in terms of their content. The example of books is insightful. A teenager who reads little in general is not gifted Sorbian books unless their topic touches his interests. However, for this age group the range of up to date books in Sorbian is modest and if parents and/or children consider only a narrow number of topics, then there may be very little to draw from. Thus it may be easier to get small children into the habit of engaging with books, since the number of Sorbian childrens' books is higher. Alexandra Dreißig (F1), who has young children whom she reads books and for whom she regularly checks if there is a Sorbian book she might want to buy for them, says that her children rather pick the German books that they have at home (158). She offers them books in both languages, but she does not interfere with the childrens' choices when they themselves want to have a book read.

(158) Alexandra Bluhmowa/Bluhme (F1, 30)

F1: Štož ja mam pon z dźěćimi, ja mam tež por serbske knije, to ja pon serbske jemol čitam, ale te sej tež bóle te němske knije wupytaja. Also ja njeprajim: My DYRbimy nětko to čitać. Ale NAJbóle hdyž te z knihu něšto přińdźa, pon woni z němsku knihu přińdźeja. Jeničke, štož so mje mjerza, to ta dawa jow tónle, tónle stift. A ja sym kupiła tón TipToi-

smi: Oh, ně!

F1: A MĚsac potym přińdźe tónle tamny stift won! Ja sej myslach: O, ně, ja tla by tón tamny pisak tež wzała! A ja sym ekstra hladała, hač to serbske dawa. A pon je dawało, ale pon sym ja tónle TipToi zno měła a pon měsac abo dwaj měsacy pozdźišo přińdźe tón tamny won. Ja sej myslach: O, ně! Nětk my runje přemyslimy, hač budźemy k hodam tón serbski @hišće @dać. Ja praju, to tež jedna super móžnosć, zo te dźěći serbske móža nawuknyć.

F1: What I have then with the children, I also have some Sorbian books, I sometimes read to them in Sorbian, but then they also tend to choose German books. So I don't say: We HAVE to read this now. But Usually, if they come with a book, they come with a German book. The only thing that annoys me is that there is now this, this pen. And I bought the TipToy

smi: Oh no!

F1: And a MONTH later the other pen comes out! I thought: Oh no, I would have taken the other pen too! And I looked especially to see if it was also available in Sorbian. And then it was, but then I already had this TipToy and a month or two months later the other one comes out. I thought to myself: Oh no! Now we're just thinking about giving the Sorbian one for Christmas @too. I say, that's also a great way for the kids to learn Sorbian.

Alexandra looks out for resources that might aid her childrens' language learning and the quote highlights the role digital resources have today. Before Alexandra bought a digital reading pen that can be used to read out text and sound from matching books, she checked whether one of the pens that were in the market at that time was used for Sorbian books. In the meantime there is a pen that can be used with books that are published for this use by the Sorbian publishing house[16]. However, otherwise parents often need to be creative if they want to integrate Sorbian into digital resources[17]. Alexandra, on the other hand, noticed that her children love to sing. And so she sings Sorbian songs together with them from books with Sorbian children songs.

One of the young participants, Jasmin Domsch (C3), told me that she got a few Sorbian books in present by her mother, but says that it was not a lot. However, instead on books, I would like to address a peculiarity in the Domsch family that makes visible the influence of a rich linguistic soundscape and landscape at home on the appreciation of bilingual practices and the use of both

[16] https://www.domowina-verlag.de/kinderbuecher/bookii-buecher.html?___store=default_wen_hsb&___from_store=default (access date: 12.06.2023)

[17] In a radio report about Tonieboxes, screen-free media players for audio books for children, parents were interviewed, who told how they ask others to record stories in Sorbian for those players as a gift for their children. "TONIE boksy a serbske wobsahi" (Šmit, Clemens, 24.04.2023; https://www.mdr.de/serbski-program/rozhlos/aktualne-prinoski/audio-2311792.html; access date: 12.06.2023)

languages. While it is Karola (C1) who speaks Sorbian with the children and Stephan (C2) who speaks German with the children, the use of Sorbian language media is the other way around. It is Stephan, who listens to the Sorbian radio and who is reading the Sorbian newspaper and the Sorbian Catholic weekly. Although he does not want that the family speaks Sorbian in his presence, Karola recalls him saying that you get the most up to date news on local issues from the Sorbian radio. In the following quote Karola speaks about her own ambivalent relation to Sorbian radio (159).

(159) Karola Domšowa/Domsch (C1, 44)

C1: Oh. Pon je tón ((C2)) jemol prajił, na haj, ale te informacije su tla wjele bóle Serbskim rozhłósu kaž něhdźe druhdźe, nó. A nětk ja to też ... Ale muziku ja tak rady njeposkam. Ja sym jako dźěćo dyrbjała přec Serbski rozhłós sobu poskać a to je mi na nerwy šło, dokelž zo ta hudźba je ... Tón ja rady njeposkam.

smi: Ta so Wam njelubi.

C1: Nětko su ... Oju, druhdy je něšto pódla, hdyž dźe. A pon ja njemóžu rozumić, čehodla Serbski rozhłós, jowle, žan němski spěw njepiska. Ale jendźelske wodweja piskane. Jendźelske a serbske. To ja też überhaupt njemóžu rozumić. To je @@@@

smi: @@

C1: To mi napadnyło.

C1: Oh. Then he ((C2)) said once, well, but there is much more information on Sorbian radio than anywhere else, yeah. And now I also ... But I don't like to listen to the music. As a child I had to listen to Sorbian radio and it got on my nerves, because the music is ... I don't like listening to it.

smi: You don't like it.

C1: Now there are ... Sure, sometimes there is something that is OK. And then I can't understand why the Sorbian radio, here, doesn't play German songs. But English ones are played. English and Sorbian. I can't understand that at all. This is @@@@

smi: @@

C1: I noticed that.

Media use in the Domsch family was not put into relation with language learning. But it was the youngest son, Markus (C5), who brought up the topic when talking about who he used which language with. When he said that he used German with his father, he added that his father understood Sorbian and that he could read Sorbian. So the children are aware of these skills. And although probably none of the parents tells them to read the newspaper (whether German or Sorbian), they are present in the house. In this respect, their physical presence is also an advantage over their digital form. While a parent may be reading whatever on the phone, or the digital newspaper may be on a tablet or computer where there are lots of other interesting things, or the radio may only be turned on on the lone way to work, the paper paper is a part of the childrens' homescape. These days, Jasmin reads the Sorbian newspaper rather than the German one, and checks German news on social media instead. Note that the Domsch's also seem tohave the Gerrman newspaper in the house, so this is not a question of linguistic considerations, but of attitudes towards the press and journalism in general.

Finally, even if media use is not subject to management, it is relevant in terms of language learning opportunities (see also Ahooja et al. 2022). Their use, and even just their presence or the use of Sorbian resources by parents gives incentives for children's own and self-initiated engagement with different forms of language.

10 Discussion

Based on participants' quotes from narrative biographic interviews, supplemented by my observations during family visits, in the analytical chapters of this thesis, I have discussed in detail the language practices, beliefs and management regarding Sorbian and German in six interlingual families. In successively turning to practices, beliefs and management, I followed Spolsky's classical theoretical model of language policy. While my focus is on the language experiences of my interviewees in the family, their own language practices and perceptions of language use are embedded in the practices of the environment. Thus, in addition to a detailed insight into the language habits of the six selected families, a picture emerges of language use and its regularities in the wider community and across several domains. I hasten to add that this is crucial, since neither exists without the other. The language practices and negotiations of the individual within the family on the micro level are embedded in the language policies and practices in the village community, municipality, school and region on the meso level and are conditioned by the language policies on macro level of the state. Language policies at the macro and meso levels influence the sociolinguistic environment in which individuals operate and use their languages. Language use at the micro level may in turn reflect these policies, but it may also turn out that the policies are not mirrored in actual language use between individuals. Moreover, practices may or may not follow the same pattern across different domains like the home, school, work, village community and church. By taking the family or home domain as a starting point I do not ignore language behaviour in other domains, but aim to make sense of their interrelationship from the individual's point of view. In particular, parents, who play an important role in the primary socialisation of their children, including linguistic socialisation, aim more or less consciously to provide their children with what they consider crucial for their functioning in society. Consequently, I have discussed language use and its perception within the nuclear family, the extended family and the wider community, educational institutions, the workplace and the church.

Crucially, language policies can be explicit and overt, or implicit and covert (Schiffman 1996; Shohamy 2006), and the same is true of family language policies at the micro level. This is particularly evident in the final analytical chapter 9, which deals with language management. In the preceding analytical chapters 7 and 8, I have used Spolsky's tripartite division of language policy to discuss language practices and beliefs. The division may seem artificial, as it is difficult to separate the three parts. Language practices illustrate language attitudes and language attitudes give rise to corresponding language practices. Consequently, some quotations are not fully explored in chapter 7, but are taken in the following two chapters. Nevertheless, looking at the three components separately provides a better understanding of how language policy works in interlingual families. Firstly, it makes it possible to capture in detail the sociolinguistic situation in which the families operate by focusing on the current language practices and on the various concurrent attitudes at the time of the research (within the limited scope of the six case studies, of course). Secondly, it makes it possible to go into the specific negotiation processes that underline the processual nature of language policy, by looking at instances of language management.

In chapter 7 on language practices, I first focused on the linguistic environment of the families by exploring the general soundscapes of the children. Although the soundscape in a family is largely determined by the practices and attitudes of the parents, children's agency plays a role too. In chapter 8 on language beliefs, I looked at the participants' relationship to language use within and outside the family and how they perceive and evaluate or explain and justify the use of Sorbian and German in different contexts. Finally, chapter 9 is devoted to language management. Here, I have

dealt specifically with the linguistic negotiation processes already alluded to in chapters 7 and 8. It traces the linguistic functioning of the Sorbian-German community and the positioning of individuals within it.

As can be seen from the material presented, most of the family language policies discussed in the thesis are not Sorbian-centred. The desire to pass on Sorbian to the children is accompanied by a parallel desire to pass on German. The family language policies are therefore mostly openly bilingual. Chapters 7 and 8 trace the context in which they are embedded, and chapter 9 examines how language use is implicitly and explicitly influenced by the choices of the parents, by agents outside the family, by the children's navigation of different expectations, and by (un)monitored circumstances. Parents' unspoken expectations of their children's language acquisition are also addressed.

Chapter 7 on language practices (with a focus on oral language use) revealed that in the families I observed, one parent uses almost exclusively German to speak to the children, and one parent uses Sorbian and German to speak to the children. German is also the language used between the parents, only one parent (J2) who speaks Sorbian with the children sometimes also uses Sorbian to address also his partner. Half of the families use both languages and half of the families use only the majority language German when they get together.

Three parents who speak German with their children engage with Sorbian when the whole family is together (B2, F2, J1). In these families the Sorbian-speaking parent uses Sorbian with the children in the presence of the German-speaking parent and one can speak of a One Parent One Language pattern (OPOL) of parent-child interaction within the nuclear family. In one of these three families, the siblings usually use German among themselves and Sorbian only with the Sorbian-speaking parent (B). In the other two families, the children use Sorbian and German among themselves, with German probably being dominant (F, J).

Three families (A, C, D) only use German when they are together. The parents thus choose languages for parent-child interaction according to the pattern One Parent One Language and One Parent Two Languages. In one of them (C), however, the children do not fully comply with the required use of German and also speak Sorbian in the presence of the German-speaking parent. This parent is the only one of the six German-speaking parents who understands Sorbian fluently, yet he does not engage in bilingual conversations in his family. The children use Sorbian with the Sorbian-speaking parent and with one (or both) of their siblings and German with the other parent (and one of their siblings). In the other two families (A, D) the children use German among themselves and Sorbian only with the Sorbian-speaking parent and with grandparents, aunts and uncles.

When the families get together with more people and more people who do not speak Sorbian are present and take part in a conversation, the Sorbian-speaking parents who use Sorbian in the presence of their partner also tend to use German with the children. When travelling outside Lusatia, the families who use both languages when they are together (B, F, J) do not change their language use except when in conversation with other people. The families who mainly use German when they are all together (A, C, D) tend to stick to German also when they travel. In these families, the Sorbian-speaking parent also tends to use German with the children or to consider whether the use of Sorbian might be inappropriate in a particular situation outside Lusatia.

One instance of frequent use of Sorbian, reported by a parent who otherwise only uses German (J1), related to interaction with her young children in the intimate and secure environment of the home.

The children from the families where both languages are used in the presence of the German-speaking parent (B, F, J) speak Sorbian and German to the Sorbian-speaking parent. In two families with younger children (F, J) they Sorbian-speaking parent often reminds the children to speak Sorbian. In one family with adolescent children (B) they often use German with the Sorbian-speaking parent, who often actively tries to motivate them to speak Sorbian, but does not require them to speak Sorbian. The children from the families in which only German is used in the presence of the German-speaking parent (A, C, D) speak Sorbian with the Sorbian-speaking parent in two cases (A, C). In the third case (D) one child used Sorbian and the other more German than Sorbian. At the beginning of their adulthood, the Sorbian-speaking parent stopped speaking Sorbian to the children and now leaves the choice of language to their own active initiative. The siblings have opposite language use trajectories in that the one who used to speak Sorbian stopped speaking it with the Sorbian-speaking parent as a young adult, while the other one used to speak little Sorbian with the Sorbian-speaking parent, but began consciously using more Sorbian as an adult.

Among bilingual peers, some of the children use both languages with different friends, while others use German predominantly. The latter are usually more confident in German than in Sorbian. Three of those who speak Sorbian confidently but mainly speak German with certain friends, seem to do so in the case of closer friendships (C3, C4, C5).

Analysis of the data collected make it possible to identify various factors that influence language choice when it is not linked to a specific person. Choices may be related to the language in which a conversation was started or in which someone was addressed, and may be a reaction to this. They may be related to the fact that a German-speaking person is part of a larger conversation and is then accommodated by speaking German. If people who normally speak German have receptive Sorbian skills, Sorbian can be maintained in larger group conversations. For those, who rarely use Sorbian, an important cue for speaking Sorbian is related to the religious context, including the church or religious customs. Finally, Sorbian is used as a secret language, either to quickly communicate something in public that should remain private, or to distance oneself from other people.

An important observation about the children who prefer to speak German, either because it is their stronger language or because they prefer German in certain contexts or with certain people, is that they are ready to use Sorbian when spoken to in Sorbian. This usually concerns people with whom have not established a relationship.

Chapter 8 on language beliefs, attitudes and ideologies deals with the commonsense understanding of language use in Catholic Upper Lusatia. The positive attitudes towards German as the language of professional advancement and Sorbian as the language of home, community and attachment as well as the negative attitudes towards Sorbian as a potentially excluding language and the Sorbs as a closed group shed light on the dominant position of the German language in relation to Sorbian.

The utilitarian value that German has in the spheres of professional education and advancement points to the dominant language ideologies of standard language and monolingualism (Lippi-Green 2012). In the situation of asymmetric societal Sorbian-German bilingualism, this leads to an accentuation of a high proficiency in the dominant German language. A slightly differently picture emerges when looking at everyday communicative competence as opposed to academic competence. If a German-speaking participant emphasises the importance of the children acquiring German at home rather than at a later point through schooling, then the couple's goal of achieving balanced bilingualism in the children's everyday communicative competence may tilt towards a focus on German proficiency while accepting a potentially lower proficiency or less use of Sorbian. While

such an attitude takes into account that Sorbian is a community language and that there are opportunities to use the language outside the home, it does not critically consider that there is a hierarchy between German and Sorbian that makes the use of German more legitimate in many situations and limits the use of Sorbian despite its widespread use in the community. In the context of schooling, the choice for German-medium education, where Sorbian-medium or bilingual education with a focus on Sorbian is available, clearly speaks in favour of accepting the development of high academic competence in German at the expense of the development of academic competence in Sorbian. In this case, Sorbian can still be valued as a language of everyday communication, while the hierarchy between German and Sorbian is recognised.

The monolingual ideology should be seen in both a historical and a contemporary context. It operated when Sorbian-German bilingualism was not seen as an option to acquire German alongside Sorbian, but when the use of Sorbian in the family was seen as an obstacle to acquiring German. Three participants reported decisions that were influenced by the monolingual norm. One participant's family history included giving up Sorbian as the home language in order to teach German to the children (J2's grandparents). Two participants who grew up in the Sorbian-speaking area were spoken to in German by their Sorbian-speaking parents (C2, J2). Another participant who grew up outside the Sorbian-speaking area, where it was out of the question that the Sorbian-speaking parent would use Sorbian with the children (A1).

Nevertheless, the monolingual ideology is also present when bilingualism is valued as positive. This applies both to cases where the desired bilingualism is envisioned as balanced and the individual is envisioned as having a high level of proficiency in two languages, and to cases where, as mentioned above, within Sorbian-German bilingualism, a high level of proficiency in German is sought at the expense of proficiency in Sorbian. At this point, I refer to examples that were discussed in the next chapter on language management, which also included a discussion of language practices that resulted from the explicitly made decisions about the language(s) of schooling. Two Sorbian-speaking parents from the study who deliberately enrolled their children in classes or groups with a focus on German-medium education grew up in a preedominantly Sorbian environment, learned German only at school, and experienced linguistic insecurity in the dominant German language (C1, D1). They wanted to prevent their children from experiencing a similar deficient Sorbian-dominant bilingualism (Jaffe 2007). Instead of doing away with Sorbian altogether, they concentrated on traching Sorbian as an everyday language of communication and on cultivating German not only as an everyday language but also as a language of education.

A third aspect of the monolingual ideology plays out in the language practices of the children who grow up in (asymmetricallys) bilingual environments where Sorbian is rarely the dominant language. Confronted with the ubiquitous optionality of the Sorbian language as opposed to the frequent instances in which German is the obvious language choice, their opportunities to use Sorbian are fewer than those of their Sorbian parents had been. Sometimes coupled with a (chosen or proficiency-based) German-focused education, Sorbian literacy and academic skills are not developed in a monolingual manner, and children or young people experience linguistic insecurity in the minoritised Sorbian language. Instead of using their bilingual linguistic repertoire, they may resort to speaking (more or less monolingually) German, using Sorbian only occassionally to indicate a Sorbian group identity. The examples discussed in chapter 7 of the habitual use of German with close bilingual friends (7.3.4) and the use of Sorbian as a secret language (7.4.5) are indicative of this. Such behaviour may indicate the discouraging aspect of a monolingual and purist ideal for the minoritised language, which may reduce the use of Sorbian. Alexandra Jaffe discusses how the

separate use of minority and majority languages in the Corsican context may be related to the notion of authenticity. Applying her observations to the material analysed in my study, I would like to ask to what extent bilingual and translanguaging practices are "disqualify[ing] speakers as linguistically and culturally competent" (Jaffe 2007: 60) members of the minority community. The young participants do not necessarily question the Sorbianness of their peers, but they do describe some as 'more' Sorbian, or to the "first" language group in school as the 'very Sorbian group' and mention that few of them speak 'only Sorbian in [their] family' (7.3.4, 7.4.5). Those who do would be those with whom speaking Sorbian would be more obvious. However, I would argue that the monolingual image of a "very Sorbian" person does refers primarily to a readily, more self-evident and confident use of Sorbian and not necessarily to speaking Sorbian without any German influence or without code switching. The latter may be a desirable skill, but speaking Sorbian in this way would itself be rather inauthentic, because it does not correspond to the actual local use of Sorbian (see Dorian 1994). Nevertheless, the purist perspective reduces the actual use of Sorbian, which is reflected in statements about the preference for German when one's own proficiency in Sorbian is considered to be limited (8.5.1). Last but not least, the monolingual ideology of a perfect purist language competence prevents speakers of German from starting to speak Sorbian. This applies to people who have a very high as well as a medium or low receptive knowledge of Sorbian (8.5.2).

In contrast to the value that German has as a high-status language, Sorbian is valued for its potential as a language of solidarity. The positive attitude towards Sorbian as a home and community language (8.2) reflects the ideologies of authenticity and sociolinguistic naturalism as opposed to anonymity, as discussed by Kathryn Woolard (2016b). If you speak Sorbian automatically it makes you part of the Sorbian-speaking community. Anecdotes of being cordially welcomed by Sorbian colleagues at work when you start speaking Sorbian, of being able to approach Sorbian-speaking patients more easily, or simply the good feeling associated with attending Sorbian Mass or village festivals and Sorbian singing, illustrate how the Sorbian language is associated with the Lusatian region and its people, and is therefore authentic. Anyone who speaks the language is considered to come from these places. Similarly, the focus on the transmission of the language at home and less attention to the development of Sorbian language skills in an academic context (9.1.2) reflects the tendency that the informal domains are those spaces where Sorbian can be experienced and perceived positively. As such, they are so closely associated with the Sorbian language that its acquisition in other contexts and other than through intergenerational transmission in the home and the community is not regarded as authentic or natural. Speakers of Sorbian do not want to teach their partners Sorbian because this appears to be an imposition (9.1.1). The naturalness that a Sorbian conversation should have is also reflected in the already mentioned fact that many bilingual people use German among themselves. Those who are not so confident in Sorbian should either not be forced to use a language in which they are not fluent, or the conversation would simply not feel "natural" because it would require a conscious effort to continue speaking Sorbian or to return to Sorbian after switching to German.

By contrast, speaking German does not exclude being from Lusatia, nor does it implicitely imply a particular origin or a certain group membership. It is a language credited with anonymity. If German is used as the language to initiate a conversation with an runkown person, the inevitable positioning as a speaker of Sorbian, and therefore probably of a certain origin, is avoided, as is a false assumption that the other person speaks Sorbian (8.5.1). The speakers of Sorbian are not reluctant to speak Sorbian. But they leave the necessity of revealing one's Sorbian identity, the first step so to speak, to their interlocutors. To say in this context that this behaviour is appropriate because it is not

nationalistic ironically links the ideology of anonymity to the ideology of One Nation One Language. German is the anonymous language because it is the language that is spoken in the state of Germany and every German resident should know the German language. In this way, German becomes the neutral language and Sorbian the marked language. If adults who did not learn Sorbian at home do not learn Sorbian (8.5.2), this choice is not generally questioned. German is enough to get by, Sorbian has no instrumental advantage. The apparent neutrality, or in other words, the hegemony of German, becomes evident in cases of linguistic subordination (Hornsby 2011), when German is used in a group of people with different linguistic repertoires, including people without active Sorbian language skills, and the German speakers are accommodated by the choice of German (7.4.2). The most drastic evidence of linguistic domination are cases of xenophobic behaviour towards speakers of Sorbian, but also the fear of it (8.6). In such cases there is no room for negotiation about language use. The situation is different in coflicts where the anonymity and neutrality of the use of German is challenged by the use of Sorbian. The discussions about the exclusionary aspects of speaking Sorbian and about the Sorbs as a closed group are convincing exemples of this (8.3, 8.4). In these cases, German is not granted the role of an anonymous language, and hierarchies and power relations have to be navigated.

Chapter 9 on language management is devided into three main sections. The first looks at how parents shape the linguistic soundscapes of the home and of the environment with which they interact (9.1). The next deals with language management behaviour outside the family. Looking at language practices in general, parents and their children also mentioned and commented on interventions in language use outside the home, which may correspond to their own views of or be guided by different attitudes (9.2). These two sections focus on negotiations that illustrate the processual character of language policy – with the limitation that I mostly do not observe the negotiations in the context of conversations, but refer to reported instances of language use and management. In the third subsection, I draw attention to less obvious circumstances that influence the development of declared family language policies. These could have a processual and negotiative character, but happen to have been more static in my case studies. These circumstances, which remain unmanaged in a number of families, characterise the socialising environment in which the children learn to make sense of language use (9.3).

Due to the association of the majority language German as neutral and the minoritised language Sorbian as authentic and natural, the negotiation of language use in the families (9.1.1) usually does not include discussions or considerations about whether the German-speaking parent should learn Sorbian. This means that the language used between the partners is set to German, with occasional Sorbian words and phrases thrown in as well. Since the language used in adult interaction, as modelled by the parents, is German, one might assume that the parents are seeking a balance by trying to focus on opportunities to strengthen Sorbian in primary socialisation. However, this is not necessarily the case.

In the present case studies, German is the common family language in those families where the Sorbian-speaking partner “naturally” grew up with Sorbian in the Sorbian-speaking region of Lusatia, because it was the dominant language in the family (C1, D1) and, if not there, then in the community (A2). In the presence of the German-speaking parent, the Sorbian-speaking parent uses German with the children. The societal pattern of linguistic accommodation becomes reproduced in the family and the children are socialised into it already at home. A slight counterbalance is provided by grandparents living nearby who speak Sorbian with their grandchildren (A, D) and other Sorbian relatives (A, C, D). In all three families, the mothers spent a lot of time alone with the children

because their husbands worked full time and it was they who were mainly took care of the children, even when they returned to work after their parental leave. Two of them are the Sorbian-speaking parents (C1, D1). Both mothers had a very strong impact belief and were convinced that they would pass on Sorbian to their children and provide them with what they needed to become competent speakers of Sorbian. Both their husbands clearly signalled that, to them, German was important and that they wanted it to be the common family language. The wives agreed on the importance of German because they recalled heir own struggles with German after growing up in a predominantly Sorbian environment. In one of the families, the father is the speaker of Sorbian (A2). He presented language acquisition as a natural process, referring both to his upbringing and that of his children. While he spoke Sorbian to them, he was against forcing Sorbian on his wife and German was the obvious common family language. Since his wife had to do most of the work of bringing up the children, including supporting their schooling in Sorbian, the limited time they had to spend together as a family was spent in German.

Three families use both Sorbian and German as their common family languages, i.e., the Sorbian-speaking parent uses Sorbian with the children in the presence of the German-speaking parent (B, F, J). The division of labour is not so different from the other families, as the men work full-time. We did not discuss the level of involvement with the school, but none of the parents raised the issue of the father not being involved. Crucially, two of the families (B, F) were living in towns outside the Sorbian-speaking part of Lusatia at the time of the birth of their first child(ren), and in one family (J) neither parent had acquired (active) Sorbian in their own family of origin because their parents had chosen not to or had not succeeded to pass on the language. All parents with some Sorbian background in these families (B1, F1, J1, J2) were aware that Sorbian language input would be crucial for their child to acquire Sorbian. The parents with a fully German background (B2, F2) had no childhood experience of asymmetrical societal bilingualism and were trying to find their place in the family without the burden of having already been socialised into the pattern of a separate use of Sorbian. The fact that the families living in a German-dominaned urban environment had no other speakers of Sorbian in the vicinity influenced the decision to use Sorbian in the presence of the German-speaking parent, who gradually learned to understand child-related Sorbian (B, F). The father who started to speak Sorbian in his youth on his own initiative, sometimes speaks Sorbian to his wife, which is not reported by any other family and can be attributed to his experience of meaningful Sorbian communication in the community when he was not yet a fluent speaker (J). Although this is not appreciated by his wife, she in turn tries not to oppose the use of Sorbian in the family because she does not want her children to experience conflicts about language use and she wants them to learn Sorbian in order to be able to fully participate in the community.

The ongoing negotiated nature of these basic language use patterns in the families, which are not necessarily openly discussed in every family, makes it difficult to categorise them unambiguously in terms of organised management within Language Management Theory (LMT). However, the basic rules of when the family members use which language act as a "trans-interactional" baseline to their actual language practices (Nekvapil & Sherman 2015), which are adjusted accordingly in the case of deviations from this basic pattern. In addition to this, in most families with adolescent children, parents and sometimes other relatives indirectly motivated the children to use Sorbian by supporting their participation in Sorbian traditions (A, B, C, D). Sometimes the children themselves mentioned that they participate or have participated in traditional festivities or contexts associated with the Sorbian language.

In everyday interactions, deviations from the expected language choice are managed by simple management. The analysis of management directed at the use of Sorbian showed that the Sorbian-speaking parents try to speak Sorbian to their children as consistently as possible (in some families when they are without their partner). They also expect, to varying degrees, that their children speak Sorbian with them, or with others. However, some patterns of interactive language use that are intended to lead children into the use of Sorbian and maintain Sorbian within conversation cannot be seen as attempts to modify children's use of German. For example, the practice of moving on in Sorbian when the child addresses or responds to the parent or answers them in German does not initiate a modification in the child's language choice. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that this strategy is used in all families. Many of the children did not consistently use Sorbian with the Sorbian-speaking parent (B, D4, F, J(?)), so it can be assumed that unintentionally, a mode of interaction was established that was aslo open to the use of German as well. Another practice that does not require any reaction or change in the child's language choice, is the repetition of words in Sorbian that the child had used in German (C1, also in the adolescent years of her children).

Examples of simple management include demanding Sorbian responses from the children (B1). This strategy was abandoned because it threatened to have a negative impact on the mother-child relationship. As the analysed material consists mainly of biographic interviews, I could not investigate discourse strategies in context as analysed by Elizabeth Lanza (1997). Thus, it is not clear how the demand to answer in Sorbian was conveyed in interaction. In families, where the use of Sorbian between the Sorbian-speaking parent and the child was not firmly established, some parents reacted by explicitly asking their children to speak to them in Sorbian (F1 with her 10-year old son, D1). Similarly, some asked their children to speak Sorbian with their siblings because they wanted the children to use Sorbian (F, J). One of the mothers succeeded in partially changing the already established bilingual interactional pattern (keeping to speak Sorbian while the child speaks German) towards more use of Sorbian on the part of the child. She created a need to speak Sorbian by making the fulfilment of one of her daughter's heartfelt wishes conditional on her speaking Sorbian (D1). In addition to trying to increase the use of Sorbian within the family, Sorbian-speaking parents also tried to get the help of other people and broaden the network of people who would speak Sorbian with their children. This included gently encouraging parents-in-law to use Sorbian with their grandchildren by involving them in Sorbian interactions (C1 – the parents-in-law were used to speaking German with C2 and did the same with their grandchildren), asking the children's peers to speak Sorbian with them (B1), and asking own friends and the children's godparents to speak Sorbian with them (J2).

In addition to the use of Sorbian in the family, the use of German was also monitored. However, attempts to increase the use of German were reported far less frequently. A prominent example is the German-during-holidays rule, which was introduced to help the youngest child, who had established a person-related preference for Sorbian with the Sorbian-speaking mother, to speak German (C). It could be seen as organised management aimed at a specific time and context. During this time, the German-speaking father would be able to provide a more convincing incentive for the use of German than in everyday life when he was busy at work. His requests to speak German when the family was outside the bilingual area made more sense coming from him, who had the role of the German-speaking parent. In everyday life, the mother tried to speak both languages to the children in order to transmit both, but at the same time she filled the role of the Sorbian-speaking parent. This made it more difficult to convey expectations about which language to use (in principle, the children should respond in the language in which they were spoken to), and the children reacted

differently to being addressed by the mother in both languages in the same contexts. The father's reminders to his wife to speak more German with the children were directed at the children's German competence but were not fully implemented, because the mother also wanted to ensure that the children spoke Sorbian.

In some cases, the participants spoke about the importance of speaking German in order to accommodate people who do not understand Sorbian. In three of the families, the children had already been socialised into this language choice behaviour already at home (A, C, D). The parents modelled it by reserving Sorbian language use for the times when the German-speaking parent was absent. In cases of simple management the children were also reminded to speak German when there were visitors and it was explained to them that speaking Sorbian would exclude others or make them feel uncomfortable (C). In one of the families where both Sorbian and German are used when the whole family is together, the Sorbian-speaking mother explained how she relaxed the consistent use of Sorbian as her children got older and she felt that the children's connection between her and the Sorbian language was strong enough (F). She began to use German when they were together with people who did not understand Sorbian. For example, when a child addressed her in Sorbian in a triadic situation with a speaker of German, she consciously modelled accommodation by responding to her child in German. This is a form of management that she did not use in the early years (especially with the first child) in order to ensure that the children learned Sorbian.

In section 9.1.2, I discussed the choice of language focus for schooling, which is an important decision in terms of children's further linguistic socialisation. The hierarchical relationship between the languages discussed in chapter 8, came into full play during its negotiation process. It led to the decision to focus on German as the language of professional advancement (C, D) or the language that was easier for the parents to handle (J). In other cases, the parents decided to focus on the embeddedness in the local community and thus chose a Sorbian focus, which, however, led to feelings of alienation on the part of the German-speaking parents (A) or could not be realised due to the fact that the Sorbian proficiency of the children was rated lower by the school officials (B, F).

With regard to the linguistic aspects of participation in the religious domain, section 9.1.3 showed that participation in the Sorbian part of the Catholic parish and attendance of Sorbian Mass is usually the default choice. Church attendance is in Sorbian in families, where only the Sorbian partner is Catholic and the German partner is atheist (B, F) and in one, where both partners grew up in bilingual Lusatia (C). There are two families in which the German-speaking partner is also Catholic. They attend both Sorbian and German Mass (A, D). One family combines their occasional attendance at Sunday Mass with family outings, so they mainly attend German Mass (J). Regardless of how regularly the families participate in church life, and regardless of whether they attend German Mass in addition to Sorbian Mass, for the children the religious domain is mostly associated with the Sorbian language. Among other things, this is due to the fact that for the most important celebrations, which are also more solemn and festive, the participants usually attend the Sorbian Mass, and other traditions are associated with them, which in their specificity have developed over time as Sorbian traditions, and include the Sorbian language. All of this contributes to the fact that church and religion are a domain that socialises into using Sorbian, and that the decision to attend a German Mass is a conscious one, based on considerations other than the question of whether or not to attend Mass.

As far as the management of Sorbian in the community is concerned, in 9.2 I discuss the interplay between organised and simple management beyond the family, as conceived by the participants. Many of the examples point to the challenge of meaningful communication to take place in Sorbian. The instances of simple management described in 9.2.1 are already familiar from the language practices of some of the families. The explicit requests and reminders by adults to the children and young people to speak Sorbian among themselves are attempts to compensate for the moderate peer socialisation into speaking Sorbian. Sometimes they are directed only at children who are expected to be able to speak Sorbian with ease, but regularly, they are also directed at children who are not completely confident in Sorbian. The instances of simple management that are implied in the quotes in 9.2.2, i.e. young people thinking about ways to speak more Sorbian, point to the influence of an attempt at organised management by the municipality. The financial incentive linked to the use of and the identification with Sorbian encouraged young people to reflect on their own language practices and gave them an impetus to think about how they could contribute to the use of Sorbian. In a way, an instrumental incentive to speak Sorbian was created. In contrast to this communal incentive for self-management, which was accepted by my interviewee, section 9.2.3 deals with contested organised management in the school context. The use of Sorbian as the language of instruction led to pupils acting as mediators, translating from Sorbian into German for their fellow pupils. But it also happened that they directly opposed the Sorbian-medium education as implemented by the teacher, and renegotiated the optionality of Sorbian through their demand for German textbooks. Finally, section 9.2.4, shows how adults perceive management directed at increasing the use of (or engagement with) Sorbian. While the offer of simultaneous translation of Sorbian theatre plays is received positively, the insistence on the exclusive use of Sorbian in the church is questioned. Not surprisingly, all of these examples are embedded in the context of the practices and ideologies discussed in chapter 7 and 8.

At the end, I highlighted some aspects of linguistic socialisation that were not specifically considered for management in the families (9.3). These were questions of personality, the division of parenting tasks within the family and the use of Sorbian-language media. For a harmonious integration of Sorbian into the goals for language transmission/acquisition, a sensible cooperation between the parents appears particularly important when the German-speaking parent bears the majority of the educational and especially the formal educational support. The example of a family that has opened up the possibility of literacy practices by subscriptions to various daily or weekly newspapers in Sorbian and German underlines the potential of engaging with different forms of language as opposed to the mere oral use of Sorbian (C). In the family in case, the consumption of Sorbian media by the parent who never spoke Sorbian compensated somewhat for the strictly compartmentalised oral use of Sorbian in the family, which was mainly limited to time spent with the Sorbian-speaking parent.

The patterns of language choice described above are an excerpt from the linguistic reality in Sorbian-speaking Lusatia. This is already indicated by the differences of opinion that the participants in the study mentioned or alluded to. It is almost superfluous to say that the different approaches to language practice in Sorbian-German interlingual families are not exhausted with the analysis of the six families presented here. There are other couples with a more Sorbian-centred family language policy, in which the German-speaking partner learns to speak Sorbian, or advocates Sorbian-language education throughout the school, even without learning to speak fluently. On the other hand, there are families in which only German is spoken.

The members of the participating families developed a shared sense of community, of a shared 'we'. Part of the family identity is a common understanding of the use of languages within this particular community. In all the families, German and Sorbian have their place in the language practices that have been negotiated to meet the needs of their members. In some of the families, Sorbian only began to play a role after the birth of the first child. The (implicit or explicit) negotiations may result in a compromise, in which the needs of one parent are given more weight, or in which the assertiveness of one parent has led to a certain distribution of languages. But the resulting pattern of language use is what the children experience as the bilingualism of their family. It is in this home environment, including its linguistic soundscape and homescape, that they grow up and develop their sense of belonging.

My dissertation dealt with language use and language negotiation but the narrative biographical form that I chose for my interviews and the elicitation of experiences and attitudes towards the bilingualism of the Sorbian community reminds us that language is only one aspect of everyday life. People who declined to participate, but also some of the participants, told me about possible disruptions in life trajectories that I had not addressed in my thesis. Issues such as alienation, learning difficulties, bullying, and mental health are inextricably linked to language in multilingual settings and communities. Daily responsibilities and conflict management in a family, especially in raising children, make other issues more important than language, and the efforts to strengthen and support a minoritised language may take a back seat. Language repertoires change overt the course of a lifetime, and even if the home is the starting point, biographical junctures and other key moments in a person's life may requiere new choices in language use. This applies to children and adults alike.

The families who participated in my study, who shared their experiences with me and who opened their homes to me, all formed a strong family-we, which endured all the daily challenges they had to navigate. I would like to humbly acknowledge these loving communities and thank them for the wisdom they made accessible, in terms of language and far beyond that.

When thinking about possible future language policies to support of Sorbian in Lusatia, I would like to point out that there are many young (and older) people who – if they do not initiate a Sorbian conversation themselves – are happy to use Sorbian if they have the feeling that others would honestly appreciate a Sorbian conversation. An initiative which points very much in this direction is the joint European project Listen: Linguistic Assertiveness for Minority Language Speakers. It aims to encourage and help minority language speakers to overcome their fear of starting a conversation in their language when they are in an unfamiliar environment or with unfamiliar people.[18]

[18] https://listen-europe.eu/

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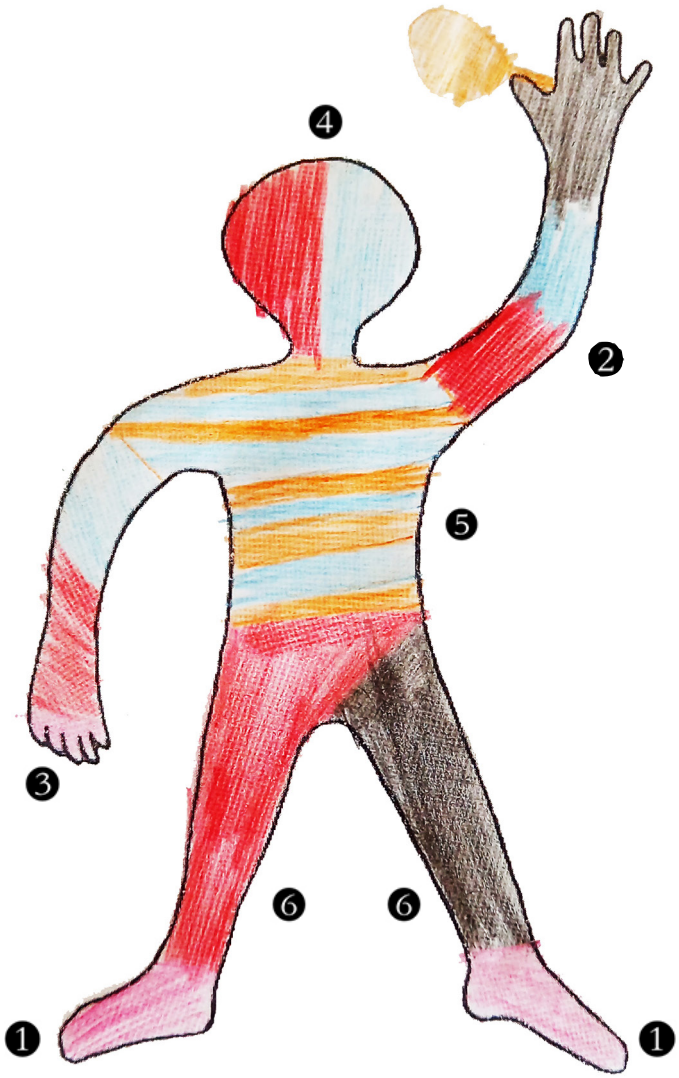
12 Appendix

12.1 Four language portraits

B4



red / **orange:** Sorbian

blue: German

pink: English

black: might stand for the dominance or greater importance of Sorbian against German

English covers a small space because in school, English is not present too much and B4 does not speak it much and does not understand much.

Because B4 does not know English very well, he used as little of the colour as possible. In addition, feet are not well suited for learning. 1

During free time sports, B4 and his colleagues mostly spoke Sorbian. Or, more precisely, Sorbian and German in a balanced amount. 2

Here is also a bit of English. 3

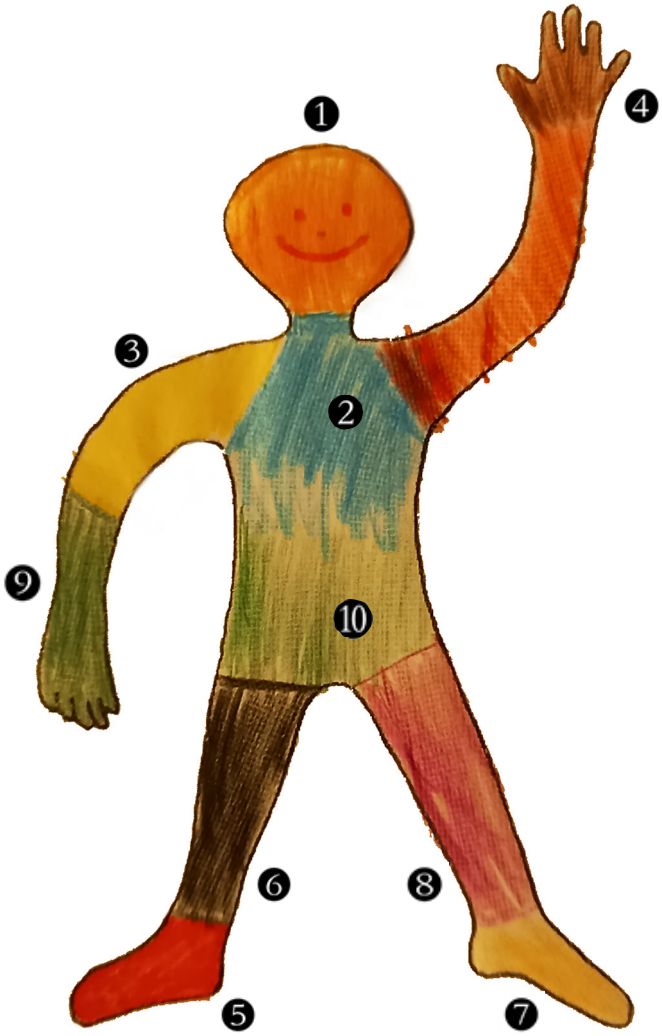
In everyday life, B4 uses German and Sorbian in a balanced amount. 4

The striped pullover is for balanced use of German and Sorbian in school. And for singing in German and Sorbian. 5

The trousers are for maths because this is B4's best subject. There, they mostly speak Sorbian. Both legs belong to Sorbian in maths lessons. 6

B5

Sorbian is orange. It is there because B5 wants to learn Sorbian better.
B5 speaks or tries to speak Sorbian with his mother and at school. 1



orange: Sorbian
blue: German
yellow: Czech
brown: WK (wumělske kubłanje – art)
red: sports
black: physics
skin colour: Japanese
violet: Chinese
dark green: WW (wěcna wučba – general science: local geography/history/biology)
light green: biology

German is blue because blue is the colour of German as a school subject. It is here because B5 has always spoken German.
B5 speaks German with his father because his father can speak German and cannot speak Sorbian very well. 2

Yellow is for the Czech language. Czech is the first language not spoken in Germany that B5 would like ((to learn)). 3

Brown is for art. (WK) 4

Red is for sports. It is there because B5 plays football in a youth team and likes to play football. 5

Black is for physics, because B5 would like to have physics ((in school)). You can do experiments in physics. 6

The skin colour is for Japanese. 7

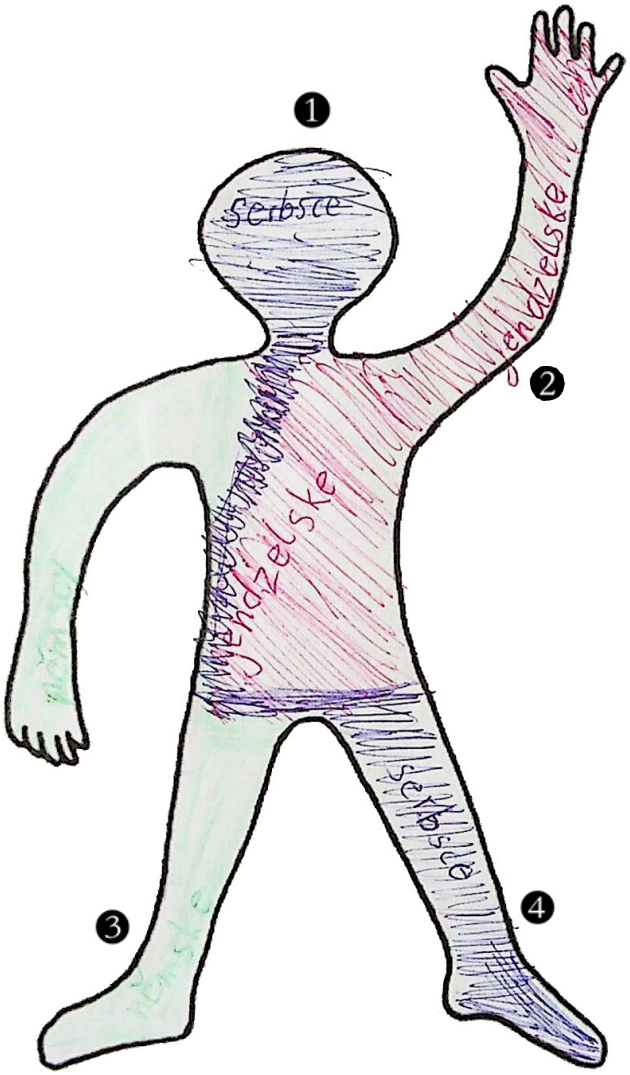
This is for Chinese. 8

B5 would like to speak Japanese or Chinese because he would like to visit Tokyo. He drew both languages because he does not know which of the two is spoken in Tokyo. B5 wants to ((learn)) Japanese and Chinese last because they are difficult languages. B5 first wants to do Japanese because it is easier ((than Chinese)).

Dark green is used for WW. It is green because B5 loves nature. B5 drew it there because you have to touch the earth, the green, the grass. B5 does not love environmental pollution. 9

Light green is for biology. B5 would like to have biology ((later in school)). He thought about whether biology has something to do with nature, which is why he added it to the portrait. B5 thinks that you learn about the dangers of environmental pollution in biology. 10

C5



Sorbian is in the head because you always need to know Sorbian and because C5 first learned Sorbian and only later German. ❶

English has the greatest share because you have to speak English in whole Europe, for example, if you want to move to a foreign country. ❷

German covers less space, but in Germany you also have to speak German because only in Lusatia Sorbian is spoken a bit. ❸

Sorbian is also here because you always need to know it. ❹

C5 says that one can even see in the portrait that he is Sorbian and German.

(His mother C1 then comments that there is a Sorbian and a German leg.)

blue: Sorbian

red: English

green: German

F3

Red is for English lessons and playful English quizzes with friends. ❶

Orange is for Sorbian. F3 has some school colleagues who can speak Sorbian. He sometimes speaks Sorbian with them. F3 also speaks Sorbian in his family. ❷

The hands are blue because F3 speaks German with his father. ❸

The leg is blue because many of the school colleagues of F3 do not speak Sorbian and he always speaks German with them. ❹

The rainbow colours are not linked to anything. They are a decoration. ❺

The crown is for religion. ❻

red: English

orange: Sorbian

blue: German

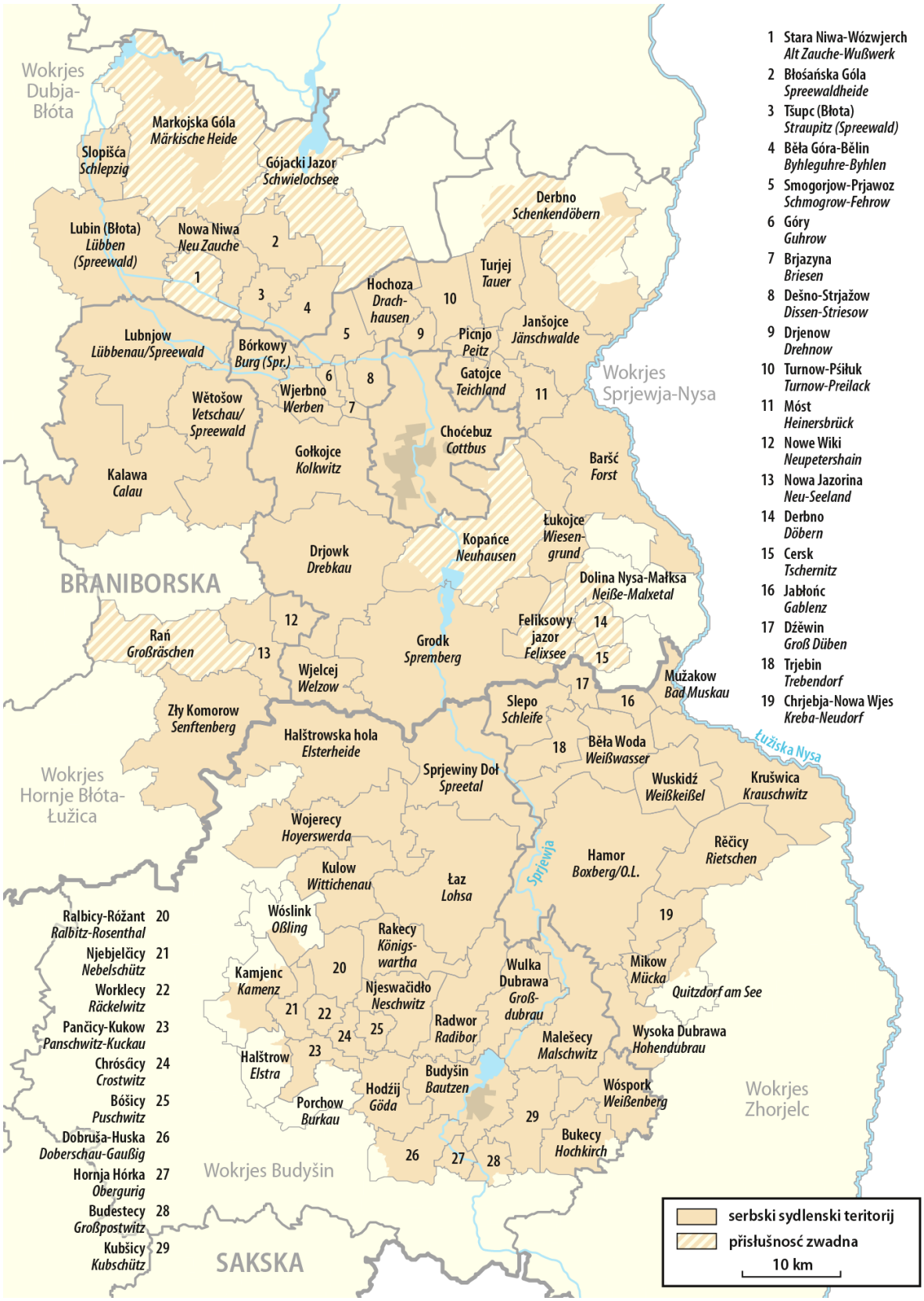
rainbow-colours: decoration

crown: religion

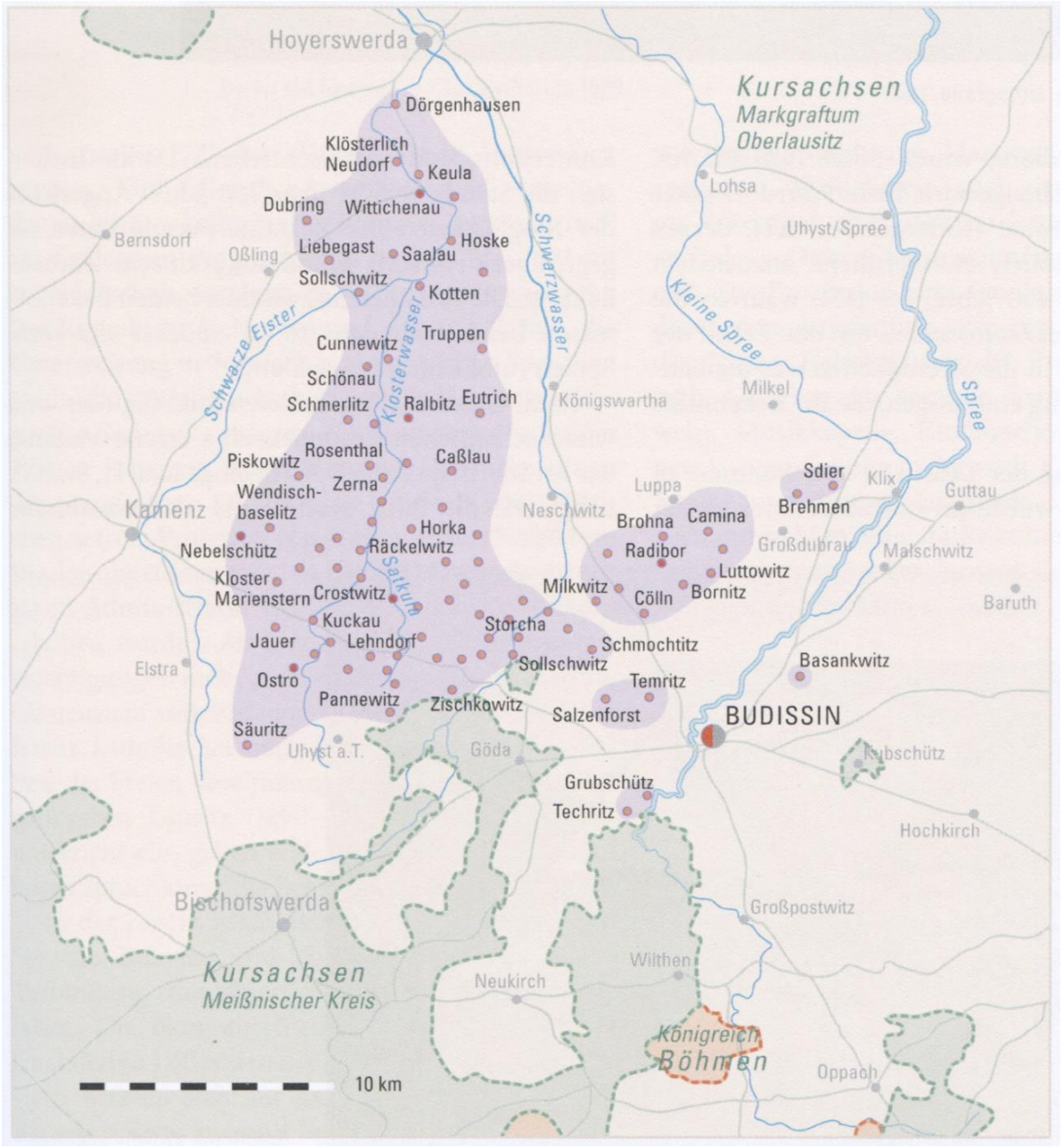
Above the silhouette, F3 wrote his name, and next to it, a pseudonym. These are blanked out to preserve anonymity.

12.2 Maps of Lusatia

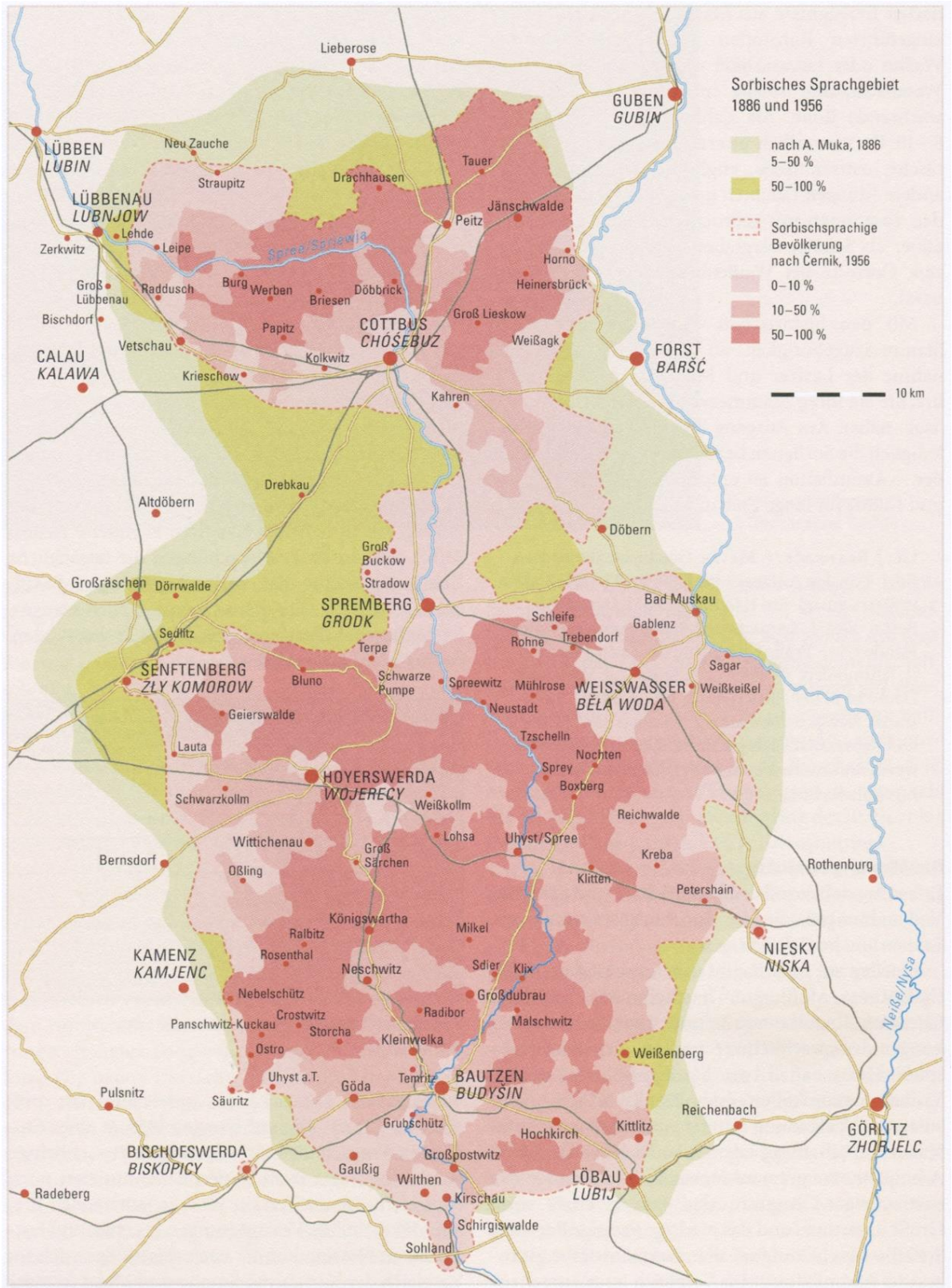
map 1 The Sorbian dialects – Hornjoserbske naréče/Upper Sorbian dialects, Delnjoserbske naréče/Lower Sorbian dialects, Přechodne naréče/transitional dialects
Important for the development of an Upper Sorbian standard language were Kulowska naréč/dialect of Wittichenau, Katolska naréč/Catholic dialect (of Chróšćicy/Crostwitz), Budyska naréč/dialect of Bautzen
(NordNordWest/Wikipedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sorbische_Dialekte-hsb.png, CC BY-SA 3.0 de, based on: Hinc Šewc: Gramatika hornjoserbskeje rěče, 1. zwjazk. Ludowe nakładnistwo Domowina Budyšin, 1968, S. 251)



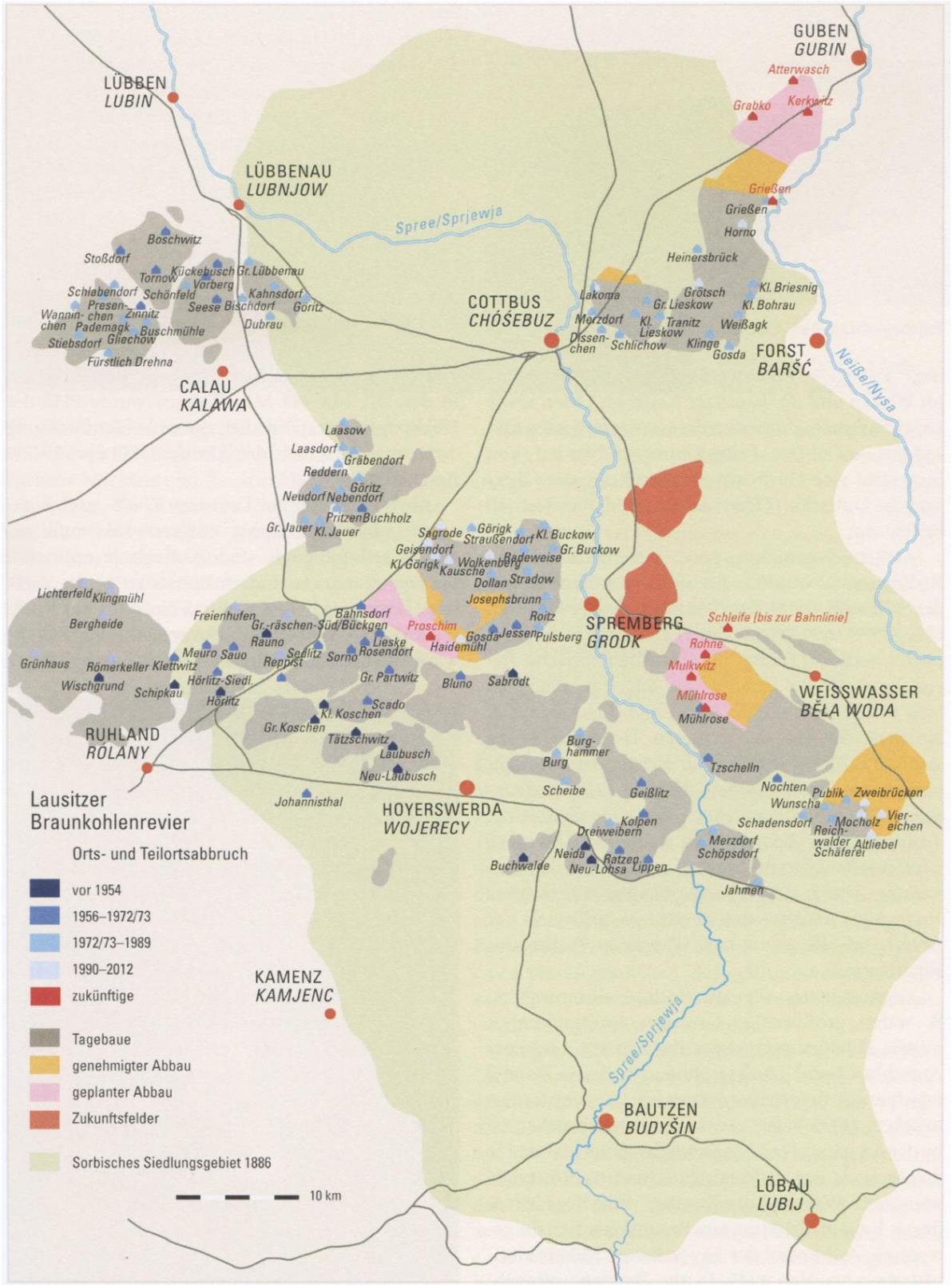
map 2 The officialy designated Sorbian settlement area in Germany
The Upper Sorbian Catholic region comprises the municipalities of Chróšćicy/Crostwitz 24, Pančicy-Kukow/Panschwitz-Kuckau 23, Njebjelčicy/Nebelschütz 21, Worklecy/Räckelwitz 22 and Ralbicy-Róžant/Ralbitz-Rosenthal 20, and larger or smaller parts of the municipalities of Radwor/Radibor, Bóšicy/Puschwitz 25, Njeswačidło/Neschwitz, Hodźij/Göda and the town of Kulow/Wittichenau. (NordNordWest/Wikipedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sorbisches_Siedlungsgebiet-hsb.png, CC BY-SA 3.0 de)



map 3 The Sorbian Catholic area around 1790 (Iris Brankatschk, from: Sorbisches Kulturlexikon 2014, p. 175)



map 4 Sorbian language shift between the end of the 19th to the mid-20th century, without indicatin of the current situation (Iris Brankatschk, from: Sorbisches Kulturlexikon 2014, p. 36)



map 5 Open-cast lignite mines and destroyed villages in Lusatia (Iris Brankatschk, from: Sorbisches Kulturlexikon 2014, p. 55)