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Master thesis

Regional identity: The Role of the Czech Republic and Poland in maintaining Sorbian identity

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Theses guidelines

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Methodological approach:

Qualitative research based on interviews.

- Theoretical background
- Data collection
- Data analysis
- Results
- Proposals and conclusions

Framework structure:

1. Introduction. Objectives.
 2. Review of literature.
 3. Methods.
 4. Results, potentially discussion.
 5. Conclusion.
- X. References
X. List of Annexes (if any)
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- Claval, P. (1998): An Introduction to Regional Geography. Oxford.
Delanty, G., Wodak, R., & Jones, P. (Eds.). (2008). Identity, belonging and migration. Oxford University Press.
Jungbluth, K., & Meierkord, C. (Eds.). (2007). Identities in migration contexts (Vol. 69). BoD-Books on Demand.
Pace, M. (2005). The politics of regional identity: meddling with the Mediterranean. Routledge.
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1. INTRODUCTION

The protection of national minorities has been an integral part of the European Union policy since 1993 (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2010). The state members must indeed guarantee “respect for and the protection of minorities” to enter the EU. According to the Federal Union of European Nationalities, more than 50 million people belong to a minority in the European Union. A national minority is “(...) a result of the changes of state borders and other historical events and (...) is also the peoples of Europe who have never established a state of their own and who live as a minority in the territory of a state.” (Federal Union of European Nationalities, n.d.). Among them are the Sorbs.

The Sorbs are a Slavic minority that has been living in Lusatia, Germany for more than 1500 years (Minority Rights Group International, n.d.). According to the official numbers, there are 60 000 Sorbs today and only half of them speak Upper or Lower Sorbian. After years of repression, they have been formally recognized by Germany after the Second World War and are now protected. (Rehor, 2013: 5). However, the Sorbs are currently facing major issues. Upper and Lower Sorbian are threatened and could disappear in the coming years (Minority Rights Group International, n.d.). The coal mining in Lusatia destroyed many villages and forced people to move, which has had negative impacts on Sorbian culture. The Sorbs’ territory is also experiencing economic difficulties and depopulation (Kurpiel, 2020). In addition, racist acts against the Sorbian population have been reported in recent years (Balzer, 2019). All these factors raise the question of the future of the Sorbs and their identity’s survival.

In the past, the Sorbs have always been able to count on the Czech Republic and Poland to defend their identity. In addition to their geographical, cultural, and linguistic proximity, the Sorbs also share a common history with these two Slavic countries (Kurpiel, 2020). The purpose of this qualitative research is to study Sorbian-Czech and Sorbian-Polish relations to know if they can contribute to the survival of the Sorbs and if so, how. The research question is, therefore: to what extent can the Czech Republic and Poland help the Sorbs maintain their identity?

The first part of this paper is dedicated to the presentation of the Sorbian people, their status in Germany and the European Union, and their current situation as a small minority. 6 interviews have then been conducted with major actors in Sorbian-Czech and Sorbian-Polish relations as well as with Sorbs from different generations in English, German, and Czech to investigate the current situation through their personal and professional experiences. An expert has also been consulted to have more knowledge about the promotion of culture and language in a foreign country. The answers of the interviewees have been compared and are presented in “results”. Finally, the conclusions of the study and recommendations can be found in the discussion.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

My research focuses on the Sorbs, a minority in Germany. Given that I am not Sorbian, I do not have any Sorbian acquaintances and I had never heard of them before conducting this work, I decided to start by searching relevant literature. Coming from Brittany, France, a region with a strong sense of identity, I think that the best way to understand one's identity is to meet people directly. I chose to go to Zwickau, in Saxony, to come in direct contact with the Sorbs. Unfortunately, poor sanitary conditions in the country due to the Covid-19 pandemic restricted my trips to Lusatia and prevented me from experiencing Sorbian cultural institutions. To alleviate this situation, I tried to get in contact with Sorbian people online. On March 31, 2021 I participated in the online conference "Hochdeutsch, sächsisch – sorbisch? Sprache und Identität in der Lausitz" organised by Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. Jana Schulz from Sorbisches Institut and Institut für Sorabistik at the University of Leipzig and René Jatzwauk, director of the Sorbisches Gymnasium Bautzen were the speakers at this conference. On April 10, 2021, I met Katja Rehor online, a Sorbian that studied at the Westsächsische Hochschule Zwickau in 2013 and wrote her bachelor thesis on the Sorbs. We talked for 36 minutes about her personal experience as a Sorbian woman who grew up in Lusatia. The Konrad Adenauer Stiftung organised another online conference on the Sorbs on April 21, 2021. The theme was "Jung und Sorbisch – Zukunftsperspektiven für die Sorben" and I participated in it with seventy other persons. The conference's guests were Dawid Statnik from Domowina as well as Helena Heiduschka and Jakob Schäfer from the Sorbian youth association Pawk. The relaxation of the sanitary rules in Germany allowed me to go to Liberec, Czech Republic on May 21 to visit the exhibition "Lusatian Sorbs, Unknown Neighbours" organised by the association Societas Amicum Liberec. On this occasion, I had the opportunity to meet one person from the association and to learn more about their work. The following is the result of my research literature and the discussions I had with people related to Sorbian identity.

2.1 Sorbian regional identity

2.1.1 History and regional identity of the Sorbs in Lusatia

The term identity is widely used but is a complex concept that must be clearly defined. It refers to similarity, unity, personal identity, cultural identity, and identification (Baudry & Juchs, 2007: 157). The notion of identity is driven by the need for belonging, the desire for emancipation, the aspiration of permanence, and the wish to change (Sarhou-Lajus, 2010: 149). It can be constructed from something as well as against something. Memory and symbols play a key role in the identity-building process (Zimmermann-Steinhart, 2005). To maintain an identity, it is necessary to communicate and share memories, history, values, and traditions. Sorbian identity has been shaped by the history of the Sorbs. The Sorbs are a Slavic people that were first mentioned in 631 after Christ (Weiß, 1999: 115). In the middle of the 6th century, they moved from the Carpathians in Central and Eastern Europe to the West, between the Elbe and the Saale (Rehor, 2013: 4). They were joined by Franconian, Flemish, Thuringian, and Saxon peasants that settled on the same territory (Weiß, 1999: 115). Shortly before the 10th century, the Sorbs lost their political independence (Rehor, 2013: 4). The territory inhabited by the Sorbs attracted many Germans that arrived by waves of immigration in the middle of the 12th century. These new arrivals built many German villages and implemented restrictions, causing a decline of the Sorbian culture. In the 13th century, the Sorbian language was prohibited in several cities like Altenburg, Leipzig, and Zwickau (Weiß, 1999: 115). However, the Sorbs still represented 90% of the population between the Saale and the Bóbr/Queis at that time. The language survived, as evidenced by the literature in the 16th century and split into Lower Sorbian and Upper Sorbian. One century later, both languages were written thanks to the New Testament (Rehor, 2013: 4). Institutions were built to promote and develop Sorbian language and culture, as the Wendish Seminars in Prague. The Thirty Years' war from 1618- 1648 put a stop to the Sorbs' development, causing the death of half of the population. The liberation of the peasants in 1832 brought the awakening of national consciousness among the Sorbs. From the middle of the 19th century, the repression against the Sorbian language intensified. It was notably prohibited to speak Sorbian at school in Prussian Upper Lusatia in 1875 (Weiß, 1999: 116). Despite centuries of repression by German authorities, the Sorbs managed to preserve their identity through press, literature, and organisations (Rehor, 2013: 4-5).

Sorbian identity was threatened again when the Nazis came to power in 1933. They feared an alliance between Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Sorbs to make German territories located at the border Slavic. To eliminate the danger of the “Reslawisierung”, the Nazi regime prohibited the daily newspaper *Serbske Nowiny*, closed journals, and dissolved organisations. Their goal was to ban Sorbian from the public sphere to, ultimately, germanise the Sorbian territory. This policy resulted in arrests and forced relocations of professors outside Lusatia. Sorbian opponents of Nazism were imprisoned and sent to concentration camps. The Nazis decided to evacuate completely the Sorbian territory in 1940 but were forced to abandon this idea in the aftermath of the Battle of Stalingrad.

The end of the Second world war marked a new era for the Sorbs after centuries of forced Germanization (Rehor, 2013: 5). First at the territorial level, because Poland was given a part of the Lusatian region after the defeat of the Nazis (Kurpiel, 2020). The Sorbs that ended up on the Polish side were forced to move to Germany. Second, at the linguistic level. Sorbian, as a Slavic language close to Russian, helped to build a positive relationship between the Sorbs and Soviet occupying forces (European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language learning, 2016: 8-11). The German Democratic Republic adopted a law on the “Protection of the rights of Sorbian population” in 1948. After the German reunification, the government and the new Länder Saxony and Brandenburg adopted new laws on the Protection of the national identity of the Sorbs. Nowadays, there are around 60 000 Sorbs even though one cannot rely on official statistics (Conference *Hochdeutsch, sächsisch – sorbisch? Sprache und Identität in der Lausitz*, 2021). Who should be considered as Sorb? Those who identify with the culture or only those who speak the language? Is someone with Sorbian relatives Sorb? Jana Schulz from *Sorbisches Institut* said it was a well-discussed subject and that it is counted differently according to the person.

In her book *Le soucis contemporain de l’identité*, Nathalie Sarthou-Lajus explains that belonging to a group can be related to gender, location, time, language, family background, social environment, cultural environment, and religion. The importance of the location was stressed by Gaspare Nevola in his paper *Politics, Identity, Territory. The “Strength” and “Value” of Nation-State, the Weakness of Regional Challenge* published in 2011:

“In some cases, these identity elements are shared by a group within a delimited territory. Owing to its material, historical and symbolic features, this territory becomes another factor giving shape and content to the collective identity. Space becomes the object of collective learning, appropriation and feeling. It becomes a place dense with historical and symbolic meanings; a space that hosts and nourishes the identity roots of a group and gives structure to a privileged “communicative field”. Space and time (and culture) meet and merge within this face of collective identity consisting in territorial identity.” (Nevola, 2011: 23).

Indeed, Sorbian identity is intimately linked to their geographical location. The Sorbs have been living in Lusatia for centuries (Rehor, 2013: 4). One may then wonder if there is a regional identity in Lusatia. Regional identity refers to the sense of belonging to a region for cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, political, or geographical reasons (Jackson, 2014: 150-151). It is shaped by characteristics such as landscape, nature, history, culture, language, economy that distinguish it from other regions (Pfeffer-Hoffmann & Hendricks, 2011: 13). Lusatia is a 5000 square kilometres territory that covers the south of Brandenburg and the east of Saxony (Danto, 2016: 1-3). It is located on the border with Poland and the Czech Republic. Lusatia is a rural territory with many waterways and is rich in lignite and alum mines, whose extraction changes landscapes. From an ethnic point of view, Lusatia can be separated into two major areas. Lower Lusatia is in the north, near the Polish border. Its capital is Cottbus, and its inhabitants are Protestant Sorbs. One crosses to Upper Lusatia around the city of Weißwasser. Upper Lusatia is located in southern Lusatia, near the Czech border. It is populated by Catholic Sorbs and its capital is Bautzen. Based on the definition provided by Jackson, there is a regional identity in Lusatia because it is populated by the Sorbs, a minority that has its own culture, language, history, and because of the unique landscape.

However, one must be careful with the term region, which is polysemous and must be fully investigated (Girard, 2014: 108). It has evolved over time and has different meanings depending on the country. It comes from the Latin word “regere”, which means to rule, to govern. In the XVIIIth century, one talked about natural regions, as defined by the French geographer Paul Vidal de La Blache. They gathered homogeneous territories that had common physical characteristics and a similar population. The changes in the landscape led to the emergence of the region as a structure defined by the cities, the communication channels, and endowed with its own political-administrative organisation

(Sautter, 1961: 80). For Pierre George and Bernard Kayser, a region is an area polarised around a centre (Girard, 2004: 109). Nowadays, the term region is mostly used to name an administrative body. There is no Sorbian administrative body so according to this definition, Lusatia is not a region, and one can therefore not speak of regional identity in Lusatia. The sociologist Luc Rouban explains that “L'identité régionale n'existe pas au sens politique et social.” (Germain, 2014). However, the identity aspect is missing in these definitions. Claval took it into account and defined a region as “des constructions spatiales qui ont en commun d'être plus petites que la nation, de posséder une certaine individualité, d'être souvent ressenties comme des entités par les gens qui les habitent ou par ceux qui se trouvent à l'extérieur.” (Girard, 2014: 109). Lusatia is smaller than Germany, has its own characteristics, as showed before, and is seen as the Sorbs' territory. It is very often associated with the term “region” online. In my work, I will use the definition provided by Paul Claval, an expert on cultural geography. I will thus speak of Lusatia as a region with a regional identity, leaving aside the political-administrative side.

2.1.2 The Sorbian languages

As mentioned earlier, belonging to a group can be related to gender, location, time, language, family background, social environment, cultural environment, and religion (Sarhou-Lajus, 2010: 150). Languages can serve as identity markers with the function to distinguish from people or rather to belong to a group (Zimmermann-Steinhart, 2005). It plays an important role in Sorbian identity. Block refers to language identity as “the assumed and/or attributed relationship between one's sense of self and a means of communication which might be known as a language (e.g. English), a dialect, (e.g. Geordie) or a sociolect (e.g. football-speak).” (Jackson, 2014: 141-142). Sorbian is a language because it has its own grammatical system and an extensive lexicon (Yèche, 2013). According to Jana Schulz from Sorbisches Institut, Sorbian is a rich and demanding language with a real terminology (Conference Hochdeutsch, sächsisch – sorbisch? Sprache und Identität in der Lausitz, 2021). She explained that scientists like her are often asked to translate new words in Sorbian, such as “Corona” recently. To do so, they often look at the Czech and Polish translations. Indeed, Sorbian is close to Slavic languages spoken in Central Europe (see Figure 1) as emphasized by Petr Kaleta, the person in charge of the Společnost přátel Lužice (eng: Friends of Lusatia Society) in the Czech Republic:

“Sorbian is a Western Slavonic language, just like Czech, or Polish, or Slovak. So the languages are very similar, and then in the 19th century especially, Upper-Lusatian Sorbian was in particular very much influenced by Czech, so I would say that every Czech can understand Upper-Lusatian Sorbian very well.”. (Radio Prague International, 2009).

One speaks about Sorbian languages because the Sorbs speak different dialects depending on where they live (European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language learning, 2016: 5,11). The Sorbs of Lower Lusatia, so in the Land of Brandenburg speak Lower Sorbian whereas those living in Upper Lusatia, Saxony, use Upper Sorbian. People who live between the two Länder speak a transitional dialect (see Figure 2). It is difficult to know how many people speak Upper Sorbian and Lower Sorbian, as German law prohibits ethnic statistics. Official numbers demonstrate that among the 60 000 Sorbs, 7000 speak Lower Sorbian language and 25 000 speak Upper Sorbian. Among them, many are older than 60 years old. However, thanks to the Witaj project (eng. Welcome project), the young Sorbs have access to bilingual education (Schulz, 2021). It was created in 1998 by the Sorbian organisation Domowina based on the model of Diwan schools in Brittany. This project aims at offering Sorbian bilingual teaching in Lusatian schools. There are two high schools that offer such education in Lusatia: the Niedersorbisches Gymnasium Cottbus located in Lower Lusatia and the Sorbisches Gymnasium Bautzen which is in Upper Lusatia. During the conference organised by Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, René Jatzwauk presented his high school. The Sorbisches Gymnasium Bautzen has 433 students and welcomes beginners in Sorbian as well as confirmed speakers. The main objective is to generate as many speakers as possible that use the language. For this purpose, Sorbian is a mandatory subject from class 5 to class 12. History, geography, music, and biology are taught in Sorbian. Currently, around 1300 children learn Sorbian.

The Sorbian language remains present in everyday life (Yèche, 2013). Jana Schulz said during the conference that bilingualism was visible in Lusatia. Road signs are in German and in Sorbian (see Figure 3). Each Sorb has a German surname for the administration and a Sorbian usual name. For example, the Sorbian Doctor of Philosophy Pawoł Nedo is called Paul Nedo in the German language (Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, 2011). Sorbian is present in the media. There are radios that broadcast in the Sorbs’ language: MDR Sachsen – Sorbisches Programm, Radio Limon and Sonido Retro (Radio.de, n.d.). The broadcaster Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg also has a Sorbian program (RBB, n.d.). Wuhladko is a TV magazine in the Sorbian language produced by MDR (MDR, n.d.).

Regarding print media, there is the newspaper *Serbske Nowiny* (*Serbske Nowiny Online*, n.d.). *Plomje/ Plomjo* is a monthly children's magazine edited by the Witaj Language Centre in Lower Sorbian and Upper Sorbian (European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language learning, 2016). It also edits *Lutki* and *Serbska šula*. The Sorbs have access to a cultural journal in Sorbian called *Rozhlad* and published by *Domowina* (see Figure 4). Finally, the Sorbian Institut also offers the scientific journal *Lětopis*.

Despite all of this, the number of native speakers has decreased significantly (Rehor, 2013: 7). Jadwiga Piatza, president of the Sorbian cultural association *Stup Dale e. V.* in Dresden, attested to the difficulty to transmit Sorbian language to the children in a German environment (Conference *Hochdeutsch, sächsisch – sorbisch? Sprache und Identität in der Lausitz*, 2021). Katja Rehor, who speaks Sorbian and lives outside Lusatia, remarked that it is easy to lose the language. That is why new speakers are particularly important in the words of Jana Schulz. Languages that are spoken influence one's cultural and social identity (Zimmermann-Steinhart, 2005). René Jatzwauk said that Sorbian language is closely linked to Sorbian traditions and culture (Conference *Hochdeutsch, sächsisch – sorbisch? Sprache und Identität in der Lausitz*, 2021). Nevertheless, many persons identify with Sorbian culture without speaking the language (European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language learning, 2016: 11). According to Hélène Yèche, “la maîtrise de la langue n'est donc pas un argument décisif de l'appartenance culturelle.” (Yèche, 2013).

2.1.3 Sorbian culture

One speaks about cultural identity as a set of representations and practices that are characteristics of a particular group (Drouin-Hans, 2006: 19). According to Wintergerst and McVeigh, it is “that part of identity determined by one's cultural background or way of life.” (Jackson, 2014: 137). Jandt defines it as “identification with and perceived acceptance into a culture.” In 2011, Liu et al provided a wider definition of cultural identity as “our social identities based on our cultural membership, they are our identification with and perceived acceptance into a larger cultural group into which we are socialized and with which we share a system of symbols, values, norms and traditions.”

The Sorbs have their own rich culture and managed to preserve it despite the German oppression faced in the past. To maintain it, the Sorbs relied on their traditions and sports associations (Brandt, 2010). On the 25 of January, Sorbian children have the pleasure of discovering a plate filled with sweets and special pastries outside on a window (Bautzen, n.d.). This custom is called “Ptači kwas”, which means “The Birds Wedding”, and is a gift from the birds offered on this day to celebrate the wedding and to thank the children for feeding them on cold winter days. Shrove Tuesday is also highly celebrated in Sorbian culture. In accordance with “Zampern” tradition, Sorbian adults go on a tour to collect money, liquor, and more generally donations to finance their Carnival celebrations. At the same time, Catholic Sorbian children dress up and go from house to house asking for small gifts or sweets. This tradition is called “Heischgänge” and takes place on St Martin’s Day. Five weeks before Easter, the Sorbian Easter Egg Market is organised. This tradition attracts thousands of people that come to watch artists painting and decorating Easter eggs (see Figure 5). Visitors can then try to decorate them themselves or buy them. Indeed, Sorbian Easter eggs are deemed to be very artistic, elaborate in comparison with the German ones (WDR, 2015). Easter riding processions are a tradition practiced by the Sorbian Catholic Community in Bautzen (Bautzen, n.d.). Each year, riders and their horses gather and carry the Easter message of the Resurrection into the countryside around Bautzen (see Figure 6). During the trip, they pray for the resurrection of the Christ in Sorbian. One might see huge bonfires topped out with a figure of a witch in Lusatia on the 30th of April. The “Chodojtypalenje”, the night of Burning of the Witches, is supposed to drive out the winter and welcome the spring. During the conference Jung und Sorbisch – Zukunftsperspektiven für die Sorben that was held in April 2021, the Sorbs’ traditional costumes were much discussed as part of Sorbian culture. I learned that women wear the “Družka”. Even though the Sorbs dress less in traditional costume as they used to in the past, it remains a significant part of the culture (see Figure 7).

The sportive culture is also present among the Sorbs. They have a football team called “Serbja - Lusatia” that participates every four years in the European football championship of the autochthonous national minorities (EUROPEADA), organised by the Federal Union of European Nationalities (FUEN) (Europeada, n.d.). This championship was created with the idea of promoting the linguistic and cultural richness of Europe. To this end, every minority presents itself as part of the cultural day. The Lusatian Sorbs even hosted

the competition in 2012. The next edition will take place in June 2022 in Carinthia in Austria.

The Sorbs have an anthem (Hahn, 2011). The verses were written in Upper Sorbian by Handrij Zejler and published in Leipzig in 1927. The music was composed several years later, in 1845, by Korla Awgust Kocor. Even though the anthem does not have official status, it is played at Sorbian functions. It speaks of Lusatia, the magnificent territory of the Sorbs, as expressed by the first verse:

Upper Sorbian	Lower Sorbian	English translation
<i>“Rjana Lužica,</i>	<i>“Ředna Łužyca,</i>	<i>“Lusatia, beautiful,</i>
<i>sprawna, přecelna,</i>	<i>spšawna, pšijazna,</i>	<i>Gracious, dutiful,</i>
<i>mojich serbskich wótcow kraj,</i>	<i>mójich serbskich wóscow kraj,</i>	<i>Land of Sorbian forebears’ toil,</i>
<i>mojich z bóžnych sonow raj,</i>	<i>mójich glucnych myslow raj,</i>	<i>Land of dreams, resplendent soil,</i>
<i>swjate su mi twoje hona!”</i>	<i>swěte su mě twóje strony!”</i>	<i>Sacred are to me thy pastures!”</i>

2.2 Recognition of the Sorbs

2.2.1 Status of the Sorbs in Germany

The Sorbs were legally recognized after the second world war (Rehor, 2013: 5). Lusatia was part of the German Democratic Republic that adopted the “Sorbengesetz” for “Wahrung der Rechte des sorbischen Volkes” in 1948. During German reunification, the integration of the Sorbs into the Federal State raised awareness about minority rights (Germelmann, 2014). The article 3 of the German Fundamental Law states that “*Niemand darf wegen seines Geschlechtes, seiner Abstammung, seiner Rasse, seiner Sprache, seiner Heimat und Herkunft, seines Glaubens, seiner religiösen oder politischen Anschauungen benachteiligt oder bevorzugt werden. Niemand darf wegen seiner Behinderung benachteiligt werden.*“ (Bundesministerium der Justiz und für Verbraucherschutz, 2020). German Legislation recognizes the Sorbs and the Danes as minorities (Germelmann, 2014). The article 35 of the Unification Treaty asserts that:

“1. There shall be freedom of commitment to the distinctive Sorbian way of life and to Sorbian culture.

2. The maintenance and further development of Sorbian culture and traditions shall be guaranteed.

3. The Sorbian people and their organizations shall be free to cultivate and preserve the Sorbian language in public life.

4. The distribution of competence between the Federation and the Länder as set out in the Basic Law shall remain unaffected.” (CVCE, 2012).

The federal Parliament let the Länder legislate on minority rights (Germelmann, 2014). Schleswig-Holstein, Lower Saxony, Brandenburg, and Saxony have significant minorities. Lower Saxony is the only Land that does not mention minority rights. The status of the Sorbs is different depending on the Land. Brandenburg adopted a constitution in 1994 in which the rights of the Sorbs are part of the fundamental rights (Germelmann, 2014). Like the Saxon Law, it grants the Sorbs the “Rechte auf nationale Identität”:

“(2) Das sorbische/wendische Volk und jeder Sorbe/Wende haben das Recht, ihre ethnische, kulturelle und sprachliche Identität frei zum Ausdruck zu bringen, zu bewahren und weiterzuentwickeln, frei von jeglichen Versuchen, gegen ihren Willen assimiliert zu werden.” (Brandenburg, 2018).

In Saxony, the protection of minorities is one of the main objectives in the organisation of the state. On March 31st, 1999, the Free State of Saxony adopted “das Gesetz über die Rechte der Sorben im Freistaat Sachsen” (Weiß, 1999: 115). The second article of the states that:

“(2) Das sorbische Volk und jeder Sorbe haben das Recht, ihre ethnische, kulturelle und sprachliche Identität frei zum Ausdruck zu bringen, zu bewahren und weiterzuentwickeln.” (Recht und Vorschriftenverwaltung Sachsen, 2012).

In Brandenburg and Saxony, the State is obliged to promote the exercise of minority rights, their culture, and their language. Financial subsidies are allocated to cultural projects, schools, and universities where the language is taught. In Upper Lusatia, Saxony, the minority language can be used with public administration and the Sorbs can plead in Sorbian in the court.

2.2.2 Relations of the Sorbs with neighbouring countries

The geographical position of Lusatia is interesting, as it is located at the Czech and Polish border. Knowing that Sorbian is a Slavic language and that Sorbian culture is related to Slavic cultures, I got curious about the links between the Sorbs and those two neighbouring countries. During the conference *Hochdeutsch, sächsisch – sorbisch? Sprache und Identität in der Lausitz* organised by the Stiftung Konrad Adenauer, I had the opportunity to ask a question in the chat. I wrote: “*Wie sind die Beziehungen zwischen den Sorben und den anderen slawischen Ländern?*”. Jana Schulz from Sorbisches Institut answered me: “Intensiv - da alle Slavisten sind, auch bei der Bildung neuer lexik orientieren wir uns an Entwicklungen in anderen slawischen Sprachen...”. Orally, she insisted that they are “ganz intensiv” and that there is “eine große Ähnlichkeit” with the Czech Republic and Poland. Thus, I got interested in the history between the Sorbs and their neighbours, and their status in these two countries.

The Sorbs have been related to the Czech Republic for centuries (Kirschner, 2020). P. Kaleta explains that “there are links with the Czech Republic which go way back, because as of the year 1329, Upper Lusatia formed a part of the Czech state, so the common history of the Czechs and the Sorbs dates back.” (Radio Prague International, 2009). In the late ninth century, Ludmila of Bohemia became the first Christian sovereign of Bohemia (Schneibergova, 2001). She came from a Sorbian family, her father being the Sorbian prince Slavibor. At that time, the Sorbs were already linked to the Czechs. From 1367 to 1635, they belonged to the same kingdom, ruled by the Limburg-Luxemburg dynasty (Kirschner, 2020). Lusatia, the land of the Sorbs, was attached to the Lands of the Bohemian Crown by Emperor Charles IV in 1367. The Thirty Year’s War put an end to the kingdom in 1635 and Lusatia became part of the Saxonian region. Despite the new border, the Sorbs and the Czechs remained closed. Prague became an important cultural centre and refuge for Sorbian intellectuals, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries. A foundation was created in Prague in 1704 by the Sorbian brothers Simanec, followed by a dormitory for Sorbian students. The Lusatian seminary was established in 1728 (Kaleta, 2017: 69). It ceased to exist in 1922 (Šiška, 2006). The relations between the Sorbs and the Czechoslovakia were fostered by the then President Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, who felt close to them. Josef Lebeda from the Friends of Lusatia Society explains that “Tomas Garrigue Masaryk empfahl in seinem für die Versailler Konferenz geschriebenen Werk ‘Neues Europa’, die Lausitz entweder der Tschechoslowakei anzuschließen, oder einen neuen

selbstständigen Staat zu schaffen. Dieser Staat wäre ähnlich groß wie Luxemburg. Masaryk gab dieses Werk in vielen Sprachen einschließlich Sorbisch heraus. (...)” (Šiška, 2006). The unification of Lusatia with Czechoslovakia was also supported by Adolf Černý, professor of Sorbian language at Prague University. He argued that the Sorbian minority was under the constant threat of Germanisation and that being part of a Slavic state would guarantee their identity. The “Lusatian Memorandum” proposal was mainly refused by Great Britain which alleged that the Sorbs had not fought for their national rights during the war. Despite this failure, the Czechs maintained close contact with the Sorbs. The Czechoslovakian President Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk made two official visits in Lusatia. In the inter-war period, the Czechoslovak Government awarded several grants to Sorbian students each year until 1938. A chair was created at Prague University and the Czechoslovakian radio transmitted regularly in Sorbian. In 1945, it was widely discussed whether Lusatia should be attached to Czechoslovakia (*Lausitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, n.d.). Once again, it was decided that the territory would stay in Germany. It is not necessarily bad that the Sorbs have not been attached to a Slavic nation. According to Karl-Markus Gaus, “si l’on prend le statut de nation comme unité de mesure, l’échec du plan qui consistait à lier la Lusace à la Tchécoslovaquie fut sans nul doute une bénédiction pour les Sorabes. Il aurait suffi d’une génération pour que la langue sorabe succombât à la langue tchèque qui lui était apparentée, et aujourd’hui, elle serait considérée tout au plus comme un dialecte paysan parlé dans les cuisines et dans les porcheries.” (Yèche, 2013).

Sorbian life developed primarily in Northern Bohemia, on the border with Lusatia (Šiška, 2006). Many Sorbs immigrated to Northern Bohemia, which led to the creation of Sorbian high schools in three cities. Until 1950, a large part of the Sorbian elite was formed in special schools in Prague (*Lausitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, n.d.). After the second world war, the first generation of teachers in the Sorbian educational system was trained in the Czechoslovakian territory. The rise of communism hampered the relations between the Sorbs and Czechoslovakia (Šiška, 2006). However, the special links between the two peoples are still visible today. The street name “U lužického semináře” reminds people that there used to be a Sorbian seminary in this location (Kirschner, 2020). I could not find any track of a Sorbian diaspora in the Czech Republic. However, even in the absence of official figures, one can say that most of the Sorbs stay in Germany. Petr Kaleta noted in 2009 that “the Sorbs that are living in the Czech Republic today are normally really

only here for work, or let's say a couple still live maybe right on the border - on the Czech border with Germany - those are people who came here after the Second World War. But I would guess that that is several tens of people at the most. Otherwise, Sorbs live in Germany, in what was formerly East Germany.” (Radio Prague International, 2009).

The Sorbs are related to Poland from a cultural and linguistic point of view but also at the territorial level. After the annexation of a part of Lusatia to Poland, people stopped talking about “Łużyce” for political reasons and used other names to designate the area “between Kwisa and Nysa Łużycka” (Kurpiel, 2020). It was not until the 1970s that people started to show an interest in Lusatia again, notably at the instigation of Radosław Mazurski, a Polish historian and member of the Polish Tourism and Regional Studies Society Krzysztof. He invented the term “Łużyce Wschodnie” and gave rise to an active movement for Civilisation and Regional Studies despite the unfavourable context for regionalism in Poland. The historian Małgorzata Ruchniewicz explains that “ein geschichtliches Tabu verhinderte, dass die Geschichte – sowohl der Aspekt der deutschen Vergangenheit als auch die Vergangenheit der polnischen Bevölkerung – zur Gänze erfasst und durchdrungen wurde. Regionale Themen wurden im Schulunterricht stiefmütterlich behandelt.” (Kurpiel, 2020). Several factors led to a renewed interest in the Lusatian territory in Poland in the 1980s and 1990s. It became easier to cross the German-Polish border, which boosted tourism and the regionalist movement. Scientific papers and popular science articles on this subject were published by a regional study centre located in Wrocław. Mieczysław Wojecki, a well-known regional historian, released the periodical *Lubskie Zeszyty Historyczne* between 1984 and 1989. In 1984, the group *Łużycanie* was founded in Działoszyn and the first Sorabistic meeting took place in Lubsko. Polish regionalists and scientists specialized in Sorabistic came into contact with the Sorbian organisation *Domowina*, located in Germany. Since 1990, the Institute of Western and Southern Slavic Studies at the University of Warsaw has been publishing the journal “*Zeszyty Łużyckie*” (eng. *Lusatian Notebooks*), which contains articles on linguistic, history, culture, and sociology in Upper Sorbian and Lower Sorbian written by Polish and other researchers. The journal also has a “column” on the most important Lusatian events and Sorbian studies. The section “Literary Forum” provides literary works and translations in Sorbian. The works dedicated to the promotion of Sorbian identity are supported by museums located at the border, as the *Muzeum Łużyckie* in Zgorzelec, in Poland. Some NGOs speak of the

identity and history of Lusatia region, such as Lokalna Grupa Działania – Grupa Łużycka in Lubsko. The city Żary uses Lusatia for marketing purposes and claims, on its website, that “Żary ist die größte Stadt im polnischen Teil der Lausitz, der sich von Bogatynia bis Gubin erstreckt, und verdient daher den Namen ‚Hauptstadt der polnischen Lausitz‘.” (Kurpiel, 2020). However, no regional characteristic is mentioned, and nothing states an identity of “Polish Lusatia”.

Despite all these initiatives, there is a lack of interest in the culture of the other, especially among young people (Kurpiel, 2020). Too many persons are passive. It would come partly from the language barrier, which is higher than the one Poland has with its other neighbouring countries, such as Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Belarus, and Ukraine. Sorbian being a Slavic language, it is unlikely that language is the issue here. It is rather due to the Poles’ lack of knowledge of the Sorbian minority. Indeed, they tend to assimilate the Sorbs with the Germans. The study “Zespoły ludowe – laboratorium etnograficzne” conducted by Anna Kurpiel in rural areas of the Voivodship Lubuskie confirms this. It shows that only three out of the twenty-four lay folk groups interviewed mentioned Lusatia, and often negatively, as witnessed by the remarks of the folk group Jarzębina, Sieniawa Żarska in 2015: “Wir sind hier für die Lausitz. Aber als wir nach einer Volkstracht gesucht haben oder so etwas, da sind die Sorben dann doch weiter entfernt – das ist nicht so typisch bei uns in Przewóz. Die sorbische Tracht konnten wir nicht nehmen. Die stand uns nicht zu. Wir haben extra nachgefragt. Wir sind gar nicht mit den Sorben verbunden, also können wir ihre Volkstracht auch nicht nehmen, denn wir haben nichts mit ihnen zu tun. Wir sind die Fremden hier. Wir sind diejenigen, die hergezogen sind.” (Kurpiel, 2020). The idea that they are not related to the Sorbs at all is echoed in their approach to the region’s architecture on the Polish side of the border, which contains “no Sorbian elements”. They turn to the traditions of Central Poland and do not matter that the Sorbian minority is tied to their region.

One can speak of an “Orphan Heritage” to describe what is left of Sorbian culture in Poland (Kurpiel, 2020). This term was invented by the British archaeologist Jon Price. In his work *Orphan Heritage: Issues in Managing the Heritage of the Great War in Northern France and Belgium*, he describes it as “a category of heritage in which ownership and location are separated, which I choose to call ‘orphan heritage’.” (Price, 2005: 181). The new heirs can plunder and destroy it, or they can choose, conversely, to value and include it in the creation process of a new local heritage (Kurpiel, 2020). In Polish Lusatia,

Sorbian heritage has been sidelined, starting with the Polonization of Sorbian place names and the abandonment of houses. According to the Lower Sorbian activist Maria Eli-kowska-Winkler, it led to “dass ein für Wissenschaftler überaus wertvolles Denkmal und Zeugnis der geschichtlichen Wurzeln verlorenging und dass der ethnische und kulturelle Charakter der Region verblasste.” (Kurpiel, 2020).

During the two conferences I attended, all speakers insisted on the essential role of the Sorbian language. On April, 21 I asked the following question in the chat: “*Kann man Sorbisch außer Deutschland lernen?*” (Conference Jung und Sorbisch – Zukunftsperspektiven für die Sorben, 2021). I was curious to know if it was possible to learn Upper or Lower Sorbian in the Czech Republic and Poland. Dawid Statnik from Domowina answered me and mentioned several possibilities outside Lusatia but always in Germany. I did not receive a direct answer to my question. However, another participant wrote me in the chat and told me that it is possible to learn Sorbian in the Schlesischen Hochschule in Katowice in Poland. From all points of view, whether at the historical, cultural, or linguistic levels, the Sorbs are closely linked to the Czech Republic and Poland. It is interesting to note that when I asked Katja Rehor about her feeling regarding the Czech Republic and Poland, she told me that she “fühlt sofort wohl in diesen Ländern.” (Rehor, interview on April 10, 2021). However, the literature provides little information on the Sorbs’ current relation with the Czechs and the Poles.

2.2.3 Status of the Sorbs in the European Union

In the late 1990s, Sorbian reached European status. German government signed the European Framework Convention on National Minorities of the Council of Europe in 1997 (European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language learning, 2016: 12). One year later, Germany ratified the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (Germelmann, 2014). According to Article 1 of the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (European Council, 1992):

a “regional or minority languages means languages that are:

i traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population; and

ii *different from the official language(s) of that State;*

it does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants;”

b “territory in which the regional or minority language is used” means the geographical area in which the said language is the mode of expression of a number of people justifying the adoption of the various protective and promotional measures provided for in this Charter;”

c “non-territorial languages” means languages used by nationals of the State which differ from the language or languages used by the rest of the State’s population but which, although traditionally used within the territory of the State, cannot be identified with a particular area thereof.”

In Germany, six minority languages are protected by the Charter: Danish, North Frisian, Sater Frisian, Romanes, Lower Sorbian, and Upper Sorbian (Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat, n.d.). The European Charter involves several measures that must be respected by signatory countries. In Germany, the Charter is implemented by the Länder. The teaching of the language and in the language is a key point. The minority language can be used in all spheres of life, whether it is with public administration, professionally, culturally, or socially. Every three years, Germany must submit a report. From July 2021, it will be every five years. At the political level, government financing and foreign donations are firstly allocated to political parties of minorities. Those do not have to receive at least five percent of the second votes or win a direct mandate in at least three constituencies, unlike traditional German political parties.

Lusatia participates in European projects. The territory is part of International Building Exhibitions (IBA), which is “an instrument of structural policy for the development, planning and building experiments with impact extending far beyond its own time.” (European Commission, 2018). IBAs consist of urban and regional planning, considering social, economic, and ecological aspects. Lusatia is particularly concerned by this policy which turned it into Europe’s largest landscape construction site today (IBA, 2017). Several projects on Lusatia were conducted as LakeTown Senftenberg, Lusatian Lakeland landmark, and ENERGY Heritage Route of Lusatian Industrial Culture. The IBA project Geopark Muskau Coal Crescent is particularly interesting because it is a cross-border project between Germany and Poland. It aims at protecting the Muskau Coal Crescent, a

range of hills between the two countries as a cultural landscape of Lusatia. This project also highlights the interactions between natural processes and human activity. Muskau Coal Crescent was created around 450 000 years ago and is unique from a geological and geomorphological point of view. The valuation of this cultural landscape and the desire to promote German-Polish cooperation were key drivers of the project. Germany, with Lusatia, and Poland associated to create a cross-border Geopark “to market the landscape and develop it for tourism.” (IBA, 2017). The project has been successful, and Muskau Coal Crescent obtained the National Geopark status in 2006. Beyond this project, International Building Exhibitions formulated the Lusatia Charter in 2009 which calls on the signatories to continue to deal with post-mining landscapes by taking over the actions undertaken by IBA.

Lusatia is also at the heart of cross-border projects, as *1000 years Upper Lusatia- People, Castles, Towns: presenting cultural heritage* (Core, 2019). This project is financed by the program Interreg Polska-Saksonia and involved three German partners and three Polish partners. The Archaeological Heritage Office of Saxony is the project leader (Core, n.d.). The project is intended to last from September 2019 to March 2022. It aims at valuing the cultural heritage of Upper Lusatia by removing language and institutional barriers as well as the border. This initiative relies on the historical monuments and archaeological findings that will be used to present the different historical periods and create thematic exhibitions (Core, 2019). Lusatia is supported by the European program Interreg Polska-Saksonia at the economic level (Core, n.d.). The project *Transgredio: exchange about economic transition in Lusatia* involves the Saxon State Ministry for Regional Development in Germany and the Marshall Office of Lower Silesian in Poland. It was initiated following the German government’s decision to halt the excavation of coal in the region. Within the framework of the project, the partners will exchange about the impacts of the investments for cross-border regional development, which are made to support the structural economic transition process in Lusatia.

The Institute of Slavic studies, the Institute of German studies, the Sorbian Institute in Bautzen associated to work on a research project on Sorbian knowledge funded through the European Regional Development Fund (Technische Universität Dresden, 2019). The three-year project aims at “the establishment of an interdisciplinary junior research group is expected to provide a critical assessment and revision of the current orientation of Sorbian Studies as an academic discipline in terms of methodology and ideology.” A digital

knowledge platform should also be created to support language preservation and disseminate Sorbian culture to the public. The Sorbian knowledge project tackles the problem of the institutionalised formation of elites in the Sorbian minority culture that is reaching its limits. This project is interesting because it focuses on the Sorbs. The other projects are on Lusatia and do not aim to benefit them directly.

Beyond their European status, the Sorbs are parts of several international minority organisations, such as Youth of European Nationalities and International Council of Organisations of Folklore Festivals and Folk Arts (European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language learning, 2016: 12).

2.3 Defence of Sorbian identity

2.3.1 The Sorbian institutions

As a minority, it is primordial to promote its culture, language and defend its identity. To promote regional identity, one must highlight the region's positive features (Pfeffer-Hoffmann & Hendricks, 2011: 11). It applies first to its inhabitants that have a central role in making the region attractive. Many other actors play a fundamental role in social cohesion and regional identity. Regional media, the culture of association, events' organisers, business community, and institutions are involved in this process. The Sorbs have the good fortune to have strong institutions which defend their interests at the local, regional, national, and even international levels.

The Domowina – Federation of Lusatian Sorbs e.V. is a significant organisation for the defence of Sorbian identity (Domowina, 2004). First, at the political level, because it represents the political interests of the Sorbs in discussions with parliaments and governments and supports the idea of greater autonomy. Then at the cultural level, by promoting Sorbian language, culture, and traditions. To achieve this, the organisation created the Witaj Language Centre in 2001. Finally, Domowina is a major actor in German-Sorbian relations and is involved in the development of the relations between the Sorbs and other Slavic nations, as well as between the Sorbs and other national minorities and ethnic groups. It was created in 1912 but banned in 1937 under the Nazi regime because it had opposed the policy of Germanisation and refused to be the representative of what the

regime called “Wendish-speaking Germans”. The organisation was reconstituted in 1945 and recognised as “the political, anti-fascist and cultural representative of the whole of the Wendish nation” by the local occupation authorities. Domowina became a public corporation in 1949 thanks to the Saxon state parliament. Under the Communist regime, it received institutional support to promote Sorbian language and culture but was also forced to work towards the “building of socialism”, especially in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1990, Domowina obtained the status of a “politically independent national organisation of the Sorbian people”. One year later, it was registered as an association and thus joined by Sorbian societies. At the present time, the Domowina – Federation of Lusatian Sorbs e.V. has five regional associations and twelve associations, representing around 7500 members. The main offices are in Bautzen and Cottbus. Domowina is one of the hundred members of the Federal Union of European Nationalities (FUEN), which is an organisation dedicated to the protection of European minorities (Federal Union of European Nationalities, n.d.). To this end, the FUEN promotes their culture, language, and identity and represents their interests before international organisations such as the European Union and the United Nations. Domowina’s membership gives international visibility to the Sorbs.

The Stiftung für das sorbische Volk was first created by a decree on October 19, 1991 (Stiftung für das sorbische Volk, n.d.). However, it had no legal capacity which limited the scope of its activities. On August 28, 1998, the Länder Saxony and Brandenburg signed the Treaty on the creation of the foundation for Sorbian people, which replaced the decree of 1991. The foundation aims at promoting and disseminating Sorbian language, culture, and traditions and organise its own events. It is also responsible for the management and maintenance of buildings used by Sorbian institutions. It is co-funded by the German Federal government that provides half of the funding and the Länder Saxony and Brandenburg, which finance respectively two-third and one-third of the fifty percent left. In 2016, they signed a funding agreement that grants 18,6 million euros to the foundation on a yearly basis for the period 2016-2020. The Federal government provides 9.300.000 euros, Saxony 6.200.000 euros, and Brandenburg 3.100.000. Of this amount, 75% is allocated to Sorbian institutions and the 25% left is used for the foundation’s projects. Its personnel costs are covered by the government and Saxony outside the funding agreement. Every year, projects are financed. In 2019, 1.100.210,65 euros were awarded and allowed to fund more than eighty projects in education, art, and language (Stiftung

für das sorbische Volk, 2019). In 2021, the German Federal government decided to increase its contribution to 12,2 million euros to support the digitalisation of the Sorbian language (Schönbar, 2020).

There is also an independent research institute specialised on the Sorbs (Serbski Institut, n.d.). The Sorbian Institute is an association under private law that was founded on 1 January 1992 by the Länder Saxony and Brandenburg. It focuses on the Sorbian language, the Sorbs' history, and culture, as well as on the current situation and their status in comparison with other small languages and cultures in Europe. The Sorbian institute is based in Bautzen and has two departments, cultural studies, and linguistics. It cooperates with other institutes in Germany and abroad in addition to support Sorbian organisations. It organises the International Summer School in Sorbian language and Culture every two years. For two weeks, the participants attend language, history, and Sorbian culture courses.

One can study the philology of Sorbian languages at the Institut für Sorabistik at the University of Leipzig, which is led by Eduard Werner, a German professor who perfectly masters Upper Sorbian and Lower Sorbian (Kurpiel, 2020). Several courses are offered to students (Conference Hochdeutsch, sächsisch – sorbisch? Sprache und Identität in der Lausitz, 2021). They can choose between the “Bachelor Minderheitsprachen” and the “Bachelor of Arts Sorabistik” as well as continuing with the “Master of Arts Sorabistik”. It also trains teachers with three programmes: “Staatsexamen Lehramt Grundschule Sorbisch”, “Staatsexamen Lehramt Oberschule Sorbisch” and “Staatsexamen Höheres Lehramt Gymnasium Sorbisch”.

There are also Sorbian institutions outside Germany. The Společnost přátel Lužice (SPL) is an association dedicated to the promotion of Sorbian culture and language in the Czech Republic (Novosad, 2021). At the same time, it aims at promoting Czech culture to the Sorbs. Společnost přátel Lužice is implemented throughout the country and particularly in the regions Prague, Mladá Boleslav, Brno, Varnsdorf and Hodonín. The association also has members in Slovakia, Poland, Germany, Lusatia, and even in Finland and in the US. It organises cultural events such as conferences, readings by authors, concerts, theatre performances, exhibitions, language courses, and a summer school. It is also involved in the university teaching of Sorbian in the Czech Republic. The Společnost přátel Lužice manages the Hórníkovu lužickosrbskou knihovnu, a Sorbian library that holds the largest collection of Sorbian books outside Lusatia. It is active on Facebook and YouTube

and publishes a bi-monthly newspaper called *Česko-lužický časopis*, which is the only Sorbian periodical in the Czech language. The SPL is a significant player in Czech-Sorbian relations and organised a meeting between Václav Havel, the then President of Czechoslovakia, and Lusatian officials. It is committed to defending Sorbian identity as evidenced by its participation in the demonstration against the demolition of Lusatian villages and the suppression of Sorbian primary schools in Chrósćice and Pančice-Kuko. The association cooperates with the Sorbian institutions, such as Domowina but also with many Czech political, religious, and educational institutions. Among them, mention can be made of Czech radio, Czech television, the Archdiocese of Prague, the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague, History' Teachers Association of the Czech Republic, and the association Societas Amicuum Liberec. At the political level, the SPL has established links with the Consulate General of the Czech Republic in Dresden, the Free State of Saxony's liaison office in Prague, the Czech Senate, and the Czech Ministry of Education. It is affiliated with similar organisations in Poland and Ukraine and works with the Institut für Sorabistik of the University of Leipzig.

In Poland, the Polish-Sorbian association Pro Lusatia was founded in 2004 (Kurpiel, 2020). It is in Opole, Poland, and organises cultural and scientific events for Polish and Sorbian communities, notably the “Dni Łużyckie”, the Lusatian Days. Pro Lusatia also publishes the Regional Studies Yearbook “Pro Lusatia. Opolskie Studia Łużycoznawcze”. The main objectives of the association are to disseminate knowledge on the history, culture, and the present of the Polish and Sorbian nations as well as to contribute to bringing Poles closer to the Sorbs. It also raises public awareness of mutual interests between the Poles and the Sorbs. Finally, it works towards the respect for national minorities and their rights to cultivate their mother tongue and to have their own educational system.

2.3.2 The Sorbs face challenges

Despite strong institutions, Sorbian identity is threatened. There are fewer and fewer Sorbian-speaking persons (Rehor, 2013: 7). The traditions are getting lost and there appears to be a gap between the young and old generations (Conference Hochdeutsch, sächsisch – sorbisch? Sprache und Identität in der Lausitz, 2021). Indeed, identity building is not fixed and changes throughout life (Sarhou-Lajus, 2010: 150). According to Beijaard et al, „identity is not something one has, but something that develops during one's whole

life.” (Jackson, 2014: 132). The meanings of aspects that forge one’s identity may change and gain value, as well as lose significance. In the case of Sorbs, several reasons can explain the current situation.

First, the Sorbs have a multicultural identity because they are Sorb and German. According to Martin and Nakamaya, multicultural identity is “a sense of inbetweenness that develops as a result of frequent or multiple cultural border crossing.” (Jackson, 2014: 143). People that have been exposed to several cultures, languages, and traditions may have hybrid identities. Nguyen and Benet-Martinez stressed the complexity of a multicultural identity, explaining that “the process of negotiating multiple cultural identities is complex and multi-faceted.” In the case of Sorbs, this complexity translates into the assimilation process, which consists in adapting to the majority, namely German (Brandt, 2010). It happens at the communication level, where one may adopt the principle of convergence, that is adapting to his interlocutor who has a different language and background. On the contrary, the principle of divergence is used to distinguish deliberately from different people (Jackson, 2014: 142). Jana Schulz reported that too often, the Sorbs start to speak German with other people, without letting them the opportunity to speak Sorbian (Conference Hochdeutsch, sächsisch – sorbisch? Sprache und Identität in der Lausitz, 2021). One may wonder what the connection between an individual’s national and regional identity is (Zimmermann-Steinhart, 2005). Some authors, like Rokkan, think that national identity outweighs regional identity. Those consider identifications as zero-sum-games, which means that some identities are superior to others. In its approach, the Sorbs would have to choose between being German and being Sorb.

The economy of the territory is another key point. The construction of regional identities is favoured by successful economic development (Zimmermann-Steinhart, 2005). This factor appears to be primordial in the long run. Lusatia is a case in point, as many people have been leaving the region for economic reasons. The territory has known many migratory flows that explain partly why Sorbian culture and language are threatened nowadays (European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language learning, 2016: 10). After the second world war, Germany lost some territories whose inhabitants were forced to resettle. Hundreds of thousands of them came to Lusatia. This migratory flow reinforced the assimilation of the Sorbs. In addition, the government made the territory the centre of energy provision of the German Democratic Republic and industrialized it through brown

coal opencast mining (see Figure 8). Many Sorbs were forced to leave their villages to the benefit of the industry. Following German reunification, Lusatia, like all new Länder, was faced with high emigration levels (Yèche, 2013). Currently, many Sorbs live outside Lusatia for economic reasons (European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language learning, 2016: 10). When I asked Katja Rehor if she knew why she said that many young people leave Lusatia for their studies or to find a job. However, she also has the feeling that many young families come back there a few years after. According to a study on European Coal regions in transition, Lusatia experiences intensive rural exodus and degrowth and is challenged by emigration (European Commission, 2018). Whether on the German side or the Polish side, the Lusatian population immigrates massively to the western part of Germany (Kurpiel, 2020). This is a threat to the passing of the Sorbian traditions and customs to the next generation, which is a key element for the survival of a minority identity. The region's economic difficulties are also partly responsible for the lack of interest of the Poles in Sorbian cultural activities and in trade, as evidenced by a research group at the Polish University Zielona Góra (Kurpiel, 2020).

At present, the future of Sorbian identity relies mainly on some enthusiasts and scientists that are not related to the Sorbs and Lusatia (Kurpiel, 2020). Yet to attract new people, one's culture and language must have a positive image in the eyes of external people.

2.3.3 Image of the Sorbs in Germany

There is a difference between one's avowed identity, which means what one claims to be and how others associate him with, that is one's ascribed identity (Jackson, 2014: 133). In Germany, the Sorbs' ascribed identity is not always positive. For many Germans, the Sorbs are invisible (Yèche, 2013). Indeed, they have German citizenship and speak fluently German, so they look the same as Non-Sorbian German. I had the same impression during discussions with Germans. No matter where they come from, very few of them had already heard about the Sorbs, even those living in Saxony. Katja Rehor acknowledged that there is a certain ignorance about the Sorbs. (Rehor, interview on April 10, 2021).

Despite the favourable policy towards the protection of minorities conducted by the state and the Länder, the Sorbs are not always well-considered in the country (Yèche, 2013).

Some people have prejudices and think that the Sorbs are too much supported financially and all rich, as explained by Katja Rehor (Rehor, interview on April 10, 2021). The proximity to Slavic cultures, particularly at the linguistic level, is sometimes regarded as a threat. This distrust of Sorbian culture can be summarised by the perception of the city Bautzen, described as the “heimliche Hauptstadt der Sorben”.

In recent years, racist acts against the Sorbian population have been reported (Balzer, 2019). This has been pointed out by the artist Iris Brankatschk in her work “vermessen”, in which she explores the theme of racism, particularly against the Sorbian minority. She used photos taken between 1929 and 1938 but also recent pictures. On those taken recently by Mattias Bulang, one can see that Sorbian names on bilingual road signs have been voluntarily damaged by unknown persons and are now unreadable. The German extreme right-wing party Alternative für Deutschland (AFD) is partly responsible for the degradation of the image of the Sorbs, notably in the Bautzen City Council. Iris Brankatschk explains that the party has warned people against the socio-cultural centre “Steinhaus” in Bautzen, where there is an “ethnic mix”. The crucifixes of Cyril and Methodius, the “Apostles to the Slavs” were scrawled and destroyed several times (Bartsch, 2015). One can also see “Sorben raus” or “Hooligans gegen Sorben” written on the walls and guardrails of bridges (Herwig, 2019). According to experts, anti-Sorbian slogans are regularly chanted during football games. In recent years, direct attacks against the Sorbs have also been reported. It causes great concern in Lusatia because the attacks are more violent and more targeted. Dawid Statnik, president of the Sorbian organisation Domowina, states that it has taken on a new dimension lately and talks about “organised crime” against the Sorbs. He emphasized this point during the conference organised by Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and showed a picture taken in Bautzen where “Sorben raus” was written (Conference Jung und Sorbisch – Zukunftsperspektiven für die Sorben, 2021). Heiko Kosel, member of Saxon parliament and spokesperson for national minorities, explains that “die Angriffe auf Sorben sind mit der gestiegenen Fremdenfeindlichkeit der vergangenen Jahre in Sachsen in Verbindung zu bringen.” (Herwig, 2019). A part of the population sees the Sorbs as foreigners, even though these are the German immigrants that are foreigners from a historical perspective. In October 2014, Sorbian high school students were attacked by a group of masked young people in Bautzen (Bartsch, 2015). They were called “Sorbenschweine” and followed to their cars. Few of the victims complained about fear of reprisals. It was not an isolated act but rather one among many actions taking place

in Lusatian villages. The story of Mikławš, a 17-year-old Sorbian living in Bautzen confirmed this (Herwig, 2019). On October 5, 2018, he was insulted and attacked by unknown assailants for being Sorbian. The attackers that Mikławš calls “the Nazis” shouted “Scheiß Sorben!” and encircled the Sorbian high school students, before punching them. During our conversation, I asked Katja Rehor if she had already experienced such things. She told me that she has always felt well about being Sorbian but that once, she was called “Sorbische Schlampe” at a party (Rehor, interview on April 10, 2021). Among her acquaintances, some have already been provoked because they are Sorbian. It is reproached the authorities for not taking this issue seriously enough (Herwig, 2019).

This is problematic for the Sorbian minority. If the Sorbs have a bad image, people will not get interested in their culture and language. People will not talk about them, or only say bad things which will threaten their survival. In a globalised world, a minority must be in the media and have an outreach beyond its territory. More than that, a poor image among others may result in rejection of Sorbian identity in the Sorbs. Oetzel explains that identity salience “is the degree to which an identity is prominent or stands out to us in a given situation” (Jackson, 2014: 134). If they are discriminated against because of their Sorbian identity, the young Sorbs may choose to abandon this part of them to become “just” German. Youth is yet the future of Sorbian identity.

Conclusion

Sorbian minority is the last existing Slavic minority (Conference Hochdeutsch, sächsisch – sorbisch? Sprache und Identität in der Lausitz, 2021). Over the centuries, the Sorbs managed to maintain their identity despite years of oppression. It is shaped by the Sorbian language, Sorbian culture, Sorbian traditions, and their territory, Lusatia. Now, the Sorbs are faced with a new challenge: globalisation. Fewer and fewer people speak the language and transmit their identity. There are only 60 000 Sorbs (Rehor, 2013: 2). Sorbian identity must be promoted beyond Lusatia to encourage the young Sorbs to learn the language and transmit their identity to the next generation. Their image with external persons must be improved as well. We have seen previously that the Sorbs have a status in their “Land”, in Germany and even in the European Union. They have the fortune to be represented by strong institutions, but it has not reversed the tendency so far. The research literature highlighted an interesting point in Sorbian history. Every time they were endangered, they have been supported by their Slavic neighbours. We may wonder how the current relations between the Sorbs and these two countries are. A few researchers investigated the history between the Sorbs and the Czech Republic or Poland. However, no study has been conducted on what is done currently in those countries and the image of the Sorbs with their Slavic neighbours. This qualitative research will focus on the role of the Czech Republic and Poland in the maintenance of Sorbian identity.

3 METHODS

The research literature raised the question about the Sorbs' current relations with the Czech Republic and Poland. To address this issue, I decided to conduct several interviews with relevant partners. These outcomes could not be found in the research literature. The purpose of this qualitative research is to meet significant actors involved in the defence of Sorbian identity. The following part is dedicated to the research for partners, the construction of a questionnaire, and the processing of data.

3.1 Expert interview

Before exploring the role of the Czech Republic and Poland in maintaining Sorbian identity, I thought about how one can promote a language and culture in a foreign country. To answer this question, I contacted Sylvie Joseph-Julien, who is an expert in this field. In 2011, she created the non-profit association Made in France in Seattle, which aims at promoting French language and Francophone culture on the West Coast in the United States. Since then, the association has developed and reached more people. Another structure is being created in Spain. Since I have worked as a project manager at Made in France, I thought that it could be interesting to have her point of view as the director of a successful association. Even though French is not a minority language and Francophone culture is widely spread in comparison with Sorbian culture and language, it remains a challenge to promote it in a country as large as the United States. I conducted an expert interview with her on Microsoft Teams on March 3, 2021. Several topics were addressed, such as the criteria that must be taken into consideration, the challenges she faced, the importance of proximity between the countries and the target audience. The interview was in French and lasted 31:16. The results of the interview are to be found in the discussion.

3.2 Find partners

The first step was to find partners that would be relevant for the study. To find them, I used my bibliographical research, and I spoke with Sorbian people. Katja Rehor and Jakob Schäfer, Sorbian reporter for MDR that was introduced to me by my classmate Sarah Pracht, gave me some ideas. It was decided to contact the partners in April to have time to prepare suitable questions. Because of the Covid-19 pandemic, I could not meet directly with associations, institutions, and individuals. Therefore, the potential partners were contacted via email and if it was not possible via social networks. My research is in English, but I wanted to allow them to speak in their mother tongue, as people generally feel more confident in doing so. As I speak French, English, and German, I wrote the emails in German when they were addressed to organisations located in Germany and in English when they were based in the Czech Republic or Poland, as I speak only a little Czech and not at all Polish (see Annex I). I must admit that finding partners in the Czech Republic and Poland was quite difficult, as most of the websites are in Czech or Polish.

I thought it would be interesting to interview Sorbs of different generations to have their point of view on the Sorbian-Czech and Sorbian-Polish relations. Thanks to a mutual acquaintance, I came into contact with two Sorbs that agreed to participate in my study.

The first organisation I contacted was Domowina. During my research, I had seen that the organisation was particularly important in Sorbian's political and institutional life. It was also mentioned several times that it had relations with foreign countries, and I wanted to know more about its ties with the Czech Republic and Poland. I also contacted the Stiftung für das Sorbische Volk. As the foundation aims at promoting and disseminating Sorbian culture, language, and traditions, I thought it would be relevant to interview someone from this structure and ask him what is done abroad.

When I spoke with Katja Rehor, she mentioned organisations that could be interesting for my study and quite different from those I had already targeted. Indeed, Sorbian identity can be promoted in various areas: at the cultural, linguistic, political, economic, or educational level. I sent an email to the company Wirtschaftsregion Lausitz because I was curious to know if the linguistic and cultural proximity with the Czech Republic and Poland was used for the economic development of Lusatia.

It became clear to me that young people have a significant role to play in the maintenance of Sorbian identity. Therefore, I contacted the Sorbian youth association Pawk located in Bautzen. It is a member of Domowina and offers opportunities for young people, such as participating in an international youth exchange. I also got in touch with the Niedersorbisches Gymnasium in Cottbus after reading that they have a partnership with a Czech high school. I decided to contact the other Sorbian high school as well, the Sorbisches Gymnasium in Bautzen whose director participated in the online conference Hochdeutsch, sächsisch – sorbisch? Sprache und Identität in der Lausitz.

As I chose to work on the Sorb's relations with the Czechs and the Poles, it was essential to have a Czech and Polish perspective. To this end, I contacted the organisation Společnost přátel Lužice located in Prague, the Societas Amicum Liberec, and the organisation Pro Lusatia in Opole, Poland. The President of Pro Lusatia advised me to contact Nicole Dołowy- Rybińska, a Polish researcher who works on Sorbian topics.

In the end, I found six partners that agreed to participate in my study. X, a 20-year-old Sorbian student, and Y, a 72-year-old woman in retirement, could share with me their personal experiences with the Czech Republic and Poland. Clemens Škoda, who oversees cultural and foreign affairs at Domowina could tell me about the organisation and its link with the two countries. Thanks to P from Společnost přátel Lužice and L from Societas Amicum Liberec, I could have a Czech perspective on those relations. Lastly, Nicole Dołowy- Rybińska could bring her knowledge as a Polish researcher specialised in Sorbian topics.

3.3 Conduct the interviews

The first step was to choose the type of interview which would best suit the study. Semi-structured interviews were conducted, as they let the interviewee speak freely but allows the interviewer to guide him. The interviewer can adapt the questions according to the answers received and obtain more relevant information (Gibson & Hua, 2016). It proved to be the right type of interview as one interviewee spoke a lot by herself, whereas it was necessary to guide another with specific questions.

It was initially decided to conduct the interviews in German or English, depending on the person's mother tongue. The discussions would then be in German with the Sorbs and in English with the Poles and the Czechs. I considered my Czech level too low and preferred to speak in English. However, the questions requested reflection, were personal and even sensitive sometimes so it was important for the interviewees to feel comfortable and be able to say what they wanted. After I talked with L from Societas Amicum Liberec about the interview, she told me it was difficult for her to speak English. Her association had organised the Year of the Lusatian Sorbs in the Liberec region from 2019 to 2021 and I thought that it would be very interesting for my study to learn more about this event. I decided to conduct the interview with her in Czech so that it could be fluent, and she could say everything she wants to. I must admit that it was a real challenge for me, that was time-consuming but turned to be very enriching. In the end, three interviews were in German, two were in English and one was in Czech.

One interview guide was initially created in German with three main topics: Sorbian identity, personal experience with the Czech Republic and Poland or Lusatia, and personal point of view on the Sorbian-Czech and Sorbian-Polish relations and prospects (see Annex II). However, the characteristics of the interviewees are quite different and had to be taken into consideration. It was necessary to adapt the interview guide according to the person's perspective and job position if relevant. The relations with the Germans should be mentioned in the talk with Sorbian interviewees to see if it could influence their links with their Slavic neighbours. In 2020, I made a study on the defence of national identity and the rejection of immigration in the countries of the Visegrád Group, of which the Czech Republic and Poland are members. A huge part of this work was dedicated to the fear of losing their identity, which had been threatened throughout history. That is why I integrated the following question into the interview guide of N. Dołowy- Rybińska, L and P: *“do you think that Czech Republic and Poland could recognize themselves fairly easily in the Sorbs' current situation considering their language and culture was threatened several times throughout history?”*. As Nicole Dołowy- Rybińska is a researcher, I thought that it would be interesting to ask her to what extent Sorbian-Czech and Sorbian-Polish relations are different, and the results of her previous studies on the Sorbs (see Annex III). For Clemens Škoda, L from Societas Amicum Liberec and P from Společnost přátel Lužice specific questions on their organisation's activities were added

to the three main topics mentioned above. The interview guides prepared for N. Dołowy-Rybińska and P were in English. The interview with L being conducted in Czech, the interview guide was translated into this language (see Annex IV). For each topic, key questions should be asked, and some aspects were specified in case the interviewee would need to be more guided.

Before conducting the interviews, a consent form was prepared in English and German. It was sent and signed by the interviewees, to make sure they agreed to be recorded and to let them choose if they wanted to remain anonymous (see Annex V). Of the six interview partners, four of them chose this option.

The interviews were carried out from April 23, 2021, to May 24, 2021. The duration is very different from one meeting to another: the shortest lasted 20:13 and the longest 01:24:57. It can be explained by the fact that some of the partners were asked about their personal experiences but also their work. It was necessary to let people speak without a time limit to get as much information as possible. Because of the poor sanitary conditions in Saxony due to the Covid-19 pandemic, it was not possible to travel to Lusatia. Therefore, 5 out of 6 interviews had to be conducted online. The first one, with X, was on Skype but it was then decided to use Zoom for the other meetings because it is accessible to all and allows to record the session directly on the computer. Y, who is retired, has no computer so the interview was carried out by telephone and recorded on my computer. Except for this one, all interviews were recorded with a phone.

As I did not personally know the partners before the meetings, I presented myself and my study briefly at the beginning of the recordings to establish a first connection with them. It was important to present my project so that they know why I needed their participation and make sure that they still agreed. During the interviews, the questions were adapted according to the answers, and some precisions were asked when needed.

In May 2021, the sanitary rules became more flexible, so I went to the Regional Scientific Library in Liberec to visit the exhibition “Lusatian Sorbs, Unknown Neighbours” organised by Societas Amicum Liberec. I took the opportunity to conduct my interview with L in person. It made a huge difference with the ones that were online. First, it helped me understand more what she was saying thanks to her gestures and her expressions, given my little knowledge of the Czech language. Thanks to her body language, I knew when her answer was finished and when I could ask my next question. This was much more

difficult with the online interviews because of the time lag. More importantly, the interview was fluent, and there were very few noises in the background and no internet connection problems. Such problems occurred particularly during the meeting with C. Škoda, and he had to repeat his answer regarding Domowina. I did not know any of them before conducting the interviewees, and meeting someone in person is easier to make him feel comfortable than when everything is online. However, I must say that it was difficult to understand the answers in Czech and react. I was much more comfortable speaking in English and in German.

As mentioned above, one month passed between the first and the last interview. As recommended by Hua, field notes (see Annexes VI-XI) were written after each interview to help improve the next ones (Hua, 2016). The characteristics of the interview, the themes that emerged, what went well and not, and the areas for possible follow-up or further exploration were noted in a table. The field note of X was particularly useful for the meeting with Y, because she briefly mentioned the relations of the older generation with the Czech Republic and Poland during the Communist period in comparison with the relations of her generation. Knowing this, I particularly asked questions to Y about this time to be able to compare her answers with X.

Despite the difficulties mentioned above, the interviews were successful and fluent. All questions were answered by the interviewees, even the ones that were difficult or sensitive. There were no misunderstandings related to the language, but further clarification was sometimes necessary to make sure the partner had understood the question correctly. As several languages were shared with the interviewees, they could speak in another language if they did not find their words in the foreign language. This happened with P, who said two words in Czech that were understood and did not cause comprehension issues. The duration of the interviews and the length of the answers show that the partners were motivated and had a lot to say concerning these topics.

3.4 Transcription and processing of data

Once the interviews were conducted, it was necessary to analyse them to be able to compare the answers and achieve results. The interview with L in Czech was translated into English so that it could be used without having language difficulties (see Annex XII). As we are interested in the content of the interview, the word repetitions and hesitations such as “na na na” or “o turisticky- turistickém” were removed from the translation. However, it was chosen to keep all words that were said because they indicate a way of talking and a speech rhythm. The word “vlastně” for example, which can be translated as “actually” in English, has been used very often by L, probably to emphasise her statements. At the interviewee’s request, the questions were asked in Czech and English during the interview. The meaning being the same, the questions in English were removed from the Czech part. It was noted that the Czechs talk about “Lužičtí Srbové”, which literally means “Lusatian Serbs”. As they are called “Sorbs” in English, it is this term that was used because a literal translation would have had no meaning in English. Translating an interview from one foreign language to another foreign language is very challenging and time-consuming. The sentences had to be restructured to be understandable in the language of Shakespeare and easy to read. It was checked by a Czech friend who speaks very good English to prevent mistranslations that could change the meaning of the sentences. The interviews were then analysed and structured by topics (see Annexes XIII-XVII). The time, the comments, and interpretations were also written in the tables to give precisions on the interviewee’s way of speaking, the outside environment, and anything that stood out. It was decided to leave aside the presentation part at the beginning of the recordings and the discussions outside the interview as they are not relevant content for the research. Several topics emerged: the personal links with the Sorbs, the Sorbian identity, the current situation of the Sorbs, the personal experiences with the Czech Republic and Poland, the knowledge of the Czechs and the Poles about the Sorbs, the Sorbian-Czech and Sorbian-Polish relations and the role of the Czech Republic and Poland in maintaining Sorbian identity.

To respect the anonymity of the interviewees, it was decided to use letters to refer to them. The analysis was time-consuming and required to listen to the recordings several times. Doing so, I realised that the audio of the interview with Y conducted over the telephone was of very bad quality. Several software programs were used to improve the sound, but the audio remained unusable. Fortunately, the interview had been done recently, and notes

had been taken to write the field note (see Annex VIII). Even though there could be no analysis of the interview with Y, it was decided not to redo the interview because it could bias the answers. Therefore, it was chosen that the conversation would be used based on these notes. In the book *Research Methods in Intercultural Communication – A Practical Guide* published in 2016, Barbara Gibson and Zhu Hua explain indeed: “In grounded theory and other emergent methodologies, the field note also become an important source of data.”

Except for the recording with Y, all interviews were transcribed. Listening to the audios for the content analysis, it appeared that the accentuation and the intonation are important in the interviewees' talks. They indicate when they are imitating someone, when they are thinking, and their feelings. Foreign words were also used in all interviews, whether it was in Czech, German, Polish, Sorbian, or even French. To transcribe all these elements, it was decided to work with the transcript convention of Montpellier University, which is very complete and detailed (see Annex XVIII). The software Folker was used to transcribe the interviews. The total duration of the recordings added together is 225 minutes. The talk with L in Czech was transcribed in English, whereas all the other interviews were written in the language spoken (see Annexes XIX-XXIII). Transcribing from one language to another is difficult, considering the words are placed differently in a Czech sentence and an English sentence. To be as close as possible to the way of speaking of L, some words were moved in relation to the translation while ensuring it would still be understandable. The whole process was very time-consuming, and choices had to be made. As mentioned above, the beginning and the end of the recordings are not part of the interview content and were, hence, not transcribed. Some parts were not relevant and sometimes off-topic, they were thus also left aside. Only the questions that were not in the interview guide and asked in reaction to the interviewee's words were written. A space between two segments indicates that a part was not transcribed. The transcriptions showed that the sentences are structured differently according to the interview. X made many pauses, whereas Nicole Dołowy- Rybińska used rather the intonation and L her breathing. It was also noticed that the segments of P were particularly short in comparison with the others, which might be because she is the only interviewee that did not speak in her mother tongue.

The results of the analysis and transcription of the interviews are presented in the following parts.

4 RESULTS

The data resulting from the interviews gives information on the current situation of the Sorbs, their relations with the Czech Republic and Poland, and the role played by Germany. The partners were selected to have several points of view. Given that a relation between two populations is bilateral, it is interesting to compare the answers from the Sorbian side with the ones from the Czech and Polish sides. This qualitative research aims to understand the role of the Czech Republic and Poland in maintaining Sorbian identity from personal experiences. It does not intend to generalise, but it provides a first state of play of Sorbian- Czech and Sorbian-Polish relations.

4.1 A strong but threatened identity

4.1.1 Language is at the heart of Sorbian identity

When the interviewees were asked to talk about Sorbian identity, most of them took time to think. C. Škoda even asked the question again and said that it was difficult to answer it:

{11:33} 0150 S ok (4)

{11:33} 0151 na das ist ähm schwierig na (8) also (see Annex XX)

According to the Sorbian partners, language is at the heart of Sorbian identity and plays a significant role for them. X explains that speaking Sorbian engenders trust between the people:

{03:58} 0029 X ähm: also für mich bildet es auf jeden fall die ssprache?

{04:01} 0030 weil ich das mit meinen / mit meiner ffamilie mit allen ffreunden (4) -

{04:04} 0031 also ich sprech' es eigentlich hier im ort auch mit aallen

{04:07} 0032 und das ist für mich so eine: (4)

{04:09} 0033 so eine vvertrautheit zwischen den menschen also man (7) / kennt sich ja:

{04:13} 0034 prinzipiell untereinander / NICHT direkt aber dadurch dass alle vielleicht dieselbe sprache sprechen fühlt man sich

{04:18} 0035 enger (9) und /

{04:20} 0036 'n bisschen vertrauter (4)

{04:22} 0037 und: das besondere an den ssorben / (see Annex XIX)

C. Škoda thinks the same:

- {12:27} 0171 in dem bereich? bin ich zu hause na (8) als sie jetzt rein
{12:30} 0172 von der identität (2) und klar als sorbe
{12:32} 0173 äh sprich- spielt die sprache (9) eine wichtige rolle (see Annex XX)

However, they have slightly different perspectives on the other elements that build Sorbian identity. X speaks about the traditions that are also important:

- {04:55} 0047 und dann gehört auch noch die kultur ganz stark mit dazu also dass wir alle: gern singen und tanzen? (see Annex XIX)

On the contrary, C. Škoda warns against stereotypes, arguing that foreign people focus on the traditions whereas being Sorb today goes with freedom and opening to the world.

- {11:36} 0152 also weil weil weil (7) es keine stereotype in der form nicht gibt? h
{11:40} 0153 OFT äh:
{11:41} 0154 schauen fremde auf das sorbische und denken dabei gleich an österreicher: österreicher: (2)
{11:47} 0155 die ganzen traditionen und trachten? aber
{11:49} 0156 de facto bist du als junger mensch heute (4)
{11:52} 0157 demokratisch freiheitlich ohne grenzen (2) h
{11:55} 0158 ähm aufgewachsen? H (see Annex XX)

It may be because Sorbian culture is sometimes seen as old and thus not very attractive.

N. Dołowy- Rybińska describes it indeed as a “rural culture”:

- {00:16:52} 0109 and in lusatia thing was very calm
{00:16:54} 0110 °it °was °rather
{00:16:55} 0111 tradition (2)
{00:16:56} 0112 uhm: church life (2)
{00:16:59} 0113 uhm: (4)
{00:17:01} 0114 a lot of uh: °mmh:
{00:17:04} 0115 ((clicks her tongue)) a lot of (7) uh °uh °uh
{00:17:06} 0116 traditional (11) elements °mmh (4)
{00:17:10} 0117 uh: (4) /

{00:17:12} 0118 like sustain or maintained in: uh: (4)

{00:17:15} 0119 the contemporary life and i (see Annex XXI)

C. Škoda's answer raises the question of the opposition between modernity and tradition, and where Sorbian culture is situated. The literature and the conferences I attended suggest that the traditions remain significant, but that Sorbian culture is going through a transition, with notably some Sorbs leaving Lusatia while foreigners settle there. It is interesting to note that none of the interviewees mention Lusatia as part of Sorbian identity, even though the Sorbs have been living in Lusatia for centuries (Rehor, 2013: 4).

4.1.2 An Upper Sorbian and Lower Sorbian identity

The Czech and Polish interviewees do not speak about one single identity but rather about two. Unlike X, Y, and C. Škoda, they make a difference between Upper Lusatia and Lower Lusatia, as explained by L:

{06:19} 0128 i:? (4) think there is a big difference.

{06:22} 0129 between (2) h

{06:24} 0130 asking me this question. (7)

{06:28} 0131 about? upper lusatia. / h

{06:31} 0132 or lower lusatia. / h (see Annex XXII)

The main difference mentioned by L and N. Dołowy- Rybińska is the religion. The fact that Upper Sorbs and Lower Sorbs have different religions has a direct impact on their proximity to the Germans according to L:

{08:37} 0184 the other thing that makes: them different? and' uh

{08:41} 0185 which is actually (4) h

{08:43} 0186 i think a bit: uh: determining? h

{08:46} 0187 is that lower sorbs are of evangelical religion. (2) / h

{08:50} 0188 and: all the same

{08:52} 0189 there are

{08:53} 0190 there are differences between the catholic faith? and the evangelical protestant faith. (2)

{08:58} 0191 and again?

{08:59} 0192 because? lower lusatia (4) /
 {09:02} 0193 is uh actually mostly part of bbrandenburg? h
 {09:06} 0194 and of ccourse the german population is mainly
 {09:10} 0195 of pprotestant religion? h
 {09:12} 0196 so there is tthat? (4) / h
 {09:14} 0197 °uh influence or the the: the (4)
 {09:17} 0198 belonging? to: to the german speaking population h
 {09:21} 0199 is different tthere: (2) h
 {09:23} 0200 tthan
 {09:24} 0201 in uupper lusatia. but h (see Annex XXII)

They particularly stress that religion is very important in Upper Lusatia. According to N. Dołowy- Rybińska, it is the pillar of their culture:

{00:34:54} 0399 °uh so uupper lusatia is a very catholic?
 {00:34:57} 0400 uhm: (4) /
 {00:34:59} 0401 uh: (4) culture?
 {00:35:01} 0402 with a very sstrong /
 {00:35:02} 0403 uh: uhm: uh
 {00:35:04} 0404 ccatholic
 {00:35:05} 0405 °group where catholitisme
 {00:35:08} 0406 is the CENTRE of this culture. (see Annex XXI)

There are also two different languages, Upper Sorbian and Lower Sorbian, and their usage is different. L says:

{07:57} 0166 llower lusatia: (4)
 {07:59} 0167 uh: (4)
 {08:00} 0168 uunlike upper lusatia where it has actually been preserved h
 {08:04} 0169 upper ssorbian (2) h
 {08:06} 0170 where at least: (4)
 {08:08} 0171 in some pparts' uh (2)
 {08:10} 0172 in some vvillages it is ccommon. (2) h
 {08:12} 0173 uh: (4)
 {08:13} 0174 in everyday life? sorbian is used. (2)
 {08:17} 0175 in llower lusatia
 {08:19} 0176 you hardly come across lower sorbian language. / h (see Annex XXII)

L adds that this does not mean that Lower Sorbs feel less Sorbian than Upper Sorbs. However, it shows that the role of the language is much more important in Upper Sorbian identity than in Lower Sorbian identity. The words of X and C. Škoda, who are Upper Sorbs, tend to confirm this. Interestingly, the Sorbs themselves talk about one single identity, whereas the Czechs and the Poles differentiate Upper Lusatia from Lower Lusatia. From an external point of view, having different languages, different religions, and living in different territories means that there are two identities. However, Upper Sorbs and Lower Sorbs share the same history and traditions, which can explain why they consider that there is one Sorbian identity that gathered them.

4.1.3 Sorbian identity is highly threatened

Except for X, who thinks the Sorbs are not threatened by extinction, all interviewees are concerned about the Sorbs' situation. According to P, the process is already very advanced:

{27:18} 0622 ((clicks her tongue)) sorbs (4)

{27:19} 0623 aare actively losing

{27:21} 0624 their identity? (see Annex XXIII)

L explains that this is partly due to the coal mining, which had devastating consequences on the Sorbs' life and weakened their identity:

{11:21} 0246 i tthink that regardless of

{11:24} 0247 uh whether it is upper

{11:26} 0248 or lower lusatia. h

{11:28} 0249 such' uh: a huge? uh problem (4) h

{11:32} 0250 and and influence on? how their life actually developed:

{11:36} 0251 was the ccoal mining. h

{11:38} 0252 which actually: (4)

{11:40} 0253 ddestroyed many villages

{11:42} 0254 °these were hundreds of villages that disappeared? h

{11:44} 0255 whose inhabitants were rresetled (2)

{11:47} 0256 in pplaces where there was actually a predominantly ggerman speaking (2) h

{11:52} 0257 uh population (2) h
{11:53} 0258 there were broken (2) h
{11:55} 0259 uh: the the traditions the roots that they had there? h (see Annex XXII)

The greater danger seems to be the loss of Sorbian languages, that is mentioned by all partners, as said by C. Škoda:

{14:04} 0198 also ähm das sorbische ist ja klar (2) äh sehr bedroht na (8)
{14:07} 0199 sprechen noch weniger menschen das sorbische (see Annex XX)

and X:

{05:43} 0059 äh dass viele gerade die sprache verlieren oder halt / (see Annex XIX)

P explains that the official numbers are not accurate because they count people that can only say a few things in Sorbian as speakers. She noticed it during her trips to Lusatia, where very few people were talking the language:

{11:26} 0230 official situation that is described: by
{11:30} 0231 politicians and uh (4)
{11:32} 0232 wikipedia {chuckles}
{11:34} 0233 like the numbers of speakers
{11:37} 0234 who / uhm (4)
{11:38} 0235 can actively use the language h /
{11:42} 0236 what is described is
{11:44} 0237 really (4) /
{11:45} 0238 like / mmh (4) ((clicks her tongue)) /
{11:48} 0239 really really (2) good but
{11:50} 0240 in reality it's: worse
{11:53} 0241 ok (8)
{11:55} 0242 it's like uhm:
{11:56} 0243 when they count speakers?
{11:59} 0244 ((clicks her tongue)) they ask
{12:00} 0245 can you speak
{12:02} 0246 sorbian.
{12:03} 0247 and they say

{12:04} 0248 **hhaj**
 {12:05} 0249 *{chuckles}*
 {12:06} 0250 *like yyes {chuckles}*
 {12:08} 0251 *uhm: i can describe my nname my family my house and that's it /*
 {12:13} 0252 *so: it's not*
 {12:14} 0253 *actually the kknowledge of language ((clicks her tongue)) ok (8)*
 {12:18} 0254 *but they count like YES we can speak sorbian so:*
 {12:21} 0255 *we can h*
 {12:22} 0256 *have: bigger (4)*
 {12:25} 0257 *numbers of sorbs °ok h (see Annex XXIII)*

Here again, the Czech and Polish interviewees differentiate Upper Sorbian's and Lower Sorbian's situations. Lower Sorbian is more threatened than Upper Sorbian, as evidenced by L:

{11:02} 0237 *i know that an effort? is being made in lower llusatia as well but (4)*
 {11:07} 0238 *it is much hharder there. (2)*
 {11:08} 0239 *because: the real h*
 {11:11} 0240 *number of lower sorbian sspeakers is (4)*
 {11:14} 0241 *in ccomparison with the number of upper sorbian (2)*
 {11:16} 0242 *a mmuch smaller h*
 {11:17} 0243 *uh: (4)*
 {11:19} 0244 *((clicks her tongue)) nnumber. h (see Annex XXII)*

However, the awareness of the urgency of the situation gives hope for the future. L talks about the Witaj project and the campaign "Sorbisch? Na klar.", two initiatives that intend to bring back the languages into everyday life and draw attention to the Sorbs. X knows that the institutions cannot achieve this on their own and says that everybody should make an effort, starting with her:

{05:54} 0062 *dass die sschulen alleine / äh das nicht bewerkstelligen können*
 {05:58} 0063 *dass das sorbische eerhalten bleibt*
 {05:59} 0064 *und dann müssten auch die eltern darauf aachten und vor allem /*
 {06:02} 0065 *muss sich jeder / selber an die nase fassen und / mal sagen /*
 {06:06} 0066 *ich achte jetzt darauf dass ich häufig sorbisch spreche und auch meine Familie sorbisch eerziehe / (see Annex XIX)*

The situation described by the interviewees shows that the Sorbs need help to maintain their identity. The relations with the Czech Republic and Poland, analysed in the following parts, will determine which role can be played by these countries.

4.2 Sorbian-Czech and Sorbian-Polish links are strong

4.2.1 Historical relations

As showed by the literature, the Sorbs are linked to the Czechs and the Poles by a common history. The interviewees were asked to describe the relations between the Sorbs and the Czech Republic and the Sorbs and Poland. All of them mentioned the past, particularly the communist period, even X, who is 20 years old and was not born at that time. When they talked about it, they often insisted on their words, probably because it is something “important” and “powerful” as described by N. Dołowy- Rybińska.

P reminds that Lusatia was once in the same kingdom as the Czech Republic:

{08:53} 0176 that lusatia? was
{08:56} 0177 ppart of czech kkingdom: in the
{08:58} 0178 [((engine noise))]
{08:58} 0179 [ffifteenth century like really really (2)]
{09:01} 0180 {chuckles} h in the history. it was /
{09:04} 0181 part of cczech ccrown / (see Annex XXIII)

It is also the case in Poland. L discovered this recently when she started to go to Lusatia and got interested in the culture:

{15:32} 0338 uh: (4) it?:when we sstarted to go there (2)
{15:35} 0339 we ffound out? h
{15:37} 0340 that there was not only uupper lusatia?
{15:40} 0341 but also llower lusatia h
{15:42} 0342 and that lusatia was: (4)
{15:45} 0343 or is not only in the territory of today's ssaxony and bbrandenburg? h
{15:49} 0344 but that there was also a PART of lusatia? h
{15:51} 0345 that was in bohemia (2)
{15:53} 0346 small h
{15:53} 0347 and that? there was also a part of lusatia that is now in poland.

{15:57} 0348 *in lower silasia. / h (see Annex)*

Even though most of them probably learned it at school, as said by P, this part of history happened a long time ago and does not speak personally to them. However, the Sorbian relations with the Slavic neighbours during the communist period are still very much in people's minds. It was a difficult time, where they were behind the iron curtain and separated from the rest of the world. X explains that there were the only countries they could go to, and this created a special relationship between the Sorbs and the Czechs, and the Poles:

{15:55} 0234 *ich gglaube (11) /*

{15:58} 0235 *die ssorben haben zu den ttschechen und polen vielleicht sschon eine besondere beziehung? weil (7)*

{16:03} 0236 *ich sag mal so als damals auch die dddr*

{16:05} 0237 *ähm existiert hat also die °sorben wwir*

{16:08} 0238 *im osten wir konnten eigentlich bloß nach ttschechien (7) /*

{16:10} 0239 *nach polen und*

{16:11} 0240 *so weiter kkonnten wir damals -*

{16:12} 0241 *also ich ja nnoch nicht aber meine eltern vielleicht (7)*

{16:14} 0242 *und / das ist für ddie dann hhalt sowas wie urlaub ggewesen /*

{16:18} 0243 *heute immer aber das war für die ddamals die einzige möglichkeit um ins Ausland zu kkommen (7) h und / (see Annex XIX)*

X, who is 20 years old, talks about it. It shows that people did not forget about this time and that the relations that were established during this period still have an influence today. Y is 72 years old and illustrates this perfectly. She built very strong relations with the Czechs during the communist era, and I could feel how much she feels connected with the country. She was very enthusiastic and told me about a Sorbian woman who married a Czech that had come to work in Lusatia. They went then to live in the Czech Republic, the woman being dressed in Sorbian costume and raised their family bilingual. N. Dołowy- Rybińska explains that Sorbian people from the generation of Y had friends in the Czech Republic and in Poland and had support there:

{01:07:44} 1232 *historically? those relations between poland*

{01:07:47} 1233 *czech republic and lusatia were also (4) /*

{01:07:50} 1234 *sstronger because of being in: the communist bbloc*

{01:07:54} 1235 *{chuckles} let's say (1)*

{01:07:55} 1236 *mmh' uh uh on*

{01:07:56} 1237 the ssame side of the iron curshain?

{01:07:59} 1238 uh: °mmh (4)

{01:08:00} 1239 because of hhaving

{01:08:02} 1240 uh: the same sstruggle the same ppolitical struggles?

{01:08:06} 1241 uhm: (4)

{01:08:08} 1242 plus? /

{01:08:09} 1243 it was mmuch

{01:08:10} 1244 eeasier to live in poland or in czech republic than it was in lusatia? so

{01:08:14} 1245 it was ppoles or cczechs who did hhhelp

{01:08:17} 1246 sorb-

{01:08:18} 1247 sorbian people who were sending the bbooks' uh

{01:08:21} 1248 or you know uh (4) /

{01:08:23} 1249 sstasi was mu- much mmore

{01:08:25} 1250 uhm powerful that any: any uh: (4) /

{01:08:29} 1251 ppolitical h

{01:08:30} 1252 uhm: (4)

{01:08:31} 1253 powers in ppoland or in cczech republic. so

{01:08:34} 1254 so °mmh °mmh

{01:08:35} 1255 poles or czechs ddid /

{01:08:37} 1256 ssupport

{01:08:38} 1257 ssorbs on different levels.

{01:08:40} 1258 and aalso (2) going to ppoland or to cczech republic was?

{01:08:44} 1259 GREAT for sorbs' uh: °mmh (4)

{01:08:47} 1260 because °uh °uh they could ccome here h

{01:08:49} 1261 i uh the- there is uh uh

{01:08:51} 1262 QUITE a lot of people from uh uh

{01:08:53} 1263 the ggeneration let's say around seventies? who are saying that

{01:08:57} 1264 they did discover:

{01:08:59} 1265 the ppoetry the new way music etc being?

{01:09:03} 1266 in poland or in czech republic visiting their friends. (see Annex XXI)

Although the iron curtain fell in 1989, the generation that has lived this period is still alive and remembers it. This part of history is still very present in Czech, Polish, and Sorbian collective memory and created strong relations between the populations.

4.2.2 The current relations are cultural

Today, Sorbian-Czech and Sorbian-Polish relations are based on culture, as pointed out by P:

{23:13} 0515 *nnow?* /
{23:14} 0516 *these relations are* (4) /
{23:17} 0517 *only ccultural.* (see Annex XXIII)

The organisations are working on cultural projects together to present Sorbian music and literature to the public. Societas Amicum Liberec organised the “Year of Lusatian Sorbs” in partnership with Sorbian Institute, Sorbian Museum, and Sorbian ensemble to this end:

{20:15} 0455 *and we came up with the idea h*
{20:17} 0456 *of doing' uh* (4) *h*
{20:19} 0457 *one:* (4) *YEAR*
{20:20} 0458 *which would be:* (4) *very iintensive* (2) *h*
{20:23} 0459 *in which? we would actually h*
{20:25} 0460 *present*
{20:26} 0461 *sorbian mmusic* (2) *uh:* (4)
{20:28} 0462 *sorbian art.*
{20:29} 0463 *sorbian visual art. h*
{20:31} 0464 *uh: °mmh uh* (4)
{20:33} 0465 *lliterature. H* (see Annex XXII)

Společnost přátel Lužice is currently planning an exhibition with Domowina and the Sorbian Museum in Bautzen:

{23:45} 0530 *uh: we are planning* (4)
{23:47} 0531 *an exhibition? on the prague castle?* /
{23:50} 0532 *((clicks her tongue)) uh* /
{23:52} 0533 *yes some- some pictures °or bbooks and*
{23:54} 0534 *just cculture* (see Annex XXIII)

It is interesting to note that they do not cooperate occasionally, but there are always on-going projects. It means that the Sorbian organisations managed to build strong relationships with Czech but also Polish associations. Even though no Polish institution was

interviewed, C. Škoda explains there are also many projects with Poland and gives an example:

{28:56} 0431 ddasselbe auch mit ppolen also dort ist es (7)
{28:58} 0432 ähm: ähm noch ähm (4) sagen wir mal (7) ver- also (4) °äh
{29:02} 0433 vvielfältiger? H
{29:27} 0444 °ähm aber auch eine: sehr gute ppartnerschaft zu äh žary? h
{29:31} 0445 ähm das ist ein ein ein °äh lokalverein? h
{29:34} 0446 welcher zum beispiel (4)
{29:35} 0447 jedes jahr: zzu uns nach °crostwitz ° kommt
{29:38} 0448 um dort an die ggefallen polnischen soldaten h zu errinern. (see Annex XX)

Those cultural relations allowed X to do a school exchange in Poland:

{08:59} 0104 in ppolen war ich erst eeinmal und zwar in der vierten kklasse?
{chuckles}
{09:03} 0105 äh in der vierten klasse (1) und zwar waren wir da auf /
{09:06} 0106 kklassenfahrt oder exkursion so für ein paar tage?
{09:09} 0107 weil nämlich in polen eine / ppartnerstadt äh: von unsere / von unserem (4) / ort hier / (see Annex XIX)

Sorbian organisations cooperate with organisations located in different cities in the Czech Republic and Poland. This is important to reach out to the largest possible audience. They are active in Liberec, Prague, Opole, Warsaw, Wrocław, Żary, and other places.

4.2.3 A geographical and linguistic proximity

If there are many projects with the Czech Republic and Poland, it is also due to the geographical proximity. C. Škoda mentions it when talking about Domowina's relations with foreign countries:

{25:29} 0379 also ppolen und tschechien ist (4) ist ja wirklich auch rräumlich das nächste h
{25:33} 0380 na (8) bei projekten spielt die oft ähm schon die /
{25:36} 0381 dis°tanz äh eine wichtige rolle? (see Annex XX)

X speaks about a triangle around Görlitz that facilitates cooperation with their neighbours:

{16:54} 0260 weil wir auch nnachbarn sind denke ich das ist ja alles wie so so ein kleines dreieck /

{16:59} 0261 ähm /

{16:60} 0262 um ggörlitz herum und ich glaube da / (see Annex XIX)

The geographical position of the Czech Republic and Poland makes the difference with Slovakia, for example. C. Škoda thinks that they would have closer relations with Slovakia if it was at the border with Lusatia:

{31:29} 0478 na (8) also würde da denke ich mal: (4)

{31:32} 0479 die slowaKEI °äh in der- in der nachbarschaft °liegen wäre das das ggleiche. H (see Annex XX)

More than being neighbours, it is the language that brings the Sorbs with the Czechs and the Poles together. The literature showed that there are all Slavic languages and have thus similarities, but it was not clear to what extent. According to the answers of P, X, Y, C. Škoda and N. Dołowy- Rybińska, Sorbian, Czech, and Polish are very closely related. It plays a significant role in Sorbian-Czech and Sorbian-Polish relations. Indeed, this topic was brought up by the interviewees without being questioned on it. Czech and Polish are described as fascinating for the Sorbs by C. Škoda:

{30:41} 0459 das ppolnische und das ttschechische

{30:43} 0460 IST ähm: immer ein äh (4)

{30:45} 0461 etwas wwas' faszinierendes für die sorben?

{30:48} 0462 schon rein ssprachlich. (see Annex XX)

Upper Sorbian would be particularly close with Czech, whereas Lower Sorbian sounds more like Polish. This idea is introduced by N. Dołowy- Rybińska:

{00:19:12} 0162 i mean (7) these languages are

{00:19:15} 0163 mutually intelligible

{00:19:16} 0164 pparticulary maybe polish with lower sorbian? (see Annex XXI)

None of the other interviewees mention it, but interestingly, the three Upper Sorbs speak of the linguistic proximity with Czech. Indeed, Y speaks Czech perfectly and insisted on her connection with this language, even though she lives equidistant from the Czech Republic and Poland. X talks about the similar basics:

{14:20} 0211 kann man sich °ableiten zum beispiel' die personalpronomen sind irgendwie ggleich und die zzahlen sind auch sehr äähnlich

{14:25} 0212 also die - die basics sage ich mal

{14:27} 0213 die sind in tschechisch °auch sehr äähnlich / (see Annex XIX)

However, this may be because she learned Czech at school, and she can compare it better with Upper Sorbian. P even says that Upper Sorbs and Czechs can understand each other:

{30:24} 0708 YEAH (6)

{30:25} 0709 M [ok.]

{30:25} 0710 [it's like: uh: (4)]

{30:26} 0711 P they have to speak slowly? H (see Annex XXIII)

It is also emphasised by C. Škoda, who was surprised when he went to the Czech Republic as a child to see that he could understand:

{31:06} 0468 ja und noch (7) ich hatte als kkind ein- einen aha moment h

{31:10} 0469 ähm da sind wir mit unseren eeltern äh: ü:

{31:12} 0470 über die ggrenze nach tschechien gefahren

{31:14} 0471 und dort wurden mir zum °ersten °mal bewusst

{31:16} 0472 dass sich vvieles was die dann h

{31:18} 0473 dort vor ort erzählt haben? auch verstanden haben. H (see Annex XX)

This linguistic proximity is significant because it influences how the Sorbs feel in the foreign country. When X is in the Czech Republic or Poland, she feels at home:

{11:04} 0146 eigentlich (4) ganz angenehm weil sie sind ja von - von dem /

{11:08} 0147 ggeräusch von der sprache ist es ja relativ äähnlich (see Annex XIX)

Y and C. Škoda share the same impression, and the way they speak about it shows that they feel a real connection with those two countries, largely thanks to the language.

The results show that the Sorbs have strong relations with the Czechs and the Poles thanks to their geographical and linguistic proximity. However, those are based on common history and the current cultural relations are maintained by the institutions. What about private relationships? It is interesting to study how they have evolved since the end of the Communist regime and if they are as close, they were before.

4.3 The Sorbian-Czech and Sorbian-Polish relations face major challenges

4.3.1 The private relations are less important nowadays

The results show that there is a big difference between the old generation, that had private contacts with the Czechs and the Poles, and the young generation that goes there on vacation or within the school framework but does not have this personal connection with their neighbours. N. Dołowy- Rybińska says:

{01:13:16} 1360 on the °uhm: °mmh (4)
{01:13:18} 1361 sside of you know °mmh (4)
{01:13:20} 1362 nnetworks of iindividual people? uh (4)
{01:13:23} 1363 poland and czech republic uh (4)
{01:13:25} 1364 certainly lost' °uh (4) (see Annex XXI)

She also conducted a research project on the connection of the Sorbs with the Czechs and the Poles. The results speak for themselves:

{00:43:31} 0643 and THIS research
{00:43:32} 0644 sshowed that there is a very important uh: uhm: (4)
{00:43:37} 0645 intergenerational difference.
{00:43:39} 0646 between
{00:43:40} 0647 SORBS (2) / uh: uh (4)
{00:43:42} 0648 of yyounger? generation and the °o- older generation.
{00:43:45} 0649 the oolder? sorbs and then like °i would say from h
{00:43:49} 0650 from uh: mmh (4)
{00:43:50} 0651 uh from this (7)
{00:43:51} 0652 ggeneration.
{00:43:52} 0653 uh in bbetween?
{00:43:54} 0654 they had' uh M:UCH more contact with poles and with czechs?
{00:43:58} 0655 and these were ccloser contacts?
{00:44:01} 0656 uhm: (4)
{00:44:02} 0657 than? uh the yyoung sorbs now. (2) / (see Annex XXI)

Y has the same impression and explains that it is different for the young generation because they can travel everywhere, which was not the case during the communist period.

If I compare how X and Y speak about the Czech Republic, those differences are visible. Y talks about it with emotion, whereas X does not seem to have a particular bond with the country. She feels rather connected to Slavic countries in general:

{11:35} 0160 *aber man ffühlt sich /*

{11:37} 0161 *in so in in sslawischen ländern eigentlich relativ /*

{11:41} 0162 *relativ ähm:*

{11:43} 0163 *wie zu hhouse sag' ich mal (see Annex XIX)*

She also chose to learn Russian instead of Czech, she may therefore feel even closer to Russia than to the Czech Republic. The Czech and Polish interviewees have many contacts with the Sorbs, but it is due to their activity. Indeed, they are all involved in organisations that promote Sorbian culture and work thus regularly with Sorbian people.

It might affect future Sorbian relations with the Czechs and the Poles. Once the old generation will not be there to pass down and maintain these contacts, the history that gathers them could be forgotten. The duty of memory is very important so that in the coming years, people on both sides of the border remember stories like the one told by Y when a Sorbian woman married a Czech that had come to work in Lusatia during the communist period.

4.3.2 A surprising ignorance of the Czechs and the Poles about the Sorbs

When I spoke about my study to Czech and Polish friends, I was surprised when they told me that they had never heard about them before. It is a very important matter: how can you have relations with a population if you do not know it exists? The interviewees were therefore asked about the knowledge of the Czechs and the Poles to see if it was a general case.

According to C. Škoda, many Czechs and Poles know that the Sorbs exist:

{13:09} 0186 *zum bbeispiel in tschechien und polen haben vviele noch das wwisen? h*

{13:12} 0187 *dass es in deutschland die ssorben gibt h (see Annex XX)*

It goes against the answers of the other interviewees, that all say that the knowledge about the Sorbs in those countries is low. It may be because C. Škoda was involved in Domowina very early and frequented many “sorboaffine” people when he was in the Czech Republic and Poland.

X experienced it when she was abroad, and particularly in the Czech Republic where people could not believe that she speaks Sorbian:

{12:52} 0185 x äh ja? mir fehlt g'rade dass eeigentlich' ich hab' nochmal ttschechen kennen gelernt (7) /

{12:55} 0186 und: / ddie haben' mich gefragt was ich sspreche dann habe ich auch ggesagt

{12:58} 0187 ssorbisch aber llausitzer sorbisch und dann meinten sie das ggibt's nicht / (see Annex XIX)

People also tend to confuse the Sorbs with the Serbs:

{13:08} 0191 und ddann meinten sie nnein nein ihr seid sserben und ihr seid irgendwie üübergewandert (2) und das gibt auch gganz häufig im internet dass irgendjemand sagt die ssorben sind eigentlich sserben die

{13:16} 0192 sich uumgesiedelt haben oder so / (see Annex XIX)

This lack of knowledge is also highlighted by P, who says that they only know that Lusatia was part of the Czech Crown in the 15th century:

{09:17} 0187 [the ssituation of sorbs nnow /]

{09:19} 0188 in germany / h

{09:21} 0189 uh: (4) it's like unknown

{09:23} 0190 for people here h

{09:42} 0198 but: uh (4) when you aask people

{09:45} 0199 on the streets about sorbs

{09:47} 0200 like do you know sorbs (9) do you know where Lusatia is or /

{09:51} 0201 tthat they are slav slaves and they speak

{09:54} 0202 slavic language (7) h

{09:55} 0203 it's like oh really (9) {chuckles}

{09:57} 0204 °i didn't kknow that h (see Annex XXIII)

According to L, it would be the case for a large majority of Czech people:

{36:40} 0815 i dare say? (2)

{36:41} 0816 eighty eighty five? percent of people do nnot know.

{36:45} 0817 that a nation so close to us (2) so
{36:48} 0818 similar to us? and so close to us? h
{36:50} 0819 uh: (4) lives here. (2) (see Annex XXIII)

L and P explained that the primary goal of their organisation is to change that and raise awareness about the Sorbs in the Czech Republic.

The situation is very similar in Poland. N. Dołowy- Rybińska did not need to think to answer the question and directly said:

{00:38:21} 0497 D nnot at all.
{00:38:22} 0498 i mean (4) /
{00:38:23} 0499 there are: only (4) a few groups: /
{00:38:27} 0500 that uhm: (4)
{00:38:29} 0501 that knows about sorbs? i mean there are (4) (see Annex XXI)

The experiences of the Czech and Polish interviewees confirm this. N. Dołowy- Rybińska discovered the Sorbs when she was studying in Paris. She explains that she had no idea who the Sorbs were when she was 22. P heard about the Sorbs for the first time at the university. Only L says that she has known they exist for many years but did not say for how long and how much she knew. Considering that she went to Lusatia for the first time in 2015, she probably knew only very basic information before.

Interestingly, X makes a difference between the young and the old generations:

{12:26} 0177 also die älteren leute die kennen es meisten noch die junge leute wissen nicht was das sorbische ist. (see Annex XIX)

I wanted to know, if, like for private relations, there were a difference between the generations. This question was asked to N. Dołowy- Rybińska but she does not know if the older Polish generation has more knowledge than the young generation and she says that it would be interesting to do some research on it. However, she thinks that it is also related to the level of education and the place where people live.

Even though Liberec is closer to Lusatia than to Prague and that Lusatia, the Czech Republic, and Poland are only approximately 60 kilometres away, very few Czechs and Poles know about this Slavic minority living in Germany. This is problematic because if they do not about the Sorbs, they will not learn the language and they will not get interested in Sorbian culture, which are two primordial factors in the maintenance of Sorbian identity.

4.3.3 The Slavic languages vs English and German

As explained earlier, Czech, Polish, and Sorbian are very close and mutually intelligible. However, they have lost their significance for the benefit of English and German. It appears that there is here once again a big difference between the generations. N. Dołowy-Rybińska noticed it and compares the situation now with how it used to be when she was in high school:

{01:05:53} 1179 uh I can say that you know i'm going to (4)
{01:05:56} 1180 czech republic since: ' i was in high school and' uh (4)
{01:06:00} 1181 uh it was °uh (4)
{01:06:01} 1182 always the place where: (4)
{01:06:03} 1183 we did not
{01:06:04} 1184 even tr-
{01:06:05} 1185 ttry (9) to
{01:06:06} 1186 i mean i i would not even tthink about speaking eenglish in czech republic
{01:06:10} 1187 and nnow when i'm going tthere and i say something °uh °uh in between
{01:06:15} 1188 uh polish czech and' uh upper sorbian?
{01:06:18} 1189 and iimmediately (2)
{01:06:20} 1190 uh everybody wants to: (4)
{01:06:22} 1191 switch to: english. (see Annex XXI)

X is a case point and admits:

{11:14} 0150 als ich in pprag war (bei) auch /
{11:15} 0151 ich hhab' sowieso auf eenglisch kommuniziert / (see Annex XIX)

It is different now because English became the international language and is widely spoken. Czech, Polish, and Sorbian are therefore used less by young people. X explains that it is easier, despite what the old generation says:

{11:18} 0152 weil das /
{11:19} 0153 also man - die alten äh die älteren Leute sagen halt immer man kann auch den ssorbischen in ttschechien gut /
{11:24} 0154 ähm: kklarkommen und einfach sorbisch sprechen die vverstehen eienen?
{11:27} 0155 aber es ist halt /
{11:28} 0156 um wwelten schwieriger als wenn man einfach /

{11:30} 0157 *englisch mit den Leute sspricht die das auch kkönnen /*
{11:32} 0158 *deswegen /*
{11:33} 0159 *versucht man 's halt / auch oft auf eenglisch (7) (see Annex XIX)*

N. Dołowy- Rybińska agrees and talks about speaking Slavic languages as an effort for the young generation:

{01:06:58} 1210 *because there uh there is eenglish.*
{01:06:60} 1211 *and' uh it is aalways (2) eeasier to communicate*
{01:07:03} 1212 *at least the yyounger generation.*
{01:07:05} 1213 *with older nno? because they do not kknow english. (2)*
{01:07:08} 1214 *but with yyounger (9) °who who knows*
{01:07:10} 1215 *who knows this language*
{01:07:12} 1216 *they: don't wwant to make this effor' or they do not kknow*
{01:07:15} 1217 *that /*
{01:07:17} 1218 *it is possible uh (7) /*
{01:07:19} 1219 *°to °make °this °effort (see Annex XXI)*

For P, the Sorbs speak rather in German with the Czechs. Like X and N. Dołowy- Rybińska, she explains that it is easier for them:

{27:51} 0637 *aand when*
{27:52} 0638 *you have*
{27:53} 0639 *czech people? and sorbs that are communicating together h*
{27:58} 0640 *they are communicating in german /*
{28:01} 0641 *because for them it's eeasier.*
{28:03} 0642 *to underSTAND / (see Annex XXIII)*

N. Dołowy- Rybińska also participated in a workshop with students from the Sorbian Gymnasium. It was in the Czech Republic, and the purpose of these few days was to be immersed in Slavic languages. However, when the head of the Kloster they were staying at asked them if they wanted him to speak Czech or German, they all answered German. She highlights a very important point: that it is not only about the ability but also about the willingness of making an effort. This experience led her to conduct a research on the revitalization of Sorbian languages.

Whether it is for the benefit of English or German, it is problematic and influence Sorbian-Czech and Sorbian-Polish relations, as emphasised by N. Dołowy- Rybińska. P considers that it is the reason why the Sorbs are losing their identity:

{28:07} 0644 *and tthis the problem (7)*
{28:08} 0645 *i think*
{28:09} 0646 *that they are losing their identity*
{28:11} 0647 *bbecause they can? (2)*
{28:13} 0648 *ttalk to czechs*
{28:15} 0649 *in upper sorbian. /*
{28:17} 0650 *((clicks her tongue)) it's just*
{28:18} 0651 *they don't want? to. / (see Annex XXIII)*

The results show that Sorbian-Czech and Sorbian-Polish relations have evolved since 1989 and are challenged by globalisation. However, another thing must be considered while talking about Sorbian-Czech and Sorbian-Polish relations: the Sorbs live in Germany.

4.4 Germany is at the heart of the Sorbian-Czech and Sorbian-Polish relations

4.4.1 The Sorbs are well supported by Germany

In the past, the Czech Republic and Poland often supported the Sorbs when they conflicted with Germany. The Sorbs' situation is related to their relationship with Germany, so the Sorbian interviewees were asked to talk about their links to the country. This question refers directly to the attacks against the Sorbs that were recently reported. (Balzer, 2019). X, Y, and C. Škoda are aware that such things happened but did not experience it themselves, even though X remembers hearing “Scheiß Sorben” and “geht ihr weg” when she was young. All of them think that these are regrettable incidents, but they talk very little about this topic and do not seem concerned regarding the relations with the Germans. C. Škoda explains:

{18:20} 0291 *ja (6) das ist so? aber ich glaub- ähm das sind °ein °paar einzelfälle die es vielleicht überall gibt. die gibt es vielleicht*

{20:13} 0339 na also ich würde das jetzt nicht ddramatisieren obwohl diese einzelfälle wirklich zum vverurteilen sind h

{20:18} 0340 aaber ähm man bekommt da halt schnell den eindruck h

{20:21} 0341 dass hier jeder: (4) sorbe gegen jeden deutschen irgendwie h

{20:24} 0342 pprobleme hat und das ist eigentlich nnicht so. (see Annex)

On the contrary, they highlight their good relations with the Germans and how well they are supported by the country. Y feels safe there, X too:

{19:01} 0296 aber auf jeden fall (4) /

{19:03} 0297 ffühle ich mich eigentlich hier sicher (7) also ich weiß in ttschechien und ppolen (see Annex XIX)

They are also satisfied with the government's policy regarding the minorities, which recognise them and support their development unlike other countries in Europe like France. It is particularly emphasised by C. Škoda:

{14:35} 0208 ähm dadurch dass ich aber (4) /

{14:37} 0209 die euroPÄISCHE minderheit politik kkenne

{14:40} 0210 wweiß ich dass im prinzip

{14:42} 0211 ähm wir in einem (4)

{14:43} 0212 sag- ich mal äh gguten staat leben? h

{14:46} 0213 also die bundesrepublik ddeutschland und auch die freistaate sachsen und °und das land brandenburg h

{14:51} 0214 ähm haben SCHON (2)

{14:52} 0215 ähm: (4) interesse daran dass sich das ssorbische

{14:55} 0216 d- der- die sorbische sprache hält?

{14:57} 0217 und auch ggefördert wird h (see Annex XX)

The right to be Sorb is also mentioned by X and means a lot to them, probably because it has not always been the case in the past:

{18:46} 0290 der fortschritt nicht so stark ist wie in ddeutschland und ich bin eigentlich froh dass wir in deutschland leben? (7) /

{18:50} 0291 und wir haben hier' auch das

{18:52} 0292 das ähm (4)

{18:54} 0293 rrecht dass wir sorben sind und wir sind auch ähm (4) /

{18:58} 0294 ggeschützt / (see Annex XIX)

Interestingly, this question was only asked the Sorbs, but Sorbian-German relations were approached naturally by the Czech interviewees. They also think that the Sorbs are happy to live in Germany. According to L:

{41:38} 0919 *they on the other hand see:? (2)*
{41:39} 0920 *actually in the fact that they live? (2) in the middle h*
{41:43} 0921 *of germany they see it actually? h*
{41:46} 0922 *uh as a plus that they can? actually (4)*
{41:49} 0923 *[uh: (4) develop further and that they can actually still? keep their traditions (2) h] (see Annex XXII)*

P recognises that:

{34:57} 0828 *because germany is ggood for them °so / (see Annex XXIII)*

The Czechs and the Poles have nowadays a different role and cannot claim to be the defenders of Slavic identity against the Germans. As said by the interviewees, Germany supports the Sorbs on different levels and is thus a significant player in maintaining Sorbian identity. However, one may wonder to what extent it influences the Sorbian-Czech and Sorbian-Polish relations.

4.4.2 Germany is omnipresent in the Sorbian-Czech and Sorbian-Polish projects

Interestingly, the Czechs have a different vision than the Sorbian interviewees. For C. Škoda, the German government's support allows them to be autonomous culturally:

{15:58} 0244 *einem sstaatsvertrag wo im prinzip das land bbrandenburg (2) h*
{16:01} 0245 *ssachsen und die bundesrepublik h*
{16:03} 0246 *im ggeld zusammen legen /*
{16:05} 0247 *damit die ssorben ihre kulturautonomie selber gestalten °können. H (see Annex XX)*

On the contrary, P thinks that it is problematic and explains that Germany is systematically involved in the Sorbian-Czech projects:

{24:32} 0551 *and that's the problem (7) because*
{24:34} 0552 *the ggermans? are eeveywhere in these: uh contacts ok (8) h*

{25:02} 0563 like: officially {chuckles} h
 {25:04} 0564 and that's it. ok (8)
 {25:06} 0565 °the ccontacts
 {25:08} 0566 mmh relations between sorbs and cczech republic? h
 {25:12} 0567 like: in the oofficial things or (4) /
 {25:16} 0568 politics or so? h
 {25:18} 0569 it's all
 {25:19} 0570 uhm: /
 {25:21} 0571 influenced?
 {25:23} 0572 bby: (4) germans. /
 {25:25} 0573 so (4) /
 {25:26} 0574 yeah. (6)
 {25:27} 0575 i think that that's the mmain thing h
 {25:30} 0576 that' uh everything is
 {25:32} 0577 byrucratic? and: everything is under the german llaw h
 {25:36} 0578 and sorbs ccan't actually ddo (4)
 {25:41} 0579 any: (4) ((clicks her tongue)) /
 {25:43} 0580 °uhm:
 {25:44} 0581 they they can't MAKE any:
 {25:47} 0582 official relation.
 {25:49} 0583 °to °us.
 {25:49} 0584 without germans ok (8) {chuckles} h (see Annex XXIII)

P seems frustrated about the situation and even speaks about German-Czech contacts rather than Sorbian-Czech contacts:

{23:28} 0521 mainly: these (4)
 {23:30} 0522 ccontacts are (4) /
 {23:32} 0523 czech german.
 {23:33} 0524 not czech sorbs. H (see Annex XXIII)

Germany was also involved in the “Year of Lusatian Sorbs” organised by Societas Amicum Liberec, as mentioned by **L** when she talks about its financiers:

{32:13} 0726 we have been supported? and rrepeatedly supported? (2) h
 {32:17} 0727 uh: by: (4) the cultural fund
 {32:19} 0728 of both the city of liberec. (2)
 {32:21} 0729 and the liberec region. h

{32:23} 0730 but aalso by the czech german fund for the future (2) (see Annex XXII)

As no Polish organisations working with the Sorbs were interviewed, it is not possible to say with certainty that the situation is the same for Sorbian-Polish relations. Nevertheless, from the moment that the Sorbs are financially supported by Germany, this inevitably influences Sorbian-Polish contacts too.

4.4.3 The Sorbs as a political issue between Germany and its Slavic neighbours

The situation of the Sorbs is particular: they are a Slavic minority, which makes them close to the Czechs and the Poles, but they have been living in Germany for centuries. Historically, their relations with the Czech Republic and Poland have often been political. The question of whether they should be part of the Czech Republic was raised several times in the 20th century. This led the Czechoslovakian President Tomáš Masaryk to make an official visit to the Sorbs, which is mentioned by C. Škoda:

{31:58} 0491 ähm eine bbegegnung ähm die jährt dieses jahr ein hundert jjahre

{32:02} 0492 dass mmasaryk was damals der tschechische präsidant war?

{32:05} 0493 eine offizielle sorbische delegation? empfangen hat in prag. h
(see Annex XX)

L talks about it too:

{41:02} 0904 uh: (4) i know that there were? aattempts here. h

{41:04} 0905 to:? make: uh (4) lusatia for example part of the cczech state.
(2) after the first world war or after the second world war h (see Annex XXII)

Even though those attempts have always failed, some people still want Lusatia to be part of the Czech Republic. P explains that it is the only policy that they have in the country concerning the Sorbs:

{26:03} 0589 we have some czechs that h

{26:05} 0590 want to: (4)

{26:06} 0591 annect? {chuckles} lusatia?

{26:08} 0592 back to: (1)

{26:09} 0593 czech republic? °or back to ok (8) h

{26:12} 0594 it's like they are (4) /

{26:14} 0595 uh: they are: talking about the czech crown in the fifteenth century °but

{26:19} 0596 yeah h

{26:21} 0597 but: it's just few of them {chuckles} h (see Annex XXIII)

This question has always been raised when the Sorbs conflicted with the Germans. The objective was to save them from their Germanic neighbour with the idea that they would be protected in a Slavic environment. This feeling was particularly strong after the Second World War, during which the Poles and the Czechs suffered a lot from the Nazi policy. The study that I conducted on the defence of national identity and the rejection of immigration in the countries of the Visegrád Group shows that Poland is still traumatised by its difficult past and is afraid of losing its identity. N. Dołowy- Rybińska explains that a few Polish persons use the Sorbs today to nurture anti-German discourse. She feels uncomfortable talking about it and takes a lot of time to think, which is expressed by small segments:

{00:49:30} 0789 i had? /
{00:49:32} 0790 °mmh: mmany times
{00:49:33} 0791 °even in my uhm: (4)
{00:49:35} 0792 observing? sorbian /
{00:49:37} 0793 polish: relations? /
{00:49:40} 0794 the mmoment i felt that
{00:49:43} 0795 people eengaged (4)
{00:49:45} 0796 or SOME people not all (7)
{00:49:46} 0797 not all (2) °uh
{00:49:47} 0798 ssome people eengaged in
{00:49:49} 0799 mmh: sorbian (4)
{00:49:51} 0800 uh: issues?
{00:49:52} 0801 from poland? /
{00:49:54} 0802 are (4) / /
{00:49:56} 0803 mmh: (4) °in po-
{00:49:58} 0804 po- ppolitical or uh
{00:50:01} 0805 you know °mmh: °mmh:
{00:50:02} 0806 in TERMS of uh of their
{00:50:05} 0807 ideology?
{00:50:06} 0808 unacceptable.

{00:50:07} 0809 for me.

{00:50:08} 0810 that *THEY* represent /

{00:50:11} 0811 anti german attitudes? /

{00:50:14} 0812 that *THEY* represent something (4)

{00:50:16} 0813 i would say (4)

{00:50:17} 0814 ()

{00:50:18} 0815 i DON'T want to use mmh the the the word

{00:50:21} 0816 fascism?

{00:50:22} 0817 but (9) uh (9)

{00:50:23} 0818 something that' uh /

{00:50:26} 0819 that is uh:

{00:50:27} 0820 very nat- nationalistic? and which uh

{00:50:31} 0821 which is (7) uh mmh

{00:50:32} 0822 WELL

{00:50:33} 0823 this anti ggerman discourse?

{00:50:35} 0824 in poland

{00:50:36} 0825 is still quite (4) strong?

{00:50:38} 0826 so when it is used' uh °mmh (4)

{00:50:42} 0827 mmh when relating it to /

{00:50:44} 0828 *SORBS* (2)

{00:50:45} 0829 that you know (7)

{00:50:46} 0830 these poor sorbs

{00:50:47} 0831 these poor - o- ours

{00:50:48} 0832 °uh our younger brothers or smaller brothers

{00:50:51} 0833 need: (2) our help against those awful:

{00:50:54} 0834 germans who wants to kill? them

{00:50:56} 0835 who wants to prevent them their language and culture

{00:50:59} 0836 and WE (2) as slaves

{00:51:01} 0837 or poles or whoever h

{00:51:02} 0838 have to do something (see Annex XXI)

N. Dołowy- Rybińska, P and L highlight that this concerns only a few persons. P and L also say that the Sorbs have never really wanted to be part of the Czech Republic for the following reasons:

{29:30} 0685 P and: uh: some (4)

{29:31} 0686 °of sorbs are saying for example that
 {29:35} 0687 if they would (4) aannect (2) to (4) czechs h
 {29:39} 0688 like after the s- first or second world war? h
 {29:43} 0689 they would be mmh: (4) /
 {29:45} 0690 bbohemed
 {29:47} 0691 ((clicks her tongue)) °if °you °can °understand ok (8) h
 {29:49} 0692 they would
 {29:50} 0693 be: / uhm: (4) {chuckles}
 {29:53} 0694 like they they would uh have to learn cczech? and they would be
 {29:57} 0695 they would be llosing their iden- 'dentity ffaster. H (see Annex
 XXIII)

L finds it strange:

{41:14} 0907 it is strange:? (4) h
 {41:15} 0908 that when you ask? the sorbs
 {41:18} 0909 what they think about this? (2) h
 {41:20} 0910 they say? h
 {41:22} 0911 well if WE (2)
 {41:23} 0912 were in a common? state (2)
 {41:25} 0913 we would? not exist today.
 {41:27} 0914 we would not be? (4)
 {41:29} 0915 because? THE (2) /
 {41:31} 0916 the slavs? are so cclose to each other (2) h
 {41:33} 0917 that we would have actually merged? with you by now. H (see Annex
 XXII)

The interviews show that there is a real desire from the Czech and Polish sides to help their small Slavic neighbour. If they are so sensitive to the Sorbs' destiny, it is because of their history. They struggled to gain their independence and survive, and it is seared into the collective memory of the Czechs. P says that they can see themselves in the Sorbs' situation:

{33:04} 0783 the destiny of sorbs /
 {33:07} 0784 is like (4)
 {33:08} 0785 ours
 {33:09} 0786 IF we didn't have
 {33:11} 0787 our palacký or (4)

{33:13} 0788 these °mmh (4) personalities in the nineteenth century?
 {33:17} 0789 who were active against (4)
 {33:20} 0790 °uh german and (4) /
 {33:24} 0791 austria hungary °and °so. h
 {33:27} 0792 and: uh
 {33:28} 0793 it's kind of ssad to SEE
 {33:31} 0794 lusatian sorbs to
 {33:33} 0795 losing their: identity? /
 {33:36} 0796 because /
 {33:39} 0797 we can ssee us
 {33:41} 0798 ok (8)
 {33:42} 0799 the: °the °the °the the process h
 {33:45} 0800 is really the same
 {33:47} 0801 but they don't have ttheir
 {33:50} 0802 palacký °or čelakovský or these: personalities. ok (8) h (see Annex XXIII)

L thinks that the Czech destiny could have been the same if they had not managed to gain their independence:

{40:37} 0894 and i think? that: uh: (4)
 {40:39} 0895 /
 {40:41} 0896 that it can? be (4) it COULD be
 {40:42} 0897 for us (2) kind of: (4) /
 {40:46} 0898 an example of (4)
 {40:48} 0899 ((noise of a sheet being crumpled))
 {40:49} 0900 how actually: it could have turned out: (4)
 {40:52} 0901 our? development (2) h
 {40:54} 0902 uh: if we' uh: had not been lucky enough (4) / h
 {40:58} 0903 to create? an independent state / h (see Annex XXII)

Some actions are close to the policy area from the Czech and Polish sides. C. Škoda and N. Dołowy- Rybińska tell that Czech and Polish institutions support the protests launched by the Sorbs, for example, when school funds are getting cut. C. Škoda admits that it is difficult:

{32:32} 0503 aber im pprinzip ähm ist es dann schon eine ddiplomatische ebene?

{32:37} 0504 *die dann sehr kompliziert wird h* (see Annex XX)

It creates a certain frustration for the Czechs, that want to help but sometimes feel that Germany is an obstacle. It is illustrated by P, who even says that some Czechs are now criticising the Sorbs that would be “germanised”:

{28:57} 0668 *the czech part /*

{28:59} 0669 *here*

{28:60} 0670 *uh says: (4) or*

{29:02} 0671 *((clicks her tongue)) we are saying them that*

{29:04} 0672 *you are losing your identity*

{29:07} 0673 *uh do you want (7)*

{29:08} 0674 *us to help you? or (4) h*

{29:10} 0675 *can we just*

{29:11} 0676 *help because we are*

{29:13} 0677 *slavic brothers or something like that h*

{29:16} 0678 *and the sorbs are like*

{29:17} 0679 *NO (9) it's ok /*

{29:20} 0680 *ok (8) /*

{29:21} 0681 *uh: germany (4)*

{29:23} 0682 *gives us money (9) and: (4)*

{29:25} 0683 *it's like: (9)*

{29:26} 0684 *germans are like supporting us and blablablabla? (12) h* (see Annex XXIII)

L is also aware of this and seems to regret it:

{42:27} 0930 *if if there is an obstacle not only from the sorbian side? but also from the german side (2) h*

{42:33} 0931 *then it is very? difficult. (2) h* (see Annex XXII)

However, C. Škoda highlights that this political dimension is significant for the Sorbs and that the support of the Czech Republic and Poland is essential.

This raises the question of the nature of the support to be given by the Czechs and the Poles. One may wonder if these different points of view cannot prevent the Czech Republic and Poland to have a significant role in maintaining Sorbian identity.

5 DISCUSSION

The Sorbs are lucky enough to have legal status in Germany and to be protected as a minority (Germelmann, 2014). As reminded several times by X and C. Škoda, they have the right to be Sorb, to speak Sorbian and it translates into concrete actions. For example, the foundation for Sorbian people is financed entirely by the federal government, Saxony and Brandenburg (Stiftung für das sorbische Volk, n.d.). C. Škoda is aware that it is not the case of all minorities and explains that some of them are not really recognised because of the state structure and are thus ignored. The support given by Germany is very important for the Sorbs and must continue to increase. However, the current situation shows that despite the efforts of German political institutions, Sorbian identity is highly threatened and could disappear in the coming decades if they do not receive foreign help. The expert Sylvie Joseph-Julien emphasises how important it is to have external recognition to preserve one's identity. Given the geographical and linguistic proximity as well as their strong historical links with their Slavic neighbours, the Czechs and the Poles certainly have a particular role to play in the maintenance of Sorbian identity. The following parts are dedicated to the analysis of what could be done in those two countries to help the Sorbs.

5.1 Give visibility to the Sorbs

As mentioned earlier, the results show that few Czechs and Poles know about the Sorbs. It is even more surprising to note that the situation is similar in Germany. Indeed, L tells a story about one trip in Lower Lusatia where “it was very strange to hear how surprised the Germans were, that they had no idea that such a huge area had ever been inhabited by Slavic tribes.” When I was in Zwickau, Saxony, and I told people about my topic, most of them did not know who the Sorbs were. According to Sylvie Joseph-Julien, visibility is primordial, because it allows developing more projects. To do so, it is necessary to target the people that might be interested in this topic. She explains that those people then share their interest with their friends and their family and become the best ambassadors. The Sorbian interviewees also highlight this, C. Škoda says: “dieses Interesse ist eigentlich die Grundlage dann allen dessen. Aus Interesse entsteht Tourismus, aus Interesse entsteht Kooperation, konkrete Projekte und auch Freundschaft.”

To awaken interest in one's culture and language, S. Joseph-Julien thinks that it is important to have artists and well-known personalities as ambassadors. The exhibition of the Sorbian artist Maja Nagelová is a good way to draw attention to the Sorbs. Apart from that, it seems that this aspect is missing in the Sorbian promotion policy. It would be interesting here to know if there are such people prone to play this role. The literature and the interviewees do not reveal if Sorbian personalities stand out and are committed to maintaining Sorbian identity. However, the work of Společnost přátel Lužice and Societas Amicum Liberec, and more generally of Czech and Polish organisations go in this direction and serve currently as ambassadors of Sorbian culture and language. The actions of Societas Amicum Liberec are promising and could reconnect people from the Liberec region to the Sorbs as they were in the past. According to S. Joseph-Julien, it takes time to establish a network big enough to develop new projects. As the organisation was created in 2016, it will likely grow in the coming years, especially considering that "the Year of Lusatian Sorbs" was successful.

The Czechs and the Poles are already given visibility to the Sorbs thanks to the events they organise. Yet it is important to awaken young people's interest in particular. The interviews show that there is a huge difference between the older generation, which has known the Communist era, and the young generation that lives in a globalised world. The future ambassadors of Sorbian identity are part of the young generation, so it is very important to involve them in the projects. S. Joseph-Julien emphasises the role of social networks as communication platforms. It appears to be the best way to attract young people as proven by the events organised by Societas Amicum Liberec within the frame of "the Year of Lusatian Sorbs". L noted a change: "in the final stage, the younger generation has also joined in especially thanks to Facebook and YouTube streaming". Another aspect that emerges from the literature and the interviews is the idea that Sorbian culture is not modern. It gives rather a negative image of Sorbian culture, which does not appear attractive. C. Škoda regrets it and says that "oft schauen Fremde auf das Sorbische und denken dabei gleich an Osterreiter, Ostereier, die ganze Traditionen und Trachten. Der Junger Mensch ist heute, demokratisch, freiheitlich, ohne Grenzen aufgewachsen." Involving young people is a way to modernise Sorbian culture while keeping the traditions that remain important. If they manage to get the young generation interested and pass on the common history between these Slavic neighbours, Sorbian identity could still be preserved at least for decades.

5.2 Support the Sorbs at the institutional level

Even though the interviews show that it is difficult for the Czechs and the Poles to have political relations with the Sorbs without the involvement of Germany, they can still support them at the institutional level. It is important because by doing so, they draw attention to the Sorbs' situation at the international level and give them more resources. It is also a way to compel Germany to continue to support them, for example, when they think about cutting the funds allocated to Sorbian schools. C. Škoda reminds people that the Czech government supported the protests of the Sorbs in the 2000s. On the Polish side, Nicole Dołowy- Rybińska says that some letters were sent by the Polish attaché to Saxony and Brandenburg with the same goal. Such actions give power to the Sorbs because the Czech Republic and Poland have influence on the European scene. Any institutional support provided to the Sorbs by those two countries is positive as long as it is not motivated by personal and historical conflicts. If such involvement is driven by an anti-German sentiment, it would not help the Sorbs but harm them, considering Germany is currently their primary supporter.

However, it is obvious that the Czech and Polish governments help the Sorbs also because they have an interest in doing so. The study conducted on the defence of national identity and the rejection of immigration in the countries of the Visegrád Group showed that the two countries are still traumatised by their difficult past, which explains why they feel related to the Sorbs' situation. The Czech Republic and Poland have formed the Visegrád Group with Slovakia and Hungary because they are "linked by neighbourhood and similar geopolitical situation but above all by common history, traditions, culture, and values." (*Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Poland*, n.d.). From this point of view, the Sorbs could be part of this informal structure of cooperation. It is not possible because they live in Germany, and the countries of the Visegrád Group defend a certain idea of the European Union that is sometimes the opposite of the German's position, for example regarding the migration policy, one of the major themes covered by my study. Nevertheless, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia cooperate in various areas such as culture, science, education, and youth exchanges in Central Europe (*Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Poland*, n.d.). The Sorbs could participate in the projects developed within this frame as they are, according to C. Škoda, "eher wirklich als Mitteleuropäer gesehen". It would be interesting for Sorbian organisations to establish relations with the

Visegrád Group because it would provide them financial support and give them high visibility in these four countries. It could increase the number of school exchanges between the Sorbs and its Slavic neighbours, a need highlighted by Nicole Dołowy- Rybińska while talking about the role of the Czech Republic and Poland in the maintenance of Sorbian identity. It would help establish private relations between the young Sorbs and the young Czechs and Poles. It appears unlikely that Slovakia or Hungary position themselves against cooperation with the Sorbs, especially as Společnost přátel Lužice has supporters in Bratislava and Košice, Slovakia. That being said, such collaboration with the Visegrád Group would mean that the four countries put aside the political affiliation of the Sorbs to Germany. It appears very complicated in the current context, given the tensions between the European Union and the Polish government. It would be interesting to conduct research on this topic and discover the Visegrád Group's position towards the Sorbs and if contacts have already been established in the past.

The Sorbs can also be perceived as a means of improving relations between the Czech, Polish and German institutions. C. Škoda explains: “klar sind wir auch bestrebt hier in Mitteleuropa, als Sorben auch Brücken zu schlagen zwischen den Deutschen und den Tschechischen und Polnischen Nachbarn.” It would be positive for the Sorbs to see the Czechs and the Germans, as well as the Poles and the Germans, join forces to help them maintain their identity. It is already the case, as “the Year of Lusatian Sorbs” organised by Societas Amicum Liberec has been partly financed by the Czech-German Fund for the Future and the Euroregion Nisa. Such cooperation gives the Sorbs visibility throughout Germany and the Czech Republic and means greater resources at the financial, human, and material levels.

Being part of Germany is not an obstacle to Sorbian-Czech and Sorbian-Polish relations. It simply means that their relations must be different and not based on the disputes between the Czech Republic or Poland and Germany. Quite the contrary, the Sorbs can be used as a bridge between the Czechs, the Poles, and the Germans. The Czech and Polish governments have a key role to play at the institutional level in maintaining Sorbian identity thanks to their influence on the European scene. However, as explained by L, the importance of this role depends heavily on who is the head of the state.

5.3 Revive the economy in Lusatia

A challenge facing the Sorbs is the structural change of their economy. L explains that the Sorbs' situation is partly due to "the coal mining, which destroyed many villages, was a huge problem and has had an influence on how their life developed." According to her, "hundreds of villages disappeared, and the inhabitants were resettled in places where there was a predominantly German-speaking population. The traditions, the roots that they had there were broken, and that period ended about twenty, twenty-five years ago." However, it appears that this is not over yet because the shutdown of coal-fired electricity generation has been postponed until 2038 (Renaud, 2019). It is estimated that around 25 000 people have been forced to abandon their homes since the mid-1980s. Currently, several villages like Pödelwitz or Proschim are in danger of disappearing. If it happens, it will harm Sorbian identity and break traditions and roots that have been there for centuries. According to X, the sense of community is an important value for the Sorbs and is something unique that she has never seen somewhere else. If the inhabitants must leave, they will go to different cities and lose this characteristic that is a part of their identity. It will also affect the language because the Sorbs will probably end up in places where most, if not all people speak only German. The assimilation process will then be engaged and these people that used to speak Sorbian in their daily life will adapt to the majority and speak German (Brandt, 2010). Several Lusatian villages have already disappeared, and one may wonder if Sorbian identity will survive if this continues, given that their current situation is fragile.

The Sorbs cannot count on Poland to protest against coal mining, because it is the only EU country that did not commit to achieving climate neutrality by 2050 and where the energy sector still relies mainly on coal (Su, 2021). However, the Czechs could help them as they recently took legal action against Poland before the European Court of Justice. They demand the closure of the Polish Turow mine, which is at the border with Germany and the Czech Republic and has already caused the drying of several waterways located nearby. Coal mining also damages the environment and is a double threat for the Sorbs. The Czechs are the only hope to stop developing coal mines in Lusatia, but it seems unlikely that they will help the Sorbs on this topic. First, the mines are mainly at the border with Poland, so they do not have direct negative consequences for the country (Renaud, 2019). Moreover, one of the main power plants involved, the "Schwarze Pumpe" belongs to the Czech group EPH. 70% of the houses in Pödelwitz have already been bought by

the company of Daniel Kretinsky to exploit the subsoils of the village from 2028. Without the support of its Slavic neighbours, the Sorbs cannot measure up to Germany. All evidence that it will happen, and several Lusatian villages will disappear once again.

If the Czech Republic and Poland does not help them now, they might be able to support the Sorbs to go through the transition to renewable energies and a new economy. It is estimated that 10 000 people work in coal mines, and they will lose their job once the power plants will be shut down (Renaud, 2019). Considering that Lusatia is already experiencing intensive rural exodus and degrowth and is challenged by emigration, this transition, if not accompanied, could seriously harm this region (European Commission, 2018). C. Škoda expresses this concern and says: “ich hoffe, dass man uns da nicht vergisst und schafft, durch diesen Strukturwandel, neuer Akzente zu setzen.” The idea is to turn Lusatia into an attractive tourist destination so that in the following years, the region’s economy does not collapse after the shutdown of the coal mines. The Czech Republic and Poland can help them by encouraging their population to go discover Lusatia. They can also promote cultural and educational exchanges, as well as develop more projects with this border region. Improving transport is also a key point. People should be able to travel easily and quickly from one territory to the other. This would not only be positive for the Sorbs but also directly for the Czechs and the Poles. Indeed, this could also attract German tourists, and particularly Lusatian ones to their countries and boost their economy. The Czech Republic is preparing its transition as well to reach climate neutrality by 2050 and will face the same challenges as Lusatia (Su, 2021). The two territories have a direct interest to work together to become attractive tourist areas. For Poland, it is slightly different because the country does not intend to shut down its coal mines shortly. However, Poland is part of the European Union, and it will likely have to go through this transition as well, even if it happens much later than its neighbours. L thinks that making Lusatia a tourist area will not really help the Sorbs. The literature has highlighted that the construction of regional identities is favoured by successful economic development (Zimmermann-Steinhart, 2005). If Lusatia’s economic situation improves and new jobs are created, people will stop leaving the region for economic reasons. Sorbian people might stay in their lands, and this would help them greatly preserve their traditions and their language. This will be successful only if the Czechs and the Poles manage first to raise awareness about the Sorbs in their countries and make thus their population want to discover their small Slavic neighbour.

5.4 Revitalise the Sorbian languages

The Czech Republic and Poland can also play a significant role in the revitalisation of Sorbian languages. The interviews show that Upper Sorbian and Lower Sorbian are the essences of Sorbian identity, so it is primordial to save them. Nicole Dołowy- Rybińska explains that there is a shortage of Sorbian teachers in Lusatia. It is an issue because the people most likely to learn these languages are those coming from Sorbian families. If they cannot speak and practice Sorbian at school, they will get used to communicating in German and will eventually stop using Sorbian. The Czech Republic and Poland have already been sending teachers to Lusatia, as said by L and N. Dołowy- Rybińska. However, these efforts are not sufficient, and this remains a big challenge for the Sorbs. According to C. Škoda, “zurzeit ist Sorbische Lehrkräfte zu bekommen eine große Herausforderung, es gibt eine Personalnot ganz konkret.” N. Dołowy- Rybińska explains that they are searching for those who can learn Sorbian languages quickly and that it is much easier for Slavic people to learn another Slavic language than for someone discovering it. The Czechs and the Poles appear thus as the best candidates to fulfil this mission. More could be done to encourage Czech and Polish professors to go teach Upper Sorbian and Lower Sorbian in Lusatia. Specific training could be offered to prepare them and let them know that this possibility exists. This is also interesting for the Czech Republic and Poland because these professors generally teach Czech or Polish too. Sending teachers to Lusatia can allow them to expand their soft power and gain influence on the European scene. But here, Germany must also facilitate the arrival of Sorbian teachers from the Czech Republic and Poland. For L, there are “quite big obstacles put in the way of Czech teachers by Germany for example”. She regrets that “they have big demands on them, not only that they should teach Czech or Sorbian there, but that they have to pass a state exam in German.” Considering the situation of Upper and Lower Sorbian, the federal government or Saxony and Brandenburg should adapt the requirements so that these minority languages are still being taught.

Nicole Dołowy- Rybińska conducted a study on the revitalisation of Sorbian languages and highlights that “it is very important here to concentrate on bringing new speakers to these languages”. It could help with the digitalisation of Sorbian languages, which is a big challenge according to C. Škoda. The more people will speak Upper and Lower

Sorbian, the more language tools will be developed. The Czech Republic and Poland can certainly help in that effort by offering Sorbian courses at school and university. For Sylvie Joseph-Julien, language teaching is essential to promote a culture in a foreign country. It is currently possible to learn Sorbian at Prague University, but P thinks it is only for two years. It can make the difference, P being a case in point. She discovered the Sorbs at university and speaks now Upper and Lower Sorbian fluently. P is also involved in the organisation Společnost přátel Lužice and contributes to the promotion of Sorbian culture and language in the Czech Republic. However, offering such courses represent generally a huge cost in comparison to the number of students. The revitalisation of Sorbian languages can thus not rely on Czech and Polish universities because few of them can offer Upper and Lower Sorbian courses.

Nevertheless, they can encourage their students to go study for one year in Leipzig thanks to partnerships with institutions offering Sorbian courses. This aspect is mentioned by X as something that the Czech Republic and Poland could do to help maintain the Sorbian identity. For N. Dołowy- Rybińska, one way to attract new speakers is to “give people more positive signs about learning Sorbian or speaking Sorbian”. Indeed, she explains that “it is much easier to communicate in Poland or the Czech Republic, to learn Russian when having Sorbian as a language”. Here, the Czech Republic and Poland could highlight how useful it is to speak Sorbian when staying in their country. It can only work if people use Czech or Polish and do not switch to English automatically. I lived six months in České Budějovice, and from my experience, few people could speak English. If I had spoken another Slavic language such as Upper or Lower Sorbian, it would have certainly helped me in many situations. It is also a challenge for the Czech Republic and Poland to restore the prestige and the usefulness of Slavic languages. The next research of Nicole Dołowy- Rybińska tackles this topic and will focus on the bridging role of Sorbian languages between Poland and the Czech Republic. It will give tools to the Czechs, the Poles, and the Sorbs for achieving this goal.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The Czech Republic and Poland have always been involved in the Sorbs' activities. Historically, they often supported their small Slavic neighbour when it was struggling. The Sorbs were oppressed by Germany several times throughout history, and the role of the Czechs and the Poles was to defend them against a direct threat. Today, they hold the status of a national minority and are protected by Germany and at the European level. The Sorbs face a different threat that is less visible but just as dangerous. They are losing their identity and need help to reverse the trend. Fewer people speak Upper and Lower Sorbian, and many Sorbs leave Lusatia for economic reasons. Germany obviously plays a significant role in maintaining Sorbian identity, considering the Sorbs live on their territory and are German citizens. However, the Czech Republic and Poland can also support them at various levels. They are linked to the Sorbs by history, geographical and linguistic proximity. The two countries' first mission is to raise people's awareness about the Sorbs so that their population gets interested in Sorbian culture and language. At the institutional level, they have the power to support them financially, develop more projects with Lusatia and use their influence on the European scene to draw attention to Sorbian issues. They can encourage young people to use Slavic languages rather than English or German and show how useful it is to speak Sorbian in the Czech Republic or Poland. The precise role of the two countries depends very much on Czech and Polish citizens' attitudes towards the Sorbs. If they feel related to them and are ready to get involved in this process, they might play a meaningful role in maintaining Sorbian identity.

However, the survival of Sorbian identity is in the hands of the Sorbs. Nicole Dołowy-Rybińska is a specialist in Sorbian topics and explains that "it is only up to Sorbs to maintain it, to speak the language and to live their culture.". It is primordial to know what it means today for the young generation to be Sorb. Do they still attach as much importance to the traditions in the modern world? This is a delicate question that has been raised during the conference "Jung und Sorbisch – Zukunftsperspektiven für die Sorben". Do they define themselves rather as Sorb or as German? In the current situation, each Sorb must think about his identity and act accordingly. X says that it is especially important for Sorbian languages: "vor allem muss sich jeder, selbst an die Nase fassen". The Czech Republic and Poland can only support the efforts made by the Sorbs to maintain their identity. Their involvement cannot reverse the trend.

The coming years will be crucial for the survival of their identity. If this population with a more than thousand-year-old history were to disappear, it would undermine the European identity. Indeed, there have always been minorities in Europe, and they are part of European history, culture, and language. The European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages recognises their importance and gives them a status. But the Sorbs are far from being an isolated case. This research should also be used for the other minorities that are, for the most part, facing the same challenges despite different characteristics. Each European citizen has a responsibility in the survival of minorities and should ask himself: “does it matter if a part of European identity, so a part of my identity disappears?”

7 ABSTRACT

This qualitative research focuses on the current situation of the Sorbs as a threatened Slavic minority living in Lusatia, Germany. The aim is to study the Sorbs' relations with their Slavic neighbours, the Czech Republic and Poland. It shows to what extent the Czech Republic and Poland can help maintain the Sorbian identity. Several topics are covered: Sorbian identity, the Sorb's history, their current situation as well as their relations with Germany, the Czech Republic, and Poland.

The study is based on the literature that provides knowledge on Sorbian history and the Sorbs' characteristics but mainly on semi-structured interviews. 4 major actors in Sorbian-Czech and Sorbian-Polish relations and 2 Sorbs from different generations have been questioned on their personal and professional experiences to investigate the Sorbs' current situation. The promotion of a language and culture in a foreign country has also been discussed with an expert. The data have then been analysed and transcribed.

The results show that language is at the heart of Sorbian identity but that the Sorbs are a threatened minority. Their historical links with the Czech Republic and Poland, as well as their geographical and linguistic proximity with these two countries, remain important today. However, the relations are only cultural, and few Czechs and Poles have knowledge about the Sorbs. Germany's omnipresence in Sorbian-Czech and Sorbian-Polish cooperation limits the field of action. It appears that maintaining Sorbian identity is in the hands of the Sorbs and depends very much on Germany's support. The Czech Republic and Poland can only support them but do not play a decisive role.

The research focuses on the Sorbs but should be used for the other minorities that are facing the same challenge. It also addresses people interested in the notion of identity and relations between populations. The purpose of this research is to raise awareness about the Sorbs, and more generally, about the minorities' situation in Europe.

Keywords: minority, the Sorbs, Lusatia, identity preservation, Sorbian identity, Germany, the Czech Republic, Poland, historical relations, Slavic culture and languages.

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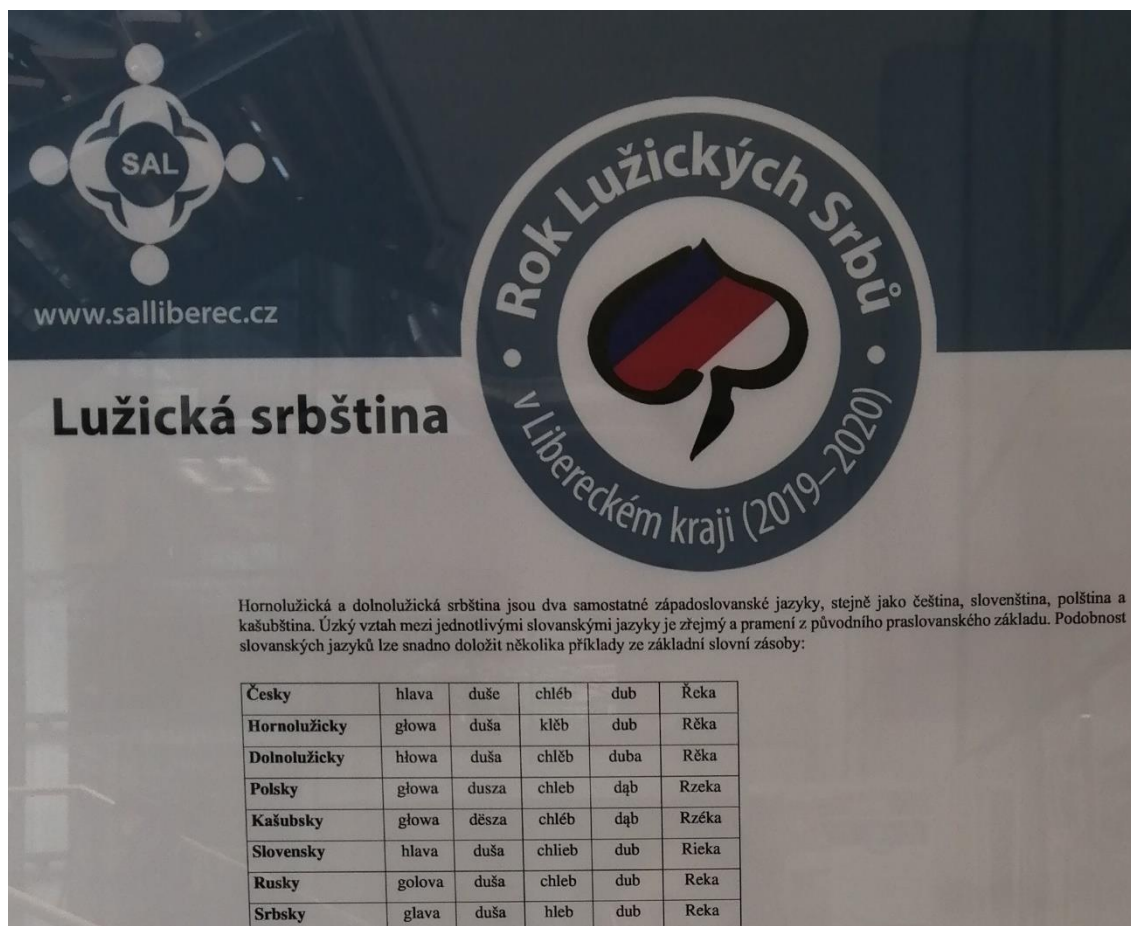
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Figure 1

Comparison of Upper Sorbian and Lower Sorbian with the West Slavic languages



The poster features the SAL logo and website (www.salliberec.cz) in the top left. The main title is 'Lužická srbština'. A large circular logo on the right reads 'Rok Lužických Srbů v Libereckém kraji (2019–2020)' with a stylized heart shape in the center. Below the logo, a paragraph explains that Upper and Lower Sorbian are independent West Slavic languages, similar to Czech, Slovenian, Polish, and Kashubian, sharing a common Proto-Slavic base. A table below compares basic vocabulary across seven languages.

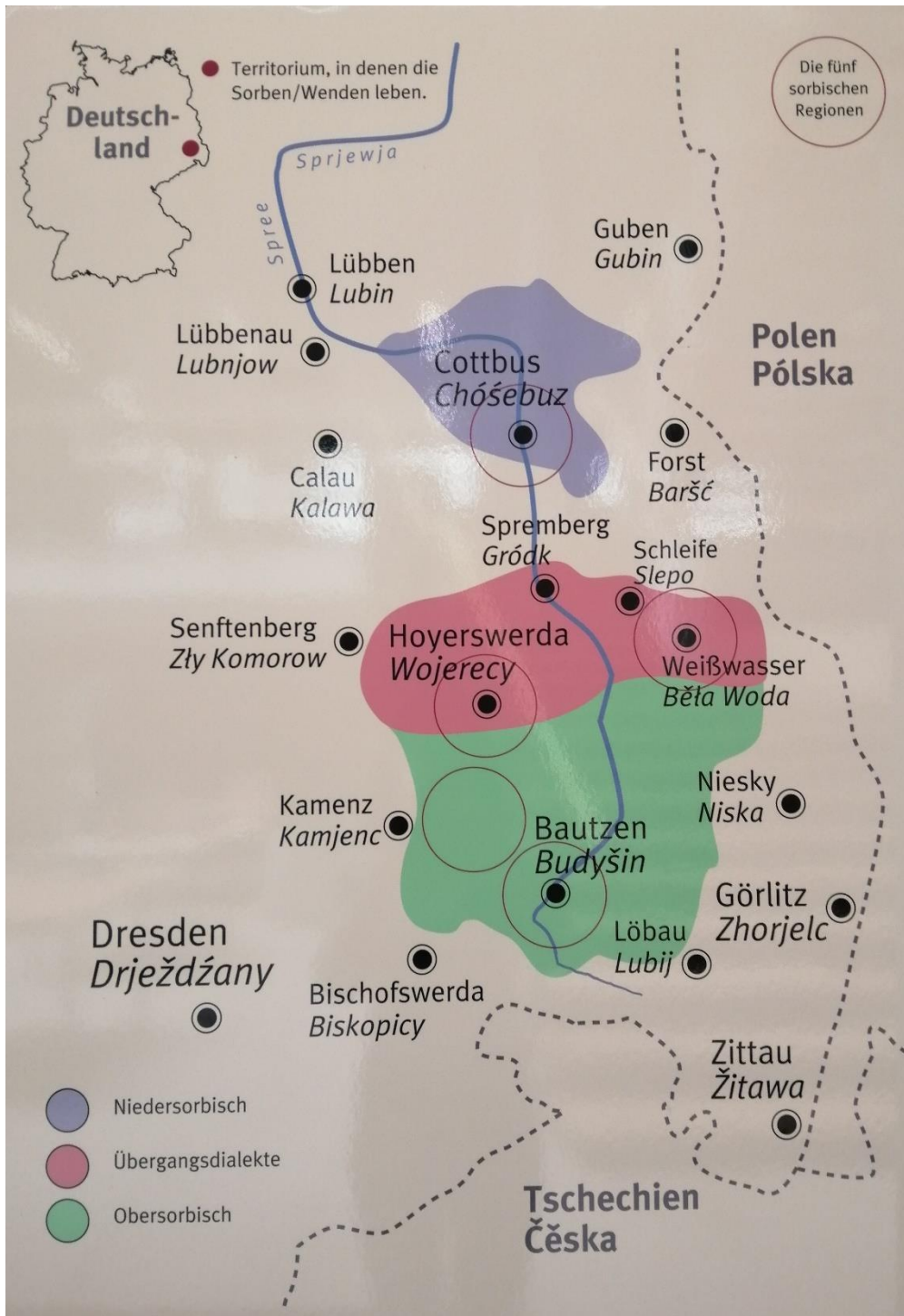
Hornolužická a dolnolužická srbština jsou dva samostatné západoslovanské jazyky, stejně jako čeština, slovenština, polština a kašubština. Úzký vztah mezi jednotlivými slovanskými jazyky je zřejmý a pramení z původního praslovanského základu. Podobnost slovanských jazyků lze snadno doložit několika příklady ze základní slovní zásoby:

Česky	hlava	duše	chléb	dub	Řeka
Hornolužicky	glowa	duša	klěb	dub	Rěka
Dolnolužicky	hłowa	duša	chlěb	duba	Rěka
Polsky	głowa	dusza	chleb	ąb	Rzeka
Kašubsky	głowa	đesza	chlěb	ąb	Rzeka
Slovensky	hlava	duša	chlieb	dub	Rieka
Rusky	голова	душа	хлеб	дуб	Река
Srbsky	glava	duša	hleb	dub	Reka

Source: Exhibition “Lusatian Sorbs, Unknown Neighbour” organised by Societas Amicum Liberec in the Regional Scientific Library in Liberec (May 2021).

Figure 2

Map of the Sorbian languages spoken in Lusatia



Source: Exhibition “Lusatian Sorbs, Unknown Neighbour” organised by Societas Amicum Liberec in the Regional Scientific Library in Liberec (May 2021).

Figure 3

German-Sorbian bilingual road sign in Bautzen, Lusatia



Figure 4

Sorbian newspapers



Source: Exhibition “Lusatian Sorbs, Unknown Neighbour” organised by Societas Amicum Liberec in the Regional Scientific Library in Liberec (May 2021).

Figure 5

Sorbian Easter eggs



Source: Exhibition "Lusatian Sorbs, Unknown Neighbour" organised by Societas Amicum Liberec in the Regional Scientific Library in Liberec (May 2021).

Figure 6

Painting of Sorbian Easter riding processions



Source: Exhibition “Lusatian Sorbs, Unknown Neighbour” organised by Societas Amicum Liberec in the Regional Scientific Library in Liberec (May 2021).

Figure 7

Sorbian traditional costume, the “Družka”



Source: Exhibition “Lusatian Sorbs, Unknown Neighbour” organised by Societas Amicum Liberec in the Regional Scientific Library in Liberec (May 2021).

Figure 8

Map of the Lusatian lignite mines



Source: Exhibition “Lusatian Sorbs, Unknown Neighbour” organised by Societas Amicum Liberec in the Regional Scientific Library in Liberec (May 2021).

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Annex I: Email sent to the interviewees

Sehr geehrte X,

Ich heie Mala Baron und ich bin Franzsin. Ich studiere Regionale und Europische Projektentwicklung, ein trinationaler Master zwischen Frankreich, Deutschland und Tschechien. Ich schreibe momentan meine Masterarbeit fr mein Studium. Ich habe gewhlt, die auf den Sorben zu schreiben. Ich interessiere mich insbesondere fr die Beziehungen zwischen den Sorben und Tschechien und den Sorben und Polen. Whrend meinen Recherchen habe ich Ihre Organisation gefunden. Sie arbeiten als Referent fr Kultur und Ausland und ich interessiere mich fr die Projekte zwischen Domowina und Tschechien/Polen. Meine qualitative Forschung besteht aus Interviews, und ich wrde gern Sie interviewen. Das ist ein wichtiges Teil meiner Arbeit und es wre sehr hilfreich fr mich, wenn sie an meine Forschung teilnehmen wrde. Wren Sie einverstanden, fr meine Arbeit interviewt zu werden?

Wenn sie Fragen haben, knnen Sie mich gerne kontaktieren. So kann ich Ihnen weitere Informationen geben.

Ich freue mich von Ihnen zu hren.

Mit freundlichen Gren

Mala Baron

Annex II: Interview Guide in German for Sorbian individuals

Themen	Leitfragen	Aspekte zu erwähnen
Warm-up Frage	Können Sie sich kurz vorstellen? (Name, Alter etc)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name - Alter - Aktuelle Situation
Sorbische Identität	<p>Was ist Ihre persönliche Beziehung mit den Sorben?</p> <p>Was bildet Ihrer Meinung nach die Sorbische Identität?</p> <p>Wie würden Sie die aktuelle Situation der Sorben beschreiben?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sind Sie in der Lausitz geboren? Wo genau (Oberlausitz oder Niederlausitz?) - Sind Sie Sorbin oder haben Sie sorbische Verwandte? - Sprechen Sie Sorbisch (Niedersorbisch oder Obersorbisch)? - Sind Sie Mitglied einer sorbischen Organisation? - Die Lausitz - Die Sprache - Die Kultur - Die Organisationen - Eine bedrohte Minderheit - Eine bedrohte Sprache - Image und Beziehungen der Sorben mit den Deutschen

<p>Persönliche Erfahrung mit Tschechien und Polen als Sorbin</p>	<p>Was ist Ihre persönliche Erfahrung mit Tschechien und Polen?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Kennen Sie die Geschichte zwischen den Sorben und Tschechien/Polen? - Wo haben Sie von den Ländern gehört (in der Schule, in Ihrer Familie...)? - Waren Sie schon in Tschechien/ Polen? - Wenn ja, in welchem Rahmen? - Wenn ja, wie haben Sie sich dort gefühlt? - Wenn ja, wussten die Tschechen/ Polen wer die Sorben waren? - Sprechen Sie oder haben Sie Tschechisch/Polnisch gelernt? - Wenn ja, in welchem Rahmen? - Haben Sie an Projekte mit diesen Ländern teilgenommen? - Sonst: haben Sie schon von Projekten zwischen Sorben und Tschechien/Polen gehört?
	<p>Ihre Meinung nach, haben die Sorben und Tschechien/Polen besonderen Beziehungen?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wenn ja, warum? - In welchem Sinn? - Wie sehen Sie Tschechien und Polen? - Haben Sie das Gefühl als Sorbin, nah den Tschechen und Polnischen zu sein?

	<p>Ihre Meinung nach, inwiefern können Tschechien und Polen helfen, die Sorbische Identität zu bewahren?</p> <p>Möchten Sie etwas hinzufügen? Haben Sie einen besonderen Wunsch für die Zukunft der sorbischen Beziehungen mit Tschechien und Polen?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wenn ja, warum? - Glauben Sie, dass die junge Generation das anders sieht? (DDR?) - Wie positionieren Sie sich gegenüber Tschechen und Polnischen im Vergleich zu den Deutschen? - Wie? - Wesentlich für die Bewahrung der sorbischen Identität oder nur zusätzlich?
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Annex III: Interview Guide in English for Nicole Dołowy-Rybińska

Topics	Key questions	Aspects that must be addressed	Further aspects that are not compulsory
Warm-up question	Can you introduce yourself briefly? (who are you, where do you work etc)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name and surname - Position in the organisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Career path - How long have you been working for this organisation?
Sorbian identity	<p>What are your personal links with the Sorbs?</p> <p>How did you hear about the Sorbs in the first place?</p> <p>How did you end up working on Sorbian topics?</p> <p>According to you, what makes Sorbian identity?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Were you born in Lusatia? - Are you Sorbian or do you have Sorbian relatives? - Do you speak Sorbian? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lusatia 	

	<p>How would you describe the current situation of the Sorbs?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Language - Culture - Organisations - A threatened minority - Language - Image and relations of the Sorbs with the Germans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - History - Comparison with other minorities in Europe - Status of the Sorbs in Europe
<p>Point of view on the Sorbian-Czech/ Sorbian-Polish relations as an expert and future prospect</p>	<p>You wrote several papers on Sorbian topics. Did you already write a paper on the Sorbian-Czech or Sorbian-Polish relations?</p> <p>How would you describe the relations between the Sorbs and Czech Republic/Poland?</p> <p>Can you explain why the relations are like this?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Linguistic and cultural proximity - Common history 	

	<p>Do you think that the Sorbs and the Czech Republic/Poland have special relations?</p> <p>Do you feel that the Sorbs' relations with the Czech Republic and with Poland are different?</p> <p>According to you, how much do Czech people and especially the Poles, as you come from Poland, know about the Sorbs?</p> <p>Do you think that Czech Republic and Poland could recognize themselves fairly easily in the Sorbs' current situation considering their language and culture was threatened several times throughout history?</p> <p>According to you, to what extent Czech Republic and Poland can help maintain Sorbian identity?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If yes, to what extent? - Why? - If yes to what extent? - Why? - Fear of losing their identity in those two countries - Defence of national identity in the Czech Republic and Poland - How? - Essential to maintain Sorbian identity or just additional? 	
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	Would you like to add something? How do you see the future relationships between the Sorbs and Czech Republic and the Sorbs and Poland?		
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Annex IV: Interview Guide in Czech for L

Témata	Klíčové otázky	Aspekty, kterými je třeba se zabývat	Další aspekty, které nejsou povinné
Zahřívací otázka	Můžete se krátce představit? (kdo jste, kde pracujete atd.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Jméno a příjmení - Pozice v organizaci 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Kariérní postup - Jak dlouho pracujete pro tuto organizaci?
Lužickosrbská identita	<p>Jaké jsou vaše osobní vazby na Lužické Srby?</p> <p>Jak jste se o Lužických Srbech vůbec dozvěděla?</p> <p>Jak jste se dostala k dobrovolnictví v Societas Amicum Liberec? Jaká byla vaše motivace?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Narodila jste se v Lužici? - Jste Lužický Srb nebo máte lužickosrbské příbuzné? - Mluvíte lužickosrbsky? 	

	<p>Co podle vás tvoří lužickosrbskou identitu?</p> <p>Jak byste popsala současnou situaci Lužických Srbů?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lužice - Jazyk - Kultura - Organizace - Ohrožená menšina - Jazyk - Obraz a vztahy Lužických Srbů s Němci 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historie - Srovnání s ostatními menšinami v Evropě - Postavení Lužických Srbů v Evropě
<p>Práce sdružení Societas Amicum Liberec na Lužických Srbech</p>	<p>Jste zapojena do sdružení Societas Amicum Liberec. Můžete sdružení představit (čím se zabýváte atd.)?</p> <p>Vaše sdružení uspořádalo Rok Lužických Srbů v Libereckém kraji. Můžete mi říct více o akcích, které jste pořádali?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Kdy bylo vytvořeno? - Proč? - Jaké jsou vazby mezi vaší organizací a lužickosrbskými organizacemi? - Kdo pro organizaci pracuje? Čeští nebo zahraniční občané? - Proč jste tuto akci uspořádali? - Kdo tuto akci podpořil? 	

	<p>Kdo se akce účastnil?</p> <p>Jak veřejnost reagovala?</p> <p>Poslední výstava nese název "Lusatian Sorbs, Unknown Neighbours" („Lužičtí Srbové, neznámí sousedé“). Proč jste zvolili právě slovo "neznámí"?</p> <p>Kolik toho podle vás Češi vědí o Lužických Srbech?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dostali jste pomoc (finanční a jinou) od českých úřadů? - Čeští nebo zahraniční občané? - Jaká byla zhruba věková kategorie účastníků? - Byla akce úspěšná? - Získali jste zpětnou vazbu od veřejnosti? - Proč? - Je mezi generacemi nějaký rozdíl? - Myslíte si, že Rok Lužických Srbů pomáhá zvýšit povědomí o Lužických Srbech mezi Čechy? 	
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<p>Odborný pohled na lužickosrbsko-české vztahy a výhled do budoucna</p>	<p>Jak byste popsala vztahy mezi Lužickými Srby a Českou republikou?</p> <p>Můžete vysvětlit, proč jsou vztahy takové?</p> <p>Myslíte si, že Lužičtí Srbové a Česká republika mají zvláštní vztahy?</p> <p>Do jaké míry může podle vás Česká republika pomoci udržet lužickosrbskou identitu?</p> <p>Chcete něco dodat? Jak vidíte budoucí vztahy mezi Lužickými Srby a Českou republikou?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Jazyková a kulturní blízkost - Společná historie - Pokud ano, do jaké míry? - Proč? - Jak? - Je to nezbytné pro zachování lužickosrbské identity, nebo jen doplňkové? 	
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Annex V: Signed Interview Consent forms

Einwilligungserklärung zur Erhebung und Verarbeitung personenbezogener Interviewdaten

Zwischen Maëla Barçon und Theresa Popel

Das Interview erfolgt im Rahmen einer Masterarbeit mit dem Thema: „Die Rolle von Tschechien und Polen in der Bewahrung der Sorbischen Identität“. Das Interview wird von Maëla Barçon am 04.05.2021 geführt. Alle erhobenen Daten werden ausschließlich zum Zweck dieser Forschung verwendet.

Das Interview wird mit einem Aufnahmegerät aufgezeichnet und sodann von der Mitarbeiterin des Forschungsprojekts in Schriftform gebracht.

Die Teilnahme am Interview ist freiwillig. Es steht Ihnen zu, Antworten auf Fragen zu verweigern. Sie können auf ihren Wunsch jederzeit das Interview abbrechen. Sie haben zu jeder Zeit die Möglichkeit, Ihr Einverständnis einer Aufzeichnung und Niederschrift des Interviews zurückziehen.

Ich bin damit einverstanden, im Rahmen des genannten Forschungsprojekts an einem Interview teilzunehmen

Ja Nein

Ich bin damit einverstanden, dass die Ergebnisse auf dem IS STAG der Südböhmischen Universität in Budweis im Rahmen des genannten Forschungsprojekts veröffentlicht werden

Ja Nein

Ich möchte anonym bleiben

Ja Nein

Der/Die Interviewer/in erklärt hiermit, die Sicherstellung der genannten forschungsethischen Vereinbarungen jederzeit zu gewährleisten und zu respektieren.

Zwickau, 23.04.2021

(Ort, Datum)

Barçon

Unterschrift des/der Interviewers/in

Leipzig, 23.04.2021

(Ort, Datum)

T. Popel

Unterschrift der Interviewten Person

Einwilligungserklärung zur Erhebung und Verarbeitung
personenbezogener Interviewdaten

Zwischen Maëla Barçon und Clemens Schkoda

Das Interview erfolgt im Rahmen einer Masterarbeit mit dem Thema: „Die Rolle von Tschechien und Polen in der Bewahrung der Sorbischen Identität“. Das Interview wird von Maëla Barçon am 30.04.2021 geführt. Alle erhobenen Daten werden ausschließlich zum Zweck dieser Forschung verwendet.

Das Interview wird mit einem Aufnahmegerät aufgezeichnet und sodann von der Mitarbeiterin des Forschungsprojekts in Schriftform gebracht.

Die Teilnahme am Interview ist freiwillig. Es steht Ihnen zu, Antworten auf Fragen zu verweigern. Sie können auf ihren Wunsch jederzeit das Interview abbrechen. Sie haben zu jeder Zeit die Möglichkeit, Ihr Einverständnis einer Aufzeichnung und Niederschrift des Interviews zurückziehen.

Ich bin damit einverstanden, im Rahmen des genannten Forschungsprojekts an einem Interview teilzunehmen

Ja Nein

Ich bin damit einverstanden, dass die Ergebnisse auf dem IS STAG der Südböhmischen Universität in Budweis im Rahmen des genannten Forschungsprojekts veröffentlicht werden

Ja Nein

Ich möchte anonym bleiben

Ja Nein

Der/Die Interviewer/in erklärt hiermit, die Sicherstellung der genannten forschungsethischen Vereinbarungen jederzeit zu gewährleisten und zu respektieren.

Zwickau, 30.04.2021

(Ort, Datum)

Barçon

Unterschrift des/der Interviewers/in

Bauken, 30.04.2021

(Ort, Datum)

[Signature]

Unterschrift der Interviewten Person

Einwilligungserklärung zur Erhebung und Verarbeitung
personenbezogener Interviewdaten

Zwischen Maëla Barçon und Monika Bilauq

Das Interview erfolgt im Rahmen einer Masterarbeit mit dem Thema: „Die Rolle von Tschechien und Polen in der Bewahrung der Sorbischen Identität“. Das Interview wird von Maëla Barçon am 04.05.2021 geführt. Alle erhobenen Daten werden ausschließlich zum Zweck dieser Forschung verwendet.

Das Interview wird mit einem Aufnahmegerät aufgezeichnet und sodann von der Mitarbeiterin des Forschungsprojekts in Schriftform gebracht.

Die Teilnahme am Interview ist freiwillig. Es steht Ihnen zu, Antworten auf Fragen zu verweigern. Sie können auf ihren Wunsch jederzeit das Interview abbrechen. Sie haben zu jeder Zeit die Möglichkeit, Ihr Einverständnis einer Aufzeichnung und Niederschrift des Interviews zurückziehen.

Ich bin damit einverstanden, im Rahmen des genannten Forschungsprojekts an einem Interview teilzunehmen

Ja Nein

Ich bin damit einverstanden, dass die Ergebnisse auf dem IS STAG der Südböhmischen Universität in Budweis im Rahmen des genannten Forschungsprojekts veröffentlicht werden

Ja Nein

Ich möchte anonym bleiben

Ja Nein

Der/Die Interviewer/in erklärt hiermit, die Sicherstellung der genannten forschungsethischen Vereinbarungen jederzeit zu gewährleisten und zu respektieren.

Zwickau, 01.05.2021

(Ort, Datum)

Barçon

Unterschrift des/der Interviewers/in

Hilbitz, den 3. 1. 2021

(Ort, Datum)

Monika Bilauq

Unterschrift der Interviewten Person

Declaration of consent for the collection and processing
of personal interview data

Between Maëla Barçon and Nicole Dołowy-Rybińska

The interview takes place within the framework of a master's thesis on the following topic: "The role of the Czech Republic and Poland in the preservation of Sorbian Identity". The interview will be carried out by Maëla Barçon on 07.05.2021. All data collected will be used exclusively within the framework of this research.

The interview will be recorded and then put into written form by the research project worker.

The participation in the interview is voluntary. You are entitled to refuse to answer questions. You can stop the interview at any time if you wish. You have the possibility to withdraw your consent for the recording and transcription of the interview at any time.

I agree to participate in an interview within the framework of the above-mentioned research project

Yes No

I agree that the results will be published on the IS STAG of the University of South Bohemia in České Budějovice within the framework of the above-mentioned research project

Yes No

I want to stay anonymous

Yes No

The Interviewer hereby declares to ensure and respect the above ethical agreements concluded within the framework of the research.

Zwickau, 06.05.2021

(Place, date)



Signature of Interviewer

Warszawa, 6.05.2021

(Place, date)



Signature of Interviewee

Declaration of consent for the collection and processing
of personal interview data

Between Maëla Barçon und Jana Vančátová

The interview takes place within the framework of a master's thesis on the following topic: "The role of the Czech Republic and Poland in the preservation of Sorbian Identity". The interview will be carried out by Maëla Barçon on 21.05.2021. All data collected will be used exclusively within the framework of this research.

The interview will be recorded and then put into written form by the research project worker.

The participation in the interview is voluntary. You are entitled to refuse to answer questions. You can stop the interview at any time if you wish. You have the possibility to withdraw your consent for the recording and transcription of the interview at any time.

I agree to participate in an interview within the framework of the above-mentioned research project

Yes No

I agree that the results will be published on the IS STAG of the University of South Bohemia in České Budějovice within the framework of the above-mentioned research project

Yes No

I want to stay anonymous

Yes No

The Interviewer hereby declares to ensure and respect the above ethical agreements concluded within the framework of the research.

Paris, 19.05.2021

(Place, date)

Liberec, 19.05.2021

(Place, date)



Signature of Interviewer



Signature of Interviewee

Declaration of consent for the collection and processing
of personal interview data

Between Maëla Barçon and Tereza Hrouzdiková

The interview takes place within the framework of a master's thesis on the following topic: "The role of the Czech Republic and Poland in the preservation of Sorbian Identity". The interview will be carried out by Maëla Barçon on 24.05.2021. All data collected will be used exclusively within the framework of this research.

The interview will be recorded and then put into written form by the research project worker.

The participation in the interview is voluntary. You are entitled to refuse to answer questions. You can stop the interview at any time if you wish. You have the possibility to withdraw your consent for the recording and transcription of the interview at any time.

I agree to participate in an interview within the framework of the above-mentioned research project

Yes No

I agree that the results will be published on the IS STAG of the University of South Bohemia in České Budějovice within the framework of the above-mentioned research project

Yes No

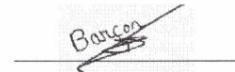
I want to stay anonymous

Yes No

The Interviewer hereby declares to ensure and respect the above ethical agreements concluded within the framework of the research.

Paris, 20.05.2021

(Place, date)



Signature of Interviewer

Praha 24. 5. 2021

(Place, date)



Signature of Interviewee

Annex VI: Interview Field Note X

Interviewer:	Maëla Barçon
Date of interview:	April 23, 2021
Time of interview start:	4 p.m.
Interview duration:	22:31
Interviewee's name/title/organisation:	X (private person)
Location of interview:	Skype tool
Language:	German
Consent form for the recording and processing of data signed:	Yes
Permission for personal information usage	Anonymity
<p>Themes that emerged, general observations, anything that stood out:</p> <p>She often left a silence after hearing the question to think about her answer. According to her, the situation of the Sorbs is stable and there are not endangered, even though people lose the language. Many people have never heard of the Sorbs and mistake them with the Serbs. Although she found it difficult to say if the Sorbs have a special relationship with the Czechs or the Poles, she mentioned history, explaining that during the German Democratic Republic, people could only go to the Czech Republic and Poland. She said that the Sorbs are protected here in Germany, and they are doing fine here. She thinks that Germany has made more progress than the Czech Republic and Poland.</p>	
<p>What went well:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The interview was fluid. • The interviewee seemed comfortable and answered all questions. She was very honest and said it when she did not know something and took time to think when she thought the question was difficult. • The internet connection was good, which allowed both parts to focus only on the interview. 	
<p>What worked less well:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The online meetings do not provide the same tranquillity as face-to-face meetings. A person came twice in the room where the interviewee was, which has disturbed her for a few seconds. There was also a background noise from time to time. • It was the first interview conducted in German by the interviewer, which was challenging to react to the answers. The interviewee spoke relatively fast. 	
<p>Areas for possible follow-up or further exploration:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How much do the Czechs and the Poles know about the Sorbs? • Comparison with the point of view of older persons. 	

Annex VII: Interview Field Note C. Škoda

Interviewer:	Maëla Barçon
Date of interview:	April 30, 2021
Time of interview start:	12:50 p.m.
Interview duration:	37:55
Interviewee's name/title/organisation:	Clemens Škoda, adviser for cultural matters abroad at Domowina
Location of interview:	Zoom tool
Language:	German
Consent form for the recording and processing of data signed:	Yes
Permission for personal information usage	First & last name
<p>Themes that emerged, general observations, anything that stood out:</p> <p>The interviewee told me several times that he hoped that his answers were good and useful for me. He seemed to feel comfortable and always responded calmly and appropriately. He said a sentence in Czech when he talked about his study period in the Czech Republic. He insisted that Sorbian and Czech are close. He makes a difference between Europe, where people generally know about the minorities and the rest of the world. He compared the Sorbs' status in Germany with other minorities' status in their country. He mentioned two main challenges for the Sorbs: going digital and moving towards a new economic development. Two years ago, Domowina was invited to discuss the Sorbs' situation in the Czech Senate. Czech government has already supported the Sorbs financially. He described the Sorbs as a bridge between the Germans and the Czechs and between the Germans and the Poles. Domowina is linked with two associations in the Czech Republic: Společnost přátel Lužice and Amicum Societas Liberec. The organisation has more connections with Poland due to history. He highlighted the linguistic proximity with Czech and Polish, fascinating for all Sorbs. The Sorbs and these two countries are also close for historical reasons. He said that if Slovakia were located at the same place as the Czech Republic or Poland, the situation would be identical with Slovaks.</p>	
<p>What went well:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He talked about his personal experience with the Czech Republic and Poland from the beginning, which allowed me to ask him questions about his organisation as well as about himself and have thus more data. • He provided long answers to my questions and explained very well what he was saying, giving concrete examples. Because he knew I was from France, he used several times the example of French minorities to facilitate my understanding. 	
<p>What worked less well:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The internet connection was bad at the beginning and the interviewee had to repeat his answer because I had no sound. It happened several times during the 	

interview so some answers cannot be found in the recording. We decided to turn off the camera in order to have a better sound quality.

- The interview was online and thus, it was not possible to control our environment. The postman came during the interview and interrupted one of the interviewee's answers. There was also background noise from time to time.
- I mispronounced the word "image", so he did not understand this part of my question. It is only when I explained why I asked this question that he understood what I meant.

Areas for possible follow-up or further exploration:

- To what extent are the Czech government and the Polish government involved in the preservation, promotion of Sorbian identity?
- How do the Czech Republic and Poland help to support the economic transition of Lusatia, described as one of the main challenges of the Sorbs?
- Role of the Sorbs in German-Czech and German-Polish relations

Annex VIII: Interview Field Note Y

Interviewer:	Maëla Barçon
Date of interview:	May 4, 2021
Time of interview start:	9 a.m.
Interview duration:	20:13
Interviewee's name/title/organisation:	Y (private person)
Location of interview:	Phone
Language	German
Consent form for the recording and processing of data signed:	Yes
Permission for personal information usage	Anonymity
<p>Themes that emerged, general observations, anything that stood out:</p> <p>Y explained that she feels very close to the Czech Republic and much less to Poland. It is interesting to note that Y lives equidistant from the Czech Republic and Poland, about 15 km from the border. She mentioned several times a Sorbian woman who married a Czech that had come to the German Democratic Republic (GDR) to work during the communist period. This woman then left Lusatia to live in the Czech Republic with her husband and Y said she arrived in the country in a Sorbian traditional costume. This Sorbian-Czech family illustrates the close link that existed between the Sorbs and the Czechs at that time. The young Sorbian generation has different relations with the Czech Republic and Poland.</p>	
<p>What went well:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Y brought a new perspective, mentioning the relations between the Sorbs and the Czech Republic during the communist period. She seemed pleased to talk about the Czech Republic and gave details about the history under GDR regime. 	
<p>What worked less well:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I conducted the interview by telephone at the request of Y, who could not do it by internet. Because of the echo, the recording is practically unusable, and I must therefore rely on my notes and my memories to analyse the interview. • The interviewee talked a lot about the Czech Republic and said they were less contact to Poland. I tried to discover if there were a specific reason and asked her more about it. She always answered my questions, but I did not manage to find out why the Sorbs had less contact to Poland. 	
<p>Areas for possible follow-up or further exploration:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Comparison between the Sorbs' relation with the Czech Republic under the GDR regime and the current Sorbian-Czech relation. • What are the differences between the Sorbian-Czech relation and the Sorbian-Polish relation? 	

Annex IX: Interview Field Note N. Dołowy-Rybińska

Interviewer:	Maëla Barçon
Date of interview:	May 7, 2021
Time of interview start:	9 a.m.
Interview duration:	01:24:57
Interviewee's name/title/organisation:	Nicole Dołowy, Polish researcher specialised on Sorbian topics
Location of interview:	Zoom tool
Language:	English
Consent form for the recording and processing of data signed:	Yes
Permission for personal information usage	First & last name
<p>Themes that emerged, general observations, anything that stood out: Polish people have few knowledges about the Sorbs. There is sometimes a political issue behind the support of some Poles to the Sorbs. Many foreign researchers working on Sorbian topics are Czech or Polish. There are some Polish teachers that work in Lusatia. The future of the Sorbs lies in their hands. The Czech Republic and Poland can only support them but play a secondary role in maintaining of Sorbian identity.</p>	
<p>What went well:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The interviewee had a lot of things to say and a rich experience with the topic. • She brought a Polish perspective to the topic and her knowledge as a researcher. • The interviewee seemed very interested in the topic and comfortable, which allowed me to ask sensitive questions and dig deeper. 	
<p>What worked less well:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the beginning, the internet connection was poor, which made the interviewee wonder if I could hear her, as my image was frozen. • More subjects could have been dealt with more in depth, but the time was limited. 	
<p>Areas for possible follow-up or further exploration:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Comparison with the Czech Republic: what motivates the Czechs to support the Sorbs? Are the reasons similar or different to those of the Poles? • Does the Czech Republic have a bigger role to play in the maintenance of Sorbian identity in comparison with the Poles? 	

Annex X: Interview Field Note L

Interviewer:	Maëla Barçon
Date of interview:	May 21, 2021
Time of interview start:	4:30 p.m.
Interview duration:	43:37
Interviewee's name/title/organisation:	L, volunteer for the Societas Amicum Liberec
Location of interview:	Regional Scientific Library in Liberec
Language:	Czech, with the questions also translated in English
Consent form for the recording and processing of data signed:	Yes
Permission for personal information usage	Anonymity
<p>Themes that emerged, general observations, anything that stood out:</p> <p>She often made gestures to illustrate her point. After the recording, she told me more about the relations between the Czech Republic and the Sorbs, explaining that is mainly due to history. V said that South Moravia is remarkably close to the Sorbs because they have similar traditions and culture. She said it is different in the region of Liberec because of the change in population from 1945, which damaged the old culture that was close to the Sorbian one. She added that the situation was similar in Polish territories that have the same history.</p>	
<p>What went well:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Despite the language barrier, the interview was fluid with a regular eye contact between the interviewer and the interviewee. • The conditions for the interview were ideal, as the interview was conducted in person in a quiet room of the library. 	
<p>What worked less well:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The barrier language made it difficult to react to the interviewee's answers. It was also challenging to know if the next question should be asked or if the interviewee had already answered it. 	
<p>Areas for possible follow-up or further exploration:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difference between the generations regarding the knowledge about the Sorbs. • To what extent is the geographical proximity between Lusatian and Czech border regions significant in the Sorbian-Czech relations? • Comparison between the history of Czech regions and its consequences on the proximity with the Sorbs today. 	

Annex XI: Interview Field Note P

Interviewer:	Maëla Barçon
Date of interview:	May 24, 2021
Time of interview start:	5:30 p.m.
Interview duration:	37:25
Interviewee's name/title/organisation:	P, volunteer for the Společnost přátel Lužice
Location of interview:	Zoom tool
Language:	English
Consent form for the recording and processing of data signed:	Yes
Permission for personal information usage	Anonymity
<p>Themes that emerged, general observations, anything that stood out: She took time to think about her answers and seemed to choose her words carefully. She always said “ok?” after her answers to make sure I had understood what she wanted to say. She mentioned the Czech history, explaining that they almost lost their identity, even though she was not born at this time. She compared the Sorbs' current situation with the Slovaks' status in the past.</p>	
<p>What went well:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • She never avoided a question and always answered, even to sensitive questions. • She talked about how she learned Upper Sorbian und Lower Sorbian at the University of Prague, allowing me to know more about the possibilities to learn Sorbian in the Czech Republic. 	
<p>What worked less well:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	
<p>Areas for possible follow-up or further exploration:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why did the University of Prague decide to provide Sorbian courses at the university? • Will the University of Prague extend Sorbian courses for additional years? • Different views of the Czechs and the Sorbs regarding the status of Sorbian identity and the role of the Czechs in its maintenance 	

Annex XII: Czech-English translation of the interview with L

M: Dobrý den Paní L.

V: Dobrý den.

M: Děkuji, že jste souhlasila se setkáním se mnou. Nahraju si tento rozhovor na telefon. Souhlasíte?

V: Souhlasím.

M: Super, tak, můžeme začít! Můžete se krátce představit? Kdo jste, kde pracujete?

V: Moje jméno je / my name is L. I work in my private firm and our main direction is the sale of keramik and porcelán and at the same time too I translate from Russian and Slovenian languages.

M: Ok, děkuju. Jaké jsou vaše osobní vztahy na Lužické Srby?

V: To radši budu už říkat česky a moje osobní vztahy s Lužickými Srby jsou velmi těsné. Já jsem měla možnost se osobně poznat z několika ložiskosrbskými rodinami. Měla jsem také možnost se poznat s významnými představiteli ložiskosrbských institucí. A všechno to, co se vlastně událo v posledních šesti letech, tyto kontakty, tak nás vlastně přivedlo k tomu, že jsme založili náš spolek Societas Amicum Liberec, který se také právě spoluprací s Lužickými Srby velmi věnuje.

M: Ok, so that's how you heard about the Sorbs in the first place? So jak jste se o Lužických Srbech vůbec dozvěděla?

V: Já jsem věděla, že lžičky Srbové existují dlouhé roky. Ale k tomu opravdovému probuzení, zájmu o ně mě přivedl jeden náš kolega, tehdy ještě ne ze spolku, ale později ze spolku, který se jmenuje Milan Turek, který se Lužici věnoval, dnes už se dá říct, pětadvacet let svého života, kdy tam velmi často jezdil. Pan Turek je již senior a když mě o Lužici a o Lužických Srbech velmi zaníceně vyprávěl, vzbudil mou pozornost a vlastně v roce 2015 jsem se poprvé do Lužice a k Lužickým Srbům vydala osobně a tím to všechno začalo.

M: Hello Mrs. L.

V: Hello.

M: Thank you for agreeing to meet with me. I will record this conversation on my phone.

Do you agree?

V: I agree.

M: Great, well, we can start! Can you introduce yourself briefly? Who are you, where do you work?

V: My name is L. I work in my private firm and our main direction is the sale of ceramic and porcelain and at the same time too I translate from Russian and Slovenian languages.

M: Ok, thank you. What are your personal links with the Sorbs?

V: I prefer to say that in Czech and I have very close relationships with the Sorbs. I had the opportunity to get to know several local Sorbian families personally. I also had the opportunity to get to know important representatives of the Sorbian institutions. And everything that has actually happened in the last six years, these contacts, actually led us to found our association Societas Amicum Liberec, which is also dedicated to the cooperation with the Sorbs.

M: Ok, so that's how you heard about the Sorbs in the first place? So how did you hear about the Sorbs in the first place?

V: I knew that the Sorbs had existed for many years. But it is one of our colleagues, who was not a member of the association at that time, but who joined the association later, his name is Milan Turek, who devoted twenty-five years of his life to Lusatia, where he went very often that awakened my interest in them. Mr. Turek is already an elderly person and when he enthusiastically told me about Lusatia and the Sorbs, he caught my attention and actually, in 2015, I went personally to Lusatia and the Sorbs for the first time and that is how it all started.

M: Ok, dobře. So, how did you end up volunteering in the Societas Amicum Liberec? What was your motivation? I think you already talked about it, but...

V: Od ně. Jak říkám, do Lužice mě přivedl tento můj kolega pan Turek a my jsme tam Lužici několikrát navštívili a pak jsme si řekli, že by bylo velmi příjemné, velmi zajímavé to, co jsme tam viděli, představit i v Liberci. My jsme se totiž poznali v Lužici s rodinou Cižových, kteří mají-, německy se tomu říká *Trachtenfundus*, to je vlastně fond lidových krojů a oni měli tyto kroje nejenom v životních velikostech, nebo půjčují je na různé události, ale zároveň také mají výstavu krojů na panenkách. A tuto výstavu nám zapůjčili a byla poprvé prezentována tady v liberecké knihovně v roce 2016. Výstava trvala měsíc a doprovázelo ji několik přednášek. Vzbudily poměrně velký ohlas, a protože za námi po přednáškách přicházeli posluchači a ptali se jestli se budeme tomuto tématu věnovat i nadále, tak v nás vlastně vyvolali potřebu začít tuto činnost nějak organizovat, takže byl založen spolek Societas Amicum Liberec a na začátku své činnosti, byl založen v roce 2016 - letos budeme mít pět let výročí -, a vlastně od té doby se začal velmi intenzivně věnovat právě Lužici, což byly zejména exkurze, přednášky a návštěvy kulturních představení v Lužici.

M: Ok, děkuju. So, co podle vás tvoří lužickosrbskou identitu?

V: To teď budu mluvit pravdu. Je to můj osobní dojem. Já myslím, že je velký rozdíl mezi tím, jestli se mě budete na tuto otázku ptát v souvislosti s Horní Lužicí, anebo z Dolní Lužicí. My jsme za těch pět let měli možnost velmi dobře poznat Horní Lužici, ale v poznávání Dolní Lužice jsme teprve na začátku.

Tam jsou velké rozdíly. Very different, yes. Do you understand me?

M: Yes, a little bit.

V: Takže, co se týče Horní Lužice, tam rozhodně je určující jejich víra, jejich katolická víra, a na to vlastně navázané zvyky a tradice, které dodržují. Na to, jakým způsobem tam vlastně žijí rodiny, jak drží pospolu a jak skutečně to, co vlastně vyznávají ve své katolické víře, také žijí v naprosto běžném životě. To je například pro nás tady v kraji, kde já žiji, v podstatě jsme ateisté.

M: Ok, good. So, how did you end up volunteering in the Societas Amicum Liberec? What was your motivation? I think you already talked about it, but...

V: No. As I said, my colleague Mr. Turek brought me to Lusatia, and we visited Lusatia several times and we said to ourselves that it would be very pleasant, very interesting to present what we saw there in Liberec. We met the family Cyžová in Lusatia, who has-, in German it is called *Trachtenfundus*, it is actually a fund of folk costumes, and not only did they have these costumes in life size or lend them for various events, but they also have an exhibition of costumes on dolls. And they shared this exhibition with us and it was first presented here in the Liberec Library in 2016. The exhibition lasted a month and was accompanied by several lectures. They aroused quite a strong interest, and because the listeners came to us after the lectures and asked if we would continue to deal with this topic, they actually highlighted the need to start organising this activity somehow, so the association Societas Amicum Liberec was founded and at the beginning of its activities, it was founded in 2016 - it will celebrate its fifth anniversary this year -, and actually since then, it has started to focus very intensively on Lusatia, which were mainly excursions, lectures and trips to Lusatia to attend cultural performances.

M: Ok, thank you. So, according to you, what makes Sorbian identity?

V: I am going to tell the truth now. It is my personal impression. I think there is a big difference between asking me this question about Upper Lusatia or Lower Lusatia. We have had the opportunity to get to know Upper Lusatia very well in these five years, but we are only starting to get to know Lower Lusatia. There are big differences. Very different, yes. Do you understand me?

M: Yes, a little bit.

V: So, as far as Upper Lusatia is concerned, their faith, their Catholic faith, is definitely the determining factor there and the customs and traditions that they follow. The way families actually live there, how they stick together and how they actually live according to what they profess in their Catholic faith in a very ordinary life. For example, for us here in the region where I live, we are fundamentally atheists.

V: Tady žádná příliš velké náboženské směry nejsou, a tak je tam ta Dolní Lužice. Dolní Lužice, narozdíl od Horní Lužice, kde se vlastně dochovala hornolužická srbština, kde alespoň v některých částech, v některých obcích se běžně v denním styku lužická srbština používá, tak v Dolní Lužici téměř na dolnolužický jazyk nenarazíte. Ale to neznamená, alespoň tak jak jsem to měla možnost poznat já, že by se ti lidé necítili být Srby. Oni jenom nepoužívají již svůj jazyk, mluví německy. Další věc, která je liší a která je vlastně, si myslím, trochu určující je, že Dolní Lužici jsou evangelického vyznání, a přece jenom jsou tam rozdíly mezi katolickou vírou a evangelickou protestantskou vírou. A zase, protože Dolní Lužice je vlastně převážně součástí Braniborska a samozřejmě i Německé obyvatelstvo je hlavně protestantského vyznání, tak zase tam ten vliv nebo ta sounáležitost s tím německy mluvícím obyvatelstvem je přece jenom odlišná než třeba v té Horní Lužici. Ale to všechno jsou jenom moje pocity. Moje osobní.

M: Ok, děkuju. Jak byste popsala současnou situaci Lužických Srbů?

V: A v jaké souvislosti?

M: Jazyk, obraz a vztahy Lužických Srbů a Němci, ohrožená menšina.

V: Já jsem asi trochu už na to odpověděla v té předešlé otázce, ale jeden z těch studentů, o kterých jsem tady na začátku mluvila, tak je pan Bart a pan Bart je vlastně autorem a propagátorem projektu Witaj. A projekt Witaj znáte, předpokládám, který vlastně má opět vlastně má vrátit Lužickou srbštinu jak teda v Horní Lužici, tak v Dolní Lužici zpět do školek, do škol a do běžného života. Takže si myslím, že tam je naděje, ale zase si myslím, že ta naděje je větší v té Horní Lužici, že minimálně jazyk bude aspoň ještě na dalších několik, doufejme desítek, let uchován a bude předáván dalším generacím a vím, že se že ta snaha je i v Dolní Lužici, ale je to tam mnohem těžší, protože těch opravdu mluvících dolnolužických Srbů je v porovnání s těmi hornolužickými daleko menší počet. Myslím, že bez ohledu na to, jestli je to Horní nebo Dolní Lužice tak obrovský problém i vliv na to, jak se ten jejich život vlastně vyvíjí měla těžba uhlí, která vlastně řadu vesnic zničila. To byly stovky vesnic, které zanikly, kdy ti obyvatelé byli přesídleni zase do míst, kde vlastně bylo převážně německy mluvící obyvatelstvo.

There are no very big religious directions here, and so there is Lower Lusatia. Lower Lusatia, unlike Upper Lusatia, where Upper Sorbian has actually been preserved, where at least in some parts, in some villages, Sorbian is commonly used in everyday life, in Lower Lusatia you hardly come across Lower Sorbian language. But that does not mean, at least as I experienced it, that these people do not feel Sorbian. They just do not use their language anymore, they speak German. The other thing that makes them different and which is actually, I think, a bit determining, is that Lower Sorbs are evangelical and all the same, there are differences between the Catholic faith and the evangelical Protestant faith. And again, because Lower Lusatia is actually mostly part of Brandenburg and of course, the German population is mainly Protestant, so the influence or the belonging to the German-speaking population is different there than in Upper Lusatia. But all of these are just my feelings. My personal feelings.

M: Ok, thank you. How would you describe the current situation of the Sorbs?

V: And in which context?

M: Language, image and relations of the Sorbs with the Germans, a threatened minority.

V: I have probably already answered that a little bit in the previous question, but one of the students I was talking about at the beginning is Mr. Bart, and Mr. Bart is actually the author and promoter of the Witaj project. And you know the Witaj project, I suppose, which actually intends to bring back Sorbian both in Upper Lusatia and in Lower Lusatia into kindergartens, into schools and into everyday life. So I think there is hope there, but again I think there is greater hope in Upper Lusatia that the language will be preserved for at least a few more years, hopefully decades, and will be passed on to the next generation, and I know that an effort is being made in Lower Lusatia as well, but it is much harder there because the number of Lower Sorbs that really speak Lower Sorbian is much smaller than the number of Sorbs that speak Upper Sorbian. I think that regardless of whether it is Upper or Lower Lusatia, the coal mining, which actually destroyed many villages, was such a huge problem and had an influence on how their life actually developed. These were hundreds of villages that disappeared, whose inhabitants were resettled in places where there was actually a predominantly German-speaking population.

V: Byli tam zpřetrhané ty tradice, kořeny, které tam vlastně měli a, a ta vlastně to období už zase skončilo před nějakými dvaceti, pětadvaceti lety a nyní je tam snaha o to vybudovat z toho území atraktivní turistické oblasti. Ale myslím, že pokud se týká Srbů, tak v tomhle jim ta snaha příliš nepomůže. Přebudování vlastně toho uhelného revíru na ty turisty, na ta turistická místa. Já vím, že v posledních vlastně posledních dvou letech probíhá taková kampaň, poměrně dost silná, výrazná, *Na klar sorbisch na klar*, kdy se snaží vlastně, díky tomu vlastně seznámit německé obyvatelstvo, že mají vlastní vlastně národnostní slovanskou menšinu a upozornit je na to, a myslím si, že je to zas na druhou stranu dobře, protože my jsme se že tady v Čechách se neví o tom, že tam Lužičtí Srbové žijí. Může nám, kteří se tomu věnujeme, připadat divné, ale zas to není tak nepochopitelné, ale je překvapivé, když jsme například byli na exkurzi v Dolní Lužici ve Spreewaldu. Jezdili jsme tam na lodičkách a my jsme tam byli jenom na dovolené a celá ta lodička byla německého obyvatelstva a bylo velice zvláštní slyšet, když tam vyprávěl ten gondolier o té historii o tom, že tam bylo slovanské obyvatelstvo historicky, jak ti Němci byli velmi překvapeni, že to vůbec v podstatě oni netušili, že teda vlastně tak obrovské území KDYSI bylo osídleno slovanskými kmeny. Tak to, to je si myslím tak věc, která podobně ta kampaň může vlastně zvýraznit a upozornit na to, že vlastně ti Srbové tam žijí a a zase jim to může ta pozornost, která, když jí bude věnována teda dostatečná podpora, která je může zase pomoci vlastně přežít do dalších desítek let.

M: Ok, děkuju.

V: Moc dlouhé.

M: So jste zapojena do sdružení Societas Amicum Liberec. Můžete sdružení představit, čím se zabýváte...ano.

V: Jak už jsem říkala, ten náš spolek vznikl před pěti lety, v roce 2016 a ten první impuls to byla právě spolupráce s Lužickými Srby v jejich popularizace, navštěvování Lužice, objevování vlastně ne jenom, jako říkám, turistických oblastí, ale i kultury. Jenomže, ono, když jsme tam začali jezdit, tak jsme zjistili, že není Lužice jenom Horní, ale že je také Lužice Dolní, a že není jenom Lužice, která byla nebo která je na území dnešního Saska a Braniborska, ale že je také část Lužice, která byla i v Čechách, malá, a že je také část Lužice, která se dnes nachází v Polsku, Dolním Slezsku, takže od toho se začalo odvíjet, že jsme začali navštěvovat všechna tato místa.

The traditions, the roots that they had there were broken and, actually, that period ended about twenty, twenty-five years ago and now there is an effort to make it an attractive tourist area. But I think that as far as the Sorbs are concerned, this effort will not help them much. The conversion of the coalfield into these tourist places. I know that in the last two years actually, there has been a campaign, quite a strong campaign, *Na klar sorbisch na klar*, where they are actually trying through this to make the German population aware that they have their own national Slavic minority and to draw their attention to it, and I think, on another side, it is good, because here in the Czech Republic we do not know that the Sorbs live there. It may seem strange to us who are involved in this, but it is not that inconceivable, but it is surprising, as when we were on an excursion in Lower Lusatia in Spreewald, for example. We used to go there by boats, and we were there on holiday, and all people on the boat were German and it was very strange to hear, when the gondolier was telling that there was a Slavic population there historically, how surprised the Germans were, that they had no idea that such a huge area had ever been inhabited by Slavic tribes. So, I think that is one thing that the campaign can actually highlight and draw attention to the fact that the Sorbs actually live there and that if this attention is given enough support, it can help them survive into the next decades.

M: Ok, thank you.

V: Very long.

M: So you are involved in the association Societas Amicum Liberec. Can you present the association, what you do?

V: As I already said, our association was founded five years ago, in 2016, and the first impulse was to cooperate with the Sorbs to make them more popular visiting Lusatia, discovering actually not only, as I say, tourist areas, but also culture. But when we started to go there, we found out that there was not only Upper Lusatia, but also Lower Lusatia, and that Lusatia was or is not only in the territory of today's Saxony and Brandenburg, but that there was also a part of Lusatia that was in Bohemia, a small part, and that there was also a part of Lusatia that is now in Poland, in Lower Silesia, so from there we started to visit all these places.

V: Takže vlastně dnes, po pěti letech fungování spolku to vypadá tak, že se věnujeme zase popularizaci, turistice, vydávání různých popularizačních materiálů, průvodců, vlastně nejenom s orientací na Lužické Srby, ale vlastně na celý Euroregion Nisa, v kterém se ta Lužice nacházela. Takže dneska to znamená i Dolní Slezsko i část Braniborska, a i část vlastně Saska, toho nelužického, teda když to řeknu takhle. No a, jak už jsem říkala, vlastně je to jednak formou exkurzí, které pořádáme, jezdíme tam třeba do Budyšína na vánoční koncerty nebo do lužickosrbského ansámblu na jejich představení do divadla do Budyšína. Samozřejmě moc rádi jezdíme na jízdy křížáků na Velikonoce, to je největší událost. Ale naopak můžu říct, že už se nám podařilo, že byli na návštěvě Lužičtí Srbové i tady u nás, a že se jim právě snažíme tu společnou část historie těch vztahů, které tady byly, protože mezi Libercem a Lužickými Srby se vlastně začaly rozvíjet vztahy až po druhé světové válce. Proto tady vlastně byl ten poslední rok gymnázia, protože v roce 1947 Liberec jako město převzal kulturní patronát nad Budyšínem, a my jsme vlastně po spoustě let na to navázali. Já ještě musím říct, že tady v tom regionu našem Liberecka, my navazujeme na jednoho velmi významného člověka, který se jmenoval pan Vydra. On je také tam v té knížce rozhovorů, a pan Vydra byl spolužák studentů, kteří tady ten jeden rok studovali a oni v něm vzbudili takovou touhu tu Lužici poznat, že on potom ve svém profesním životě vystudoval naučil se lužickosrbsky, psal řadu knih, jezdil tam s řadou zájezdů, ale to všechno bylo před dvaceti, třiceti lety a my jsme vlastně na tu jeho činnost navázali. Takže, to je orientace spolku na Lužické Srby na Euroregion Nisa a poslední část, které se věnuje náš spolek je popularizace sakrálních památek. A to zejména v našem regionu Liberce a jeho okolí, ale také i s přesahem do příhraničí, zase i do toho Euroregionu Nisa. A zase, děláme to formou exkurzí anebo i vydávání průvodců a přednášek.

M: Ok, dobře. Jaké jsou vazby mezi vaší organizací a lužickosrbskými organizacemi?

V: Já doufám a troufám si říct, že dobré. My jsme, když jsme si vlastně, když byl spolek založen, tak jsme začali přemýšlet o tom, jak nejlépe Lužické Srby, nejenom tím, že budeme jezdit na exkurze, tak jak nejlépe je představit. A napadla nás právě ta idea udělat jeden rok, který by byl velmi intenzivní, ve kterém bychom vlastně představili hudební umění Srbů, výtvarné umění Srbů, literaturu.

V: So today, actually, after five years of activity, it seems that we devote to popularisation, tourism by publishing various popular materials, guides, actually not only oriented to the Sorbs, but actually to the entire Euroregion Nisa, in which Lusatia was located. So today that means Lower Silesia and a part of Brandenburg, and actually a part of Saxony, the non-Lusatian part, if I may say it this way. And, as I said, it is actually in the form of excursions that we organise, we go to Bautzen for Christmas concerts or to watch the Sorbian ensemble's performances at the theatre in Bautzen. Of course, we love going to the Easter riding processions, it is the biggest event. However, I can say that we have already managed to welcome Sorbs here, and we are trying to give them knowledge about the common history of the relations established here, because the relations between Liberec and the Sorbs actually started to develop after the Second World War. That is why the last year of high school was actually here, because in 1947, the city of Liberec took over the cultural patronage of Bautzen, and we actually continued it after many years. I must also say that here, in our Liberec region, we are taking over from a very important man whose name is Mr Vydra. He also appears in the book of interviews, and Mr. Vydra was a classmate of the students who studied here for one year, and they aroused in him such a desire to get to know Lusatia that he then studied, learned Sorbian in his professional life, wrote a number of books, went there a number of times as a tourist but all of this was twenty, thirty years ago, and we actually took over from his activities. So, this is the direction in which the association is oriented, to the Sorbs in the Euroregion Nisa and the last part covered by our association is the popularisation of sacral monuments. This is especially done in our Liberec region and its surroundings, but also partly towards the border region, here again the Euroregion Nisa. And again, we do it in the form of excursions or by publishing guides and lectures.

M: Ok, good. What are the connections between your organisation and Sorbian organisations?

V: I hope, and I dare say good. We, when we actually, when the association was founded, we started to think about how best to introduce the Sorbs, not only by going on excursions, but how best to introduce them. And we came up with the idea of doing one year, which would be very intensive, in which we would actually present Sorbian music, Sorbian visual art, literature.

V: A napadlo nás tedy uspořádat rok Lužických Srbů v Libereckém kraji, který měl původně, jak už jsem říkala, trvat od roku 2019 do roku 2020, rok a půl. A tento rok jsme vlastně, tuhleto kulturní záležitost jsme připravovali skoro dva roky. A při té přípravě jsme velmi úzce spolupracovali s lužickosrbským svazem, spolku, s Domovinou. Přitom jsme se vlastně spojili například s lužickosrbským institutem v Budyšíně, s lužickosrbským muzeem v Budyšíně, s lužickosrbským ansámblem taky z Budyšina. Zároveň jsme se měli možnost poznat a měli tady vlastně krásný koncert na zahájení – První srbská brigáda, což je velký pěvecký sbor lužickosrbského gymnázia z Budyšina. Takže si myslím, že jsme opravdu měli možnost se poznat s řadou vlastně těch nejprestižnějších institucí lužickosrbských a, co mě těší o to víc, že se vlastně vytvořila i krásná přátelství s lidmi, s kterými jsme se poznali. Ale musím přiznat, že ze začátku to nebylo jednoduché, protože, když jsme přijeli představit, co všechno máme v plánu, tak myslím, že ne úplně všichni byli přesvědčeni, že se nám to podaří. A vybudovat tu důvěru, že opravdu má smysl s námi spolupracovat možná trvalo půl roku. Ale když potom jsme si vzájemně dokázali, že všechno bude fungovat, tak pak ta spolupráce byla opravdu skvělá.

M: Ok. So vaše sdružení uspořádalo Rok Lužických Srbů v Libereckém kraji. Můžete mi říct více o akcích, které jste pořádali?

V: Těch akcí dnes tak... Když se podíváme na to z dnešního pohledu, a vidíme rok dvacet jako rok pandemie, kdy téměř se nemohlo nic, tak to vypadá, že jsme toho moc nestihli. Ale ono na druhou stranu to není pravda. Protože naštěstí jsme začali již v roce 2019 na jaře, takže nakonec těch akcí, já myslím, že bylo několik desítek dokonce. Jak už jsem říkala, tady hlavním partnerem byla liberecká knihovna, ale já určitě nevzpomenu si na všechny, ono ten přehled je v tom programu, ale určitě velkolepá záležitost bylo zahájení roku Lužických Srbů. Které proběhlo v říjnu 2019 na místní univerzitě liberecké, protože vlastně v budově té univerzity kdysi sídlilo to Lužickosrbské gymnázium. My jsme odhalovali pamětní desku na té budově, která připomíná, že tam studenti z Lužice studovali.

V: And so, we came up with the idea of organising a year of Lusatian Sorbs in the Liberec Region, which was originally supposed to last, as I said, from 2019 to 2020, a year and a half. And this year, actually, we have been preparing this cultural project for almost two years. and during the preparation we have been working very closely with the Sorbian Association Domowina. We have actually teamed up with, for example, the Sorbian Institute in Bautzen, with the Sorbian Museum in Bautzen, with the Sorbian ensemble also from Bautzen. At the same time, we had the opportunity to get to know each other and we actually had a beautiful opening concert here, the First Sorbian Ensemble, which is a large choir from the Sorbian high school in Bautzen. So, I think we really had the opportunity to get to know many of the most prestigious Sorbian institutions, and what I am even more pleased about, is that we actually formed beautiful friendships with the people we met. But I have to admit that it was not easy at the beginning because when we came to present what we had planned, I think that not everybody was convinced that we were going to succeed. And it took maybe six months to gain their confidence and show that it really made sense to work with us. But then, once we proved to each other that everything was going to work, the collaboration was really great.

M: Ok. Your association organised the Year of Lusatian Sorbs in the Liberec Region. Can you tell me more about the events you organised?

V: Those activities today well... If we look at it from today's point of view, and we see year 2020 as the year of the pandemic, when almost nothing could happen, it seems like we did not do a lot. But on the other hand, that is not true. Because fortunately, we started in spring 2019, so in the end, there were even, I think, a few dozen events. As I said, the main partner here was the Liberec library, but I certainly cannot remember all of them, the overview is in the programme, but certainly the opening of the Year of the Lusatian Sorbs was a spectacular event. Which took place in October 2019 at the local University of Liberec, because the building of this university was once home to the Sorbian high school. We unveiled a commemorative plaque on this building, which reminds that students from Lusatia studied there.

V: Pak jsme měli v aule univerzity zahájení a na to zahájení vlastně navázalo promítání filmů s těmi posledními žijícími studenty a celé to vlastně bylo korunována vystoupením orchestru Lužickosrbského ansámblu a z první srbské brigády studentů, sboru studentů gymnázia, kteří zde vlastně předvedli oratorium Hradiště, což byla nádherná záležitost, která odkazovala vlastně k těm počátkům vlastně života v Lužici, kdy vlastně tam žili v hradištích. Toho zahájení se tehdy zúčastnilo, včetně teda vystupujících, okolo tří set lidí. Přijeli i přátelé z Budyšína a z Lužice a opravdu si myslím, že to bylo velmi důstojné a krásné zahájení všech těch akcí. Na to pak navazovaly jednotlivé přednášky, které byly různě orientované: o historii a o turistickém zaměření, o literatuře, o divadle, o hudbě, ale druhou větší akcí, která na podzim 2-19 proběhla, byla výstava o Krabatovi a ta probíhala tady v knihovně, trvala několik týdnů a v jejím průběhu vlastně zde byly vlastně také představeny dvě divadelní představení o Krabatovi, byly promítány čt- tři nebo čtyři různé verze Krabata, byla tady specializovaná přednáška, byla tady vystavena řada knih a vlastně řada literárních zpracování Krabata, ať už to bylo od Nowaka-Njechoránského nebo od Preußlera. Takže to, co si myslím, že byla opravdu velmi povedená akce. Pak jsme vlastně na začátku roku 2020 začali opouštět Liberec a začali jsme akce i v dalších městech kraje, například v Semilech, v Turnově, v České Lípě, v Jablonci, kde jsme zase prostřednictvím přednášek se snažili představit Lužici. Potom vlastně bohužel přišel březen 2020 a akce, které jsme měli naplánované na jaro, byly přerušeny, ale jakmile to situace umožnila v červnu, tak se zase pokračovalo v přednáškách, a dokonce se nám podařilo, protože jsme měli naplánované dvě exkurze více dní do Horní a Dolní Lužice, tak se nám podařilo v létě jedno uskutečnit, a navštívili jsme vlastně poprvé intenzivněji Dolní Lužici. No, a na podzim vlastně jsme stihli zase v září jenom jednu přednášku. A opět bylo všechno zavřeno. Nicméně tady liberecká knihovna přišla s nabídkou přesunutí mene – kulturních pořadů, a hlavně přednášek do online prostředí a díky tomu jsme vlastně mohli pokračovat alespoň tady v té části, a vlastně naši příznivci, si myslím, že jednak měli možnost být, aspoň zprostředkovaně, v kontaktu s námi a s knihovnou a zároveň ale také, si myslím že prostřednictvím streamování těch přednášek na Facebooku a YouTube se oslovilo úplně jiné publikum, než které chodilo na ty přednášky na živo. A to jsme měli ohromnou radost, protože jsme podle těch čísel, která jsme viděli sledujících oslovili úplně jiné věkové skupiny a úplně nové vlastně lidi. A měli jsme radost a doufáme, že to tak i zůstane, že jsme vlastně mohli předat ty informace zase dalším a dalším novým zájemcům o tuhle oblast.

V: Then we had the opening ceremony in the auditorium of the university and the opening ceremony was actually followed by the screening of the films with the last living students and the whole thing was actually crowned by the performance of the orchestra of the Sorbian ensemble and the First Sorbian ensemble of students, the choir of the students from the high school, who actually performed the „oratorium Hradiště“, which was beautiful and actually referred to the beginnings of life in Lusatia, when they actually lived there in the fortresses. Around three hundred people attended the opening, including the performers. There were also friends from Bautzen and Lusatia, and I really think it was a very beautiful opening worth of all those events. This was then followed by individual lectures, which were focused on different topics: on history and focused on tourism, on literature, on theatre, on music, but the second biggest event that took place in autumn 2019 was the exhibition about Krabat, and it took place here in the library, it lasted for several weeks, and in the course of it, there were actually also two theatrical performances about Krabat, three or four different versions of Krabat were shown, there was a specialised conference, there were a number of books on display and actually a number of literary works on Krabat, whether there were works of Nowak-Njechorński or Preußler. So, I think that it was a very successful event indeed. Then we actually started to leave Liberec at the beginning of 2020, and we started events in other towns in the region, for example in Semily, in Turnov, in Česká Lípa, in Jablonec, where we tried to present Lusatia through lectures. Then, unfortunately, March 2020 arrived and the events that we had planned for spring were interrupted, but as soon as the situation allowed it in June, we resumed the lectures, and we even managed, because we had planned two excursions of several days to Upper and Lower Lusatia, so we managed to do one in the summer, and we actually visited Lower Lusatia more intensively for the first time. Well, in the autumn, we actually managed to give only one lecture in September. And once again, everything was closed. However, the Liberec library offered to move the cultural programmes, and especially the lectures, online and thanks to that, we were actually able to continue at least this part, and actually our public, I think, had the opportunity to be in contact with us and the library, at least indirectly, and at the same time, I think that by broadcasting the lectures on Facebook and YouTube, we reached a completely different audience than those who came to the live lectures. And we were very happy about that, because according to the numbers that we saw, we reached completely different age groups and completely new people. And we were pleased, and we hope that it stays this way, that we could actually pass on that knowledge to more and more new people interested in this field.

V: Jo, zapomněla jsem tady ještě to doplnit, že ještě další dvě poslední akce roku Lužických Srbů vlastně dobíhají nyní v květnu 2021. A jsou to vlastně výstava tady v liberecké knihovně „Lužičtí Srbové, neznámí sousedé“, kterou vlastně pořádáme ve spolupráci s lužickosrbským muzeem v Budyšíně, a my jsme na začátku dubna se velmi rozhodovali, jestli to máme risknout a tu výstavu uspořádat. A to ještě na začátku dubna ani nebylo jasné, jestli vůbec budeme moci dopravit exponáty z Budyšína do Liberce. A protože čtrnáctého dubna, se otevřela knihovna pro veřejnost, tak jsme vlastně měli asi dva týdny na to vše připravit. Povedlo se, a výstava teda ještě do konce května tady v knihovně běží. A stejně se nám podařilo vlastně domluvit se s vedením Oblastní galerie v Liberci, kde byla v říjnu otevřena výstava přední lužickosrbské výtvarnice Maji Nagelowé, která je nazvaná „Na Kromje“, na Okraji, která je hlavně věnovaná právě devastaci Lužice těžbou uhlí. Tak ta výstava byla otevřena tři dny v říjnu, pak jeden den v prosinci, a nám se nakonec podařilo se domluvit s vedením, že byla prodloužena až do konce května a naštěstí čtvrtého května byly otevřeny i galerie pro veřejnost. Takže nakonec se nám podařilo, že nyní v tom květnu vlastně ty dvě poslední akce probíhají souběžně a my jsme za to strašně moc rádi. Bohužel se nám nepodařilo uskutečnit řada koncertů, ale tak, my budeme v naší činnosti pokračovat i nadále, tak snad se jednou dočkáme i těch koncertů.

M: Ok. Dostali jste pomoc, finanční a jinou, od českých úřadů?

V: Bez finanční podpory bychom vlastně vůbec nemohli tuhle velkou akci uspořádat. Náš spolek je neziskový, nevlastní činnost, že vlastně nemá žádný příjem z vlastní činnosti. Okolo našeho spolku se pohybuje okolo pětadvaceti lidí. Takže podpořili nás a opakovaně nás podpořili z fondu pro kulturu jak města Liberce, tak Libereckého kraje, ale také česko-německého fondu budoucnosti. To je zejména nyní ta výstava v galerii, a také jsme připravili vlastně v rámci toho všeho společně s lužickosrbským muzeem českou verzi průvodce pro děti, který je v muzeu v Budyšíně. Takže vlastně, tento průvodce provází dějinami velmi zábavnou formou pro děti, provází vlastně dějinami. Ovšem v podstatě to je všechno takové rozšířené, to, co je tady na výstavě, tak tohle, ale v rozšířené formě je vlastně v tom audio-video průvodci, který mají v Budyšíně, a který jsme právě za pomoci podpory euroregionu Nisa přeložili do češtiny. Takže tohle byli ti zásadní, no a samozřejmě také nám pomohly z Lužice, ať už to bylo prostřednictvím Domowiny nebo založby pro srbský lid, anebo například i s pomocí samozřejmě lužickosrbského muzea ansámblu. Bez toho by to opravdu nebylo možné.

V: Yeah, I forgot to add here that there are two last events of the Year of the Lusatian Sorbs that are actually ending now in May 2021, and there is actually an exhibition here in the Liberec library called „Lusatian Sorbs, Unknown Neighbours“, which we are actually organising in cooperation with the Sorbian Museum in Bautzen, and we had to decide at the beginning of April, whether we should take the risk and organise the exhibition. At the beginning of April, it was not even clear whether we would be able to transport the exhibits from Bautzen to Liberec. And since the library had opened to the public on April 14, we actually had about two weeks to prepare everything. We did it, and the exhibition is still ongoing here in the library until the end of May. And anyway, we actually managed to make an agreement with the management of the Regional Gallery in Liberec, where an exhibition of the leading Sorbian artist Maja Nagelová was opened in October, called „Na Kromje“, on the outskirts, which is mainly devoted to the devastation of Lusatia by coal mining. So, the exhibition was open for three days in October, then one day in December, and we finally managed to agree with the management to extend it until the end of May, and fortunately, the galleries were open to the public on May 4. So, we managed to make the last two events happen concurrently in May, and we are incredibly happy about that. Unfortunately, we were not able to do a number of concerts, but yes, we will continue our activities, so hopefully one day we will see those concerts as well.

M: Ok. Did you receive help, financially and other, from Czech authorities?

V: Without financial support, we would not have been able to organise this big event at all. Our association is a non-profit, non-owned activity that earns actually no income from its own activities. There are about twenty-five people around our association. So we have been supported and repeatedly supported by the cultural fund of both the city of Liberec and the Liberec Region, but also by the Czech-German Fund for the Future. This is especially now the exhibition in the gallery, and we also prepared a Czech version of the children's guide that is in the museum in Bautzen, together with the Sorbian Museum. So, actually, it is a very entertaining guide for children to go through history. Of course, basically everything here in the exhibition has been expanded, so this is actually in the audio-video guide that they have in Bautzen, which we just translated into Czech with the support of the Euroregion Nisa. So these were the essential ones, and of course we also had help from Lusatia, whether it was through Domowina or the Foundation for the Sorbian People, or with the help of the Sorbian Museum Ensemble, for example. Without that, it really would not have been possible.

M: Dobře, ok. So kdo se akce účastnil? So čeští nebo zahraniční občané? O jaká byla zhruba věková kategorie účastníků?

V: Protože jsme to směřovali právě zejména do našeho regionu, to znamená do Liberce a do těch větších měst v kraji libereckém, tak samozřejmě, že to bylo orientována na české zájemce. Tam je právě zajímavý ten posun: na začátku, kromě toho slavnostního zahájení a velkého koncertu to tam opravdu bylo velmi široké spektrum, ale na začátku se těch akcí účastnila spíše starší generace, protože starší generace má povědomost o Lužických Srbech. Ale postupně se začala přidávat generace střední a řekla bych, že teď vlastně v tom finále, a zejména díky Facebooku a přenosům přes YouTube, se přidala i ta mladá generace. A to nás ohromně těší, protože my jsme se snažili dělat i ty pořady, aby byly zaměřeny, co neširěji. Takže například se tady hrálo představení pro děti o Krabatovi, ale zároveň se tady promítal i film pro dospělé o Krabatovi, takže jsme se snažili zahrnout prostě všechno.

M: Ok, děkuju. Poslední výstava nese název “Lusatian Sorbs, Unknown Neighbours”, „Lužičtí Srbové, neznámí sousedé“. Proč jste zvolili právě slovo "neznámí"?

V: No, to je... Já se sice směju, ale ono je to spíš smutné. Já se přiznám, že mě, že nás vlastně když jsme vymýšleli ten název té výstavy, tak nás k tomu přivedla už několik let vlastně, před několika lety vlastně setkání, já nebudu říkat, jaká to byla osoba, ale byla to osoba, která byla poměrně postavená, co se týče veřejné správy a tomu, když jsme říkali o lužických Srbech tak on se na nás podíval a říkal: „kdo to je?“. A to bylo, to byl vlastně ten impuls, protože opravdu ta blízkost tady je malá, šedesát kilometrů, to je blíž než do Prahy z Liberce. A přesto, troufám si říct, 80, 85 procent lidí neví, že tady tak blízký národ vedle nás, nám tak podobný, a tak blízký, žije. Proto, možná to bylo trochu provokativní, ale já myslím, že Češi se naučili do Lužice jezdit za sportem a za rekreací, navštěvují jezera, jezdí tam na in lajny, ale ta historie, ta bohatost kultury, to zatím pro ně bylo neznámé. Tak já doufám že aspoň trošku, jsme pomohli tomu, aby se to stalo známé.

M: Ok. So jak byste popsala vztahy mezi Lužickými Srby a Českou republikou?

M: Good, ok. So which public did you have? So Czech people or other? Or how old were the persons generally?

V: Because it was mainly directed to our region, that is to say to Liberec and to the large cities in the Liberec region, so of course it was oriented towards Czech people. There is an interesting shift: at the beginning, apart from the opening ceremony and the big concert, there was really a very wide spectrum, but at the beginning the older generation participated in these events, because the older generation knows about the Sorbs. But gradually the middle generation started to join us, and I would say that now, actually, in the final stage, and especially thanks to Facebook and YouTube streaming, the younger generation has also joined in. And that makes us very happy because we tried to make the shows as broad as possible. So, for example, there was a children's show on Krabat, but there was also an adult film on Krabat, so we simply tried to include everybody.

M: Ok, thank you. The last exhibition is called “Lusatian Sorbs, Unknown Neighbours”. Why did you choose the word “unknown”?

V: Well, it's... I am laughing, but it is rather sad. I admit that I, actually, when we found the name of the exhibition, a few years ago, actually, we found it thanks to a meeting actually, I will not say which person it was, but it was a person who was quite important in public administration and when we talked about the Sorbs he looked at us and said, „who is that?“. And that was the impetus, actually, because the distance here is really small, sixty kilometres, which is closer than Prague to Liberec. And yet, I dare say, 80, 85 percent of people do not know that a nation so close to us, so similar to us, and so close to us, lives here. That is why, maybe it was a bit provocative, but I think that the Czechs are used to go to Lusatia for sport and leisure activities, they visit the lakes, they go there to rollerblade, but the history, the richness of the culture, it was unknown to them. So I hope that we have helped, at least a little bit, to make it known.

M: Ok. How would you describe the relations between the Sorbs and the Czech Republic?

V: Já nevím jak... jestli se na to dívat z oficiálního pohledu, tak vím, že se Lužičtí Srbové mají statut naší národnostní menšiny. Víam, že tady je snaha nebo v závislosti od toho, kdo je ve vedení státu, tak ale víceméně ta snaha o tu spolupráci a podporu Lužických Srbů je. Víam, že tady existuje snaha o vysílání českých učitelů do Lužice, ale o tom by vám rozhodně řekli daleko víc ve Společnosti přátel Lužice v Praze. Ale nevím, jestli ta snaha naše jako česká je dostatečná, protože, aspoň co jsem měla možnost slyšet, tak z doposud například byly poměrně velké překážky kladeny například těm českým učitelům ze strany Německa, když chtěli, velké nároky na ně měli kromě toho, že oni by tam měli učit češtinu nebo lužickou srbštinu, tak museli mít například státnice z němčiny a podobně. A to mně přijde takové trošku demotivující, že na jedné straně je ta snaha pomoci, ale na druhé straně tomu brání vlastně někdo třetí. Tak uvidíme, no, jestli se to třeba teď změní nebo ne.

M: Tak. Můžete vysvětlit, proč jsou vztahy takové? In comparison with other countries or other minorities for example, do you think there is a special link between Czech Republic and the Sorbs?

V: No, já nevím, jestli, obecně ono je něco jiného se je dívat na to z pozice běžného občana a něco jiného je dívat se na to z pozice státu. Tak o tom jsme mluvili, a já myslím, že tady je to trošku problém nás jako české mentality, protože si myslím, že my jsme příliš zaměřeni jenom sami na sebe, že máme trochu problémy s vnímáním obecně něčeho odlišného. Ale přitom ti Srbové nejsou odlišní. Přitom ti Srbové nejsou náš nepřítel. Naopak, máme k sobě hodně blízko a myslím si, že mohl by to být pro nás i určitý příklad toho, jak vlastně mohla dopadnout náš vývoj, kdybychom neměli to štěstí, že jsme si mohli vytvořit samostatný stát. Já víam, že tady byly snahy o to, aby Lužice, například, byla součástí českého státu po první světové válce nebo po druhé světové válce, ale je zvláštní, když se na tohle Srbů zeptáte, co si o tom myslí oni, tak oni říkají: „No, kdybychom byli ve společném státě, tak už dneska neexistujem. Už bysme... protože to slovan-ské si je tak blízké, tak už by jsme vlastně s vámi splynuli.“ Takže oni zase naopak vidí, vlastně v tom, že žijí uprostřed německého národa, tak v tom vidí vlastně svoje plus z toho, že vlastně se mohou rozvíjet dál, a že vlastně mohou stále dodržovat ty svoje tradice a vlastně nést tu kulturu dál dopředu.

V: I do not know how...if you look at it from an official point of view, I know that the Sorbs have national minority statut here. I know that there is an effort or, depending on who is the head of the state, but more or less there is an effort for to cooperate with the Sorbs and support them. I know that there is an effort to send Czech teachers to Lusatia, but the association Společnost přátel Lužice in Prague could certainly tell you much more about this. But I do not know whether our efforts as Czechs are sufficient because, at least from what I have heard so far, for example, there have been quite big obstacles put in the way of Czech teachers by Germany, for example, when they wanted to, they had big demands on them, not only that they should teach Czech or Sorbian there, but that they had to pass, for example, a state exam in German and so on. And I find that a little bit demotivating, that on the one hand, there is this effort to help, but on the other hand, it is actually prevented by a third party. So we will see if that changes now or not.

M: Yes. Do you think that the Sorbs and the Czech Republic have special relations? In comparison with other countries or other minorities for example, do you think there is a special link between Czech Republic and the Sorbs?

V: Well, I do not know if, in general, it is one thing to look at it from the position of an ordinary citizen and another to look at it from the position of the state. So that is what we were talking about, and I think that there is a little bit of a problem with the Czech mentality, because I think that we are too focused on ourselves, that we have a little bit of a problem with perceiving something different in general. But at the same time, the Sorbs are not different. At the same time, those Sorbs are not our enemies. On the contrary, we are very close to each other, and I think it could be kind of an example for us of how our development could have actually turned out if we had not been lucky enough to create an independent state. I know that there were attempts here to make Lusatia, for example, part of the Czech state after the First World War or after the Second World War, but it is strange that when you ask the Sorbs what they think about this, they say, "Well, if we were in a common state, we would not exist today. We would not be... because the Slavs are so close to each other that we would have actually merged with you by now." So they, on the other hand, they actually see in the fact that they live in the middle of Germany, they see it as a plus, that they can actually develop further and that they can actually still keep their traditions and actually carry the culture forward.

M: Ok. So do jaké míry může podle vás Česká republika pomoci udržet lužickosrbskou identitu?

V: No, to už jsme se vlastně o tom bavili taky. Já myslím, že ze strany České republiky ta snaha o tu pomoc tady je. Ale pokud tam je prostě bráněno ne ze strany srbské, ale ze strany německé, tak je to hodně těžké. Ale to, co není odvislé od těchto mezinárodních vztahů, tak si myslím, že je právě třeba taková ta činnost, kterou se snažíme vyvíjet my. To povědomí o Lužických Srbech prostě neustále alespoň šířit, aby prostě a alespoň v části těch, kteří se o to zajímají, ta povědomost byla a vlastně se nějakým způsobem nesla i dál.

M: Ok, dobře. So, we are coming to the end of the interview. Chcete něco dodat?

V: Ne, děkuji.

M: Ok.

V: Já jenom děkuji, že jste se na nás obrátila a myslím, že říkám, jsou to všechno ryze mé osobní pocity a vlastně zážitky, které jsem vlastně při těch osobních kontaktech získala.

M: Ok, děkuju.

V: Není zač.

M: Na shledanou.

V: Na shledanou.

M: Ok. So according to you, to what extent can the Czech Republic help maintain Sorbian identity?

V: Well, we have actually talked about that too. I think that the Czech republic makes an effort to help. But if there is an obstacle not only from the Sorbian side, but also from the German side, then it is very difficult. But it, that does not depend on these international relations, so I think that it is precisely the kind of activity that we are trying to develop. Just to spread the awareness about the Sorbs all the time, so that at least those who are interested in it are aware of the situation and that the action actually continues in some way.

M: Ok, good. So, we are coming to the end of the interview. Would you like to add something?

V: No, thank you.

M: Ok.

V: I just want to thank you for contacting us and I think that I say, all of these are only my personal feelings and actually the experiences that I have had as a result of those personal contacts.

M: Ok, thank you.

V: You are welcome.

M: Goodbye.

V: Goodbye.

Annex XIII: Content Analysis X

Time	Topics	Subjects covered by the interviewee	Comments/Interpretation
01:53 – 02:10	Presentation of the interviewee	*Ist X, ist 20 Jahre alt und studiert Gymnasiallehramt für Sport und Russisch.	
02:11 – 03:41	Personal links with the Sorbs	<p>*Ist Sorbin. Ihre Muttersprache ist Sorbisch. Ist im Sorbischen Schulen gegangen und hat sorbisch dort schreiben gelernt. Deutsch erst als ihre Zweitsprache. Fühlt sich mit der sorbischen Kultur sehr eng verbunden. Ist einfach ihr ganzes Leben.</p> <p>*In der Oberlausitz geboren.</p> <p>*Spricht obersorbisch.</p> <p>*Hat das Gymnasium in Bautzen besucht und davor noch die sorbische Grundschule hier in ihrem Ort, wo sie wohnt. Wo sie herkommt.</p> <p>*Ist Mitglied in der Sorabia, ein Studenten Verein in Leipzig für sorbische Studenten.</p>	<p>Takes time to think and makes a very long sentence.</p> <p>Very short answer.</p> <p>Says first it is where she lives and takes it back saying “where I come from”. Probably means she does not live there anymore.</p>

03:42 – 05:16	Sorbian Identity	<p>*Die Sprache bildet es auf jeden Fall. Spricht das mit ihrer Familie, mit allen Freunden und eigentlich hier im Ort auch mit allen. Ist für sie eine Vertrautheit zwischen den Menschen, man kennt sich untereinander nicht direkt aber dadurch, dass alle dieselbe Sprache sprechen, fühlt man sich enger und ein bisschen vertrauter. Besondere an den Sorben findet sie ist das wie alle untereinander.</p> <p>*Jeder kennt jeden so ein bisschen. Man weiß wo der andere herkommt, sind nicht so viele, und bei der Obersorben ist, so man weiß ungefähr wo die Person herkommt, was sie gerade macht, ob sie studiert oder arbeitet, welche Kirche sie gerade gehört also welche Gemeinde. Besonders weil man immer alles im Blick hat und man erfährt auch immer über den Ursprung vieles über die anderen Leute.</p> <p>*Die Kultur gehört ganz stark mit dazu, alle singen und tanzen gern. Immer so eine Freude, wenn man die Wahl dazu trifft die steckt alle an. Ganz besonders bei den Sorben. Kann auch sein, dass andere das auch haben, aber kennt es jetzt von ihrer Kultur.</p>	<p>Waits five seconds before answering. Stresses the word “Sprache”. Speaks very fast and makes short pauses from time to time to think.</p> <p>Seems to hesitate when saying “enger” and “ein bisschen vertrauter”.</p> <p>Speaks suddenly very fast when she says “man weiß wo der andere herkommt” and then normal again. Speaks only about the Upper Sorbs so makes a difference with the Lower Sorbs. Makes a pause after “man”.</p> <p>Says for the third time that it is especially with the Sorbs. Stops speaking and adds suddenly something to qualify what she said.</p>
05:19 – 07:00	Current situation of the Sorbs	<p>*Aktuell noch stabil. Sind noch eine große Zahl, nicht vom Aussterben bedroht aber viele verlieren gerade die Sprache. Englisch und Deutsch haben jetzt einen starken Einfluss auf die Jugendlichen und so dass, sonst natürlich alles negativ aus. Die Schulen können das nicht allein bewerkstelligen,</p>	<p>Speaks slowly and makes pauses to think about her answer. (Noise of a sheet being crumpled). Stresses “große Zahl”.</p> <p>(Noise in the background).</p>

		<p>dass das Sorbische erhalten bleibt. Die Eltern müssten darauf achten und vor allem muss sich jeder, selbst an die Nase fassen. Achtet jetzt darauf, dass sie häufig sorbisch spricht und auch ihre Familie sorbisch erziehe. Denkt das wird noch weiter bestehen bleiben, dass sie es schaffen.</p> <p>*Wirklich nicht schwer in Leipzig, sorbisch zu finden. Sind sehr viele sorbische Studenten und ein paar junge Familien auch. Wohnt zum Beispiel mit ihrer besten Freundin zusammen, die auch Sorbin ist. Ihre Schwester wohnt auch in Leipzig. Mit der und eine andere beste Freundin trifft sie sich manchmal. Ansonsten viel Kontakt mit den anderen Studenten in den ähnlichen Studiengängen und sie tauscht sich mit denen auch auf Sorbisch aus. Ist kein Problem in Leipzig.</p>	<p>Speaks fast, probably because she knows already what to answer.</p>
07:02 – 08:33	Relations of the Sorbs with the Germans	<p>*Ihr ist es nicht passiert. War damals noch zu jung, dass sie auf diesen Partys gewesen wäre, aber das ist ein Familienmitglied von ihr passiert, dass Dinge rassistisch angegangen wurden. Deswegen betrifft sich das auch und sie hatte damals ein bisschen die Furcht gepackt. Hat das auch von anderen gehört, dass das auf anderen Veranstaltungen passiert ist. Da hat man immer darauf geachtet, wer verdächtig aussehen wollt oder was für Gruppen kommen, die speziell gekleidet sind oder spezielle Bemerkungen von sich geben. Aber ehrlich hat sie nie persönlich betroffen und findet auch nicht, dass sie Angst haben sollte. Ist eigentlich Stolz, Sorbin zu sein. Steht im Grundgesetz, dass sie das Recht hat,</p>	<p>Speaks fast, maybe because she is not very comfortable talking about this topic.</p> <p>(Noise made by the tramway).</p>

17:28 – 19:24		<p>sorbisch zu sprechen und zu lernen. Hat immer die Möglichkeit dagegen vorzugehen. Findet für sie persönlich jetzt gerade nicht so schwierig. Ist auch ein Mädchen. Verbindet jetzt zum Beispiel auch nicht, aber wenn sie jetzt ein junger Mann wäre, wäre es vielleicht gefährlicher.</p> <p>*Als sie jünger war, hatte grundsätzlich etwas gegen die Deutschen, weil die immer so sagen „Scheiß Sorben“ und „geht ihr weg“. War stark gewöhnt, Sorbisch zu sprechen und im normalen Ding musste Deutsch sprechen. Deswegen war immer so ein bisschen anti-Deutsch und wollte, dass die Sorben ein eigenes Land bilden. Fand andere Leute auch nicht sorbisch genug und dass die das ganze Sorbische besudeln. Ist jetzt aber anders, weil wenn sie so Tschechien und Polen anguckt, sind das Länder wo der Fortschritt nicht so stark wie in Deutschland ist. Ist froh, dass sie in Deutschland leben. Haben hier das Recht, dass sie Sorben sind und sind auch geschützt. Fühlt sie sich auf jedenfalls dort sicher. Weiß, dass es in Tschechien und Polen vielleicht anders wäre, aber sprechen trotzdem nicht die dortige Sprache und deswegen wäre der Unterschied vielleicht auch nicht ganz so groß. Da könnte es vielleicht auch wieder bei ihnen Verschiedenheiten geben. Wäre eine slawische Sprache, aber findet, dass es ihnen in Deutschland echt gut geht.</p>	<p>Stresses “Mädchen”.</p> <p>(Noise in the background)</p> <p>Hesitates when she says “anti-Deutsch”.</p> <p>Makes pauses to say the right words. Her voice is high-pitched when she says “Länder”, probably because she is not very comfortable. Stresses the words “das Recht” and “geschützt”.</p> <p>When thinking about what makes them closer to the Czechs and the Poles, she only mentions the language and does not speak about the culture.</p>
08:36 – 10:35	Personal experience with	*War in Polen in der vierten Klasse auf Klassenfahrt für ein paar Tage, weil ihr Ort eine Partnerschaft in Polen hat. War einen Austausch, ihre Klasse ist dahin für eine Woche	Laughs as someone enters the room and looks at him to make him understand she is busy.

13:41 – 14:42	Poland and the Czech Republic	<p>gefahren und eine Schulklasse von denen ist bei ihnen gewesen. Man hat sich ein bisschen mit den Kindern und Jugendlichen verständigen können, aber es hat nicht den Bezug gefunden, vor allem wegen der Sprache. Haben nie Polnisch gelernt. Die Erwachsenen konnten sie sich verständigen aber sie untereinander eher nicht. Haben sowieso gespielt. Ist bei Kindern kein Problem wegen der Sprache. Ansonsten war noch nie länger als für ein paar Stunden in Polen, wenn man durchgefahren ist.</p> <p>*War schon mehrmals in Tschechien zum Schifahren oder im Urlaub. In Prag zum Beispiel letztes Jahr. Hat auch 3 Jahren tschechisch als Fremdsprache gelernt, von der zweiten bis zu vierten Klasse. War bei ihrer Schule so. Hat es danach leider alles vergessen, weil sie am Gymnasium russisch stattdessen gelernt hat. Ein paar Wörter weiß sie noch. Versteht das Tschechische ein bisschen besser als das Polnische aber leider echt wenig. Wenn sie liest, kann sie ihr die Wörter ableiten, aber mit jemandem der auf Tschechisch spricht, versteht sie relativ wenig.</p> <p>*Kann nicht mehr so viel tschechisch deswegen kann kein Parallel mit russisch zielen. Aber damals in der Grundschule hat das schon viel erkannt. Einige Wörter sind zu international wie zum Beispiel „Banana“, „Banána“ auf Tschechisch. Vieles kann man sich ableiten, zum Beispiel die Personalpronomen sind irgendwie gleich und die Zahlen sind auch sehr ähnlich. Die Basics sind in Tschechisch sehr</p>	<p>Slightly contradicts herself, as she said earlier “es hat nicht den Bezug gefunden, vor allem wegen der Sprache”.</p> <p>Stresses some words like “Tschechien” or “mehrmals” while she thinks about her experience with the Czech Republic.</p> <p>Corrects herself and qualifies her answer, saying first she understands Czech “besser” and adding after “ein bisschen besser”.</p> <p>Takes time to think.</p> <p>Makes a mistake about the Czech word for “Banana“. It is “Banán“ in Czech.</p>
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<p>10:46 – 11:44</p> <p>11:45 – 12:03</p>		<p>ähnlich aber im russisch auch nicht sehr viel anders. Kennt eigentlich nur das russisch, deswegen sieht da sehr viele Parallelen. Wenn sie jetzt Tschechisch auch noch könnte, wäre das vielleicht anders.</p> <p>*Fühlt sich dort ganz angenehm, weil sie von dem Geräusch, von der Sprache ähnlich sind, sie hört ähnliche Klänge zuhause. Hat in Prag auf Englisch kommuniziert. Die älteren Leute sagen immer, man kann auch gut den sorbischen in Tschechien klarkommen und einfach sorbisch sprechen, die verstehen einen, aber ist um Welten schwieriger, als wenn man einfach Englisch mit den Leuten spricht, die das auch können. Deswegen versucht man es auch oft auf Englisch. Aber man fühlt sich in slawischen Ländern eigentlich relativ wie zu Hause.</p> <p>*Nicht insbesondere in Polen und Tschechien, würde sagen allgemein in slawischen Ländern, weil die Leute auch interessiert sind, wenn sie das Sorbische hören.</p>	<p>Seems to be searching for the right words and speaks suddenly very fast.</p> <p>Here again seems to be searching for the right word and makes a pause before saying “wie zu Hause”.</p> <p>Speaks very fast. Seems to be sure about what to answer.</p>
<p>12:05 – 12:30</p>	<p>Knowledge of the Czechs and the Poles about the Sorbs</p>	<p>*Hören zu und fragen „was ist das für eine Sprache?“ und dann sagt man, man ist Sorbe, sie denken erstmal man ist Serbe, aber dann sagt man, man ist Lausitzer Sorbe und dann verstehen die das. War einmal in Kroatien und einen Mann hat gesagt „Ach stimmt, meine Oma hatte mal davon erzählt“. Der wusste auch, wo sie herkommen, er hat es gekannt. Die älteren Leute kennen es meisten noch, die junge Leute wissen nicht was das Sorbische ist.</p>	<p>Stresses “Sorbe” and “Serbe”.</p> <p>Makes a small pause after “herkommen” to think and says to herself “Ja, genau” as she remembers the story.</p>

12:31 – 13:29		<p>*Hat nochmal Tschechen kennen gelernt. Die haben sie gefragt was sie spricht. Hat Lausitzer sorbisch gesagt und sie meinten „das gibt es nicht“. Hat das auf Google, bei Wikipedia und Google Maps gezeigt, wo sie ungefähr wohnen. Dann meinten sie „nein nein, ihr seid Serben und ihr seid irgendwie übergewandert“. Das gibt auch häufig im Internet, dass irgendjemand sagt die Sorben sind eigentlich Serben, die sich umgesiedelt haben. Ist schwierig das zu erklären, weil die meisten das nicht verstehen oder nicht glauben, dass es sowas gibt. Oder die denken sie sind umgesiedelte Serben oder sowas.</p>	<p>Has specified to the Czechs she speaks “sorbisch aber Lausitzer sorbisch”.</p> <p>“Nein, nein” shows that those people were convinced they were Serbian and did not want to believe that the Sorbs exist.</p> <p>Stresses the word “Serben”.</p>
10:36 – 10:43 14:44 – 15:28	Sorbian-Czech and Sorbian-Polish relations	<p>*Zur Geschichte weiß sie leider nichts. Kann sein, dass sie das im Unterricht behandelt hat, aber hat es bestimmt vergessen.</p> <p>*Ihr Ort hat eine Partnerstadt in Polen. Das weiß sie. Glaubt das gibt so was wie ein Programm was Sorben nach Prag... Glaubt es gibt Tschechen, die ganz vernarrt in die Sorben sind. Leute kommen auch hier immer hin. Weiß das nicht so genau. Kann da nicht beantworten.</p>	<p>Makes a small pause between “leider” and “nichts”, probably to have time to think and to be sure she does not remember anything. Laughs slightly when she says she has probably forgotten it.</p> <p>Thinks for 6 seconds before answering. Is not sure and does not finish her sentences. Stresses the word “Tschechen”.</p> <p>Tries to think about some things but after a long pause, admits she does not really know.</p>

15:31 – 17:24		<p>*Ist eine schwierige Frage. Glaubt die Sorben haben zu den Tschechen und Polen vielleicht schon eine besondere Beziehung, weil als damals auch die DDR existiert hat, konnten sie im Osten bloß nach Tschechien, nach Polen und so weiter konnten sie eigentlich gar nicht. Sie nicht aber ihre Eltern vielleicht, und das ist für die sowas wie Urlaub gewesen. Heute immer noch, aber das war für die damals, die einzige Möglichkeit, um ins Ausland zu kommen. Die Jugendlichen pilgern auch einmal im Jahr nach Tschechien, das ist so eine Wallfahrt. Ist auch noch eine Sache, die sie irgendwie verbindet. Dass sie so eine besondere Beziehung mit Polen und die Tschechen haben, im Großen und Ganzen nicht, weil die kennen die Sorben nicht alle. Aber die Sorben kennen die Tschechen und die Polen deswegen denkt sie, dass sie da eine Beziehung unter slawischen Geschwistern bestehen haben. Weil sie auch Nachbar sind, denkt das ist alles wie ein kleines Dreieck um Görlitz herum und glaubt da existieren schon ein paar Bände und vielleicht auch mehr Sachen, die alle zusammen machen. Weiß nicht wie das heißt, zum Beispiel Veranstaltungen. Glaubt, da gibt es Sachen, aber davon weiß sie leider einfach nichts.</p>	<p>First speaks to herself: “das ist so ja” and then tells me that it is a difficult question. Her voice tone while saying “Ich glaube” shows that she is hesitating.</p> <p>Uses the pronoun “wir” and then corrects herself explaining she was not born at that time. Uses then the pronoun “sie”.</p> <p>Slightly contradicts herself because she said at the beginning that the Sorbs had “schon eine besondere Beziehung zu den Tschechen und Polen”. Speaks about “slawischen Geschwister”, which concerns all Slavic countries, but mentions then the geographical proximity with the Czech Republic and Poland and speaks about “ein kleines Dreieck um Görlitz herum”.</p>
19:28 – 22:02	<p>Role of the Czech Republic and Poland in the maintenance of Sorbian identity</p>	<p>*Weiß nicht, ob sie ihnen unbedingt helfen können, dass das Sorbische halten bleibt. Wenn sie die Festen hier besuchen und sich vielleicht ankucken, wie das bei den Sorben ist, sich informieren, wird das Interesse auch geweckt. Ist sehr abhängig aber, dass, vielleicht junge Tschechen und Polen Sorbisch lernen, sich für die Sprache interessieren, das in Leipzig studieren können. Gibt da Leute, die überhaupt nicht</p>	<p>Makes several pauses to think about her answer.</p> <p>Speaks suddenly very fast.</p>

		<p>mit den Sorbischen zu tun haben und die Sprache einfach in Leipzig studieren, weil es sie interessiert. Da kommen auch sehr begabte Menschen in Sprachen dabei, die auch helfen können, das Sorbische weiterzuentwickeln, und vielleicht ein anderes Bildungssystem zu entwickeln damit die Sorbische erhalten bleibt und noch besser vermittelt, auch zu Kindern, die zum Beispiel muttersprachlich Deutsch sind. Dabei könnten die helfen oder vielleicht, wenn sich Polen und Sorben zusammen eine Familie gründen, wären die Kinder polnisch und sorbisch und das wäre kein großer Unterschied wie Deutsch und Sorbisch. Die Kinder werden auch mehrsprachig. Aber wenn die Kinder Deutsch und Sorbisch lernen, dann verfällt man unter den Kindern meistens eher ins Deutsche, weil das einfach ist, weil beide das können, als wenn ein Kind richtig gut sorbisch könnte und das andere fast gar nicht. Wenn vielleicht ein Kind nur Polnisch und Sorbisch könnte, dann müssen die Kinder, die beiden Fälle Sorbisch zusammen bringen um sich zu verstehen. War bei ihr damals so in ihrer Kindergarten Gruppe, sie waren alle sorbisch bis auf zwei Kinder und die mussten sich dann an die anderen anpassen, weil sie alle überhaupt kein Deutsch konnten, und die konnten gebrochenes Sorbisch. Haben dann eben erst später Deutsch gelernt, und ist heute eher anders, weil die Kindergarten Gruppe sehr stark gemischt sind. Deswegen sprechen die Kinder eher Deutsch miteinander als Sorbisch.</p>	<p>Her voice is high-pitched when she says “ins Deutsche”.</p> <p>Begins her sentence slowly and speaks then fast.</p> <p>Stresses “gebrochenes”.</p>
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Annex XIV: Content Analysis C. Škoda

Time	Topics	Subjects covered by the interviewee	Comments/Interpretation
02:34 – 04:56	Presentation of the interviewee	<p>*Ist Clemens Škoda. Ist Referent für Kultur und Ausland bei der Domowina, dem bunt der Lausitzer Sorben e. V., der Interessenvertretung der Sorben, ein Dachverband mit achtzehn Verbänden. Fünf Regionalverbände, die gliedern sich in fünf Teile, in der Niederlausitz, um Weißwasser, Hoyerswerda, Bautzen, Kamenz und dann gibt es noch dreizehn [unverständlich]</p> <p>*Ok. Ja, hört gut.</p> <p>*Sollte am besten nochmal wiederholen?</p> <p>*Kein Problem. Also nochmal. Ist Clemens Škoda. Ist Referent für Kultur und Ausland bei der Domowina, dem bunt der Lausitzer Sorben. Ist der Dachvorband der Sorben und auch die Interessenvertretung die politische und ihren Dachverband hat achtzehn Unterverbände. Fünf Regionalverbände in der Niederlausitz um Weißwasser, Hoyerswerda, Kamenz und um Bautzen und dreizehn</p>	<p>Makes a small pause after saying “Lausitzer”.</p> <p>Problems with the internet connection. I could not hear anything.</p> <p>Speaks loud.</p> <p>Says things exactly like the first time. He seems to have prepared the answer to this question.</p>

		<p>fachspezifische Verbände. Zum Beispiel, sorbischer Sängerverband, sorbische Schulvereine, sorbische Künstlerbund, Verband sorbische Handwerker und Unternehmer und so weiter. Insgesamt hat die Domowina siebentausend fünfhundert Mitglieder mit wachsender Tendenz. Haben jedes Jahr einen Zuwachs von einhundert bis zweihundert Mitgliedern, weil neue Regionalgruppen oder Vereine beitreten. Die Domowina hat auch eine Geschäftsstelle, dort ist er angestellt und haben die Bereiche Kultur und die Auslandsvereine. Reicht das erstmal so?</p>	<p>Speaks slowly and clearly. Probably because he wants me to understand what Domowina is.</p> <p>Stresses the word “Mitglieder”.</p> <p>Stresses “Geschäftsstelle”.</p>
05:00 – 06:53	Personal links with the Sorbs	<p>*Ist selber [unverständlich]. Ist in der Lausitz geboren, in Chróst, ein kleiner Ort, westlich von Bautzen. Seine Eltern waren Sorben und sie haben zuhause auch Sorbisch gesprochen. Auch sein Heimatort war sorbisch, also bedeutet, dass mindestens 80% die Sprache sprechen und verstehen, und über 90% die Sprache auch verstehen. War einen überwiegend sorbischen Ort. Ist quasi nach seiner Ausbildung zum Fachinformatiker, hat sein Abitur nachgeholt, und ist dann ein bisschen in die Welt rausgekommen. Hat dann einen Kulturmanagement Bachelor in Görlitz gemacht. Hat da ein halbes Jahr in Tschechien studiert. „Co znamená, že taky mluvím trochu česky.“ Hat dann zwei Jahre als Regionalsprecher der Domowina gearbeitet und ist nochmal zu einem Masterstudiengang nach Leipzig gegangen. War ein halbes Jahr in Wrocław als Austauschstudent mit dem DAAD Stipendium. Ist dann wieder zurück zur Domowina und hat die Lausitz nie wirklich verlassen, hat nur manchmal ein</p>	<p>Sound problems.</p> <p>Speaks fast.</p> <p>Seems to have a lot to say about it.</p> <p>Explains and develops what he says to make sure I understand.</p> <p>Mentions his experience with the Czech Republic before I ask him about it. Speaks in Czech to show he knows the language.</p> <p>Speaks suddenly fast.</p> <p>Makes a pause after “Austauschstudent”.</p>

		<p>bisschen weiter weg studiert. War eine ganze interessante Zeit.</p> <p>*[unverständlich]. Hört mich gut.</p>	<p>Sound problems. I could not understand what he said when I told him “Mluvím trochu česky také” and I had to repeat to make sure he had heard.</p>
06:54 – 10:58	Personal experience with the Czech Republic and Poland	<p>*Ist nach Prag gegangen und war vorher schon in der kulturellen Szene der Sorben sehr aktiv und wusste, dass es in Prag das Verein Společnost přátel Lužice gibt. Hatte vor Ort im Prinzip gleich sorboaffine Menschen, zu denen er auch Kontakt gesucht hat, und hat Vorträge gemacht und sich mit den Leuten getroffen. Daran sind bis heute viele Freundschaften entstanden. Ist mit vier deutschen Kommilitonen, nach Prag gegangen. Hatte einen Monat vorher in Havířov ein Praktikum gemacht. War schon gut im Bereich und relativ gut in Tschechisch drin und konnte im Gegensatz zu seinen drei Deutschen Kommilitonen, relativ schnell Tschechisch sprechen und sich auch verständigen. War schon tschechoaffin vorher, weil wusste, dass das Sorbische sehr nah dem Tschechischen steht, sprachlich und hat da auch wirklich ganz bewusst Kontakt zu Tschechien gesucht. Es gab auch bei der Auswahl der Kurse an der Universität, versucht ein bisschen das Erasmus Programm zu verlassen und hat seine Professoren gebeten, ob er sich in Tschechisch Kursen mit beteiligen kann. Die Sprachkurse für Tschechisch, waren für ihn total einfach, weil die mehr oder weniger auf internationale Studenten aus England, Deutschland zugeschnitten waren. Zum Beispiel: „Ja bydlím w Praze“ ist sorbisch und wie das Tschechische</p>	<p>Sound cut-off.</p> <p>“Sehr sehr nah”: Stresses the proximity between the 2 languages.</p> <p>Speaks about students from Germany and does not include himself in it. Says one sentence in Upper Sorbian.</p> <p>Sound problems.</p>

	<p>[unverständlich]. Versucht als Sorbe ganz bewusst sehr schnell Kontakt zu Tschechen zu finden.</p> <p>*Ähnlich in Poland. War in Wrocław ein halbes Jahr, ein bisschen anders wie in Prag. In Prag war noch junger Student, in Wrocław war mehr oder weniger bedacht, dass er seine Master nachholt. Wusste damals schon, dass seine Frau schwanger war und deswegen ist auch immer jedes Wochenende nach Hause. Da waren die Wochenenden nicht so intensiv wie in Prag wo sie sich in den Klubs getroffen haben und so weiter. In Wrocław war das eher ein Arbeitstudium. In Wrocław gab es auch sorboaffine Menschen. Der Verein vor Ort war nicht so stark, es waren ein paar ältere Menschen. Und auch Vertreter der deutschen Minderheit zu denen hatte damals auch ein bisschen Kontakt. War nicht so intensiv wie in Prag aber ähnlich vor der Intention. Wollte gerne nach Polen damit er Polnische zu mindestens gut verstehen lernen und hat relativ gut sich mit Polnisch, mit jedem Polend verständigen können.</p> <p>*Hatte extra Motivation Polnisch und Tschechisch zu lernen.</p> <p>*War eine der wichtigen Aufgabe und Ziel die er ihm gesetzt, in einem halben Jahr die Sprachen so gut verstehen zu lernen, dass sobald er die tschechische oder polnische</p>	<p>Says the name of the city in Polish and not in German (Breslau).</p> <p>Compares his experience in Wrocław with his experience in Prague.</p> <p>Repeats again that it was not “so intensive wie in Prag” but insists that it was “ähnlich”.</p> <p>Interrupts me to answer positively to my question. It is probably related to the sound delay.</p>
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		Grenze übertretet, eigentlich nicht mehr ins Ausland geht de facto rein sprachlich gesehen. War sein Ziel und hat das erreicht. Das nützt für heute auch sehr viel bei seiner Arbeit, weil sie vielen Projekten mit Polen und Tschechien machen.	Speaks a lot about the linguistic proximity while talking about his experiences in the Czech Republic and in Poland but does not mention the culture. (Wind noise, he is doing the interview in his garden).
10:59 – 13:36	Sorbian identity	<p>*Hat nicht den letzten Satz verstanden. Fragt was die sorbische Identität ist.</p> <p>*Was definiert die sorbische Identität?</p> <p>*Ok, schwierig. Es gibt keine Stereotype in der Form. Oft schauen Fremde auf das Sorbische und denken dabei gleich an Osterreiter, Ostereier, die ganze Traditionen und Trachten. Der Junger Mensch ist heute, demokratisch, freiheitlich, ohne Grenzen aufgewachsen und sind eher wirklich als Mitteleuropäer gesehen, ja quasi Richtung Osten und Westen sich gut verständigen könnte. Da kann mit seiner Sprachkenntnis Polnisch, Tschechisch, Deutsch und Sorbisch, Englisch im kompletten Mitteleuropa bewegen, ohne jetzt wirklich Sprachliche Probleme zu haben. Im Süden, Österreich, die Schweiz, im Osten, Polen, Tschechien und dann Deutschland sowieso also im Bereich ist zu Hause da als sie jetzt rein von der Identität, klar, als Sorbe spielt die Sprache</p>	<p>Did not understand the question.</p> <p>Stresses “definiert”. Wants to be sure that he understands the question correctly.</p> <p>Chooses his words very carefully.</p> <p>Seems to regret that the image of the Sorbs among others has not evolved and does not correspond to what they are today.</p> <p>Seems to list the languages he speaks from the one learned the most recently to his mother tongue. “Englisch natürlich”: he almost forgot English because it is obvious. Enumeration of places.</p> <p>Starts his sentences with “klar”, which reinforces his words.</p>

		<p>eine wichtige Rolle. Hängt davon ab, in wo man sich identifizieren muss. Wenn jetzt zum Beispiel in China wäre und würde dort ein Deutsches touristisches Paar sehen, dann würde sich eher als deutscher Staatsbürger bekennen und sagen „ich komme aus Deutschland“ und wenn das Gespräch tiefgründiger wird, würde sagen, „ich komme aus einem ganz speziellen Teil aus Deutschland, ich bin eigentlich auch noch Sorbe“. Wenn jetzt zum Beispiel in Europa ist, wo noch viele im Prinzip diese Minderheiten kennen oder diese kleine Völker. Zum Beispiel in Tschechien und Polen haben viele noch das Wissen, dass es in Deutschland die Sorben gibt. Dann würde sich schneller als Sorbe identifizieren und in die Eigenschaft der Sorben. Da gibt es zeitig Stereotype wie überall, das ist zum Beispiel, sehr gastfreundliche Menschen sind, vielleicht ein wenig verschlossen gegenüber Fremden. Sind wie gesagt Stereotype und das ist sehr schwierig im Prinzip auch so zu antworten.</p>	<p>Stresses “China”.</p> <p>Considers himself as German and Sorbian.</p> <p>It is interesting that he speaks about how the others see the Sorbs rather than how he sees them.</p> <p>Says again that it is difficult to answer.</p>
13:40 – 17:35	Current situation of the Sorbs	<p>*Das Sorbische ist klar sehr bedroht. Sprechen noch weniger Menschen das Sorbische. Offizielle Zahl sagt es gibt ungefähr noch 60 000 Sorben. Das sind Menschen, die sich im Prinzip zum Sorbischen oder in der Niederlausitz zum Wendischen bekennen. Und die Sprachfertigkeit liegt aber deutlich da runter also vielleicht würde jetzt schätzen sind es vielleicht nur noch 30 000 – 40 000 Menschen mit Sprachfähigkeit also das Sorbische ist schon bedroht. Kennt die Europäische Minderheit Politik und weiß, dass sie im Prinzip in einem guten Staat leben. Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, die Freistaate Sachsen und das Land Brandenburg,</p>	<p>Says it with conviction.</p>

	<p>haben Interesse daran, dass die sorbische Sprache hält und auch gefördert wird. Auch ihre Arbeit als Domowina, das immer dazu betonen und die Bundesrepublik und die Länder da auch in Verantwortung zu ziehen. Aber im Vergleich zu anderen Minderheiten wie die Occitaner, die Bretonen in Frankreich zum Beispiel oder in die Westthrakientürken in Griechenland sind aufgrund des Staatsaufbaues, nicht wirklich als Minderheit anerkannt und auch ignoriert. Das bedeutet bei Ihnen sind ganz konkrete Minderheiten rechtlich festgeschrieben, in der Verfassung des Freistaates Sachsen oder in der Protokollnotiz der Vereinigung von Osten und West Deutschland auch steht ganz klar definiert, dass es eine Staatsaufgabe ist, das Sorbische zu unterstützen. Demnach kommt auch die Verantwortung des Staates, Förderung bereit zu stellen, von einem Staatsvertrag, wo das Land Brandenburg, Sachsen und die Bundesrepublik im Geld zusammenlegen, damit die Sorben ihre Kulturautonomie selber gestalten können. Klar umso mehr umso besser sie gefördert werden, umso mehr Instrumente für ihre Kultur und Sprache zu fördern und weiterzuentwickeln. Zurzeit ist Sorbische Lehrkräfte zu bekommen eine große Herausforderung. Gibt eine Personalnot ganz konkret. Auch Personalnot bei der Digitalisierung. Die modernen, großen Sprachen haben inzwischen Instrumente wie Google Translater, oder Wort zu Schrift Erkennung und so weiter. Die Sorben haben das noch nicht, weil nicht marktrelevant sind, dass es sich für große Konzerne wie Microsoft oder Google lohnt. Diese Instrumente fehlen Ihnen, die müssen sie selbst entwickeln. Digitalisierung ist eine große Herausforderung.</p>	<p>Emphasises the role of Germany, Saxony and Brandenburg in the maintenance of Sorbian language.</p> <p>Takes probably the example of minorities in France because I am French.</p> <p>Stresses the status of the Sorbs in Germany.</p> <p>Seems to say that Sorbian is not a modern language.</p>
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		<p>Auch der Strukturwandel in der Lausitz zieht sich, der Auszug aus der Braunkohle zu neuen Entwicklungen, wie alternative Industrien, attraktiverer Tourismus und so weiter. Hofft, dass man sie da nicht vergisst und schafft, durch diesen Strukturwandel, neuer Akzente zu setzen. Zum Beispiel, konsequente zweisprachige Beschilderung so weiter. Könnte dazu 5 Stunden erzählen, hofft das reicht erst mal so als Einblick.</p>	<p>Speaks about the economic difficulties of Lusatia that impact them directly.</p>
17:36 – 20:26	Relations of the Sorbs with the Germans	<p>*Ach Image, jetzt weiß was ich meine, das Image, ok! Dazu kann noch etwas sagen. Es gibt diese Fälle, dass man zum Beispiel Ortschilder, zweisprachige Ortschilder beschmiert hat, oder dass es auch einzelne Angriffe auf Sorben gibt. Glaubt, aber das sind ein paar Einzelfälle, die es überall gibt. Auch in Frankreich, oder in der Tschechischen Republik gegenüber scheinbar Fremdartigen. Aber in Grunde genommen, jetzt mal außen 200 Jahre zurück reflektiert, haben es die Sorben und Deutschen in der Region, immer geschafft, friedlich miteinander zu leben. Idioten gibt es überall. Müssen als Sorben jeden Tag dafür kämpfen, dass ihre Sprache und Kultur Ansehen und Akzeptanz bekommt. Ist einen tagtäglichen Kampf, ein tagtägliches Bemühen, um Akzeptanz. Zum Beispiel wenn eine private Person ein Geschäft eröffnet, dass man sich vielleicht, auch wenn sie selber nicht sorbisch spricht, vielleicht daran denkt, in zwei sprachige Siedlungsgebiete, eine zweisprachige Beschriftung anzubringen. Da es gibt gesetzliche Regelungen, die verbindlich für Kommunale Träger oder öffentlich-rechtlicher Träger das verbindlich fordern. Das sind Gesetze, aber bei</p>	<p>I mispronounced the word “Image”, so he did not understand the question the first time.</p> <p>Takes once again the example of France to help me understand what he wants to say.</p> <p>Stresses the word “Idioten”.</p> <p>Corrects himself and replaces the word “Kampf” by “Bemühen”.</p> <p>Makes small pauses.</p>

		<p>Privatpersonen, die sind jetzt nicht an diese Gesetze gebunden, weil sie nicht öffentlich-rechtlich sind. Das tägliche Image der Sorben ist auch selber, immer von dieser bilateralen Beziehung abhängig zwischen Deutschen und Sorben. Denkt, wenn wir Sorben, es gemeinsam mit den Deutschen Bewohnern in der Region schaffen, gemeinsam positive Momente zu schaffen. Zum Beispiel mit einem Folklore Festival zeigen können, wie bunt und interessant sorbische Folklore ist, kombiniert mit ausländischen Gruppen, können das gemeinsam erreichen.</p> <p>Würde jetzt nicht dramatisieren, obwohl diese Einzelfälle wirklich zum Verurteilen sind, aber man bekommt da schnell den Eindruck, dass hier jeder Sorbe gegen jeden Deutschen irgendwie Probleme hat. Ist eigentlich nicht so.</p>	<p>“Eindruck”: insists that there is no general problem between the Sorbs and the Germans and that those are isolated cases.</p>
20:27 – 30:05	Relations of Domowina with foreign countries	<p>*Ist sein Berufsfeld oder sein Tätigkeitsbereich. Kommt hauptsächlich auch durch die Verbindungen der Domowina. Sind durch die Minderheit Rat verbunden mit der vier autochthonen anerkannten Minderheit in Deutschland also Sinti und Roma, den Friesen und die Dänen im Norden. Auf Europäische Ebene, sind Mitglied in der FUEN, das ist die föderalistische Union europäischer Volksgruppen, die 90 Mitglieder hat, die auch aus kleinen Domowinas bestehen. Da gibt es die verschiedensten Minderheiten angefangen bei den Russinen in der Ukraine, bei den Tschechen in der Slowakei, die Kroaten in Serbien, dann bei den Deutschen in Polen und so weiter. Sind alle mit ihren Organisationen</p>	<p>Talks about the relations of Domowina with the other minorities in Germany even though I excluded Germany in my question.</p> <p>Enumeration of minorities which are members of the FUEN.</p>

		<p>Mitglied in der FUEN. Haben immer wieder Begegnungen mit diesen Minderheit Gruppen. Zum Beispiel, veranstalte die FUEN alle vier Jahre den Fußballturnier der Minderheit Europeada und dort haben schon in diesen Projekten Kontakt mit 20-30 europäische Minderheiten. Daraus stehen wir um kulturelle Beziehungen und weitere Aktivitäten. Waren bei der Europeada 2016 in Südtirol bei der Deutschen Minderheit in Italien, und hatte da ihre Frauenmannschaft ein Spiel gegen die Rätoromanen. Zwei Jahre später haben die Rätoromanen sie nochmal extra eingeladen und so konnten sie in die Schweiz. Auf der europäischen Ebene ist es wirklich multilateral mit allen Minderheiten zusammen im Austausch über die FUEN, weil man sich zu den Kongressen oder auch über die Jugendarbeit trifft. Auf der Welt Ebene gibt es den CIOFF, ein großes Netzwerk der globalen Folklore Festivals und Folklore Gruppen. Diese sind unterteilt in Sektoren, wie Europa Sektor und diese Sektoren sind wieder unterteilt in Sektionen. Domowina ist Mitglied in der Sektion Deutschland mit sechs anderen sorbischen Institutionen oder Vereinen. Engagieren sich auf dem Feld und können auf dieser Plattform, Folklore Festivals vorbereiten. Wenn zum Beispiel möchten nächstes Mal gerne eine indonesische Gruppe einladen, dann beteiligt ihr Vorsitzender des Festivals sich Anmelde Kongress, sucht dann eben Vertreter von den Indonesien und ist so die Austauschplattform. Noch viele bilaterale Beziehungen, zum Beispiel, klar, ganz natürlich gibt es...</p> <p>[Legen Sie das einfach da vorne hin]</p>	<p>Gives a concrete example. (Noise in the background).</p> <p>Speaks to someone else.</p>
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		<p>nach Tschechien und Polen. Das sind teilweise kommunale Partnerschaften, zu einzelnen Ortschaften. Štětí hatte zum Beispiel große Probleme nach dem Hochwasser und da haben sie als sorbische Organisation Hilfsmittel und Hilfsgüter gesammelt und haben denen da im Prinzip entsprechen auf internationale Ebene geholfen.</p> <p>[Vielen Dank, schönes Wochenende]</p> <p>Die Post war grad da.</p> <p>Auch Kontakte zu den höheren Ebenen. Zum Beispiel das Minority SafePack, eine Initiative der europäischen Minderheiten und auch Austausch mit dem europäischen Vertreter aus der Europäische Kommission, das aber dann wirklich eher über die FUEN. Die Sorben, hatten vor zwei Jahre die Möglichkeit, im tschechischen Senat die Lage des sorbischen Volkes nahe zu bringen. So immer einen Austausch nach Bedarf. Es gibt Botschaften, die möchten gerne die Sorben kennen lernen und dann sind die bei ihnen in Bautzen zu Gast. Hatten letztes Jahr den Erzbischof von Prag bei ihnen in Bautzen zu Gast. Es gibt ganz viele Aktionen.</p> <p>*Natürlich Polen und Tschechien sind räumlich die Nächsten. Bei Projekten spielt oft die Distanz eine wichtige Rolle. Man kann nicht jeden Tag ein Projekt mit Mexico machen, weil da noch die Kosten und alles was mit dem Projekt verbunden ist, extrem steigen. Sind auch bestrebt in Mitteleuropa, als Sorben auch Brücken zu schlagen zwischen den Deutschen und den Tschechischen und Polnischen Nachbarn. Vorletzte Woche haben zum Beispiel ein Projekt für</p>	<p>Gives here again a concrete example.</p> <p>Speaks to someone else. Explains me to who he was speaking.</p> <p>“Ganz, ganz viele Aktionen”: insists that a lot is done.</p> <p>Says several times “klar”.</p>
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		<p>den Deutsch-Tschechische Zukunft als Domowina unterschrieben, welches mit der Partnerschaft das Společnost přátel Lužice in Prag funktioniert. Die letzte zwei Jahre haben mit Hilfe von Freistaat Sachsen die Hórník-Bibliothek in Prag restauriert, welche durch das Hochwasser beschädigt wurde. Es gibt ganz viele Begegnungen, wo sie dann wirklich immer wieder gefragt sind.</p> <p>*Bekommen oft aus dem Ausland Anfragen, meisten sind das kulturelle [unverständlich] Folklore Festivals, auch mit viel Konzerte. Einfache Anfragen bei der Domowina, „wir würden gerne eine sorbische Gruppe kennen lernen. Können sie uns jemanden delegieren?“ Und dann suchen bei den Sorben entsprechende Gruppen, die Zeit hätten und haben auch einen kleinen Fond für diese Delegierungsreise. Können dort so auch als Kulturpolitisches Instrument Gruppen ins Ausland versetzten. Anfrage zum Beispiel aus Rumänien, Folklore Festival fragt bei den Sorben an, „wir haben gerne eine Sorbische Gruppe“ und dann versuchen eine sorbische Gruppe zu finden und auch die Reise zu ermöglichen, damit dieser Austausch auch lebendig bleiben kann.</p> <p>*Immer in Projekt abhängig, zum Beispiel gibt es sehr interessierte traditionelle Metier, die gerne nach Dolní Bojanovice fahren. Sind dann eher private Reisen die Pur aus Freundschaften bestehen. Haben in Tschechien zwei assoziierte Vereine, Společnost přátel Lužice und seit letztes</p>	<p>Gives concrete examples about their relations with the Czech Republic. Does not mention any project with Poland.</p> <p>Sound problems.</p> <p>(Noise in the background)</p> <p>Takes Romania as an example, even though the question concerns the Czech Republic and Poland.</p>
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		<p>Jahr Amicum Societas Liberec. Das sind sorbophile Menschen die im letzten Jahr und dieses Jahr noch, das sorbische kulturelle Jahr in Liberec veranstalten. Sind immer spezielle Projekte mit jemandem, auch in dem Ziel zusammengearbeitet wird. Es gibt immer punktuellen Projekte, wie zum Beispiel zu Zeit die Initiative svatá Ludmila, 1100-jähriges Jubiläum. Weil die heilige Ludmila in dem Sorben geehrt wird, sucht man dort zum Beispiel Kontakte zu den Sorben und ganz konkret trägt ein Altersheim diesen Namen in der Lausitz. Konnten das damit verbinden, und da war eine Gruppe mal bei ihnen und sie bei denen. Dasselbe auch mit Polen, vielfältiger. Bei Polen haben mehr assoziierte Vereine die bei ihrer Geschichte, aus der slawistischen Bewegung gekommen sind. Gab slawistischen [unverständlich] mehrere kleine Vereine entstanden. Haben zum Beispiel assoziierte Vereine in Warschau, in Opole, in Wrocław aber auch eine sehr gute Partnerschaft zu Żary, ein Lokalverein, welcher jedes Jahr zu ihnen nach Crostwitz kommt, um dort an die gefallen polnischen Soldaten zu erinnern. Dieses Jahr ausgefallen, wegen der Pandemie aber diese Verbindung gibt es immer Nach wie vor. Probleme ist dort vielleicht, dass es eher ältere Menschen sind, die auch schon zur DDR-Zeit zusammengearbeitet haben. Sind nicht mehr viele, die das wirklich so aktiv betreiben. Beantwortet das ungefähr ihre Frage?</p>	<p>Says “Amicum Societas Liberec” whereas the name of the association is Societas Amicum Liberec.</p> <p>Says her name in Czech and then in German.</p> <p>Hesitates during a few seconds.</p> <p>Sound problems.</p> <p>It is interesting that he mentions by himself who is behind those relations and how it could become a problem in the future. (Clears his throat).</p>
30:11 – 32:58	Sorbian-Czech and Sorbian-	*Also die Beziehungen von den Sorben zu den Tschechen oder zwischen Polen und Tschechien wirklich direkt?	Is not sure to understand the question and asks me to clarify.

	<p>Polish relations</p>	<p>*Das Polnische und das Tschechische sind etwas Faszinierendes für die Sorben schon rein sprachlich. Jeder bewusste Sorbe und jeder der bewusst auch sorbisch spricht und anwendet, wird automatisch das Polnische und Tschechische schon sprachlich faszinierend finden. [unverständlich]. Hatte als Kind einen Aha-Moment, da ist mit seinen Eltern über die Grenze nach Tschechien gefahren und dort wurden ihm zum ersten Mal bewusst, dass sich vieles was die vor Ort erzählt haben, auch verstanden haben. Das ist rein sprachlich gesehen, ist es erst mal so. Und auch geschichtlich gesehen, hatten die Polen und die Tschechen aber aufgrund der Nähe. Denkt dass wenn die Slowakei in der Nachbarschaft liegen würde, wäre das das gleiche. Da viele kulturelle Schnittpunkte, auch sprachlich gesehen. Ist jetzt kein Sprachforscher aber viele Wörter wurden aus dem Tschechischen auch ins Sorbische übernommen, aber das ist schon eine Weile her. Die ganz kulturelle Beziehung hat man versucht auch, von 50 Jahren schon zu pflegen. Da gab es zum Beispiel, eine Begegnung, die jährt dieses Jahr einhundert Jahre, dass Masaryk, was damals der tschechische Präsident war, eine offizielle sorbische Delegation empfangen hat in Prag. Sind alles so geschichtliche Momente, die die Sorben und die Tschechen immer nah an sich gebunden hat. Zum Beispiel gab es den Moment, wo man die Kosten zu Schulen geschlossen hat. Um 2000 rund, hat auch der tschechische Staat da mitgeholfen, indem er gesagt hat „ok, wir geben Unterstützung für diese Proteste“. Ist dann schon eine diplomatische Ebene, die sehr kompliziert wird, in daraus hat sich zum Beispiel dann entwickelt, dass Tschechien zum Beispiel ganz konkret zu den Sorben immer</p>	<p>Directly mentions the language.</p> <p>Sound problems.</p> <p>Emphasises the role of the geographical location. Stresses “Schnittpunkte”.</p> <p>Speaks only about the historical relations with the Czech Republic.</p> <p>(Clears his throat).</p>
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		<p>tschechische Lehrer entsendet, die dann an unsere Schulen mit Tschechisch lernen.</p> <p>*Ok, gut. Wenn sie sagen das reicht, dann ist das ok aber sie können noch nachfragen, wenn etwas nicht gut beantwortet wird, dann können sie das ruhig sagen.</p>	<p>It is interesting that he says it is complicated when it reaches diplomatic level but he does not explain why.</p> <p>Tells me not to hesitate to ask him the questions again if he does not answer correctly to one question. Seems to be not sure if his answers are relevant for me.</p>
33:08 – 35:47	Role of the Czech Republic and Poland in the maintenance of Sorbian identity	<p>*Ja, auf alle Fälle. Auf verschiedene Art Weise. Zum Beispiel versuchen hier vor Ort, einfach als Minderheitenorganisation auch immer für die Vielsprachigkeit zu werben. Also zumindest zweisprachig Deutsch-Sorbisch aber auch zum Beispiel touristische Netzpunkte dort zu werben, dass man das auch mehrsprachig macht, also auch im Polnischen und Tschechischen. Ist für sie auch wichtig, dass die Leute nicht nur, also dass sie einfach das Bewusstsein hier vor Ort für die Sprache haben. Dass auch Leute aus dem Ausland das Sorbische interessant finden und deswegen zu ihnen kommen und sie dadurch vielleicht auch einen qualitativeren und besseren Kulturtourismus hätten. Hilft es ihnen auch auf politische Ebene, zum Beispiel bei offiziellen Treffen. Konstruiert das, sehr naiv ausgedrückt aber im Grunde genommen meint es, dass, wenn zum Beispiel der tschechische Präsident nach dem Sorben fragt, wenn er die deutsche Kanzlerin trifft, und sagt „wie geht’s euren Sorben?“, dann ist es auch eine Art, Interesse von außen, das es den Sorben als Minderheit in Deutschland gut geht und entsprechen</p>	<p>Does not need to think about his answer, knows what to say. Gives concrete examples here again.</p> <p>Mentions again the importance of the language in the Sorbian identity.</p> <p>(Noise of a MS Teams notification).</p>

		<p>Schutz und Förderung bekommen. Ist die politische Dimension. Das kann aber auch auf kommunale Ebene auch folgen. Auch wenn Projekte zum Beispiel stattfinden, klar da können die Sorben auch immer wieder mithelfen, aber auch andersrum zum Beispiel, wenn die Společnost in Prag ein Projekt macht, weckt ist das Interesse quasi für die Sorbe im Ausland oder das gleiche Ziel hatte auch das Projekt kulturelle leto w Libercu, also übersetzt, Kulturjahr in Liberec. Wurde in der Tschechische Republik in der Region Liberec einfach für das sorbische wirbt, es interessant macht, und die Leute von außen in die Lausitz rein gibt. Dieses Interesse ist eigentlich die Grundlage dann allen dessen. Aus Interesse entsteht Tourismus, aus Interesse entsteht Kooperation, konkrete Projekte und auch Freundschaft. Polen und Tschechien, egal auf welcher Ebene als Organisation, als Staat, als Kommune, als Einzelperson, können die Sorben immer dabei helfen, das Interesse für sie aufrecht zu erhalten.</p>	<p>(Noise of a MS Teams notification). Says the name of the project in Sorbian and translates it in German.</p> <p>(Noise of a MS Teams notification).</p> <p>Enumeration.</p> <p>Enumeration.</p>
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Annex XV: Content Analysis N. Dołowy-Rybińska

Time	Topics	Subjects covered by the interviewee	Comments/Interpretation
06:50 – 10:12	Presentation of the interviewee	<p>*Her name is Nicole Dołowy-Rybińska. Has been working at the Institute of Slavic Studies at Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw for more than ten years. Is a cultural scientist and sociolinguist. Currently maybe even more sociolinguist. Prepared a PhD in 2010 at the University of Warsaw on the Protection of minorities, languages and cultures in Europe. Was comparison of the situation in Lusatia, Kashubia in Poland and Brittany in France. Started to work at the Institute of Slavic Studies Polish Academy of Sciences after her PhD and is conducting a lot of field work. Extended her field on Wales so her different theme work are in Lusatia, Kashubia, Wales and Brittany. Has worked on young people's language activism for a few years. Was simultaneously interested in language ideologies and language practices. Her main fieldwork has been on Upper Lusatia since 2017. Has conducted a project on culture and language, contact and conflict between Upper Sorbian pupils and German speakers in Upper Sorbian Gymnasium in Bautzen, Budyšin. Wrote at the same time with a colleague from Lusatia a research project on that theme research within the frame of SMiLE projects, so Sustaining Minoritized Languages in Europe held by Smithsonian Institution. Was particularly a Smithsonian Centre for Folklife and Cultural</p>	<p>Corrects herself: says first she works there “currently” and then adds it has been the case for more than ten years.</p> <p>Presents her entire career and goes back to her studies.</p> <p>It is interesting that she associates Kashubia and Brittany with their country and does not precise that Lusatia is in Germany.</p> <p>Corrects herself: “I mean then or simultaneously”.</p> <p>Says first “Lusatia” and then changes for “Upper Lusatia”. Stresses “Upper”.</p> <p>Says first the name of the city in German, and then translates it in Sorbian.</p> <p>Says it with amusement.</p>

		Heritage. Has worked with her colleague for almost two years on the efforts on Sorbian languages revitalization in Upper and in Lower Lusatia. Thinks it is the most important things.	Chuckles.
03:41 – 04:35 10:14 – 15:56	Personal links with the Sorbs	<p>Lusatia is also very interesting as a fieldwork but much more demanding. Is much easier to meet people, to discuss topics on the language, politics, engagement in protection of language and culture in Brittany, everything is there. Everything is much more distance in Lusatia. Is why she asked me yesterday to read her words before I quote them because Sorbs are extremely sensitive. You can say one sentence and then they will never ever speak to you, it is three words for twenty years or more.</p> <p>*Is Polish.</p> <p>*Is not born in Lusatia.</p> <p>*Has no Sorbian relatives and had no Sorbian connections before starting her fieldwork. Is a funny story. Studied one year in Paris with the Erasmus scholarship when she was a student. Studied Communication interculturelle, at INALCO, Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales. Had to participate in a lecture of a language she did</p>	<p>Stresses “easier”.</p> <p>Stresses “extremely”.</p> <p>Chuckles.</p> <p>Says it with a chuckle.</p> <p>Chuckles.</p> <p>“Ok so”: knows what to answer without having to think. Stresses “funny”.</p> <p>Tries to remember the name and then says it in French.</p>

		<p>not know. Was struggling with her French and felt really exhausted with all this multilingualism.</p> <p>Realized it would not be possible for her to learn any language which was totally new. Started to read the list of Slavic languages because thought it would be the easiest. Was thinking of course about the Czech language. The most familiar western Slavonic language is Polish for her. [unintelligible]. Was then Sorabe.</p> <p>Had no idea what it was. It was 2002, there was no internet in this résidence universitaire where she lived so it took her a while to discover who the Sorabes are. Had to go to the library, take the books and read about it. Was really astonished: “Wow there is a minority. What is this minority in Germany I never heard about?”. Now would be easy with Wikipedia and internet but at this time it really took her a week to get to know who the Sorbs are. Said: “why not, it sounds very exotic.” Is still west Slavonic languages. Met then one of the most extraordinary person she ever had contact with, professor Jean Kudela. Were only two students to learn Sorbian, both Polish. Had three hours of Sorbian every week. Decided very quickly that those courses would not be at university but at his place. Had a very good relationship with him and his wife, that always offered them tea and cake. Were very poor students from Poland. Was before Polish accession to European Union, everything was very expensive there. Really felt at home there. From the perspective of these twenty years would say that she did not learn the language there but got a lot of information on Sorbs, on Lusatia with a very large political, historical context. Was really</p>	<p>Says it with amusement.</p> <p>Says “the easiest” with amusement.</p> <p>Chuckles. Says the name of the language in French.</p> <p>Says two words in French here again.</p> <p>Chuckles. Begins to say “Sor-”, as in English and then finally says it in French.</p> <p>Says it with a chuckle.</p> <p>Chuckles.</p> <p>Makes a long pause after “one of the most” and thinks, does not know how to say it.</p> <p>Chuckles.</p> <p>“And eeh, and eeh”: takes time to think about what she wants to say next. Stresses “a lot”.</p>
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		<p>fascinated about it. Came back after to Poland and had her last year of studies. Had already decided she would apply to become a PhD student.</p> <p>*There is the second side of the story. Met Breton people in Paris and became friend with them. Was not easy because people in Paris were not open at all for Foreigners but Breton people were totally different, very open, very familiar. Went there few times for weekends and discovered Breton culture, a little bit language because there were some Breton speakers. Thought it is extraordinary that she discovered these two minority cultures while studying in Paris so felt it was a very good idea to make something about it when she came back home.</p>	<p>Stresses “fascinated”.</p> <p>(Noise of an object).</p> <p>“Ok, ok”: knows what to say next. Stresses “easy”.</p> <p>Chuckles.</p>
17:50 – 29:22	Her fieldwork on Lusatia	<p>*Was accepted after at the University of Warsaw with this project of comparing the situation in these three places: Brittany, Lusatia, and Kashubia in Poland. Participated in the three weeks summer school for learning Sorbian after her first year of PhD. Was the first time she really started to learn this language. Had of course some of the basis in Paris but was not her priority to learn this language there, was rather that she wanted to understand something. When you are Polish and you’ve got Sorbian text, even if you don’t really want to understand what the other sentence means, you understand with the words. These two languages are mutually intelligible, maybe particularly Polish with Lower Sorbian.</p>	<p>Specifies that Kashubia is in Poland. Does not finish her sentence. Her voice is more high-pitched when she says “Sorbian”.</p> <p>Stresses “Polish”. Says “Kashubia” instead of “Sorbian” and corrects herself. Says it with amusement.</p>

		<p>But most of her fieldwork were always in Upper Lusatia so it is much easier for her to understand and speak Upper Sorbian than Lower Sorbian. Started to really learn the language during these three weeks and to get closer with the culture, with the people, particularly the people who were living there.</p> <p>*Had INESCO scholarship for two years just after the summer school. Was doing a fieldwork in Brittany and in Lusatia. Spent about half a year in Lusatia and conducted interviews with the Sorbs. Important is that she did not speak German at all at this time. Had to learn German to be able to read something with the help of dictionaries so learned German a little bit like Latin, just to understand how the phrase is constructed, where to find the words in the dictionary to be able to understand something. But did not speak it at all. Was totally immersed in Sorbian language and in Sorbian culture. Because could only live Sorbian life, which was rather strange but helped her a lot to establish contact with people, become friends with them, be interested, start to understand what is going on and how it works. This fieldwork at the beginning of her thesis was extremely exhausting. Was depressed for a while and did not want to go back there. Was like heaven and hell when comparing hers stays in Brittany and in Lusatia. Was happy in Brittany and participating in Fest Noz, in festivals and all possible aspects of Breton life. Often felt alone in Lusatia and that she did not belong there. Did not feel all the time accepted as a researcher there while in Brittany did not feel like this. Was much more</p>	<p>Stresses “but” and “easier”.</p> <p>Stresses “people”.</p> <p>(Noise made by the tramway).</p> <p>Speaks slowly to stress that it is important and that she “did not speak German at all”.</p> <p>Says first she “did not speak it fluently” and then corrects herself: “I did not speak it at all”.</p> <p>Hesitates on “interested”.</p> <p>Says twice “extremely” to stress how exhausting it was.</p> <p>Chuckles.</p> <p>Her voice tone shows that these are good memories.</p> <p>Takes time to think about how to describe how she felt in Lusatia whereas she did not need to</p>
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		<p>distant. Maybe Breton people were not as interested in her work as the Sorbs were.</p> <p>*Was invited by Dr. Elżbieta Wrocławska, the leader of Polish-Sorbian association during her second or third year of PhD studies to give a lecture of her research. Discovered then that there are quite important Polish-Sorbian connections. Had meetings one afternoon every month and popular scientific lectures. Was very active and gave a lot of lectures there. And then...</p> <p>*There were about 10 to 20 people participating in these meetings, most of them in retirement age so not young people. Only a few young people participated in these meetings. Was nice. From time to time had guests from Lusatia who came to visit them and say something. Was connected somehow with the book market in Warsaw where Domowina was also showing their books. Not very sure who organised it. Was very nice and met there a lot of Polish researchers from the older generation that work on Lusatia and were interested. Really became friend with them, particularly with Elżbieta Wrocławska, the organiser and Professor Jadwiga Zieniukowa, who she considers as her scientific grandmother, offered her to work at the Polish Academy of Sciences after her PhD. Was really thanks to her that she had the possibility to work at the Institute of Slavic Studies. Thinks she got to know most of Poles who were working on</p>	<p>think regarding Brittany. Chuckles after “researcher”.</p> <p>Is not sure about the exact date.</p> <p>Says it with amusement.</p> <p>Chuckles. Problems with the internet connection. Calls my name to see if I can hear her because I am frozen.</p> <p>Hesitates on “nice”.</p> <p>Repeats that “it was nice”.</p> <p>“What to say more?”: tries to remember her time in Lusatia.</p>
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32:00 – 34:37		<p>Lusatia during these years. They meet from time to time at the conferences.</p> <p>Organised personally with Elżbieta Wrocławska and Jadwiga Zieniukowa three big conferences on Sorbs and other minorities. Is also part of the editorial board and was then the editorial chief of <i>Zeszyty Łużyckie</i>, a Sorbian journal. Aside <i>Lětopis</i> is the only Sorbian journal in the world. Is changing a little bit now. Is not there anymore and is not that connected with it. Had also very good contacts with some Czechs who are also friends of Lusatia, particularly with those she met during the research stay at the Sorbian Institute, like her friend Petr Kaleta from Prague who is also working on Polish-Czech relationship with Lusatia. Doesn't know if I know him but could be interesting for me. Could contact him. Went a few times to Prague for the conferences they organised. Had a month scholarship at the Sorbian Institute, Serbski institute. But is working mainly on Lusatia for her projects. Says that I have to ask her additional questions because she doesn't know what to say more.</p> <p>*Were different boundaries, the first being language. Understands the language but would not say she speaks Sorbian fluently. Still makes a lot of mistakes now after many years because is bad in grammar. Knows that she puts Polish instead of Sorbian in declinations. But can say quite everything that she wants to say. Still has this barrier, it is not like she's able to say everything, how she feels and what she</p>	<p>“I think”: is not sure about the number.</p> <p>“Oh! And one more thing”: remembers something else.</p> <p>Hesitates.</p> <p>Speaks more quietly. Says “also” louder.</p> <p>Stresses “Czechs”.</p> <p>Stresses “they”.</p> <p>Says it with amusement and then chuckles.</p> <p>Stresses “boundaries” and “language”.</p> <p>Struggles to define her Sorbian level: says she is not fluent but adds “I do speak Sorbian”.</p> <p>Says it with amusement. Contradicts herself: says “I can say quite everything I want to say”</p>
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<p>35:03 – 37:44</p>	<p>thinks in Sorbian. Regarding the bilingualism of Lusatia, her German was very poor. Was also an obstacle. Had this language barrier, could not understand everything when there were bilingual things. This was the second thing. The third thing was transport problems. Every important thing is going on in the countryside in Lusatia. Had to ask someone to pick her up to take part in any activity or event. Could not decide where and when she wanted to go. Of course, it was possible to go with the bus sometimes but did not have a car at this time. Was not that easy to do it. One more thing particularly important is that there are Upper Lusatia and Lower Lusatia. Thinks I'm probably much more interested in Upper Lusatia because of this connection with Poland and the Czech Republic. Czech contacts are mostly with Upper Lusatia, not with Lower Lusatia.</p> <p>*Is not catholic. Thinks it may sound strange because Poles are known to be all catholic but no, not all. Not being catholic in Poland is much more than not being catholic somewhere else. Being a minority within this very strong Catholicism makes you somehow anticatholic. Was also exhausted in Lusatia to participate in all this Catholicism, which structures life, connections with people, the role of women, the role of men. Is a feminist so it is not like in Upper Lusatia. Is culturally totally on the other side of it. Took her a few years to become a much more conscious anthropologist who is observing their culture, not judging them, which is something very easy. Doesn't like it, thinks it's not nice but took her a few years to understand what Catholicism, these</p>	<p>and then "it's not like I'm able to say everything". Stresses "had".</p> <p>Takes a more high-pitched voice.</p> <p>Stresses "easy".</p> <p>"which...": does not finish her sentence. Stresses "mostly".</p> <p>Says it with amusement. Chuckles.</p> <p>Stresses "Poland".</p> <p>Stresses "makes you".</p> <p>Small enumeration.</p> <p>Chuckles.</p> <p>Stresses "years", "anthropologist" and "judge".</p> <p>Stresses "traditions".</p>
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<p>01:00:10 – 01:02:44</p>		<p>traditions mean for these people and why it is so important to dress in the traditional costume. At the beginning could not understand it. Learned a lot during her fieldwork in Lusatia as a scientist. It was hard lesson. Thinks that it was probably easier for her to be there as Pole but not really to be accepted as her. Thinks she had to play a lot of roles while participating in catholic life to get to know people, to understand how they live. Would say there are a lot of masks in play there.</p> <p>*Is something new. Applied with Cordula Ratajczak for the funds of a new research project. Is totally related with my project. Did some very basic fieldwork just to get the information to write the application. But did not start the project yet and are still waiting for the answer whether they will get funds or not and to continue it. Is on the bridging role of Sorbian languages between Poland and Czech Republic, so the borders on Poland, Czech and Lusatia, it would contain these mutual intelligibility aspects so understanding those languages, encouraging people to use Slavic languages instead of German or English, which is the easiest way possible. Is also about these cultural and other networks between Polish and Czech but it is an idea they have had for many years now and this project on Upper Sorbian and their relation to Slavic people were the final studies for it. But got then this project about the revitalization so the Slavic project had to wait. Will see whether it will be possible to start it now or not.</p>	<p>Stresses “costume”. Chuckles.</p> <p>Stresses “hard”.</p> <p>Stresses “to be there”.</p> <p>Hesitates.</p> <p>Stresses “totally”.</p> <p>Stresses “write”.</p> <p>(Noise in the background).</p> <p>Stresses “final”.</p> <p>Says it with amusement</p>
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15:57 – 17:49	Sorbian identity	<p>*Her first real trip to Lusatia was in 2004. Was quite shocked. Knew Breton culture from festival life and very passionate discussion about the political situation and the future of language, what to do, how to do it and so. Was very calm in Lusatia, rather tradition, church life and a lot of traditional elements maintained in the contemporary life. Her first impression was that it's so artificial and not possible that people live like this. Took her a few years to do her auto analysis and realize she had behaved or thought unprofessionally as an anthropologist because did not try or was maybe not able at the beginning to understand what is important for these people in this particular place. Just felt that it was so strange and not like she thought it would be.</p>	<p>Stresses “real”. Is not sure about the exact date. Stresses “shocked”.</p> <p>Stresses “church life”. Hesitates.</p> <p>Makes a small pause after “artificial”.</p> <p>Chuckles after “strange”.</p>
29:38 – 32:00		<p>*No. Is not sure how to explain but has some things on her mind. Sorbian culture is very rural. Was born and has been living in Warsaw, a big city for all her life. Being Slav is not enough to feel connection. Thinks she would also have a problem to feel a cultural connection with the Polish countryside. Had also great contact and became very close friend with a lot of people in Lusatia. One of the most important persons in her research was Cordula Ratajczak, who comes from Western Germany and came to Lusatia. She is half Sorbian and has got Sorbian relatives. Is really the person with whom she understands the best. Felt that they</p>	<p>Hesitates and says “no” in an indecisive tone. Seems a bit uncomfortable. Makes a pause after “life” to think. “It is not like my...”: does not finish her sentence and hesitates. Chuckles after “being Slav is...”. “But also”: seems like she wants to temper her words.</p>

		<p>understood each other perfectly during her project on revitalization of Sorbian languages. It was fantastic. Felt much more in the ease in Brittany than in Lusatia.</p> <p>*Upper Lusatia is a very catholic culture, with a very strong catholic group. Catholicism is the centre of this culture, the most important pillar of Sorbian culture.</p>	<p>“Going back to your question”: after her digression about X, she concludes her answer by insisting that she felt better in Brittany. Stresses “in the ease”.</p> <p>Stresses “catholic”, “the centre” and “the pillar”.</p>
37:45 – 45:19	Knowledge of the Poles about the Sorbs	<p>*Not at all. Only a few groups know about the Sorbs. Has been quite interested in it for a few years. Is probably different in Wester Poland, closer to Lusatia, particularly on the border zone. Some Sorbs were living in a territory that is now in Poland, historically. The last Sorbian families left Poland after second world war. Were probably about five families like this even before that. There was no territory where the Sorbs would live. There is a territory called Polish Lusatia and people there established closer contact. Would say that this consciousness about a Slavic minority living in Germany is very low from the perspective of Warsaw. Made some tests when she was teaching minority studies at the university. Was asking questions at the beginning of each academic year: “do you know something about...?” Thought the consciousness was very low. Was the same for her, had no idea who the Sorbs were when she was 22. Is not like there are a lot of programs in the radio, television or wherever. Presents some topics related to the Sorbs and other people do it but is rather their community who have</p>	<p>Does not hesitate at all and affirms “not at all”.</p> <p>Says twice “historically” to insist it was in the past.</p> <p>Stresses “consciousness”.</p> <p>Says once again that “this consciousness was very very low”. Stresses “same”.</p> <p>Stresses “their”.</p>

		<p>this knowledge and others just don't care about it. Is probably not important for them, they are not interested in it. Does not concern only the Sorbs. Was also asking this question about the minorities living in Poland and the level of knowledge was quite the same. There are certainly groups who have some knowledge. Is different closer to Lusatia than in the centre or in other parts of Poland. But would not say that this level of knowledge is high. Those interested in it are mostly academic centres. There were strong relations with Warsaw, Wrocław, Opole. Is not convinced that people have this knowledge.</p> <p>*Cannot say. Would be interesting to dig in it deeper. Can say the reverse because had one research project which concerned the connection of the Sorbs with Poles and with Czechs. Was doing questionnaires among Upper Sorbs, not in the countryside but rather in Bautzen, Budyšin, within the institutions and with different generations. These questionnaires had about twenty questions concerning the knowledge of languages, being able to understand Slavic languages, having connection with Poland or Czech Republic, so whether they have friends there or in other places and if they had, how they communicate with them. This research showed that there is a very important intergenerational difference between Sorbs of younger generation and the older generation. The older Sorbs, and from the generation in-between, they had much more contact with the Poles and with the Czechs and these were closer contacts than the young Sorbs now. Cannot answer the question I asked about how it</p>	<p>Takes a more high-pitched voice on "certainly". Stresses "closer".</p> <p>Stresses "convinced".</p> <p>Says "here I cannot say" in an assertive tone. Stresses "the reverse" and "of the Sorbs".</p> <p>Makes a difference between Bautzen and Sorbian countryside. Translates Bautzen into Sorbian. Stresses "and".</p> <p>Stresses "connection".</p> <p>Stresses "this".</p> <p>Stresses "difference".</p> <p>Stresses "Sorbs".</p> <p>Stresses "much".</p>
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		<p>is in Poland because has no idea whether the older generation has more information about the Sorbs. Is related with the level of education and the place people are living too. Would need to do some research on it to answer this question as a scientist.</p> <p>*Wrote an article in German about this research in Lětopis. Tells me that the other two are in Polish so it would be difficult for me to read them. Tells me to write her an email if I am interested. Has it in her academia website, I can just download it. It could be useful for me.</p>	<p>Stresses “more”.</p> <p>Chuckles.</p> <p>Stresses “German” and “Lětopis”.</p>
45:24 – 1:00:07	Role of the Czech Republic and Poland in the maintenance of Sorbian identity	<p>*Thinks she understands the question. Says she may have this image because the question is very difficult. Thinks there are two sides of this problem. The first one is that the discourse on the Sorbs in public life, if any exists, is related with the difficult moments of Sorbian life. For example, when the foundation for Sorbian people cuts down the funds, when there are some attempts to close the schools, or to establish the number of pupils necessary to hold lessons of Sorbian, then the Sorbs launch campaigns against it. And here maybe on the level of government but still a little bit connected with politics. Can see that there is engagement from the side of Poles and some Polish institutions sign these petitions. Doesn’t remember if it was about Stiftung, about schools, would have to check it here but remembers that the Polish attaché was engaged in it and sent some even letters</p>	<p>Makes a small pause before “difficult”. Stresses “two sides”.</p> <p>Says twice “it is at the beginning” to insist it is a big problem”.</p> <p>Small enumeration.</p> <p>Takes a more high-pitched voice because she is thinking meanwhile. (Noise of a MS Teams notification). Stresses “engagement”.</p> <p>Says the word in German. Stresses “schools”.</p>

		<p>probably to Saxony or Brandenburg to stop it or to reverse these things. Is sometimes touching the political level.</p> <p>*Wants to talk about the questions on Slavic identity and protection of the Sorbs but hesitates, doesn't know how to put it in words. Are also related with / way of thinking. Finds it extremely difficult but /. Had many times the feeling when observing Sorbian-Polish relations that some people, not all, engaged in Sorbian issues from Poland have political ideology unacceptable for her. They represent anti-German attitudes. Doesn't want to use the word fascist but they represent something that is very nationalistic. This anti-German discourse is still quite strong in Poland. When it is used with the Sorbs like:</p> <p>"these poor Sorbs, our younger or smaller brothers need our help against those awful Germans who wants to kill them, their language and culture. We, as Slavs, Poles or whoever have to do something", it is something that she doesn't accept and wants to have nothing to do with it. It exists. This is a very delicate question. People and academics who have friends in Lusatia are engaged in any kind of protest launched by the Sorbs but can hear that there are also people who are using those protests to voice some issues that she does not accept. Doesn't know if that answers my question but is very complicated and doesn't feel in ease when talking about it.</p>	<p>Stresses "sometimes".</p> <p>Makes a pause. Stresses "Slavic". Hesitates and seems uncomfortable.</p> <p>Makes a pause after "with" and before "way of thinking". Stresses "find". (Noise made by the tramway). Corrects herself: "people engaged... or SOME people not all, not all". Stresses "unacceptable". Says "attitude" in a high-pitched voice". Stresses "fascist".</p> <p>Stresses "Sorbs".</p> <p>Takes a plaintive voice to imitate some Polish people who use the Sorbs in their anti-German discourse. Stresses "Slavs". Stresses "it exists".</p> <p>Stresses "engaged".</p> <p>Stresses "using".</p> <p>"I don't feel in ease talking about it": explains the hesitations during her answer.</p> <p>Chuckles.</p>
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		<p>*From the perspective of a researcher who has been working on language and cultural maintenance or revitalization for many years, says it is not possible at all.</p> <p>It is only up to Sorbs to maintain it, to speak the language and to live their culture. If they do not want to do it, no one will help them. Of course, it is possible to support people in it. Obviously, Polish people or Poland as a country can't do anything about it. Or maybe something. But it is most of all the responsibility of local government and Germany to give the tools necessary to maintain the culture and language so that Sorbs can have school in this language, their own associations, some support of the fremd levels, their own political representations and so on. Poland or Czech Republic cannot do anything about it at all obviously. Thinks it is somehow related with the way Sorbian organisations see it. Can be helpful to give people more positive signs about being Sorbs and learning Sorbian or speaking Sorbian, that it can have positive influences on those people. Show to Sorbian speakers or potential Sorbian speakers learning other Slavic languages that it is much easier to communicate in Poland or in Czech Republic, to learn Russian when having Sorbian as a language, that it can be useful to speak different languages. What could be established, but still sees it's not the initiative from the Sorbian side or Polish or Czech side that there could be much more exchanges of schools from Poland or Czech Republic. But just to show pupils this usefulness of Sorbian, that it is possible to use it also outside Lusatia. Is not talking here about the Sorbs who are native speakers because for them, at least for catholic Upper Sorbs,</p>	<p>Hesitates after researcher.</p> <p>Stresses "at all".</p> <p>Stresses "only".</p> <p>Stresses "support".</p> <p>Stresses "most of all" and "local".</p> <p>Says once again "obviously": is sure about what she says. Stresses "organisations".</p> <p>Says first "Sorbian languages" and then corrects herself. Stresses "easier".</p> <p>Enumeration that shows that Sorbian is useful for many things.</p> <p>Stresses "exchanges".</p> <p>(Noise made by the tramway).</p> <p>Differentiates Upper Sorbs and Lower Sorbs. Stresses "catholic" when speaking about</p>
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	<p>they can communicate and use the language among themselves in the countryside during events and even in their daily life. Talks about those who are learning the language and mixed language families. Those kinds of impulses would be really supportive to show that this language is useful and can serve for other things. Wants to say something important for minority languages. There are catholic Upper Sorbian groups who are the guardians of the language and culture. Quite a lot of people were either assimilated linguistically or culturally with the German culture or are not from Sorbian-speaking families but live in the territory of the Sorbs. Thinks it is very important here to concentrate on bringing new speakers to these languages when thinking about the revitalization of Sorbian language or maintaining it. To give the possibility to those children or even adults who did not acquire the language at home to become speakers and also to be accepted by the Sorbian community as a speaker of Sorbian, which is not that obvious. Thinks that the aspect of utility so the closeness with Poland and Czech Republic could be important here. Conducted one interview with her colleague Cordula Ratajczak with a German-speaking guy from a multilingual family within the framework of her research in Upper Sorbian Gymnasium. He and his family were Arabic refugees who had installed in Germany. Sorbian was totally new for him but he was learning it. He told them that he was very interested in this language because he would like to become a medical doctor. Would not be possible for him to study in Germany, it is too expensive and too difficult to pass the exams. Was thinking about going to Poland, Czech Republic or other Slavic countries to</p>	<p>Upper Sorbs: shows how important the religion is for them. Stresses “learning”.</p> <p>Differentiates once again Lower Lusatia and Upper Lusatia.</p> <p>Stresses “guardians”.</p> <p>Stresses “or”.</p> <p>Stresses “those” and “did not”.</p> <p>Stresses “German”.</p> <p>Does not remember exactly: “something like...”.</p>
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		<p>study medicine and knew that having Sorbian as a language would be helpful for him. This is something positive that could serve for the Sorbs. Does not think Poland or Czech Republic could do anything at the political level. There are a lot of possibilities for the Sorbs to be supported by academics, people, cultural associations also. It is not only about music, there are a lot of musical networks, dance groups etc.</p>	<p>Stresses “he knows”.</p> <p>Says first “we” and then corrects herself: “I mean Poland or Czech Republic”. “If the Sorbs would have any idea how we can support them”: implies that the Sorbs ask for help.</p>
<p>01:02:45 – 01:24:09</p>	<p>Sorbian-Czech and Sorbian-Polish relations</p>	<p>*Had an impulse during their research on revitalization of Sorbian languages. Participated in a few days’ workshop for young people from Sorbian grammar school Gymnasium who are in the choir Brigada. Is very important for them and they are very proud. Is very Sorbian, no persons speaking only German can participate in it. Decided to have this workshop there because it was in Czech so there would be no German language influences. Was Immersion in Slavic languages. Met in a kloster in a Czech village the first day and were welcomed by the head of this kloster. About 50 young people came. He asked if they wanted him to speak Czech or German. Those people who went there to be immersed in Slavic languages all answered German. Made them think it is not only about being able to understand languages but also about the willingness to make this effort to understand languages mutually eligible that is important. Is the departure point of the project. Was something like: “wow is it possible that it is like this?”. Has been going to Czech Republic since high school and would not even think about speaking English in Czech Republic. When she’s going there now and</p>	<p>Says that I “certainly did hear about it”.</p> <p>Stresses “proud” and “no”.</p> <p>Makes an 8-second pause. Stresses “Czech”.</p> <p>Is not sure about the exact number, says about 40-50 people. Her voice is more high-pitched when she says “Czech”. Addresses me directly: “and you know what their answer was?” and chuckles.</p> <p>Stresses “willing”.</p> <p>Chuckles.</p> <p>Stresses “think” and “English”.</p>

		<p>says something in between Polish, Czech and Upper Sorbian, everybody wants to switch to English immediately. Is really difficult that you have to make an effort to use Slavic languages in other Slavic countries. Is probably something important for those relations. On what Slavic relations can be based on today if languages lost their importance because of English. Is always easier to communicate in English with the younger generation that knows the language. Don't want to make this effort or do not know it is possible to make this effort. With the older no because they do not know English. Will probably also influence Slavic relations among people because if it's not the language, if it's not being in one...The relations between Poland, Czech Republic and Lusatia were stronger historically because they were part of the communist bloc, on the same side of the iron curtain, had the same political struggles. Was much easier to live in Poland or Czech Republic than it was in Lusatia. The Poles or the Czechs helped Sorbian people by sending the books. The Stasi was much more powerful than any political powers in Poland or in Czech Republic, so the Poles and the Czechs supported the Sorbs on different levels. The Sorbs could come to Poland or to Czech Republic. A lot of people aged seventy or more discovered poetry, new music etc in Poland or in Czech Republic while visiting their friends. Was much more important and powerful than only being Slav. Then the political situation changed after the chute of Berlin wall. Lusatia went immediately on the other side of the curtain, in the European Union while Poland and Czech Republic had to wait fourteen years to be a part of it. Hopes it will last. Became not interesting anymore because they were poor.</p>	<p>Stresses "difficult". Says it with amusement, probably because it is not very logical.</p> <p>Stresses "today".</p> <p>Stresses "always".</p> <p>Stresses "no".</p> <p>Stresses "one".</p> <p>Chuckles.</p> <p>Stresses "easier".</p> <p>Stresses "Stasi".</p> <p>Says it was great for the Sorbs.</p> <p>Stresses "much more" and "powerful".</p> <p>Says the word "chute" in French and the rest in English. Stresses "the other side".</p> <p>Says it with amusement.</p>
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		<p>Were those going to there to earn money. Were going there to have contact with the western world. Thinks it can explain partly why Sorbs did lose some impetus searching for contacts or support from the Poles or the Czechs. Is now of course important but works differently. Is based on some ideologies, on the associations which have the traditions and on the researchers, academics who are working on Lusatia. Not only but these are mostly Poles and Czechs that work on Lusatia and Sorbian issues. Individual contacts became less important than before. Depends on the person, on different aspects. Has got a PhD student from Lusatia who is coming to Warsaw to study and who is writing a work on transmission of Sorbian in Sorbian-German families at her Institute. Is not that common to go study to Warsaw and not to Paris or to Berlin or somewhere where it's nice and where there is no totally crazy government or other problems they've got now in Poland. Thinks a lot has changed. Is the question of common language and the utility of this kind of Slavic Esperanto they used before and that has been replaced by English now. Poland and Czech Republic can offer to Sorbian people. The cultural networks that are still important, folkloric music networks that are very strong. Is not a specialist here but knows they've got different connections around these traditional music festivals or dances. Is something that lasts and can be very important. On the side of networks of individual people, Poland and Czech Republic certainly lost a lot.</p>	<p>Chuckles. Uses "we" to speak about Poland and the Czech Republic. Repetition of "we were".</p> <p>Stresses "did lose" and "impetus".</p> <p>Stresses "differently".</p> <p>Stresses "mostly".</p> <p>Stresses "less".</p> <p>Says it with amusement.</p> <p>Says it with amusement and chuckles.</p> <p>Chuckles.</p> <p>Stresses "cultural".</p> <p>Stresses "something".</p>
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		<p>*Insists she said a lot. Is not sure whether it could be interesting for me. Wants to know if I treat Lusatia as one piece in my work or if I differentiate Upper Lusatia from Lower Lusatia.</p> <p>*One of her PhD students is also showing these kinds of double differences between Upper Sorbian and Lower Sorbian and Breton and Gallo. Are like double minoritized languages or groups instead of one minority. If it is not something I develop, doesn't think it is interesting. Is interesting that there are a lot of Poles who are going to Lower Lusatia to work, for example as teachers of Lower Sorbian. Much more than in Upper Lusatia. A lot of Poles, toute proportion gardée because this is a very small minority, so maybe five or seven Poles work in Sorbian institutions like Sorbian Institute, Sorbian radio in Lower Lusatia. One person of this radio is Pole. A few Polish people became teachers of Lower Sorbian. The situation has changed now because there is a big difference in what you earn being a teacher in Lusatia and being a teacher in Poland. Is much better for Poles to be a teacher in Germany. Are searching for those able to learn Lower Sorbian quite quickly because there is totally a lack of teachers. The situation of Lower Sorbian is really fragile. Have to participate in an intensive course of language for a few months to become a teacher and have the competence. Is obviously much easier for a Pole to do it and to become a teacher than for someone who discovers completely Slavic languages. How would it be possible to learn any Slavic language in a few months? Is not very keen in languages but is</p>	<p>Stresses “piece”.</p> <p>Says it with an interrogative tone.</p> <p>Stresses “double”.</p> <p>Says first “Sorbian” and corrects herself: “Lower Sorbian”.</p> <p>Use a French expression and chuckles. Precises what she means behind “a lot” in an amused tone.</p> <p>Says it with amusement.</p> <p>Stresses “learn” and “quickly”.</p> <p>Stresses “easier”.</p> <p>Says it with amusement and chuckles.</p>
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	<p>astonished thinking about a non-Slavic person learning Polish. Looking at the institutions, people aged 60 and more were a lot to have very close contact with Poland or Czech Republic, to speak these languages. Dietrich Scholze-Sołta has been the head of Sorbian Institute for many years and could speak fluently Polish. They became friends after all these years and were in contact every time she was in Lusatia. Is not possible now with the pandemic but was there at least a few months in a year before or more often. Hopes to go there maybe in a few months. Dietrich Scholze-Sołta is perfect Polish speaker. Was very helpful for her when she went there with her poor Sorbian and not existing German to have someone to speak Polish with. Was very nice. Did not speak Polish with the current head of Sorbian Institute but writes in Polish to him. He was studying in the Polish city Lubin. There are a lot of people with whom they can use this language, but they are part of the older generation, not the younger. Her PhD student X studied in Leipzig and was one of the rare students that decided to go for an Erasmus to Poland. That is how she learned Polish and she speaks it perfectly. People choose usually exciting places for Erasmus or holidays. Not Poland but rather France, Spain or Portugal. Is totally understandable. Did not go to Prague but to Paris for her Erasmus. Doesn't know what to say more.</p> <p>*Crosses her fingers and thinks it's great. Didn't want to say that it's totally not interesting. Some particular persons have this interest. Is not that easy. Of course, a lot of people come in Poland because it's cheaper than other places. Is much</p>	<p>“The generation of my parents”: takes her family as benchmark.</p> <p>Repeats “for years, for many many years” to insist it was long.</p> <p>Stresses “at least” and says twice “I hope”.</p> <p>“Very very poor”: insists she could speak very little Sorbian. Chuckles.</p> <p>Stresses “write”.</p> <p>Stresses “older”.</p> <p>Says it with amusement.</p> <p>Says it with amusement and chuckles.</p> <p>Reacts to my potential Erasmus in Poland.</p> <p>Stresses “so close”.</p>
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		<p>more complicated with the Sorbs because it's so close. Takes one hour. During her fieldwork two years ago, there were the elections to European Parliament. Had a lot of things and could not go back to Warsaw. Went 45 minutes by car to the border side and voted. A lot of people go to Czech Republic to buy cigarettes. Is so close that is maybe not exciting to do it. You rather use it as your place, like probably most of border regions. Wrocław is a very nice place so tells me I will like it.</p>	<p>Says first one hour and adds then "even less 45 minutes". Stresses "cigarettes".</p>
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Annex XVI: Content Analysis L

Time	Topics	Subjects covered by the interviewee	Comments/Interpretation
00:19 – 01:08	Presentation of the interviewee	*Her name is L. Works in her private firm in the sale of ceramic and porcelain and translates from Russian and Slovenian languages.	Starts in Czech and then continues in English. Hesitates: “uuuuuuuh”.
01:11 – 02:17	Personal links with the Sorbs	*Prefers to answer in Czech. Has very close relationships with the Sorbs. Had the opportunity to get to know several local Sorbian families personally. Also had the opportunity to get to know important representatives of the Sorbian institutions. The contacts and everything that happened in the last six years led them to found the association Societas Amicum Liberec, which is dedicated to the cooperation with the Sorbs.	Chuckles. Stresses “close”. Stresses “representatives”.
02:19 – 03:36		*Has known that the Sorbs existed for many years, but it is one of her colleagues, Milan Turek that drew her attention to Lusatia and the Sorbs. Mr. Turek devoted twenty-five years of his life to Lusatia, where he went very often. He was not a member of the association at that time, but he joined the association later. She went personally to Lusatia for the first time in 2015 and that is how it all started.	Stresses “Milan Turek” and “twenty-five years”. Speaks fast. Chuckles.

03:37 – 05:56	Presentation of the association Societas Amicum Liberec	<p>*Was brought to Lusatia by her colleague Mr. Turek and visited it several times. Thought it would be very pleasant and interesting to present what they saw there in Liberec. Met the family Cyžová in Lusatia, who has a fund of folk costumes called Trachtenfundus in German and had not only these costumes in life size or lend them for various events, but also an exhibition of costumes on dolls. The exhibition was shared with them and first presented in the Liberec Library in 2016. The exhibition lasted a month and was accompanied by several lectures. They aroused a strong interest, and the listeners came to them after the lectures and asked if they would continue to deal with this topic. They highlighted the need to start organising this activity so the association Societas Amicum Liberec was founded in 2016 and will celebrate its fifth anniversary this year. Has focused since then very intensively on Lusatia, offering mainly excursions, lectures, and trips to Lusatia to attend cultural performances.</p>	<p>Stresses “Turek”, “visited” and “pleasant”.</p> <p>Say the name in German. Hesitates on how to describe what it is. Stresses “dolls”.</p> <p>Stresses “lectures” and “listeners”.</p> <p>Stresses “lectures” again.</p> <p>Speaks faster.</p> <p>(Noise in the background).</p>
14:42 – 19:37		<p>*The association was founded five years ago, in 2016, and the first impulse was to cooperate with the Sorbs to make them more popular by visiting Lusatia, discovering not only tourist areas, but also culture. When they started to go there, they found out that there was not only Upper Lusatia, but also Lower Lusatia, and that Lusatia is not only in the territory of today's Saxony and Brandenburg, but that there was also a small part of Lusatia that was in Bohemia, and a part</p>	<p>Stresses “impulse” and “popular”.</p> <p>Stresses “Upper” and “Lower”.</p>

	<p>of Lusatia that is now in Poland, in Lower Silesia. Started to visit all these places from then. Devote to popularisation, tourism by publishing various popular materials, guides, not only oriented to the Sorbs, but to the entire Euroregion Nisa, in which Lusatia is located. That means today Lower Silesia and a non-Lusatian part of Brandenburg, and Saxony. They organise excursions, they go to Bautzen for Christmas concerts or to watch the Sorbian ensemble's performances at the theatre. Love going to the Easter riding processions, it is the biggest event. They have already managed to welcome Sorbs in Liberec and are trying to give them knowledge about the common history of the relations with the Sorbs established in Liberec which started to develop after the Second World War. That is why the last year of grammar school was there, because in 1947, the city of Liberec took over the cultural patronage of Bautzen, and they continued it after many years.</p> <p>Are taking over in the Liberec region from a very important man named Mr Vydra. He appears in the book of interviews and was a classmate of the students who studied in Liberec for one year, and they aroused in him such a desire to get to know Lusatia that he then studied and learned Sorbian and wrote a number of books in his professional life. He went there a number of times as a tourist, but all of this was twenty, thirty years ago, and they took over from his activities. The association is oriented to the Sorbs in the Euroregion Nisa and the last part covered by the association is the popularisation of sacral monuments. This is especially</p>	<p>Precises then it is in "Lower Silesia". Starts her sentences with "so".</p> <p>Small enumeration.</p> <p>Stresses "located".</p> <p>Says "if I may say it this way" and chuckles.</p> <p>Makes a pause before saying "Sorbian" to find her words.</p> <p>Says "it is" very quietly. Makes a pause before saying "we have already managed".</p> <p>Stresses "patronage".</p> <p>Stresses "Liberec".</p> <p>Stresses "classmate".</p> <p>Says "twenty" while thinking and then corrects herself: "thirty".</p>
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<p>19:38 – 22:41</p>		<p>done in the Liberec region and its surroundings, but also partly towards the border region, in the Euroregion Nisa. Do it in the form of excursions or by publishing guides and lectures.</p> <p>*Have good relations with Sorbian organisations. When the association was founded, they started to think about how best to introduce the Sorbs, not only by going on excursions, but how best to introduce them. Came up with the idea of doing one very intensive year, in which they would present Sorbian music, Sorbian visual art, literature. Came up with the idea of organising a year of the Sorbs in the Liberec Region, which was originally supposed to last from 2019 to 2020, a year and a half. Have been preparing this cultural project for almost two years, and during the preparation they worked very closely with the Sorbian Association Domowina. Teamed up with the Sorbian Institute, Sorbian Museum and Sorbian ensemble in Bautzen. Have had the opportunity to get to know each other and had a beautiful opening concert, the First Sorbian Ensemble, which is a large choir from the Sorbian high school in Bautzen. Thinks they have had the opportunity to get to know many of the most prestigious Sorbian institutions and is pleased that they formed beautiful friendships with the people they met. But admits that it was not easy at the beginning because when they came to present what they had planned, thinks not everybody was convinced that they were going to succeed, and it took maybe six months to gain their confidence and show that it made sense to work with them. But then, once they</p>	<p>Chuckles.</p> <p>Thinks about how to answer and then speaks fast.</p> <p>Stresses “intensive”.</p> <p>Says first “Sorbian art” and then precises “Sorbian visual art”.</p> <p>Hesitates on Sorbian. Stresses that everything was in Bautzen.</p> <p>Stresses “but I have to admit”.</p> <p>Her voice is high-pitched when she says “present”.</p>
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<p>22:44 – 31:32</p>		<p>proved to each other that everything was going to work, the collaboration was really great.</p> <p>*From today's point of view, 2020 being the year of the pandemic during which almost nothing could happen, it seems like they did not do a lot. But it is not true. Started fortunately in spring 2019, so thinks there were a few dozen events in the end. The main partner was the Liberec library, but cannot remember all of them. The opening of the Year of the Lusatian Sorbs was a spectacular event which took place in October 2019 at the local University of Liberec because the building of this university was once home to the Sorbian high school. Unveiled a commemorative plaque on this building, which reminds that students from Lusatia studied there. Had then the opening ceremony in the auditorium of the university which was followed by the screening of the films with the last living students and the whole thing was crowned by the performance of the orchestra of the Sorbian ensemble and the First Sorbian ensemble of students, the choir of the students from the high school. They performed the “oratorium Hradiště”, which was beautiful and referred to the beginnings of life in Lusatia, when they lived in the fortresses. Around three hundred people attended the opening, including the performers. There were also friends from Bautzen and Lusatia, and really thinks it was a very beautiful opening worth of all those events. This was then followed by individual lectures, which were focused on different topics: on history, tourism, literature, theatre, music. The second biggest event that took place in autumn 2019 was the</p>	<p>Makes a pause before saying “gain their confidence”.</p> <p>Thinks about her answer and then says “so” which shows she knows how to answer now. “It is not true”: speaks fast.</p> <p>Says twice the word “opening”.</p> <p>Speaks first about the “ensemble” and then precises what she means by that. Says the name of the work in Czech.</p> <p>Stresses “three hundred”.</p>
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		<p>exhibition about Krabat that took place here in the library. It lasted for several weeks, and there were also two theatrical performances about Krabat. Three or four different versions of Krabat were shown, there was a specialised conference, a number of books on display and a number of literary works on Krabat, whether there were works of Nowak-Njechorński or Preußler. Thinks it was a very successful event. Then left Liberec at the beginning of 2020 and started to do events in other towns in the region, for example in Semily, Turnov, Česká Lípa and in Jablonec, where they tried to present Lusatia through lectures.</p> <p>Then March 2020 arrived and the events that they had planned for spring were interrupted. As soon as the situation allowed it in June, they resumed the lectures, and even managed to do one of the two excursions of several days to Upper and Lower Lusatia they had planned. Visited Lower Lusatia more intensively for the first time in the summer. Managed in the autumn to give only one lecture in September. Once again everything was closed. The Liberec library offered to move the cultural programmes, and especially the lectures, online. Thanks to that, they were able to continue at least this part, and thinks that their public had the opportunity to be in contact with them and the library, at least indirectly. Thinks that by broadcasting the lectures on Facebook and YouTube, they reached a completely different audience than those who came to the live lectures. Were very happy about that, because according to the numbers they saw, they reached completely different age groups and new</p>	<p>Hesitates on “tourism”. Makes a small enumeration.</p> <p>Stresses “Krabat”. (Noise of a sheet being crumpled).</p> <p>Begins to say four and then corrects herself: “three or four”.</p> <p>Uses the Sorbian name of the author, the German name being Nowak-Neumann. Stresses “Liberec”.</p> <p>Enumeration.</p> <p>Makes a small pause between “March” and “2020”.</p> <p>Stresses “Upper” and makes a small pause “and Lower Lusatia.</p> <p>Says it with a chuckle.</p> <p>Stresses “continue”.</p>
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		<p>people. Were pleased and hope that it stays this way, that they could pass on that knowledge to more and more new people interested in this field.</p> <p>There are two last events of the Year of the Lusatian Sorbs that are ending in May 2021. There is an exhibition in the Liberec library called “Lusatian Sorbs, Unknown Neighbours”, which they organised in cooperation with the Sorbian Museum in Bautzen. Had to decide at the beginning of April, whether they should take the risk and organise the exhibition. At the beginning of April, it was not even clear whether they would be able to transport the exhibits from Bautzen to Liberec. And since the library had opened to the public on April 14, they had about two weeks to prepare everything. They did it, and the exhibition is still ongoing in the library until the end of May. Managed to make an agreement with the Regional Gallery in Liberec, where an exhibition of the leading Sorbian artist Maja Nagelová was opened in October, called „Na Kromje“, on the outskirts, which is mainly devoted to the devastation of Lusatia by coal mining. The exhibition was open for three days in October, then one day in December, and they managed to extend it until the end of May, and fortunately, the galleries were open to the public on May 4. Managed to make the last two events happen concurrently in May and are incredibly happy about that. Unfortunately, they were not able to do a number of concerts, but they will continue their activities so hopefully one day people will see those concerts as well.</p>	<p>Rising intonation on “completely, “different”, “age” and “groups”. Then speaks fast.</p> <p>Suddenly remembers she forgot to say something. Stresses “events”.</p> <p>Stresses “risk”. Speaks fast.</p> <p>Stresses “transport”.</p> <p>Says her name in Sorbian. Says the original name of the exhibition and then translates it into Czech. (Noise in the background).</p>
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31:33 – 33:37		<p>*Would not have been able to organise this big event at all without financial support. Their association is a non-profit, non-owned activity that earns no income from its own activities. There are about twenty-five people around their association. Have been supported by the cultural fund of both the city of Liberec and the Liberec Region, but also by the Czech-German Fund for the Future. Especially now for the exhibition in the gallery, and they also prepared a Czech version of the children's guide that is in the museum in Bautzen, together with the Sorbian Museum. It is a very entertaining guide for children to go through history. Everything here in the exhibition has been expanded, so this is in the audio-video guide that they have in Bautzen, which they just translated into Czech with the support of the Euroregion Nisa. These are the essential ones. Also had help from Lusatia, through Domowina, the Foundation for the Sorbian People, or the Sorbian Museum Ensemble. Without that, it really would not have been possible.</p>	<p>Stresses “May”.</p> <p>Says it with amusement.</p> <p>Hesitates and says several times without.</p> <p>Repeats twice “exhibition”. Chuckles.</p> <p>Repeats twice “through history”.</p> <p>Says twice “expanded” to stress it.</p>
33:40 – 35:15		<p>*The event was mainly directed to Liberec and to the large cities in the Liberec region, so it was oriented towards Czech people. There is an interesting shift: at the beginning, apart from the opening ceremony and the big concert, there was a very wide spectrum. At the beginning the older generation participated in these events, because the older generation knows about the Sorbs. But gradually the middle generation started to join them and would say that in the final stage the</p>	<p>Speaks fast.</p> <p>Concludes her answer with the same words she said at the beginning.</p> <p>Hesitates, says “her” and then starts another sentence.</p>

		<p>younger generation has also joined in especially thanks to Facebook and YouTube streaming. That makes them very happy because they tried to make the shows as broad as possible. There was for example a children's show on Krabat, but also an adult film on Krabat, so they simply tried to include everybody.</p>	<p>(Noise in the background). Stresses “events”.</p> <p>Says four times the word “generation”.</p> <p>Speaks fast.</p>
06:00 – 09:31	Sorbian identity	<p>*Thinks there is a big difference between asking this question about Upper Lusatia or Lower Lusatia. Have had the opportunity to get to know Upper Lusatia very well in these five years, but they are only starting to get to know Lower Lusatia. There are big differences. The Catholic faith, the customs, and traditions are the determining factor regarding Upper Lusatia. Also, the way families live there, how they stick together and live according to what they profess in their Catholic faith in their daily life. People are fundamentally atheists in her region, there are no big religious directions. In Upper Lusatia, Upper Sorbian has been preserved. Sorbian is at least commonly used in everyday life, in some parts, some villages. Unlike in Upper Lusatia, you hardly come across Lower Sorbian language in Lower Lusatia. But that does not mean, that these people do not feel Sorbian. They just do not use their language anymore, they speak German. The other thing that makes them different and which is a bit determining, is that Lower Sorbs are evangelical and there</p>	<p>Hesitates on “I”. Stresses “difference”. Makes a pause between “Upper Lusatia” and “or Lower Lusatia”. Speaks fast on “we are only starting”. Translates “differences” into English and wants to know if I understand. Chuckless. Talks first about “the faith” and then precises “the Catholic faith”.</p> <p>Stresses “unlike”.</p> <p>Stresses “does not mean”.</p> <p>Stresses “Catholic”.</p>

		are differences between the Catholic faith and the evangelical Protestant faith. Lower Lusatia is mostly part of Brandenburg, and the German population is mainly Protestant, so the influence or the belonging to the German-speaking population is different there than in Upper Lusatia. Are just her personal feelings.	Says first its her “feelings” and then precises it’s her “personal feelings”. Chuckles.
09:33 – 14:38	Current situation of the Sorbs	*Thinks she already answered a little bit in the previous question. Mr. Bart, a former student is the author and promoter of the Witaj project which intends to bring back Sorbian both in Upper Lusatia and in Lower Lusatia into kindergartens, schools and everyday life. Thinks there is hope there, but that there is greater hope in Upper Lusatia that the language will be preserved for at least a few more years, hopefully decades, and will be passed on to the next generation. Knows that an effort is being made in Lower Lusatia as well, but it is much harder there because the number of Sorbs that really speak Lower Sorbian is much smaller than the number of Sorbs that speak Upper Sorbian. Thinks that regardless of whether it is Upper or Lower Lusatia, the coal mining, which destroyed many villages, was a huge problem and had an influence on how their life developed. Hundreds of villages disappeared, and the inhabitants were resettled in places where there was a predominantly German-speaking population. The traditions, the roots that they had there were broken, and that period ended about twenty, twenty-five years ago. There is now an effort to make it an attractive tourist area. But thinks that this effort, the conversion of the coalfield into tourist places, will not help the Sorbs much. Knows there has been quite a strong campaign in the last two years, Na klar sorbisch na klar, to make the German	Speaks fast on “in the previous”. Stresses “Mr. Bart”. Addresses me directly: “and the Witaj project, you know it” and chuckles. Speaks fast when repeating there is hope. Stresses “harder”. Stresses “number”. Stresses “broken”. Says first “twenty” and then corrects herself: “twenty-five”. Stresses “area”. Hesitates on “tourist” because is thinking about which word to put after.

		<p>population aware that they have their own national Slavic minority and to draw their attention to it. Thinks it is good, because people in the Czech Republic don't know that the Sorbs live there. It may seem strange to them who are involved in this, but it is not that inconceivable, even though surprising. As when they were on an excursion in Lower Lusatia in Spreewald for example. They used to go there by boats for holidays, and all people on the boat were German. When the gondolier said there was a Slavic population there historically, it was very strange to hear how surprised the Germans were, that they had no idea that such a huge area had ever been inhabited by Slavic tribes. Thinks that is one thing that the campaign can highlight and draw attention to the fact that the Sorbs live there, and that if this attention is given enough support, it can help them survive into the next decades.</p>	<p>Hesitates on the pronunciation in German. Stresses "Slavic". Stresses "don't know". Uses the German name of the forest and not the translation in Czech. Stresses "no idea". Says "is" quietly. Stresses "survive". Says her answer is "very long" and chuckles.</p>
35:18 – 37:20	Knowledge of the Czechs about the Sorbs	<p>*Is laughing but it is rather sad. Found the name of the exhibition a few years ago thanks to a meeting with a person who was quite important in public administration. When they talked about the Sorbs, he looked at them and said, "who is that?". That was the impetus, because the distance is really small, sixty kilometres, which is closer than Prague to Liberec. And yet 80, 85 percent of people do not know that a nation so close and similar to them lives there. Was maybe a bit provocative but thinks that the Czechs are used to go to Lusatia for sport and leisure activities, they visit the lakes, they go there to rollerblade, but the history, the</p>	<p>Chuckles in the beginning and chuckles after "sad". Says first "I" and then corrects herself: "we". Stresses "who is that?" and makes a small pause. Stresses "Prague". Says first "80" and then precises "85". Chuckles after "provocative".</p>

		richness of the culture, it was unknown to them. Hopes that they have helped, at least a little bit, to make it known.	
37:24 – 39:14	Sorbian-Czech relations	*From an official point of view, knows the Sorbs have national minority statut in the Czech Republic. Knows there is an effort, depending on who is the head of the state, to cooperate with the Sorbs and support them. Knows that there is an effort to send Czech teachers to Lusatia but thinks the association Společnost přátel Lužice in Prague could say more about this. Does not know whether their efforts as Czechs are sufficient because, at least from what she has heard so far, there have been quite big obstacles put in the way of Czech teachers by Germany for example. They had big demands on them, not only that they should teach Czech or Sorbian there, but that they had to pass a state exam in German. Finds that a little bit demotivating, that on the one hand, there is this effort to help, but on the other hand, it is actually prevented by a third party. Will see if that changes now or not.	Hesitates and says “I don’t know how...”. Chuckles. Starts her sentences with “I know that”. Speaks then about what she does not know. Stresses “demotivating”. Stresses “third”. Chuckles.
39:16 – 41:56		*It is one thing to look at it from the position of an ordinary citizen and another to look at it from the position of the state. Thinks there is a little bit of a problem with the Czech mentality because they are too focused on themselves and have a little bit of a problem with perceiving something different in general. But at the same time, the Sorbs are not different and are not our enemies. On the contrary, they are very close to each other, and she thinks it could be kind of an example	“Well” and her voice tone indicates she finds the question difficult. Stresses “mentality”. Starts twice her sentences with “at the same time”. Stresses “on the contrary”.

		<p>for the Czechs of how their development could have turned out if they had not been lucky enough to create an independent state. Knows there were attempts to make Lusatia part of the Czech state after the First World War or after the Second World War, but it is strange that when you ask the Sorbs what they think about this, they say, “well, if we were in a common state, we would not exist today. We would not be... because the Slavs are so close to each other that we would have merged with you by now.” They see the fact that they live in the middle of Germany as a plus, that they can develop further and that they can keep their traditions and carry the culture forward.</p>	<p>Imitates the Sorbs saying that. Stresses “if we were”.</p> <p>Stresses “merged”.</p> <p>Says four times “actually” in her sentence.</p> <p>(Noise made by an ambulance).</p>
41:59 – 43:02	<p>Role of the Czech Republic in the maintenance of Sorbian identity</p>	<p>*Thinks that the Czech Republic tries to help. But if there is an obstacle not only from the Sorbian side, but also from the German side, then it is very difficult. But that does not depend on these international relations, so thinks that it is precisely the kind of activity that they are trying to develop, to spread the awareness about the Sorbs all the time, so that at least those who are interested in it are aware of the situation and that the action continues in some way.</p>	<p>Says we already talked about it. Stresses the word “effort”. Says twice “if”.</p> <p>Starts twice her sentences with “but”.</p> <p>(Noise in the background).</p> <p>Says twice “at least”.</p>

Annex XVII Content Analysis P

Time	Topics	Subjects covered by the interviewee	Comments/Interpretation
01:41 – 02:51	Presentation of the interviewee	*Is S, is from Prague. Is 26 years old and studies Hungarian language and literature. Has Sorbian language, and Sorbian history. Studied Sorabistik for one year in Leipzig. Is now working in a book shop as a volunteer in Lusatian Seminar and here is the Society of the Friends of Lusatia. Are all volunteering, it's not paid.	Speaks slowly and calmly. Speaks directly of her link with the Sorbs. Stresses the word “volunteer”. Slightly contradicts herself “I don’t work here, I just work here because we are all volunteering”. Chuckles.
02:54 – 05:03	Personal links with the Sorbs	*Speaks Upper Sorbian and Lower Sorbian too. Learned it in Leipzig. Is not related to the Sorbs, just interested and it is part of her studies. Has been to Lusatia for about 20 times. Not now in Corona but earlier was going to Lusatia every two months. Has lots of friends there too. *Heard about the Sorbs for the first time at university. Is enrolled in Middle European studies in the faculty of Arts. Studies especially Hungarian. But has also Polish language and Slovak and the context, the area of these states. For Germany too. That is how she discovered Lusatia and the Sorbs. Started to study this in Bachelor.	Says “too” very quietly. Chuckles. Says “too” very quietly. Hesitates on how to translate the name of her studies into English. Stresses the “but”. Makes a pause before explaining she “started to study it in Bachelor”.

05:04 – 08:21	Sorbian-Czech relations	<p>*Is possible to learn Lusatian at Prague’s university now but it was not earlier. Was no lecturer. Now they have one Sorb that teaches Upper Sorbian in Prague, but she thinks it’s only for two years. There were some lessons about Lusatian history and that’s how she discovered it and studied it. Then found out that it is possible to study it in Leipzig. Is really easy for Czechs to go there and study Sorbian.</p> <p>*Does not clearly understand the question.</p> <p>*Thinks there are 50 persons that can speak Upper Sorbian in the Czech Republic. Because Lower Sorbian is not so difficult for Czechs. Explains that Lower Sorbian is not so alive now and that it is really hard to learn it from Sorbs. The situation of Upper Sorbian is better. Have some people here, but mainly old, like 60-70 years-old people, who knew Sorbs which emigrated in Czechoslovakia, there were friends and they learned it. But there are not many young people, students that can speak the language. Thinks that about 10 or 15 students learn Upper Sorbian in Prague. Doesn’t know what the quality is. Thinks that they are 10 students to learn it in Brno.</p>	<p>Repeats twice “now yes”. (Noise of a falling object). Apologises and Chuckles.</p> <p>Looks for her words.</p> <p>Stresses “easy”. Chuckles.</p> <p>Seems to think while saying she does not clearly understand the question. Apologises for it.</p> <p>“hin hin” shows she understood the question. Says first “Sorbian” and then corrects herself and says “Upper Sorbian”. “Ok” shows she is about to explain something. Chuckles.</p> <p>Stresses “but” and her voice is high-pitched when she says “mainly”.</p> <p>Her voice is high-pitched when she says “young people”. (Noise of a MS Teams notification). Chuckles.</p> <p>Finishes her answer with “ok?”, probably to make sure I understand.</p>
22:43 – 26:31			

<p>30:12 – 32:28</p>		<p>*Now the relations are only cultural, not political because Lusatia is part of Germany. These contacts are mainly Czech-German not Czech-Sorbs. For example, are planning an exhibition on the Prague Castle with some pictures, books and just related to culture. The main actors of this are Prague Castle, Domowina, the Lusatian Sorbs and Serbsky Muzej, the museum in Bautzen. But the problem is that they can't communicate just between this people. Have to be supported by the Sächsisches Ministerium for culture. The problem is that the Germans are everywhere in these contacts. Another example is the reconstruction of some damaged books in their library. Have some money support from the Sorbs, but it's not from the Sorbs, it's from Germany officially. The contacts, relations between the Sorbs and Czech Republic in official things or politics are all influenced by the Germans. Thinks that is the main thing. Everything is bureaucratic, under the German law and Sorbs can't have any official relations to us without the Germans. Everything is just culture, It's not politics. Have some Czechs that want Lusatia to be back in Czech Republic. They are talking about the Czech Crown in the fifteen century. But it's just few of them. Is the only politics that they have in Czech Republic about these relations.</p> <p>*Yes. They have to speak slowly.</p> <p>*It's a little bit funny because a lot of young Sorbs are learning Czech language in high school as second language. They</p>	<p>“Ouh” indicates she finds the question difficult. Chuckles.</p> <p>“Ok, from the other side”: restructure her sentence. Chuckles.</p> <p>Stresses “But”.</p> <p>Says the name of the Ministry half in German and half in English. “Ok?”: addresses me directly.</p> <p>Chuckles. “And that's it ok?”: her voice tone seems to indicate she finds it annoying.</p> <p>Chuckles.</p> <p>Stresses “Crown”.</p> <p>Chuckles. Says it with amusement.</p> <p>Stresses “slowly”.</p> <p>Makes a small pause after “Czech language”.</p>
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		<p>can learn English, French and Czech because it's on the border. There are Czech teachers in Bautzen, in / and the young Sorbs are learning Czech. When she speaks to her 24-year-old friend, they can speak Czech and Sorbian. He speaks in Czech, and she speaks in Sorbian, it's really funny. Like that because they said themselves, they can communicate like this. But when she meets a new person, she doesn't know that is sorb and talks to her in German, she says: "hey stop, I can understand Upper Sorbian and I can speak Upper Sorbian, actually really good". He's like "okay, but I don't know, I don't think that I can understand you, let's speak in German." That's no sense.</p> <p>The problem between Sorbs and Czechs is now that the Czechs are criticizing them because they come to Lusatia, to Bautzen and they are saying: "Hey, where are all the Sorbs? Why don't you speak Sorbian? Because you're Sorb we want to hear your Sorbian." And the Sorbs are like "We can't speak Sorbian."</p>	<p>"But eeh": thinks about what to answer.</p> <p>Says it with amusement. Laughs.</p> <p>Stresses "German".</p> <p>Takes a more high-pitched voice when she imitates a Sorb she just met. Chuckles.</p> <p>Includes herself in it and say "we are criticizing them".</p> <p>Says the answer more quietly. Chuckles.</p>
08:22 – 10:14	Knowledge of the Czechs about the Sorbs	<p>*Knows that a lot of Czech people know that Lusatia was part of Czech kingdom in the 15th century. Was part of Czech Crown in the history. Learned it in the school as they were kids. But the situation of Sorbs now in Germany is unknown for people here. There are little information in newspaper or things like ethnological or folklore and so. But when you ask people on the streets about Sorbs: "do you know Sorbs? Do you know where Lusatia is? Or that they are slaves and speak Slavic language?". It's like "oh really?"</p>	<p>"Mmh mmh" shows she understood the question and thinks about her answer. (Engine noise). Chuckles.</p> <p>(Noise of a MS Teams notification).</p> <p>"Yeah?": addresses me directly.</p>

		<p>I didn't know that." That's why they have the Society here. Work to make Lusatia more popular in the Czech Republic.</p>	<p>Changes slightly her voice tone to imitate someone asking questions about the Sorbs on the streets. Imitates the answer and chuckles. "So yeah" indicates she completed her answer. Chuckles.</p>
<p>10:15 – 14:50</p>	<p>Current situation of the Sorbs</p>	<p>*Has been to Lower Lusatia, to Cottbus, the centre of Lower Sorbs. Has talked to 10 people that could really speak Lower Sorbian. Is afraid that these 10 people are the only people in Cottbus that can speak the language. The official situation that is described by politicians and Wikipedia in terms of numbers of speakers who can actively use the language is good. Is worse in reality. When they count speakers, they ask: "Can you speak Sorbian?" and they say "Haj, yes, I can describe my name, my family, my house". And that's it so is not actually knowledge of language. Count like speakers of Sorbian to have bigger numbers of Sorbs. When you go to Lusatia to the community and talk to the Sorbs, it's really hard to speak Sorbian because you don't have the speaker on the other side.</p> <p>*Upper Sorbian is better than Lower Sorbian. But in Bautzen, the centre of Upper Sorbs, you can speak Sorbian just in the house of Sorbs, where the Domowina is situated. And that's all. Maybe in museum but it's not with all of them. And maybe in theatre but it's really hard to find someone who can speak. Does not know if this explanation is okay.</p>	<p>(Sneezes). "Hmm" indicates she is thinking about the question. Chuckles. Makes a pause before saying "10 people". "But, ehm, how would I say?" shows she is looking for her words. Chuckles after saying "Wikipedia".</p> <p>"Ok?": addresses me directly. Says "Haj" in Upper Sorbian and then Chuckles.</p> <p>"Ok?": here again addresses me directly.</p> <p>"Ok?" addresses me directly to make sure I understand and then chuckles.</p> <p>Her voice is high-pitched when she says "in Bautzen". Says first 'Upper Sorbian" and corrects herself, replacing it by "Upper Sorbs". Stresses "maybe".</p>

		<p>*Interesting that you have Sorbs there, but for them, it's hard to know who the other Sorb is. When you go to a shop for example and there is the seller of the shop, you can say "Dobry dzeń" but you don't know if he understands. So it's easier to say "Guten Tag", he also says "Guten Tag", and then none of you know that you are Sorbs, or that you can speak Sorbian. Everybody speaks German because it's easier. Thinks that's the problem.</p>	<p>"So, that's it": indicates she completed her answer. Chuckles.</p> <p>Stresses "hard".</p> <p>Makes a pause to find the word "seller". "Ok?": wants to make sure I understand. Stresses "but".</p> <p>Stresses "also".</p> <p>"Ok?": addresses me directly. Stresses "easier". "Ok?": addresses me directly again.</p>
14:51 – 22:41	Presentation of the association Společnost přátel Lužice	<p>*The association is more than 100 years old but was dissolved by Nazis and then by Communists. The History is a little bit bad for them. Is not sure if the new society was born in 1990 or in 1993, because there were two Czech associations that merged in the 1990s. Thinks that they are now more active in politics and literature. The activities are for more people than earlier because they translate literature from Sorbian and from German too. Are taking Czech people to Lusatia to teach them that Lusatia is really close, and that the Sorbs are really like brothers. Have this brotherhood with Slovaks but Sorbs are something like that too. The library here is really old, from 18th century. Is the biggest Sorbian library in the world outside Lusatia. Is important for them and for Sorbs too.</p>	<p>"Mmh mmh" shows she understands the question and agrees to answer. Gives a forced laugh, probably because the topic is sensitive. Chuckles.</p> <p>Makes a small pause after "because".</p> <p>"I don't know how to say": has difficulties finding her words. Changes the order of the sentence and then smiles. It is interesting that she is comparing the Sorbs with the Slovaks and calls them "brothers". Stresses "biggest". Chuckles.</p>

		<p>*Are trying to do it for people outside of Prague too. There is for example a little bit bigger community of Lusatian Friends or something like that in Liberec. Doesn't know how to say it in English. They have in Liberec výstavy obrazů, like a gallery but temporary. Přednášky. Can support it from Prague. Can go there and say something new, bring some books and so and so. Are supporting people in other cities to make Lusatia more known but the centre for them is Prague because they have two houses there. Have the seminar and librarian. That's why they are situated there. Also have supporters in Brno for example, at university too. Is connected. Have some Slovaks too in Bratislava or Košice. Are making a periodical. Wants to know if I understand. It's not newspaper.</p> <p>*Apologizes for her English and explains that she has not spoken the language for a really long time, and it is a little bit hard for her.</p> <p>*Says that Czech is really hard and that she understands it.</p> <p>*Get some money from Prague every year for their cultural events. Have some money from the Ministry of Culture</p>	<p>Chuckles.</p> <p>“They have some, they have some...”: thinks, Chuckles, and apologises because she cannot say it in English. Says it in Czech and tries to explain it in English. When I asks her if the word is “exhibition” and she says “yeah, yeah, exhibition”. Makes a pause before saying “known”.</p> <p>“We have our people”: Chuckles.</p> <p>Stresses “Slovaks”.</p> <p>“So yeah”: gives her time to think.</p> <p>Chuckles while she is looking for the right word. Her tone of voice is interrogative when she says “periodical” because she is not sure about the word”.</p> <p>Chuckles.</p> <p>Chuckles again. Reacts to my answer where I say I wish I could conduct the interview in Czech.</p> <p>“Mmh mmh” shows she understands the question and agrees to answer. Tries to translate</p>
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		<p>because they are some friends, they support these minority projects. It is only for culture and for events and exhibitions and so. Their problem for example is this house, because it needs money too. Only have money from their supporters, like gifts and so. So, it's hard to faction all of these. Also have some support from politicians, senators who can just speak up for them and say something there and there so that they are better known in these sections.</p>	<p>“Ministerstvo kultura” into English: “Minister for Culture, Ministry or something like that...”.</p> <p>Chuckles. Her voice is high-pitched when she says “politicians”.</p> <p>Chuckles.</p>
26:32 – 30:11	<p>Role of the Czech Republic in the maintenance of Sorbian identity</p>	<p>*Is afraid that it's now too late to have these relations because the Sorbs are actively losing their identity and they are doing it because it's easier. For example, the Czech language and Upper Sorbian are really similar. The hard thing is that Sorbs have really strong German accent. It's Slavic language with German accent. And when Czech people and Sorbs communicate together, they do it in German because it's easier for them to understand. Thinks it is the problem, that they are losing their identity because they can talk to Czechs in Upper Sorbian, they just don't want to. When there are political sessions in Bautzen for example and 10 politicians there. One of them is German and the rest of them are Sorbian. All of them are speaking in German because the one German person wouldn't understand if they would speak in Sorbian. So, all political sessions are in German because it's easier. That's why they are losing their identity. The Czech part says them: “You are losing your identity! Do you want us to help you, or can we just help because we are Slavic brothers?” and the Sorbs are like “No, it's okay. Germany gives us money, is supporting us and blablabla”. Some Sorbs</p>	<p>Makes small pauses between the words, probably because she thinks about how to say it.</p> <p>Corrects herself “Slav language or Slavic language”. Stresses that they have a German accent.</p> <p>Stresses “easier”. Her voice tone is high-pitched when she says “problem”, probably because it annoys her. Stresses “can”.</p> <p>Stresses “one”.</p> <p>Stresses “one” again.</p> <p>Talks first about the Czech part and then includes herself in it: “or we are saying that”.</p>

<p>32:29 – 35:00</p>		<p>are saying for example that if they would have connected to Czechs after the first or second world war, they would have been bohemised. They would have had to learn Czech and they would have lost their identity faster. Now it's like they are germanised.</p> <p>*Thinks that the destiny of Sorbs is like the Czech one if they have not had their Palacký or these personalities in the 19th century who were active against German and Austria, Hungary. Is kind of sad to see Lusatian Sorbs losing their identity because they can see them. The process is really the same, but they don't have their Palacký, Čelakovský or these personalities. Thinks that's why they just want to help them build this slavic... Does not know how to say it and wants to know if I understand. Is maybe a little bit sentiment or something like that. Heard for example from one of her friends that Slovaks are their brothers and the Czechs helped them to get their own state and get away from the Hungarians. Now Slovaks have their own state and now there are Lusatian Sorbs, and the Czechs can help them. But the Sorbs just don't want that because Germany is good for them.</p>	<p>Takes a more high-pitched voice when she imitates the Sorbs declining the offer.</p> <p>Wants to know if I understand what “bohemised” means. “They are saying that”: her voice tone seems to indicate she does not agree with that. Chuckles when she says “germanised”.</p> <p>“Mmh” shows she thinks about her answer.</p> <p>Makes pauses and has a serious tone, probably because the topic is sensitive.</p> <p>Stresses “build”. Chuckles.</p> <p>Stresses “Slovaks”.</p> <p>“Hungarians and blablabla”: refers to the long history between the Czechs and the Slovaks. Stresses the two “now” and on “them”. Chuckles.</p>
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Annex XVIII: Transcript Convention of Montpellier University

Normes de transcription

Certes il est bien difficile de rendre compte des phénomènes oraux comme déjà le prouvent les multiples manières de rendre compte de ceux-ci ; les conventions que nous proposons ont inévitablement leurs insuffisances mais s'efforcent de résoudre la transposition d'une écoute attentive.

Pour faciliter la lecture, c'est la transcription orthographique qui est choisie ; parfois la transcription phonétique est utilisée entre crochets quand la transcription orthographique est trop loin de ce qui est entendu. Les débuts des énoncés ne sont pas marqués par des majuscules qui sont employés seulement pour les noms propres et les sigles courants. Mais un certain nombre d'éléments sont ajoutés ayant diverses fonctions :

— marques indiquant l'intonation

. : un point indique une intonation descendante

? : un point d'interrogation une intonation ascendante

. : une intonation descendante - ascendante (par exemple dans une énumération)

— marques indiquant l'allongement du son

: : l'articulation du son précédent a été notablement allongée, :, ::, ::: indiquent trois degrés. Ces points sont placés à la suite du graphème qui transcrit le son allongé ; « des: des:: » : allongement vocalique.

— marques indiquant interruption et aphérèse

- : un tiret marque une interruption dans le discours ; « des en- des gamins » ou une aphérèse : « -fin tu vois ».

— marques indiquant une modalité de la voix

La marque de l'expression tonale est indiquée par un chiffre entre parenthèses entourant l'énoncé concerné ; chaque chiffre correspond à une expression particulière :

(1) ton amusé, rieur

(2) ton d'insistance

(3) ton sceptique

(4) ton méditatif

(5) ton déçu

(6) ton approuvatif

(7) ton pressant

(8) ton sollicitant (avec intonation ascendante)

(9) voix aiguë

(10) ton lié à un geste ostensif avec l'emploi d'un déictique

(11) mot prononcé de manière hésitante

(12) ton exaspéré

— marques indiquant le volume de la voix

° : le mot qui suit est faiblement prononcé

OUI : les caractères majuscules indiquent un fort volume

— marques indiquant la prononciation syllabique

ddemain : la double lettre indique une attaque forte de la syllabe initiale

m'sieur : l'apostrophe marque les syllabes tronquées internes à un mot

— marques indiquant l'expiration et l'aspiration

hhh : une série de h aspirés note une expiration

— marques indiquant l'imitation de la voix d'autrui

il m'a dit tout est dit : un texte souligné signale que le locuteur imite la voix de l'actant dont il rapporte les paroles

— marques indiquant une liaison

ils tombent ' à l'eau : les consonnes finales avec apostrophe indiquent une liaison non attendue

Les énoncés présentés sont produits au cours d'interactions verbales, il convient donc de marquer cette spécificité discursive :

— marques des interlocuteurs par des initiales

— marques des tours de parole

Lorsque N ou A produit un tour de parole qui enchaîne sans chevauchement sur le tour de parole précédent de A ou N, ce tour est transcrit en début de ligne.

5A - // ok alors c'est simple c'est une soupe (N - °ouais) alors ...

6N - °mm une soupe? / une soupe froide ou une soupe chaude?

— marques des régulateurs

Les régulateurs de A (ou N) qui n'interrompent pas le tour de parole de N (ou A) sont indiqués à l'intérieur de l'intervention de N (ou A) entre parenthèses.

27A - ouais ouais ouais (N - ah ouais) et puis euh disons tu peux manger ce plat avec euh une salade qui est très simple qui est fait avec du yaourt nature que tu tu mélanges bien tu fais un p'tit peu liquide (N - ouais) et puis euh tu ajoutes

— numérotation des tours de parole
 Les tours de parole sont numérotés.
 29A - voilà et tu tu
 30N - mais ça fait pas une salade! ça fait juste euh
 31A - c'est pas une salade mais je sais pas comment on le dit alors
 — régulateurs et tours de parole
 Si le régulateur est l'occasion de la prise de tour, il est placé au début du tour qu'il initie
 25N - je mélange ?
 26A - oui non pas mélange
 — chevauchement de parole
 Les italiques signalent un chevauchement de parole entre les interlocuteurs.
 40A- oui c'est ça / quand on est plusieurs ouais au moins deux ou trois personnes donc ouais / on on divise en ...
 41N- ouais le travail
 42A- le travail c'est ça / et puis alors:: / après on doit alors euh euh 11
 Si le chevauchement initie un tour de parole, alors ce tour s'initie à ce niveau.
 12N - il faut des olives vertes? // des olives noires?
 13A - he? voilà voilà
 Si deux tours démarrent simultanément, cette simultanéité est indiquée par des italiques.
 43N - mm d'accord
 44A2 - et bon appétit
 — interruptions de parole
 Le signe ... à la fin du tour de N (ou A) indique qu'il a été interrompu par A (ou N). Le tour de A s'initie à ce niveau.
 19A2 - cuisses de poulet ...
 20A3 - dans le citron non ?
 Lorsqu'il y a interruption et chevauchement, on l'indique ainsi :
 23A - et alors tu:::comme l'eau bouille comme ça tu mets du riz dedans / bon ça dépend combien de personnes vous'êtes °mais quand le ...
 24N - mais le poulet tu l'as enlevé °ou::
 — pauses
 Les pauses sont notées /, //, /// et correspondent à des temps de 3 secondes, 4 secondes et plus ; leur transcription intra-intervention ne pose pas de problème. La pause inter-intervention, plus problématique doit tenir compte du contexte d'énonciation et peut être soit en fin d'intervention soit au début.
 10A - alors / tu:: /// tu prends un poulet un poulet?
 11N - un poulet ?
 12A - oui / entier et tu le mets dans l'eau
 13N - avec le cou?
 14A - ///
 15N - avec le cou ou::
 De plus d'autres conventions sont utilisées pour signaler des phénomènes inhérents au travail de transcription :
 — une unité entre parenthèses signale que le transcripteur n'est pas sûr de sa transcription ;
 — lorsque le transcripteur hésite entre deux transcriptions, celles-ci sont placées entre parenthèses, séparées par une croix ;
 — une parenthèse vide indique un segment non identifié par le transporteur ;
 le signe ++ signale un borborygme du locuteur ;
 les doubles parenthèses renferment des indications diverses ;
 les indications gestuelles et les mouvements, les rires ainsi que les indications contextuelles informatives pour la compréhension de l'énoncé sont marquées entre accolades ;
 les signes diacritiques sont employés pour transcrire des mots de langue arabe ;
 les termes étrangers sont placés entre astérisques ; leur traduction est donnée en notes

Annex XIX Interview Transcription X

{02:03} 0001 **X** ich bin x (9) ich bin zwanzig jahre alt und der:zeit studiere ich
in lleipzig

{02:08} 0002 gymnasiallehramt für sport und für russisch.

{02:19} 0003 ähm:

{02:21} 0004 also ich bin:: (4)

{02:22} 0005 ich bbin sorbin? / meine muttersprache ist ssorbisch und:

{02:26} 0006 ich bin äh 'm sorbischen sschulen gegangen? und habe sorbisch /
hier so schreiben gelernt

{02:32} 0007 deutsch erst als meine zzwetsprache und ich fühle mich mit der
sorbischen kultur / /

{02:35} 0008 ähm (4) sehr eng verbunden

{02:38} 0009 und das ist einfach mein ganzes leben

{02:40} 0010 **M** ok h äh also bist du: in der lausitz geboren?

{02:43} 0011 und darf ich ffragen in oberlausitz? oder niederlausitz.

{02:47} 0012 **X** / in der oberlausitz

{02:49} 0013 **M** ok dann sprichst du: (4)

{02:51} 0014 äh obersorbisch (8)

{02:52} 0015 **M** ok

{02:53} 0016 **X** jja genau (6)

{02:54} 0017 **M** h ok super h ähm:

{02:57} 0018 ja also du hast mir gesagt du hast (7) eine: sorbische schule
besucht?

{02:60} 0019 ähm: war das ähm: die (4) / in bautzen (8)

{03:04} 0020 oder (11) / also das gymnasium in bautzen?

{03:07} 0021 **X** / ja genau (6) und davor noch die sorbische Grundschule hhier in
meinem Ort wo ich °wohne

{03:12} 0022 **M** ok (6)

{03:13} 0023 **X** äh wo ich herkomme

{03:14} 0024 **M** Super h ähm: bist du auch vielleicht mitglied einer: sorbischen
organisation (8)

{03:19} 0025 **X** / / ähm: ja (6) tatsächlich / bin ich mitglied in: der sorabia?

{03:26} 0026 ich weiß nicht ob du das kennst (7) das ist diese: sorbische
studenten / verbindung? oder also

{03:32} 0027 so ein studenten verein ist das / (m - ok)

{03:35} 0028 in lleipzig (M - ah in leipzig) für sorbische studenten

{03:58} 0029 x ähm: also für mich bildet es auf jeden fall die ssprache?

{04:01} 0030 weil ich das mit meinen / mit meiner ffamilie mit allen ffreunden
(4) -

{04:04} 0031 also ich sprech' es eigentlich hier im ort auch mit aallen

{04:07} 0032 und das ist für mich so eine: (4)

{04:09} 0033 so eine vvertrautheit zwischen den menschen also man (7) / kennt
sich ja:

{04:13} 0034 prinzipiell untereinander / NICHT direkt aber dadurch dass alle
vielleicht dieselbe sprache sprechen fühlt man sich

{04:18} 0035 enger (9) und /

{04:20} 0036 'n bisschen vertrauter (4)

{04:22} 0037 und: das besondere an den ssorben /

{04:25} 0038 finde ich ist das wie alle untereinander (4) /

{04:28} 0039 äh: also jeder kkennt jeden so ein bisschen man weiß wo der andere
herkommt wir sind ja nicht (7) / sso viele

{04:33} 0040 und bei der obersorben ist halt so man

{04:35} 0041 man weiß ungefähr wo die person hherkommt was sie gerade mmacht
ob sie sstudiert oder / ob sie arbeitet

{04:40} 0042 welche: / ähm zu welcher kirche sie gerade gehört also

{04:44} 0043 zu welcher ggemeinde so zu sagen / und

{04:46} 0044 das finde ich also / bbesonders weil man /

{04:49} 0045 im prinzip immer alles im blick hat? und:

{04:51} 0046 man erfährt auch immer über den ursprung ganz vieles über die
anderen Leute /

{04:55} 0047 und dann gehört auch noch die kkultur ganz sstark mit dazu also
dass wir alle: gern singen und ttanzen?

{05:00} 0048 das hat immer so eine ffreude (4) also wenn man die wahl trifft
dazu dann /

{05:04} 0049 äh: strahlt das immer so ins ffreunde aus und steckt alle an /

{05:07} 0050 uund: das finde ich ganz besonders bei den sorben

{05:10} 0051 (M - ok) es kann auch sein dass andere das aauch haben aber ich
kenne es jetzt halt / von meiner /

{05:15} 0052 von meiner kultur °sozusagen

{05:26} 0053 x °oh also aaktuell / /

{05:28} 0054 würde ich sagen /

{05:30} 0055 es ist noch sstabil (11) also

{05:32} 0056 wir sind ja nnoch? eine (4) / /

{05:35} 0057 sage ich mal relativ / ggroße zahl also nicht so dass wir /

{05:40} 0058 vom aussterben bedroht sind (7) aber dass /

{05:43} 0059 äh dass viele gerad' die sprache vverlieren oder halt /

{05:45} 0060 gerade auch das / eenglisch (9) oder das deutsche jetzt so einen starken einfluss haben /

{05:49} 0061 äh auch auf die jjugendlichen und so dass: sonst natürlich alles negativ aus ich glaube /

{05:54} 0062 dass die sschulen alleine / äh das nicht bewerkstelligen können

{05:58} 0063 dass das sorbische eerhalten bleibt

{05:59} 0064 und dann müssten auch die eltern darauf aachten und vor allem /

{06:02} 0065 muss sich jeder / selber an die nase fassen und / mal sagen /

{06:06} 0066 ich achte jetzt darauf dass ich häufig sorbisch spreche und auch meine familie sorbisch eerziehe /

{06:11} 0067 und / dann denke ich wird das auch noch / (4) weiter bestehen bleiben / °das so wir schaffen

{06:15} 0068 M ok / uund also in leipzig? das ist nicht in der lausitz aber

{06:20} 0069 kannst du trotzdem (4) / OFT sorbisch sprechen (8)

{06:23} 0070 mit anderen oder / hast du das gefühl dass es so (4) h

{06:27} 0071 nicht so lleicht ist wenn man außer der lausitz ist deutsch äh sorbisch zu sprechen {chuckles}

{06:32} 0072 X / / ähm also in leipzig ist es wirklich nicht sschwer jemand sorbisch zu finden das sind sehr viele sorbische sstudenten (7) und ein paar junge familien auch (9)

{06:41} 0073 äh: ich wwohne zum beispiel mit meiner besten ffreundin zusammen / sie ist auch Sorbin (9) /

{06:45} 0074 ähm und dann wohnt meine schwester auch in lleipzig mit der treffe ich mich manchmal:

{06:49} 0075 ein' andere beste freundin wird auch noch da (4) / und ansonsten

{06:52} 0076 ähm hat man viel kkontakt mit den anderen studenten in den ähnlichen: studiengängen

{06:56} 0077 und tauscht sich mit ddenen auch auf sorbisch aus

{06:59} 0078 also das ist kkein problem in leipzig

{07:24} 0079 X ähm also mir ist es nnicht passiert ich war

{07:27} 0080 damals glaube ich / war ich noch zu jung dass ich auf diesen äh (4)

{07:30} 0081 äh partys gewesen wäre?

{07:32} 0082 aaber: das ist ein ffamilienmitglied von mir zum beispiel passiert (7) dass Dinge rassistisch angegangen wurden und deswegen

{07:38} 0083 betrifft mich das aauch und ich hatt' ddamals auch ein bisschen so die furcht gepackt? /

{07:42} 0084 und: ich hab' das dann auch von anderen noch gehört dass das auf anderen veranstaltungen passiert ist /

{07:46} 0085 und da hat man noch / noch immer darauf ggeachtet wer und die so /

{07:50} 0086 verdächtig aussehen wollen (7) oder was da so für gruppen kkommen?

{07:53} 0087 die vielleicht / speziell gekleidet sind oder:

{07:56} 0088 spezielle bemerkungen von sich geben?

{07:58} 0089 ähm /

{07:59} 0090 aber ehrlich ist das /

{08:01} 0091 also mich hat noch nie - nie persönlich betroffen und deswegen /

{08:04} 0092 finde ich auch nicht dass ich irgendwie angst haben sollte (9)

{08:07} 0093 und ich bin eigentlich auch stolz sor- sorbin zu sein und / ich also /

{08:11} 0094 das steht ja auch im grundgesetz dass ich

{08:13} 0095 das das recht habe auf sorbisch zu - sorbisch zu sprechen sorbisch zu lernen /

{08:16} 0096 und deswegen (7)

{08:18} 0097 ähm: habe ich ja immer / die möglichkeit dagegen vorzugehen /

{08:21} 0098 und: / /

{08:23} 0099 ja (4) deswegen finde ich eigentlich /

{08:25} 0100 für mich persönlich jetzt gerade nicht ganz so schwierig- ich bin auch mädchen /

{08:28} 0101 mich verbindet jetzt zum beispiel auch nicht oder so /

{08:30} 0102 aber wenn ich jetzt ein junger mann wäre wäre es vielleicht gefährlicher (7)

{08:58} 0103 x h ähm: also ich war -

{08:59} 0104 in polen war ich erst einmal und zwar in der vierten klasse? {chuckles}

{09:03} 0105 äh in der vierten klasse (1) und zwar waren wir da auf /

{09:06} 0106 klassenfahrt oder exkursion so für ein paar tage?

{09:09} 0107 weil nämlich in polen eine / partnerstadt äh: von unsere / von unserem (4) / ort hier /

{09:16} 0108 existiert? also die sind eine partnerstädte (7) h

{09:18} 0109 deswegen war das sozusagen auf einen austausch unsere klasse /

{09:21} 0110 ist da ge- dahin gefahren für eine woche? und /

{09:24} 0111 eine schulklasse von denen ist bei uns gewesen? /

{09:27} 0112 und man hat / sich ein bisschen verständigen können mit den kindern und jugendlichen

{09:31} 0113 aber hat es / nicht den: (4)

{09:34} 0114 bezug gefunden /

{09:35} 0115 vor allem auch wegen der sprache also wir haben ja nie polnisch gelernt /

{09:38} 0116 die erwachsenen konnten sich uns verständigen /

{09:40} 0117 aber wir untereinander dann eher nicht also wir haben ja sowieso gespielt das ist ja bei kindern da kein problem wegen der sprache /

{09:46} 0118 ähm und ansonsten war ich glaube ich noch nie in polen?

{09:49} 0119 also nie länger als für ein paar stunden wenn man vielleicht durchgefahren ist oder so /

{09:53} 0120 und: in tschechien? war ich schon mehrmals zum schifahren oder auch so im urlaub (4)

{09:58} 0121 in prag zum beispiel letztes jahr? /

{10:01} 0122 und: /

{10:02} 0123 ich hab' auch drei jahren tschechisch gelernt?

{10:04} 0124 von der zweiten bis zu vierten klasse? das: war bei unserer schule einfach so /

{10:09} 0125 ähm als fremdsprache?

{10:11} 0126 und: (4) /

{10:12} 0127 ich hab's dann danach leider wieder alles vergessen? weil ich dann /

{10:16} 0128 russisch stattdessen gelernt hab' / am gymnasium? /

{10:18} 0129 und: /

{10:20} 0130 ein paar wörter weiß ich noch aber man versteht das tschechische weil ich darauf besser - also 'n bisschen besser als das polnische

{10:26} 0131 aber ansicht muss ich sagen dass ich leider echt wenig verstehe. /

{10:29} 0132 wenn ich jetzt lese oder so? kann ich mir /

{10:32} 0133 die wörter ableiten aber mit jemandem der (7) /

{10:33} 0134 auf tschechisch spricht? dann verstehe ich relativ wenig.

{10:36} 0135 und zur geschichte weiß ich leider auch (4) /

{10:38} 0136 nichts

{10:39} 0137 also 's kann sein dass wir das mal im unterricht /

{10:41} 0138 behandelt haben aber ich hab's

{10:43} 0139 bestimmt vergessen {chuckles}

{10:44} 0140 M ok danke ähm also du hast mir gesagt du warst äh ja. schon in:

{10:49} 0141 in polen und in tschechien und wie hast du: äh dich dort- äh dort gefühlt (8) h

{10:54} 0142 also mein' ich äh:

{10:56} 0143 mit der sprache (8) vielleicht mit den leute (8) /

{10:59} 0144 äh: also wie war es?

{11:01} 0145 X / ähm: also

{11:04} 0146 eigentlich (4) ganz angenehm weil sie sind ja von - von dem /

{11:08} 0147 geräusch von der sprache ist es ja relativ ähnlich

{11:10} 0148 da höre ich ja ähnliche kklänge (7) zuhause

{11:12} 0149 aber vor aallem halt in:

{11:14} 0150 als ich in pprag war (bei) auch /

{11:15} 0151 ich hhab' sowieso auf eenglisch kommuniziert /

{11:18} 0152 weil das /

{11:19} 0153 also man - die alten äh die älteren Leute sagen halt immer man kann auch den ssorbischen in ttschechien gut /

{11:24} 0154 ähm: kklarkommen und einfach sorbisch sprechen die vverstehen eeinen?

{11:27} 0155 aber es ist halt /

{11:28} 0156 um wwelten schwieriger als wenn man einfach /

{11:30} 0157 englisch mit den Leute sspricht die das auch kkönnen /

{11:32} 0158 deswegen /

{11:33} 0159 versucht man 's halt / auch oft auf eenglisch (7)

{11:35} 0160 aber man ffühlt sich /

{11:37} 0161 in so in in sslawischen ländern eigentlich relativ /

{11:41} 0162 relativ ähm:

{11:43} 0163 wie zu hhouse sag' ich mal

{11:45} 0164 M / ok und ist das so äh:

{11:48} 0165 würdest du sagen iinsbesondere in / ppolen und tschechien weil:

{11:52} 0166 äh die: die beiden nachbarländern sind? oder

{11:55} 0167 allgemein in: sslawischen ländern

{11:57} 0168 x / /

{11:60} 0169 nnein ich würde sagen allgemein in sslawischen ländern weil die leute sind dann auch interessiert also wenn sie das ssorbische hören dann (7) /

{12:04} 0170 sind sie iinteressiert hören dann zzu und fragen was ist das für eine ssprache? und dann sagt man man ist ssorbe

{12:09} 0171 denken sie erstmal man ist sserbe aber dann sagt man man ist

{12:12} 0172 llausitzer sorbe und dann vverstehen die das und dann /

{12:15} 0173 also wir waren einmal in kkroatien und dann hat ei- einem /

{12:17} 0174 einen mann hat der gesagt ach stimmt meine oma hatte mal davon erzä- erzählt (7) /

{12:21} 0175 und: dann wusste der auch wo wir hherkommen und /

{12:24} 0176 ja genau (6) also der hat es halt ggekannt °und:

{12:26} 0177 also die äälteren leute die kkennen es meisten noch die junge leute wissen nnicht was das ssorbische ist.

{12:30} 0178 M ook ja h das war ei- eigentlich meine nächste ffrage ich wollte wissen ob h

{12:35} 0179 äh: ja in ttschechien in polen hast du wwarscheinlich gesagt ähm:

{12:38} 0180 ich bin sorbin? h

{12:40} 0181 und hhattest du das gefühl dass - ja

{12:42} 0182 die leute: (4) wissen was es ist? wwer die sorben sind h

{12:45} 0183 oder ggar nich (X- ne) aber du hast schon ein bisschen ggeantwor-
tet

{12:48} 0184 ich weiß nicht ob du etwas (X - ja) hhinzufügen möchtest (8)

{12:52} 0185 X äh ja? mir fehlt g'rade dass eeigentlich' ich hab' nochmal ttsche-
chen kennen gelernt (7) /

{12:55} 0186 und: / ddie haben' mich gefragt was ich sspreche dann habe ich
auch ggesagt

{12:58} 0187 ssorbisch aber llausitzer sorbisch und dann meinten sie das
ggibt's nicht /

{13:01} 0188 dann hab' ich den aus -

{13:02} 0189 äh hab' ich das auf ggoogle äh-

{13:04} 0190 bei wikipedia? habe ich das gezeigt bei google mmaps wo wir
ungefähr wwohnen /

{13:08} 0191 und ddann meinten sie nnein nein ihr seid sserben und ihr seid
irgendwie übergewandert (2) und das gibt auch gganzt häufig im
internet dass irgendjemand sagt die ssorben sind eigentlich sser-
ben die

{13:16} 0192 sich uumgesiedelt haben oder so /

{13:18} 0193 also / das ist halt sschwierig das zu erklären weil die meisten
das /

{13:21} 0194 nicht vverstehen oder halt nnicht glauben dass es sowas gibt /

{13:24} 0195 oder die ddenken halt wir sind /

{13:26} 0196 halt umgesiedelte /

{13:27} 0197 sserben oder sowas °ja

{13:39} 0198 ähm: jja so du hast mmich -

{13:42} 0199 M äh mir gesagt du hast äh ttschechisch gelernt äh das ist äh ttoll
/

{13:46} 0200 und: ähm dulernst jetzt rrussisch? ähm:

{13:50} 0201 hast du auch das ggefühhl dass vielleicht äh so - also

{13:53} 0202 äh für dich oobersorbisch h

{13:55} 0203 nnäher mit äh: ttschechisch als mit rrussisch ist (8)

{13:59} 0204 X / / ähm:

{14:02} 0205 na ja also ich kkann halt nicht mehr so vviel tschechisch deswegen
kann ich da kein pparallel zielen /

{14:07} 0206 aaber (4) /

{14:08} 0207 ddamals? in der ggrundschule habe ich das schon vviel erkannt
also

{14:11} 0208 ggut einige wörter sind zu international wie zum beispiel bbanana
bbanána dann halt auf ttschechisch (7)

{14:16} 0209 aber (4) /
 {14:18} 0210 also ich glaube vvielles? kann man:
 {14:20} 0211 kann man sich °ableiten zum beispiel' die personalpronomen sind
 irgendwie ggleich und die zzahlen sind auch sehr äähnlich
 {14:25} 0212 also die - die bbasics sage ich mal
 {14:27} 0213 die sind in ttschechisch °auch sehr äähnlich /
 {14:29} 0214 aber im rrussisch es ist
 {14:31} 0215 auch nicht / ssehr viel anders (4) würde ich ssagen
 {14:34} 0216 aber ich (7) /
 {14:35} 0217 ich kkenne eigentlich nur das russisch und deswegen /
 {14:37} 0218 seh' ich da ssehr viele parallel
 {14:40} 0219 wenn ich jetzt ttschech- ttschechisch auch noch kkönnte wäre das
 vielleicht anders (7)
 {14:52} 0220 x / / °mmh /
 {14:56} 0221 also ich (4) /
 {14:57} 0222 also ich / habe gesagt
 {14:58} 0223 ddass ähm unser Ort hier °eine /
 {15:01} 0224 ein ((mouth sound)) ppartnerschaft hat in polen?
 {15:04} 0225 das wweiß °ich und dann /
 {15:06} 0226 weiß ich gglaube ich noch von (4) /
 {15:09} 0227 ich glaub' das ggibt irgendwie so was (7) wie so: so einen ppro-
 gramm was /
 {15:13} 0228 ssorben nach pprag (4) also ich glaube es gibt iirgendeinen
 ttschechen
 {15:17} 0229 der gganz vvernarrt sin' in die ssorben und kommen auch hier
 leute immer hhin und dann / /
 {15:23} 0230 ich kkann - ich weiß das selber nich' ich weiß es nicht so genau
 / ja ja
 {15:26} 0231 (M - ok) das kann ich dir da nicht beantworten (7)
 {15:47} 0232 / °ähm (4) / /
 {15:52} 0233 °das °ist °ach °ja (4) das ist eine sschwieriege frage also
 {15:55} 0234 ich gglaube (11) /
 {15:58} 0235 die ssorben haben zu den ttschechen und polen vielleicht sschon
 eine besondere beziehung? weil (7)
 {16:03} 0236 ich sag mal so als damals auch die dddr
 {16:05} 0237 ähm existiert hat also die °sorben wwir
 {16:08} 0238 im osten wir konnten eigentlich bloß nach ttschechien (7) /
 {16:10} 0239 nach polen und
 {16:11} 0240 so weiter kkonnten wir damals -

{16:12} 0241 also ich ja nnoch nicht aber meine eltern vielleicht (7)
 {16:14} 0242 und / das ist für ddie dann hhalt sowas wie urlaub ggewesen /
 {16:18} 0243 heute iimmer aber das war für die ddamals die einzige möglichkeit
 um ins Ausland zu kkommen (7) h und /
 {16:23} 0244 die ssorben haben ja /
 {16:25} 0245 die jugendlichen ppilgern ja auch einmal im jahr dann nach (4) /
 {16:28} 0246 nach ttschechien? das ist so eine wwallfahrt
 {16:30} 0247 ähm: /
 {16:32} 0248 das ist auch' noch so
 {16:33} 0249 so eine ssache was /
 {16:34} 0250 uns irgendwie verbindet (7) aber /
 {16:36} 0251 dass wir so eine bbesondere bbeziehung haben
 {16:38} 0252 also die ppolen und die ttschechen sag' ich jetzt mal im ggroßen
 und gganzen nicht weil die
 {16:41} 0253 kkennen ja die sorben nicht alle
 {16:43} 0254 aber die ssorben kennen ja die ttschechen und die ppolen ddeswegen
 denk' ich dass wwir da so eine (7) /
 {16:47} 0255 so eine bbeziehung unter slawischen /
 {16:49} 0256 ggeschwistern (4)
 {16:50} 0257 ähm: bbestehen haben? /
 {16:53} 0258 ja (4) /
 {16:54} 0259 und ddeswegen also (7)
 {16:54} 0260 weil wir auch nnachbarn sind denke ich das ist ja alles wie so
 so ein kleines dreieck /
 {16:59} 0261 ähm /
 {16:60} 0262 um ggörlitz herum und ich glaube da /
 {17:03} 0263 da eexistieren schon? ein paar bände °vielleicht
 {17:06} 0264 und vielleicht auch mmehr ja /
 {17:08} 0265 °so äh /
 {17:10} 0266 °was hast du gesagt aktio- °nee nicht aktionen (4) /
 {17:12} 0267 also sachen (11) die alle zusammen machen? /
 {17:15} 0268 weiß' ich nicht wie das heißt (7) /
 {17:17} 0269 also zum beispiel vveranstaltungen oder irgendwie so was (7)
 {17:19} 0270 ähm ich glaube (4)
 {17:21} 0271 da gibt's - (4)
 {17:22} 0272 da ggibt's sachen aber davon weiß ich leider einfach nichts (7)
 {18:06} 0273 ähm /

{18:08} 0274 also als ich jünger war dachte ich immer dass - also da hatt' ich

{18:11} 0275 grundsätzlich 'was gegen die deutschen weil die ja immer so sagen ja /

{18:15} 0276 scheiß sorben und / geht ihr weg und also weil das halt einfach

{18:19} 0277 ich war stark gewöhnt sorbisch zu sprechen und da musste ich aber im (7)

{18:22} 0278 (someone yells)

{18:23} 0279 chut: im normalen ()

{18:24} 0280 im normalen ding musste ich halt dann deutsch sprechen? /

{18:26} 0281 deswegen war ich dann immer so ein bisschen (7) anti deutsch (11)

{18:29} 0282 und wollte dass die sorben (4) ein' eigenes land bilden weil ich

{18:32} 0283 also ich fand auch andere leute nicht sorbisch genug und so

{18:34} 0284 und fand dass die halt das ganze: (4)

{18:37} 0285 sorbische besudeln h

{18:39} 0286 und:

{18:40} 0287 jetzt bin ich aber anders weil (7)

{18:41} 0288 wenn ich mir so: tschechien und polen angucke sind das /

{18:45} 0289 länder (9) wo halt

{18:46} 0290 der fortschritt nicht so stark ist wie in deutschland und ich bin eigentlich froh dass wir in deutschland leben? (7) /

{18:50} 0291 und wir haben hier' auch das

{18:52} 0292 das ähm (4)

{18:54} 0293 recht dass wir sorben sind und wir sind auch ähm (4) /

{18:58} 0294 geschützt /

{18:59} 0295 ich weiß nicht wie ich das sagen soll (7)

{19:01} 0296 aber auf jeden fall (4) /

{19:03} 0297 fühle ich mich eigentlich hier sicher (7) also ich weiß in tschechien und polen

{19:05} 0298 wäre das vielleicht anders aber sprechen noch trotzdem nicht (7) die äh (4)

{19:08} 0299 dortige sprache und deswegen

{19:10} 0300 wäre den unterschied vielleicht auch nicht ganz so groß

{19:12} 0301 da könnte es halt auch wieder (7) ähm /

{19:15} 0302 bei uns verschiedenheiten geben /

{19:18} 0303 also auf jeden fall wäre es eine slawische sprache?

{19:21} 0304 aber ich: finde eigentlich in deutschland /

{19:23} 0305 geht uns echt gut.

{19:53} 0306 x ähm: (4) /

{19:55} 0307 also ich wweiß nicht ob sie uns unbedingt /

{19:58} 0308 hhelfen können (4) dass das sorbische eerhalten bleibt aber

{20:02} 0309 wenn sie zum beispiel (4) / äh /

{20:04} 0310 sage ich mal (7) /

{20:07} 0311 wenn hier ffeste sind oder so

{20:09} 0312 dass sie die festen bbesuchen? und sich vielleicht ankucken wie das bei den ssorben ist sich iinformieren

{20:13} 0313 ähm /

{20:14} 0314 und dann auch das iinteresse geweckt wird dann ja vielleicht auch (4) /

{20:18} 0315 also das ist jetzt (7) /

{20:19} 0316 wirklich sehr' abhängig aber dass vielleicht junge tschechen (7) und

{20:22} 0317 äh ppolen °ähm

{20:24} 0318 SSORBISCH lernen sich für die Sprache interessieren das dann auch in leipzig studieren können (7) es gibt da Leute die

{20:29} 0319 überhaupt nicht mit den sorbischen zu tun hhaben und die sprache dann einfach in leipzig studieren weil es sie interessiert (7)

{20:34} 0320 und: (4)

{20:35} 0321 da kommen auch ssehr: sehr begabte menschen dabei

{20:39} 0322 also die / sind sehr sehr begabt in sprachen und dann ähm /

{20:42} 0323 können die auch helfen das sorbische wweiterzuentwickeln und vielleicht andere (4) /

{20:46} 0324 äh bbildungssyst-? ein anderes bildungssystem zu ent- entwickeln damit die sorbische /

{20:50} 0325 eerhalten bleibt und: ähm:

{20:52} 0326 noch bbesser vermittelt auch zu kindern die zum beispiel ähm

{20:56} 0327 muttersprachlich / ddeutsch sind /

{20:58} 0328 dda- °dabei könnten die helfen oder vielleicht /

{21:02} 0329 ähm:

{21:03} 0330 das einzige was mir jetzt noch einfällt sind zum beispiel wenn sich: (7)

{21:06} 0331 ähm ppolen und sorben

{21:07} 0332 wenn die zusammen eine ffamilie gründen wären die kinder (4)

{21:10} 0333 ppolnisch und ssorbisch und das wäre dann kein so großer unterschied

{21:12} 0334 wie deutsch und sorbisch und deswegen werden die kinder dann auch mmehrsprachig (9)

{21:16} 0335 und: dann (4) /

- {21:18} 0336 °tja ist das einzige was mir einfällt (7) aber wenn die kinder so deutsch und sorbisch?
- {21:21} 0337 lernen dann /
- {21:23} 0338 verfällt man uunter den kindern meistens eher ins ddeutsche (9)
- {21:26} 0339 weil: das eeinfach ist wenn - weil beide das kkönnen /
- {21:29} 0340 als wenn (4) /
- {21:31} 0341 ein kind richtig gut sorbisch könnte und das andere fast ggar nicht (7) /
- {21:34} 0342 und wenn: vielleicht ein kind nur ppolnisch und sorbisch könnte dann müssen die kinder
- {21:38} 0343 die beiden fälle ssorbisch zusammen bringen um sich zu vverstän- den.
- {21:41} 0344 das war bei uns ddamals zum beispiel so
- {21:43} 0345 also in unserer kkindergarten gruppe wir waren alle sorbisch bis auf zwei Kinder? und die mussten sich dann halt an uns anpassen
- {21:49} 0346 weil wir alle überhaupt kein deutsch konnten und die konnten so ggebrochenes sorbisch.
- {21:53} 0347 und wir haben dann halt eben erst später deutsch gelernt?
- {21:56} 0348 und heute ist das eher anders weil da sind die kindergarten gruppe sehr stark ggemischt (7) deswegen
- {21:59} 0349 sprechen die kinder eher deutsch miteinander als / ssorbisch. (5)

Annex XX Interview Transcription C. Škoda

{03:49} 0001 S mein nname is clemens škoda?
{03:50} 0002 ich bin referent für kultur und ausland bei der Domowina (9) h
{03:53} 0003 dem bunt der lausitzer ssorben? h
{03:55} 0004 ähm das ist der ddachvorband der sorben und auch die interessen-
vertretung h
{03:59} 0005 die politische /
{04:01} 0006 und: unser dachverband hat achtzehn unterverbände (9) h
{04:04} 0007 das bedeutet °fünf regionalverbände? h
{04:07} 0008 äh: in der niederlausitz?
{04:09} 0009 um wweißwasser
{04:10} 0010 um hoyerswerda?
{04:11} 0011 kamenz: und ähm (4) bautzen? h
{04:14} 0012 na °das °sind fünf regionalverbände?
{04:16} 0013 und dann noch dreizehn fach sspezifische verbände. h
{04:19} 0014 zum beispiel ähm °sorbischer (4)
{04:21} 0015 sängerverband (4) h
{04:23} 0016 sorbische sschulvereinen (4)
{04:25} 0017 ähm sorbische kkünstlerbund (4)
{04:27} 0018 verband sorbische handwerker und unternehmer uund so weiter und
so weiter h
{04:31} 0019 ähm iinsgesamt hat die domowina: (4)
{04:33} 0020 sieben ttausend fünf hundert mmitglieder (9) h
{04:36} 0021 mit °wachsender °tendenz also ja (6)
{04:38} 0022 haben wir jedes Jahr einen zuwachs von (7) h
{04:40} 0023 sag- ich mal ein hundert bis zwei hundert mmitgliedern /
{04:43} 0024 weil neue regionalgruppen oder vvereine beitreten
{04:46} 0025 und: die domowina hat auch eine ggeschäft°stelle (2) °und
{04:49} 0026 und dort bin ich angestellt (4) h
{04:50} 0027 und haben °sie °die:(4)
{04:52} 0028 die bereiche kkultur und ausland in °verantwortung.
{04:55} 0029 reicht das erstmal so (8)
{05:09} 0030 S ich bin in der lausitz geboren? in (chróst) das ist ein kleiner
ort (7)

{05:12} 0031 ähm westlich von (4) h

{05:13} 0032 ähm: bbautzen? h

{05:15} 0033 ähm: (4) meine eltern waren ssorben und wir haben zuhause auch sorbisch gesprochen h

{05:19} 0034 auch mein hheimatort war sorbisch (2) also bedeu- bedeutet h

{05:22} 0035 ddass ich- (4) ich schätze jetzt mal

{05:24} 0036 mmindestens achtzig prozent h

{05:26} 0037 ähm die ssprache sprechen °und °und verstehen (2) h

{05:29} 0038 und über neunzig prozent die ssprache auch verstehen. h

{05:32} 0039 also es war einen überwiegend sorbischen ort. h

{05:35} 0040 ähm: (4)

{05:36} 0041 ich BIN:

{05:37} 0042 quasi dann' nach meiner ausbildung zum fachinformatiker (4)

{05:40} 0043 ähm °hab' °ich mein abitur nachgeholt? und bin dann mehr oder weniger ein bisschen in die welt rausgekommen h

{05:45} 0044 hab' dann einen bachelor gemacht ähm: (4) h

{05:47} 0045 zum kulturmanagement bachelor in in (4)

{05:50} 0046 görlitz hab- da h

{05:52} 0047 ein halbes jahr °in °in tschechien studiert

{05:54} 0048 *co zznamená že taky mluvím trochu (7) česky (9)*

{05:57} 0049 und: (4)

{05:58} 0050 dann hab- ich

{05:59} 0051 zwei jahre als rregionalsprecher der domowina gearbeitet

{06:02} 0052 und: (4) /

{06:05} 0053 irgendwann bin ich nochmal zu einem masterstudiengang nach leipzig gegangen (7)

{06:08} 0054 und in diesem masterstudiengang war ich auch nochmal (7)

{06:10} 0055 ein halbes jahr in wwrocław weil es: der austausch- ähm der austauschstud? / h

{06:15} 0056 also mit ddaad stipendium

{06:17} 0057 na ja (9) und dann bin ich wieder zzurück zur domowina (4)

{06:19} 0058 und war eigentlich ich' hab- die lausitz nie wirklich vverlassen hab- nur manchmal ein bisschen h

{06:24} 0059 weiter wweg ähm studiert aber h

{06:27} 0060 ähm das war eine ganze interessante zeit.

{07:12} 0061 ähm: ich bin

{07:13} 0062 nach pprag gegangen? und ich war vorher auch schon °in der kul- turellen szene der sorben sehr aktiv h

{07:19} 0063 und wwusste dass es in prag ein vverein gibt das ne- nennt sich
společnost přátel lužice? h

{07:24} 0064 ähm: (4) und hat

{07:25} 0065 hatte vor ort im prinzip gleich

{07:27} 0066 ähm s- ssorboaffine

{07:29} 0067 mmenschen vor ort h

{07:31} 0068 zu denen ich auch kkontakt gesucht habe? und habe dann vor ort
zum beispiel vorträge gemacht

{07:35} 0069 und mich mit den leuten auch (7) /

{07:37} 0070 ggetroffen

{07:38} 0071 noch da- daran? sind h

{07:39} 0072 bis heute viele

{07:40} 0073 °freundschaften.

{07:41} 0074 °enstanden. h

{07:42} 0075 ähm: (4) ich selber bin mit vier:

{07:44} 0076 deutschen

{07:45} 0077 kkommilitonen? quasi nach pprag gegangen? h

{07:47} 0078 hhatte aber: weil ich einen monat vvorher in haviřov

{07:50} 0079 einen:- (4) ein praktikum gemacht hatt- h

{07:52} 0080 dann schon rrelativ gut? im: (4)

{07:54} 0081 im bereich und relativ ggut in tschechisch ddrin h

{07:57} 0082 °und und kkonnte? im gegensatz zu meinen drei deutschen kommili-
tonen h

{08:00} 0083 ähm relativ schnell tschechisch ssprechen? und mich auch
vverständigen h

{08:04} 0084 das bedeutet? ich war ähm vielleicht sowieso schon (4)

{08:07} 0085 ähm: tschechoaffin vorher h

{08:10} 0086 weil ich (4) ähm wwusste dass das sorbische sehr sehr

{08:12} 0087 ähm NAH dem tschechischen steht ssprachlich h

{08:15} 0088 und hab- da wirklich auch ganz bbewusst kontakt zu tschechien
gesucht. h

{08:18} 0089 also -s gab auch bei der aauswahl der kkursen? an der universität
(4) h

{08:22} 0090 vversucht ein bisschen das eerasmus programm

{08:24} 0091 ähm zu vverlassen und hab- ähm: meine: (4)

{08:28} 0092 pprofessoren gefragt oder ggebenen ob ich mich in tschechisch-
kursen mit beteiligen kann. h

{08:32} 0093 na zum beispiel hatten wir sstandort? ssprachkurse h

{08:35} 0094 ähm: tschech- ähm für tschechisch?

{08:37} 0095 die für mich total eeinfach waren weil die mehr oder weniger auf

{08:41} 0096 iinternationale erasmus studenten aus england: (2) deutschland zugeschnitten waren h

{08:45} 0097 und: ähm: (4)

{08:46} 0098 das das zum beispiel das beispiel (7)

{08:48} 0099 *ja bydlim w ppraze* ist ssorbisch

{08:51} 0100 und wie das tschechische

{08:52} 0101 ()

{08:58} 0102 versucht? als ssorbe

{08:60} 0103 ganz bbewusst? ähm: (4) sehr schnell kontakt zu tschechen zu finden.

{09:03} 0104 **M** / ok

{09:05} 0105 ddanke ja das ist sehr sehr interessant h

{09:08} 0106 und: äh: wie ist es äh: mit ppolen (8)

{09:10} 0107 haben sie auch (7) das: (4)

{09:11} 0108 ja (6) gleiches gefühl (8)

{09:13} 0109 **S** / ähm:

{09:14} 0110 in ppolen war das äähnlich? /

{09:16} 0111 bloß dass ich- also ich war °in °in wrocław? ein halbes jahr

{09:20} 0112 ähm: (4) das war ein bisschen aanders wie ähm wie in pprag in prag war ich noch jjunger student? h

{09:24} 0113 in wwrocław war war' ich mehr oder weniger (4)

{09:27} 0114 ähm sag- ich jetzt mal wwirklich da:?

{09:28} 0115 be- be- (4) bbedacht dass ich meine mmaster nachhole? h

{09:31} 0116 ich wwusste damals schon dass meine frau schwanger war (9)

{09:34} 0117 deswegen bin ich auch immer: (7)

{09:35} 0118 jedes wochenende nach hause also (7)

{09:37} 0119 da wwaren die wochenenden nicht nicht so: (4)

{09:40} 0120 intensiv wie in pprag wo wir uns °ähm in den kklubs getroffen haben und so weiter? h

{09:44} 0121 in wwrocław war das wirklich eher wirklich ein aarbeitstu:dium in dem sinne.

{09:48} 0122 aber: (2) h

{09:49} 0123 in wrocław gab es auch h

{09:51} 0124 ähm: äh: (4)

{09:52} 0125 sorboaffine mmenschen? aber

{09:54} 0126 der vverein vor ort war nich sso stark also es waren ein paar ältere menschen (9)

{09:58} 0127 und: ähm auch vvertreter der deutschen minderheit (9) zu denen hatte ich damals auch ein bisschen kontakt h

{10:02} 0128 ähm: (4)

{10:03} 0129 aber das war nicht so intensiv wie in prag. ((noise in the background))

{10:05} 0130 aber äähnlich

{10:06} 0131 also vor- vor- (7) vor der grundintention war es ähnlich. ((noise in the background))

{10:09} 0132 ich wollte gerne nach ppolen? damit ich polnisch zu mindestens gut verstehen: lerne

{10:14} 0133 und ich hab- dann auch ähm relativ ggut mich mit ppolnisch mit jeden ppolen verständigen können.

{10:19} 0134 M ok also wie ist-

{10:20} 0135 wie ich es verstanden hhabe sie hatten so (4) h

{10:23} 0136 extra motivaTION m- ähm:

{10:25} 0137 po- polnisch und: tschechisch zu lernen /

{10:28} 0138 wegen diese: (4)

{10:29} 0139 S das wwar es

{10:30} 0140 M ja ok. danke (1)

{10:31} 0141 S genau (6) das war so die /

{10:33} 0142 also ei- eine eine der wichtigen

{10:34} 0143 auf- aufgaben oder ziele die ich mir gesetzt /

{10:37} 0144 in in einem halben jahr die sprachen so gut verstehen zu lernen /

{10:41} 0145 dass ich h

{10:42} 0146 äh sobald ich die ttschechische oder polnische grenze übertrete eigentlich nicht mehr ins ausland gehe de facto rein ssprachlich gesehen h

{10:48} 0147 na das war mein zziel und das habe ich danach auch erreicht

{10:50} 0148 das nützt für heute auch sehr VIEL (2)

{10:52} 0149 bei meiner aarbeit weil wir halt auch vielen projekten mit polen und tschechien machen.

{11:33} 0150 S ok (4)

{11:33} 0151 na das ist ähm schwierig na (8) also

{11:36} 0152 also weil weil weil (7) es keine stereotype in der form nicht gibt? h

{11:40} 0153 OFT äh:

{11:41} 0154 schauen ffremde auf das ssorbische und denken dabei gleich an osterreiender: ostereier: (2)

{11:47} 0155 die ganze traditionen und trachten? aber

{11:49} 0156 de ffacto bist du als junger mensch heute (4)

{11:52} 0157 demokra:tisch freiheitlich ohne grenzen (2) h
{11:55} 0158 ähm aufgewachsen? h
{11:57} 0159 und ich habe mich ähm JA äh wir sind eigentlich
{12:00} 0160 eeher wirklich als mmittleuropäer gesehen h
{12:03} 0161 ja quasi richtung oosten und wwesten (6) h
{12:05} 0162 mich gut vverständigen könnte da ich:
{12:07} 0163 ich kann ja mit meiner ssprachekenntnis ppolnisch tschechisch /
{12:11} 0164 ddeutsch: und sorbisch (4)
{12:12} 0165 aber auch eenglisch natürlich
{12:14} 0166 mich eigentlich im komplett mitteleuropa bbewegen ohne jetzt
wirklich
{12:18} 0167 ähm: sprachliche pprobleme zu haben na (8) im süden h
{12:21} 0168 österreich °die schweiz im osten (2)
{12:23} 0169 polen tschechien (2) /
{12:25} 0170 und dann ddeutschland sowieso also
{12:27} 0171 in ddem bereich? bin ich zu hause na (8) als sie jetzt rein
{12:30} 0172 von der identiTÄT (2) und klar als sorbe
{12:32} 0173 äh sprich- spielt die ssprache (9) eine wichtige rolle
{12:35} 0174 ähm: klar ähm äh hängt es auch immer davon ab?
{12:38} 0175 wwo man sich dann identifiZIEren muss
{12:40} 0176 na (8) wenn ich jetzt zum beispiel in cchina wäre
{12:43} 0177 und: ich würde dort ein deutsches
{12:45} 0178 touristisches ppaar sehen
{12:47} 0179 dann würde ich mich kklar eeher als deutscher sstaatsbürger ähm
{12:50} 0180 ähm bbekennen und sagen ich komme aus ddeutschland und wenn das
gespräch vverttieft gründiger wird
{12:55} 0181 äh äh: (4)
{12:56} 0182 würde ich ssagen ich komme aus einem ganz sspeziellen teil? aus
deutschland h
{12:59} 0183 ähm: (4) ich bin eigentlich auch noch sorbe. h
{13:02} 0184 na (8) wenn ich jetzt zum beispiel
{13:03} 0185 mit- mit- äh in eeuropa bin wo noch viele im prinzip diese mmin-
derheiten kennen oder diese kleine völker?
{13:09} 0186 zum bbeispiel in tschechien und polen haben vviele noch das wwis-
sen? h
{13:12} 0187 dass es in deutschland die ssorben gibt h
{13:13} 0188 dann würde ich mich dann relativ sschneller als sorbe dann au-
{13:17} 0189 und auch ähm identifizieren? h

{13:19} 0190 und in die eeigenschaft der sorben ja (6)

{13:21} 0191 da gibt es zeitig sstereotype wie überall (12)

{13:24} 0192 dass sie zum beispiel

{13:25} 0193 sehr ggastfreundliche menschen sind h

{13:28} 0194 vvielleicht ein wenig verschlossen gegenüber ffremden (4) h

{13:31} 0195 aber das sind wie gesagt sstereotype. und das ist

{13:33} 0196 sehr sehr sschwierig in prinzip auch so zu antworten.

{14:02} 0197 s / ähm: (4)

{14:04} 0198 also ähm das ssorbische ist ja klar (2) äh sehr bedroht na (8)

{14:07} 0199 sprechen noch wenig^oer menschen das sorbische

{14:09} 0200 da gibt es vverschiedene wissenschaftlicher auch sagen (4)

{14:13} 0201 ähm: offizielle zzahlen sagen es gibt ungefähr noch sechzig tausend ssorben? h

{14:17} 0202 na (8) das sind menschen die sich in prinzip zum ssorbischen oder in der niederlausitz zum wwendischen bekennen? h

{14:22} 0203 ähm: und die ssprachfertigkeit?

{14:24} 0204 liegt aber deutlich da rrunter (7)also

{14:26} 0205 vielleicht (11) würde ich jetzt einfach mal sschätzen sind es vielleicht ^onur noch dreißig vierzig tausend (7) h

{14:30} 0206 ähm: menschen mit ssprachfähigkeit also

{14:33} 0207 äh das ssorbische ist schon bbedroht (2) h

{14:35} 0208 ähm dadurch dass ich aber (4) /

{14:37} 0209 die euroPÄISCHE minderheit politik kkenne

{14:40} 0210 wweiß ich dass im prinzip

{14:42} 0211 ähm wir in einem (4)

{14:43} 0212 sag- ich mal äh gguten staat leben? h

{14:46} 0213 also die bundesrepublik ddeutschland und auch die freistaate sachsen und ^ound das land brandenburg h

{14:51} 0214 ähm haben SCHON (2)

{14:52} 0215 ähm: (4) interesse daran dass sich das ssorbische

{14:55} 0216 d- der- die sorbische sprache hält?

{14:57} 0217 und auch ggefördert wird h

{14:59} 0218 dass im: (4)

{14:60} 0219 das ist im prinzip auch unserer arbeit als ddomowina h

{15:02} 0220 das immer wie dazu bbetonen

{15:04} 0221 und auch im prinzip die bbundesrepublik und die länder da auch in verantwortung zu ziehen. h

{15:09} 0222 na (8) ähm: (4)

{15:09} 0223 aber im vvergleich zu anderen minderheiten wie zum beispiel (4) /

{15:13} 0224 ich ssag- jetzt mal ähm

{15:14} 0225 mminderheiten °in in frankreich zum beispiel.

{15:16} 0226 °na (8) oder in ggriechenland also wie die westthrakientürken zum beispiel in ggriechenland oder h

{15:21} 0227 die occiTANER oder die bretonen in frankreich h

{15:23} 0228 ähm: (4) sind

{15:25} 0229 aufgrund des staatsaufbaues /

{15:27} 0230 de facto: (4)

{15:28} 0231 nicht wwirklich als minderheit anerkannt (9) und im prinzip

{15:32} 0232 auch ähm iignoriert das bedeutet bei uns sind h

{15:34} 0233 ganz kkonkrete minderheiten rechtlich festgeschrieben in der verfassung des Land- h

{15:38} 0234 freistaates sachsen oder h

{15:40} 0235 in der protokollnotiz der der

{15:42} 0236 vereinigung h

{15:43} 0237 ähm von oosten und west deutschland

{15:45} 0238 auch steht ganz kklar? äh definiert

{15:47} 0239 ähm dass es eine sstaatsaufgabe ist (2)

{15:49} 0240 das sorbische zu unterSTÜTZEN.

{15:51} 0241 ddemnach ähm kommt auch die (4)

{15:53} 0242 die vverantwortung des staates h

{15:55} 0243 förderung besch- bereit zu stellen in form von h

{15:58} 0244 einem sstaatsvertrag wo im prinzip das land bbrandenburg (2) h

{16:01} 0245 ssachsen und die bundesrepublik h

{16:03} 0246 im ggeld zusammen legen /

{16:05} 0247 damit die ssorben ihre kulturautonomie selber gestalten °können. h

{16:08} 0248 also kklar ist immer: (4) /

{16:10} 0249 umso mmehr umso besser (9)

{16:12} 0250 wir gefördert werden umso: h

{16:14} 0251 umso mehr iinstrumente haben wir auch unsere kultur und sprache zu fördern und weiterzuentwickeln. h

{16:19} 0252 na (8) zurzeit ist es wirklich äh eine große hherausforderung h

{16:22} 0253 zum beispiel sorbische llehrkräfte? zu bekommen

{16:25} 0254 na (8) das ist eine ppersonalnot? ganz konkret h

{16:27} 0255 ähm: (4) zum aanderen haben wir auch personalnot h

{16:30} 0256 ähm: bei der digitalisiERung na (8) die äh (4)

{16:33} 0257 die modernen ssprachen h

{16:35} 0258 ggroßen sprachen haben inzwischen iinstrumente wie *google translater* h

{16:39} 0259 oder wort zu sschrift erkennung und so weiter und so weiter? h

{16:42} 0260 die wir als ssorben noch nicht haben (2)

{16:44} 0261 dadurch dass die sorben hier noch nicht wirklich mmarktrelevant sind dass es sich für große h

{16:48} 0262 kkonzerne wie microsoft oder google llohnt h

{16:50} 0263 äh ffehlen uns diese instrumente die müssen wir °uns in mühevoller kleinarbeit

{16:54} 0264 sselber entwickeln.

{16:55} 0265 also /

{16:56} 0266 beDEUTET h

{16:57} 0267 die digitalisiERUNG ist wirklich schon ein ein ein (4) h

{16:60} 0268 ein ggroßer (2)

{17:01} 0269 also eine ggroße herausforderung. h

{17:03} 0270 na (8) und dann im prinzip auch °der sstrukturwandel der bei uns in der lausitz h

{17:07} 0271 ähm sich nun vverzieht? also auszug aus der bbraunkohle

{17:11} 0272 ähm: zu (4) h

{17:12} 0273 ähm: neuen eentwicklungen zum beispiel alternative industRIEN h

{17:16} 0274 ähm: attraktiverer tourismus und so weiter.

{17:19} 0275 und da hhoff- ich ähm:

{17:20} 0276 dass man uns da nicht vvergisst

{17:22} 0277 dass man da °auch vielleicht schafft sogar durch diesen sstrukturwandel? h

{17:25} 0278 neuer aakzente zu setzen.

{17:26} 0279 zzum beispiel h

{17:27} 0280 kkonsequente zweisprachige bbeschilderung so weiter. h

{17:30} 0281 aber da- dazu könnte ich wahrscheinlich fünf sstunden erzählen? h

{17:33} 0282 ich hhoffe das reicht? jetzt erst mal so als einblick.

{18:04} 0283 S iimage äh äh der sorben? h

{18:06} 0284 °also ich würde das jetzt versuchen? h

{18:08} 0285 NICHT auf diese:

{18:09} 0286 es ggibt diese fälle ja (6)

{18:11} 0287 es gibt auch zum beispiel ähm (4)

{18:13} 0288 dass °man zum beispiel oortschilder zweisprachige ortschilder bbeschmiert hat

{18:16} 0289 oder dass es auch ähm: (4)

{18:18} 0290 einzelne angriffe auf sorben gibt? h

{18:20} 0291 ja (6) das ist so? aber ich glaub- ähm das sind °ein °paar einzelfälle die es vielleicht überall gibt. die gibt es viell- eicht

{18:25} 0292 auch in ffrankreich

{18:26} 0293 oder (4) °in °in in der tschechischen repuBLIK gegenüber fremdar- tigen. h

{18:30} 0294 oder sscheinbar fremdartigen. h

{18:32} 0295 ähm aber (4)

{18:33} 0296 in ggrunde? genommen (4) jetzt mal (außen)

{18:35} 0297 zwei hundert jjahre zurück reflektiert /

{18:38} 0298 haben es die ssorben und deutschen in der region (4) /

{18:40} 0299 iimmer geschafft ffriedlich miteinander zu leben. h

{18:43} 0300 und ähm: (4)

{18:44} 0301 mal ssalopp gesagt auch wenn das jetzt nicht wissenschaftlich ist (7) idioten? h

{18:47} 0302 gibt es überall.

{18:49} 0303 ähm: (4)

{18:49} 0304 generell muss man ssagen wir müssen als ssorben h

{18:52} 0305 jjeden tag dafür kämpfen? h

{18:54} 0306 dass unsere ssprache und kultur (4)

{18:56} 0307 ähm: °äh ansehen bekommt h

{18:58} 0308 und: ähm auch akzeptanz bekommt

{19:00} 0309 na (8) es ist einen h

{19:02} 0310 ttagtägliches kampf: ähm oder was heißt kampf? h

{19:04} 0311 ein ttagtägliches bemühen (2)

{19:06} 0312 äh um akzePTANZ zum beispiel wenn ein (4) h

{19:09} 0313 eine pprivate person zum beispiel ein geschäft eröffnet

{19:12} 0314 dass man sich vielleicht auch wenn sie selber nicht sorbisch sspricht?

{19:15} 0315 vielleicht ddaran denkt äh: in zwei sprachigen ssiedlungsgebiet h

{19:18} 0316 ähm eine zzweisprachige beschriftung anzubringen. h

{19:21} 0317 na (8) es gibt ggesetzliche regelungen die die die verbindlich

{19:25} 0318 für kommunale träger (2) oder oder also öffentlich rechtlicher träger

{19:29} 0319 das vverbindlich ähm: (4)

{19:30} 0320 ähm fordern?

{19:31} 0321 nna (8) das sind ggesetze h

{19:33} 0322 aber bei pprivatpersonen

{19:34} 0323 ähm die sind jetzt NICHT ähm an diese gesetze gebunden. h

{19:37} 0324 weil sie halt (4) nicht öffentlich rechtlich sind. h

{19:39} 0325 na (8) also /

{19:41} 0326 äh das ttägliche image der der sorben ist auch selber

{19:44} 0327 iimmer von dieser bilateralen beziehung abhängig zwischen ddeut-
schen und ssorben (2) h

{19:48} 0328 und: ähm ich denke wenn wir ssorben

{19:50} 0329 °es: gemeinsam mit den h

{19:51} 0330 deutschen bbewohnern in in der region schaffen h

{19:54} 0331 ggemeinsam positive momente zu °schaffen

{19:56} 0332 zum beispiel (4) /

{19:57} 0333 ähm (4) /

{19:59} 0334 ein ffolklore festival: (4) was jetzt eine spezifische ssparte
ist

{20:02} 0335 aber mit einem ffolklore festival zeigen können h

{20:05} 0336 wie BUNT und interessant im prinzip sorbische ffolklore ist (2)

{20:08} 0337 kombiNIERT vielleicht mit ausländischen ggruppen h

{20:11} 0338 können wir das gemeinsam im prinzip erreichen. h

{20:13} 0339 na also ich würde das jetzt nicht ddramatisieren obwohl diese
einzelfälle wirklich zum vverurteilen sind h

{20:18} 0340 aaber ähm man bekommt da halt schnell den eindruck h

{20:21} 0341 dass hier jeder: (4) sorbe gegen jeden deutschen irgendwie h

{20:24} 0342 pprobleme hat und das ist eigentlich nnicht so.

{23:42} 0343 S und ddann gibt es noch viele bilaterale beziehungen

{23:45} 0344 zum Beispiel kklar ganz natürlich gibt es ähm /

{23:49} 0345 llegen sie das einfach da vorne hin (7) {speaks to someone else}
/

{23:52} 0346 ähm: (4) da gibt es noch ähm

{23:54} 0347 wie gesagt die bilateralen beziehungen nach tschechien und ppo-
len?

{23:56} 0348 das sind tteilweise

{23:58} 0349 kkommunale partnerstaf

{23:59} 0350 äh: kommunale partnerschaften h

{24:01} 0351 zu ein äh äh einzelnen oortschaften /

{24:04} 0352 na zum beispiel: was kann ich da jetzt nennen (4) h

{24:06} 0353 šštěti hatte zum beispiel große probleme

{24:09} 0354 nach dem hhochwasser und da haben wir als

{24:11} 0355 sorbische organisation h

{24:13} 0356 zum beispiel hhilfsmittel und hilfsgüter gesammelt

{24:16} 0357 °und haben denen da (4)

{24:17} 0358 ähm im prinzip eentsprechen auf internationale ebene ge- gehol-
fen.

{24:21} 0359 vielen dank schönes wochenende {speaks to someone else}

{24:22} 0360 die ppost war gerade da.

{24:24} 0361 S [((clears his throat))]

{24:24} 0362 M [{chuckles} kein problem alles klar (1)]

{24:26} 0363 und ddann gibt es natürlich auch ähm kkontakte zum beispiel zu
°zu den höheren ebene

{24:31} 0364 das ssind zum beispiel: ähm (4)

{24:32} 0365 das mminority safepack? oua- eine initiative der europäischen
minderheiten h

{24:36} 0366 und kklar gibt es dann auch austausch mit dem europäischen vver-
treter aus der europäische kommission? h

{24:41} 0367 das aber dann wirklich eher über die ffuen?

{24:43} 0368 na (8) aber auch die sorben

{24:45} 0369 hhatten zum beispiel vor zwei jahre die möglichkeit

{24:47} 0370 im tschechischen ssenat die llage des sorbischen vvolkes nahe zu
bringen

{24:51} 0371 und: (4)

{24:52} 0372 ja (6) und so ist im prinzip immer einen austausch nach bedarf

{24:55} 0373 na da gibt es botschaften auch zum beispiel die möchten ggerne
die ssorben kennen lernen? h

{24:59} 0374 und dann sind die bei uns in bautzen halt zu gast /

{25:02} 0375 oder zum beispiel letztes jahr hatten wir:

{25:04} 0376 ähm den eerzbischof von prag auch bei uns in bautzen °zu °gast
also h

{25:07} 0377 da gibt es gganz gganz viele aktionen. (2)

{25:27} 0378 S pff na ja (6) ich °ja natürlich (2)

{25:29} 0379 also ppolen und tschechien ist (4) ist ja wirklich auch rräumlich
das nächste h

{25:33} 0380 na (8) bei projekten spielt die oft ähm schon die /

{25:36} 0381 dis°tanz äh eine wichtige rolle?

{25:38} 0382 und kklar dass man jetzt nicht jeden tag ein projekt mit mexico
machen kann. h

{25:42} 0383 na weil da noch die kkosten und alles was äh mit dem projekt
verbunden ist h

{25:46} 0384 ähm:

{25:47} 0385 extrem ssteigen? und klar h

{25:49} 0386 ähm: sind wir auch bbestrebt hier in in mitteleuropa (4) h

{25:52} 0387 ähm: als ssorben auch bbrücken zu schlagen zwischen den deutschen und den tschechischen und polnischen nachbarn. h

{25:57} 0388 na (8) und deswegen (4) pfff

{25:59} 0389 vvorletzte woche haben wir zum beispiel ein projekt für den h

{26:02} 0390 deutsch tschechische zukunft? von äh als domowina unterschrieben h

{26:06} 0391 welches mit der partnerschaft ähm: (4)

{26:08} 0392 das sspolečnost přátel lužice in prag funktioniert.

{26:10} 0393 oder die lletzte zwei jahre haben wir mit hilfe von

{26:13} 0394 von freistaat ssachsen / ähm:

{26:16} 0395 die hhórník? bibliothek in prag ähm:

{26:18} 0396 rrestaurieren können welche durch das hochwasser beschädigt wurde. h

{26:22} 0397 na (8) also es gibt ganz ganz: vviele

{26:25} 0398 begegnungs punkte wo wir dann wirklich immer wieder ggefragt sind h

{27:33} 0399 s eeigentlich ist das immer in projekt abhängig?

{27:36} 0400 äh zum beispiel gibt es eine sehr interessierte

{27:38} 0401 sag- ich jetzt mal tradi- traditionelle (4)

{27:41} 0402 ähm: metier?

{27:43} 0403 die ggerne n- nach do- dolní bojanovice zum beispiel fahren? h

{27:46} 0404 das sind dann pri- eher pprivate reisen die:

{27:48} 0405 pur °aus freundschaften bestehen h

{27:50} 0406 na (8) ähm wir haben hauptsächlich zu den:

{27:53} 0407 °also in tschechien haben wir ähm zzwei?

{27:55} 0408 de ffacto assoziierte vvereine das ist einmal společnost přátel lužice

{27:59} 0409 und zum anderen

{28:00} 0410 in der lletzten jahr dazu gekommen

{28:02} 0411 ist ähm ein vverein amicum societas liberec (9) h

{28:07} 0412 das sind ähm: auch °pfähm (4)

{28:09} 0413 sag- ich mal (7) ähm sor- sorbophile

{28:11} 0414 ähm mmenschen?

{28:12} 0415 mit ähm ähm: einem vverein

{28:14} 0416 die zum beispiel im letzten jjahr und dieses jahr noch h

{28:17} 0417 ähm das ssorbische kulturelle jahr in liberec veranstalten. h

{28:20} 0418 also ddort sind im prinzip da immer spezielle projekte mit jeman- dem (4) /

{28:23} 0419 auch in dem ziel zzusammengearbeitet °wird.

{28:26} 0420 und ddann gibt es halt immer wieder diese ppunktuellen h

{28:28} 0421 ähm: (4) projekte zum beispiel h

{28:30} 0422 gibt es äh zu zzeit eine initiative *svatá* ludmila?

{28:34} 0423 ähm: (4) äh tausend ein hundert jähriges jubiläum?

{28:37} 0424 und: ähm weil auch die heilige lludmila °bei in dem ssorben geehrt wird

{28:42} 0425 ähm suchte man ddort zum beispiel kontakte

{28:44} 0426 ähm: (4)

{28:45} 0427 zu den ssorben und zu °zu ganz konkret bei uns ein altersheim? h

{28:48} 0428 tträgt diesen namen °und so konnten wir das damit vverbinden h

{28:51} 0429 und äh da war eine gruppe mal bei UNS und wir mal bei äh ddenen h

{28:55} 0430 ähm: (4)

{28:56} 0431 ddasselbe auch mit ppolen also dort ist es (7)

{28:58} 0432 ähm: ähm noch ähm (4) sagen wir mal (7) ver- also (4) °äh

{29:02} 0433 vvielfältiger? h

{29:04} 0434 weil in polen haben wir mehr: äh assoziierte vereine

{29:07} 0435 die: sage ich jetzt mal () geschichte

{29:09} 0436 ähm: aus der sslawistischen bewegung gekommen sind. also

{29:13} 0437 bedeutet es ggab diese sslawistischen ()

{29:16} 0438 () ((sound problem))

{29:19} 0439 mehrere kleine vvereine entstanden.

{29:21} 0440 zum beispiel h

{29:22} 0441 haben wir assoziierte vereine in wwarschau?

{29:24} 0442 in opole

{29:25} 0443 in wwrocław?

{29:27} 0444 °ähm aber auch eine: sehr gute ppartnerschaft zu äh żary? h

{29:31} 0445 ähm das ist ein ein ein °äh lokalverein? h

{29:34} 0446 welcher zum beispiel (4)

{29:35} 0447 jedes jahr: zzu uns nach °crostwitz ° kommt

{29:38} 0448 um dort an die ggefallen polnischen soldaten h zu errinern.

{29:41} 0449 das ist dieses jahr z zwar ausgefallen

{29:43} 0450 wegen der pandemie aber (4)

{29:45} 0451 ähm diese vverbindung gibt es immer nach wie vor? h /
 {29:48} 0452 ähm: (4) pprobleme ist dort vielleicht °ähm
 {29:51} 0453 dass es ähm
 {29:52} 0454 eher äältere menschen sind?
 {29:54} 0455 die: äh auch schon zur dddr zeit zusammen gearbeitet haben?
 {29:57} 0456 ähm: (4)
 {29:58} 0457 das sind nicht mehr vviele: die das da wirklich so aktiv betre-
 iben.

{30:38} 0458 S also ich wwürde es das mal so beschreiben
 {30:41} 0459 das ppolnische und das ttschechische
 {30:43} 0460 IST ähm: immer ein äh (4)
 {30:45} 0461 etwas wwas' faszinierendes für die sorben?
 {30:48} 0462 schon rein ssprachlich.
 {30:49} 0463 bedeutet jeder beWUSSTE sorbe und jeder der h
 {30:52} 0464 beWUSST ähm auch sorbisch spricht °und anwendet h
 {30:55} 0465 wird irgendwo aautomatisch? irgendwie °das polnische und
 tschechische
 {30:59} 0466 schon ssprachlich faszinierend finden
 {31:01} 0467 ()
 {31:06} 0468 ja und noch (7) ich hatte als kkind ein- einen aha moment h
 {31:10} 0469 ähm da sind wir mit unseren eeltern äh: ü:
 {31:12} 0470 über die ggrenze nach ttschechien gefahren
 {31:14} 0471 und dort wurden mir zum °ersten °mal bewusst
 {31:16} 0472 dass sich vvieles was die dann h
 {31:18} 0473 dort vor ort erzählt haben? auch verstanden haben. h
 {31:21} 0474 na (8) also das ist ähm
 {31:22} 0475 rein ssprachlich gesehen ist es erst mal so.
 {31:24} 0476 und auch ggeschichtlich gesehen
 {31:26} 0477 hatten die ppolen und die tschechen aber aufgrund der nnähe
 {31:29} 0478 na (8) also würde da denke ich mal: (4)
 {31:32} 0479 die slowaKEI °äh in der- in der nachbarschaft °liegen wäre das
 das ggleiche. h
 {31:36} 0480 na (8) ähm
 {31:37} 0481 da bis vviele kulturelle: (4)
 {31:39} 0482 sschnittpunkte na (8)
 {31:40} 0483 auch ssprachlich gesehen ich bin jetzt kein ssprachforscher (4)
 h

{31:43} 0484 ähm: (4)

{31:43} 0485 wurden auch viele wörter aus dem tschechischen °ähm: (4)

{31:46} 0486 auch ins sorbische? übernommen.

{31:49} 0487 na (8) aber das ist schon eine weile her (2) h

{31:51} 0488 na (8) da auch die ganz kulturelle beziehung hat man versucht auch (7) h

{31:54} 0489 von fünfzig jahren? schon zu pflegen. h

{31:56} 0490 ähm: (4) da gab es zum beispiel

{31:58} 0491 ähm eine begegnung ähm die jährt dieses jahr ein hundert jahre

{32:02} 0492 dass Masaryk was damals der tschechische prääsident war?

{32:05} 0493 eine offizielle sorbische delegation? empfangen hat in prag. h

{32:09} 0494 na (8) ähm das sind alles so geschichtliche momente die die sorben und die tschechen h

{32:12} 0495 immer nah an sich gebunden hat. h

{32:14} 0496 zum beispiel? ((clears his throat)) gab es den moment wo man h

{32:18} 0497 ähm die () für schulen? zum beispiel geschlossen hat.

{32:20} 0498 u- äh um zwei tausend? rund. h

{32:23} 0499 da hat auch der tschechische staat

{32:24} 0500 ähm: (4) /

{32:26} 0501 mitgeholfen indem er gesagt hat ok

{32:28} 0502 wir geben ähm unterstützung? für für für für diese proteste. h

{32:32} 0503 aber im prinzip ähm ist es dann schon eine diplomatische ebene?

{32:37} 0504 die dann sehr kompliziert wird h

{32:39} 0505 in daraus hat sich zum beispiel dann entwickelt dass tschechien (7) /

{32:41} 0506 zum beispiel ganz konkret zu den sorben immer tschechische lehrer entsendet. h

{32:45} 0507 die dann an unsere schulen zum beispiel mit tschechisch lernen.

{33:22} 0508 **S** ja: (4) ja (6) auf alle fälle?

{33:24} 0509 ähm: also das auf verschiedene art weise na (8)

{33:27} 0510 zum beispiel /

{33:28} 0511 ähm: (4)

{33:29} 0512 versuchen wir hier? äh vor ort

{33:30} 0513 einfach als minderheitenorganisation? h

{33:33} 0514 ähm auch immer für die vielsprachigkeit? zu °werben.

{33:35} 0515 na (8) also zumindest zweisprachig deutsch sorbisch?

{33:38} 0516 aber auch zum beispiel touristische: h

{33:40} 0517 netzpunkte: h

{33:41} 0518 ähm: (4)

{33:42} 0519 dort zu wwerben dass man das auch mmehrsprachig macht (2) also auch im polnischen und tschechischen?

{33:46} 0520 denn ähm: (4) /

{33:48} 0521 das ist für uuns auch wichtig

{33:50} 0522 dass die leute nicht nur: (4) /

{33:52} 0523 also dass sie einfach das BEWUSSTSEIN hier vor ort, für die sprache ha-.

{33:55} 0524 dass auch (2) ähm intereSSIERTE leute aus dem ausland?

{33:58} 0525 vielleicht das ssorbische interessant finden und des- deswegen zu uuns kommen h

{34:01} 0526 und wir dadurch vielleicht auch einen (4) h

{34:04} 0527 qqualitativeren und bbesseren °kulturtourismus °hätten. h

{34:07} 0528 na (8) und ähm: (4) h

{34:08} 0529 dann hilft es uns natürlich auch auf ppolitische? ebene

{34:11} 0530 wenn zum beispiel bei offiziellen ttreffen h

{34:14} 0531 ähm: (4)

{34:15} 0532 M [((noise of a microsoft teams notification)]

{34:15} 0533 [der ttschechische prääsident also ich konstruiere das das ist jetzt sehr naiv ausgedrückt aber (7) h]

{34:19} 0534 S im ggrunde genommen meint es dass /

{34:21} 0535 wenn zum beispiel der tschechische prääsident auch nach der ssorben fragt. (2) h

{34:24} 0536 na (8)wenn- wenn er zum beispiel die deutsche kkanzlerin trifft

{34:26} 0537 und der tschechische prääsident sagt wie geht's euren sorben? h

{34:29} 0538 na (8) dann °dann °dann °dann ist es im prinzip auch h

{34:32} 0539 eine art ähm: (4) /

{34:34} 0540 iinteresse? h

{34:35} 0541 von aaußen (2)

{34:36} 0542 dass es: den sorben als mminderheit

{34:39} 0543 in deutschland GUT geht (2) und entsprechen schutz und und förderung ähm bekommen. h

{34:43} 0544 na (8) also das ist so die ppolitische dimension. h

{34:45} 0545 das kkann aber auch auf kkommunale ebene auch folgen. h

{34:48} 0546 auch wenn wenn pprojekte zum beispiel stattfinden. h

{34:50} 0547 na (8) da da da können die ssorben halt auch immer wieder

{34:53} 0548 ähm: (4) mit- mithelfen? h

{34:55} 0549 aber auch aandersrum (2) damit zum beispiel h

{34:57} 0550 wenn die sspolečnost? in prag ein projekt macht

{34:60} 0551 weckt ist das iinteresse h

{35:02} 0552 quasi für die ssorben im im im ausland (4) oder h

{35:05} 0553 M [((noise of a microsoft teams notification))]

{35:05} 0554 [das ggleiche ziel hatte auch das projekt *kulturene lěto w li-bercu*?]

{35:08} 0555 S also übersetzt kulturjahr in lliberec

{35:10} 0556 dass von (7)

{35:11} 0557 in der tschechischen repuBLIK

{35:12} 0558 im in in in der region liberec?

{35:15} 0559 M [((noise of a microsoft teams notification))]

{35:15} 0560 [einfach für das sorbische wwirbt?]

{35:16} 0561 S es interessant mmacht

{35:18} 0562 und die leute von aaußen in die lausitz rein gibt.

{35:20} 0563 und im pprinzip diese:-

{35:22} 0564 dieses iinteresse h

{35:23} 0565 ist eigentlich die ggrundlage dann allen dessen? h

{35:26} 0566 na (8) äh aus interesse eentsteht tourismus aus interesse eentsteht kooperation

{35:30} 0567 kkonkrete projekte und auch freundschaft also h

{35:33} 0568 ich würde jetzt mal ganz? (7)

{35:34} 0569 salopp sagen h

{35:35} 0570 ähm: (4)

{35:35} 0571 ppolen und tschechien egal auf welcher eebene als (2)

{35:38} 0572 organisaTION als sstaat als kkommune (2)

{35:41} 0573 als als eeinzelperson h

{35:43} 0574 KÖNNEN uns immer dabei helfen? (2)

{35:45} 0575 das iinteresse für uns aufrecht zu erhalten.

Ann ex XXI Interview Transcription N. Dołowy- Rybińska

{00:07:13} 0001 D ok so my name is uh °nicole dołowy rybińska:
{00:07:16} 0002 i'm currently: (4) uh i mean since
{00:07:19} 0003 more than tten years now (1) i'm working at the institute of
slavic studies at polish academy of sciences?
{00:07:26} 0004 in warsaw /
{00:07:27} 0005 hum: mmh i am a (4) /
{00:07:30} 0006 cultural sscientist? and: sociolinguist /
{00:10:53} 0007 D ok so
{00:10:54} 0008 nno sorbian relatives (11)
{00:10:56} 0009 no sorbian connections before i started my fieldwork?
{00:11:01} 0010 and: the sstory was quite ffunny as most of these kind of
stories?
{00:11:06} 0011 when i was: uhm: uh: uh: (4)
{00:11:09} 0012 a sstudent?
{00:11:10} 0013 i: got erasmus uh: (4)
{00:11:13} 0014 scholarship? and i went to study in: paris? /
{00:11:16} 0015 iinalco? uh *es gibt* uh: (4)
{00:11:19} 0016 °the °*langues °et °civilisations °orientales?°
{00:11:21} 0017 and uh: it was uhm: °uh: (4)
{00:11:25} 0018 /
{00:11:26} 0019 °uh °wha- °what °was °the °name °of °this °uh: uhm: (4)
{00:11:29} 0020 *communication interculturelle.*
{00:11:32} 0021 and: uhm: (4)
{00:11:33} 0022 and tthey told so
{00:11:35} 0023 that within the fframe of this one yyear we have to: uh: (4)
{00:11:39} 0024 llearn? or at least participate in in lecturer
{00:11:43} 0025 of: uh: the language we do not know. /
{00:11:46} 0026 uh: i was sstruggling with my french.
{00:11:49} 0027 and: uh: i felt uh really eexhausted with all this multilin-
gualisme (1)
{00:11:55} 0028 during that time?
{00:11:56} 0029 and i: rrealize that i i would not it would not be possible
for me to learn any llanguage which is
{00:12:03} 0030 °uhm:

{00:12:04} 0031 kind of a NEW

{00:12:05} 0032 totally new language for me.

{00:12:07} 0033 so i started to:

{00:12:08} 0034 to read the: uhm the list of sslavic languages

{00:12:11} 0035 because i tthought it would be the: the most uh easiest (1)

{00:12:15} 0036 uh of ccourse i was thinking about the cczech language (9)

{00:12:17} 0037 bbut then i mmh uhm /

{00:12:20} 0038 also wester slavonic language the most familiar is polish?
{chuckles}

{00:12:25} 0039 the lleast problem with it? (1)

{00:12:27} 0040 and: then there was uh *sorabe*.

{00:12:29} 0041 and: uh (4)

{00:12:30} 0042 i hhad no idea what is it.

{00:12:32} 0043 and it was two thousand

{00:12:34} 0044 TWO i think here was no internet in this uh: *résidence uni-
versaire*? h

{00:12:39} 0045 where i: did llive

{00:12:41} 0046 uh: so: it took me a wwhile to discover {chuckles} who these
all

{00:12:45} 0047 *sorabes* are h

{00:12:47} 0048 uh: so i i have to go to the llibrary uh:

{00:12:50} 0049 take the bbooks: and read about it?

{00:12:52} 0050 and i wwas? really astonished.

{00:12:54} 0051 wow there is a mminority? {chuckles} what's this slavic mi-
nority in germany i've never heard about (1) h

{00:12:59} 0052 uh: so tthen i i took another: uh uh

{00:13:02} 0053 well (4) NOW it would be so eeasy with wikipedia and uh in-
ternet

{00:13:06} 0054 but this time it really took me like a wweek (2)

{00:13:09} 0055 to: to get to know who the sorbs are?

{00:13:11} 0056 and: uhm: (4)

{00:13:13} 0057 and i said?

{00:13:14} 0058 ok why not uh:

{00:13:16} 0059 °it's it ssounds very exotic (1) {chuckles}

{00:13:19} 0060 well but still it is west slovanic languages °so °it (1) h

{00:13:24} 0061 and then? i met uh one of the mmost: uh: (4)

{00:13:27} 0062 /

{00:13:29} 0063 i i i don't know wha- what (4) how to say it

{00:13:32} 0064 extraordinary pperson
{00:13:34} 0065 uh: i ever: (4)
{00:13:36} 0066 had contact with professor jean kudela? /
{00:13:39} 0067 uh: °mmh: (4)
{00:13:42} 0068 there was only TWO students of him. (2)
{00:13:44} 0069 uh: mme and my colleague also from uh: from: poland.
{00:13:49} 0070 uh: °uh we had tthree hours of sorbian uh: every wweek
{00:13:54} 0071 but uh uh (7) and ve- very quickly we decided those ccourses
would not be at university but at hhis place
{00:14:02} 0072 uh:°m (4)
{00:14:03} 0073 we had a vvery good relationship with hhim and his wife they
always offered us uh uh
{00:14:10} 0074 ttea and' uh and ccake and we were very very ppoor uh students
{00:14:15} 0075 from ppoland? it was before uh uh
{00:14:17} 0076 polish aaccession to european union everything was very very
expensive there so (1) {chuckles}
{00:14:22} 0077 it was rreally like we felt
{00:14:24} 0078 we are at hhome there.
{00:14:26} 0079 and: uhm: and uhm: (4) /
{00:14:29} 0080 from the pperspective of these twenty years i would say that
maybe i did not llearn the language there?
{00:14:36} 0081 but i get a LOT of information on:
{00:14:39} 0082 uh: sorbs on lusatia (4)
{00:14:41} 0083 uh: with the very very large ccontext like political histor-
ical
{00:14:47} 0084 uhm: (4) /
{00:14:48} 0085 and uh: (4)
{00:14:50} 0086 and I /
{00:14:51} 0087 i was really fascinated.
{00:14:53} 0088 uh: about it.
{00:14:54} 0089 uh: SO uh after i (4)
{00:14:57} 0090 came back uh
{00:14:59} 0091 to poland? i had my last year of sstudies
{00:15:02} 0092 and i already
{00:15:04} 0093 uh: ddecided that i wwould apply for phd: uh:m
{00:15:09} 0094 to become phd student? h

{00:16:13} 0095 D so my ffirst real trip to:

{00:16:16} 0096 uh lusatia? /

{00:16:18} 0097 was in two thousand

{00:16:20} 0098 four?

{00:16:21} 0099 i think it was at the beginning of two thousand four maybe
in the end of two thousand three

{00:16:25} 0100 uhm: (4) /

{00:16:27} 0101 and uh (4) /

{00:16:29} 0102 well i could say that i was quite (4) shocked.

{00:16:33} 0103 uh: (4)

{00:16:34} 0104 i mean it was (4) /

{00:16:36} 0105 i i i knew:

{00:16:38} 0106 breton culture from this kind of festival life (1) and' uh
uh

{00:16:43} 0107 °uhm very passionate discussion about the politic situation
and:

{00:16:47} 0108 the future of language what to do how to do it and so and so
far?

{00:16:52} 0109 and in lusatia thing was very calm

{00:16:54} 0110 °it °was °rather

{00:16:55} 0111 tradition (2)

{00:16:56} 0112 uhm: church life (2)

{00:16:59} 0113 uhm: (4)

{00:17:01} 0114 a lot of uh: °mmh:

{00:17:04} 0115 ((clicks her tongue)) a lot of (7) uh °uh °uh

{00:17:06} 0116 traditional (11) elements °mmh (4)

{00:17:10} 0117 uh: (4) /

{00:17:12} 0118 like sustain or maintained in: uh: (4)

{00:17:15} 0119 the contemporary life and i

{00:17:17} 0120 my first impression was that it's so artificial.

{00:17:20} 0121 that it's not possible that people would live like this. I
mean uh (4)

{00:17:24} 0122 and it was i i know now but i- it took me really a few years

{00:17:29} 0123 uhm: of my: uh auto analysis that' uh

{00:17:33} 0124 uh i i: (4) i behave or i thought really like unprofessional
as an anthropologist

{00:17:39} 0125 because uh: (4)

{00:17:40} 0126 i uhm: (4) /

{00:17:43} 0127 i i (4) /

{00:17:44} 0128 i did not?

{00:17:45} 0129 TRY or maybe i
 {00:17:47} 0130 °di- i was not ABLE too at the beginning? to
 {00:17:50} 0131 underSTAND what is important for
 {00:17:53} 0132 these people in tthis particular place i just felt that h
 {00:17:57} 0133 it is so strange {chukles}
 {00:17:60} 0134 it's not like {chuckles}
 {00:18:01} 0135 it is not? like uh (4)
 {00:18:03} 0136 like i i tthought it would be.
 {00:18:05} 0137 uhm: (4)
 {00:18:06} 0138 but tthen? just after ok i've got uh /
 {00:18:10} 0139 uh: i i was accepted the university of wwarsaw
 {00:18:13} 0140 with this project °of comparing
 {00:18:15} 0141 uh the situation in these three: uh places?
 {00:18:18} 0142 brittany
 {00:18:19} 0143 uh: lusatia and kashubia in poland?
 {00:18:22} 0144 and: uh: i uh: (4)
 {00:18:25} 0145 started my: (4)
 {00:18:26} 0146 and THEN for °uhm:
 {00:18:28} 0147 after °the ffirst year of my phd sservice i went' uh:
 {00:18:32} 0148 for for (lětni kurs?)
 {00:18:34} 0149 so (4) these kind of tthree weeks uh
 {00:18:37} 0150 summer school for: °uhm (4)
 {00:18:39} 0151 learning sorbian?
 {00:18:40} 0152 and it was the ffirst time i rreally started to learn this
 language. i mean (4)
 {00:18:44} 0153 of course i i hhad some basis in: in paris but' uh: °mmh (4)
 {00:18:50} 0154 well it was not my priority: °to (4)
 {00:18:52} 0155 to llearn this language it was rather that i wanted to under-
 stand? something
 {00:18:56} 0156 and when you are ppolish (9) and you've got kashubia uh
 {00:18:59} 0157 °uh °not °kashubian sorbian test
 {00:19:01} 0158 uh THEN even if you /
 {00:19:04} 0159 don't really WANT to understand it you understand a bit (1)
 {00:19:07} 0160 and then with some °mmh: (4)
 {00:19:09} 0161 familiarities with the wwords uh: uh
 {00:19:12} 0162 i mean (7) these languages are
 {00:19:15} 0163 mutually intelligible

{00:19:16} 0164 pparticulary maybe polish with lower sorbian?

{00:19:19} 0165 BUT °uhm

{00:19:21} 0166 most of my ffieldwork was always in uupper lusatia so it is much e easier for me to understand and speak uupper sorbian than

{00:19:28} 0167 llower sorbian.

{00:19:29} 0168 °mmh /

{00:19:30} 0169 so so during these tthree uh:

{00:19:33} 0170 three weeks i: started to: really to: (4)

{00:19:38} 0171 llearn the language?

{00:19:39} 0172 and to: mmh:: (4)

{00:19:42} 0173 to GET °uh

{00:19:43} 0174 °mo- more cclose with the culture: (4)

{00:19:46} 0175 with uh: (4) PEOPLE particulary people who are living there.

{00:19:51} 0176 and: hum: (4)

{00:19:52} 0177 just after this uh: this three: (4)

{00:19:55} 0178 uh this summer school? /

{00:19:57} 0179 i: had inesco scholarship? for ttwo

{00:19:60} 0180 years: i was uh (4) doing my fieldwork in uhm brittany and in llusatia and then i spent? uh

{00:20:08} 0181 about hhalf a year? in lusatia?

{00:20:10} 0182 and: uhm: (4)

{00:20:12} 0183 i: was doing interviews with uh with the sorbs? /

{00:20:16} 0184 what is important /

{00:20:18} 0185 is that uh: during this time

{00:20:20} 0186 i did not speak german at all.

{00:20:23} 0187 i mean (7) i: (4) /

{00:20:25} 0188 did have to learn

{00:20:26} 0189 uh: uhm ggerman

{00:20:28} 0190 to be able to READ? something with the help of dictionaries and uh (4) and so on so i (7)

{00:20:34} 0191 i llearned german a little bit lat- like latin? (11)

{00:20:38} 0192 just to understand hhow:

{00:20:39} 0193 the pphrase is constructed where uhm: should i

{00:20:43} 0194 find the- the wwords in the - in dictionary to be able to UNDERSTAND? something

{00:20:48} 0195 but' uh: (4) but i did not speak it uh: °flu- °mmh

{00:20:51} 0196 °not °even °ffluently i ddid not sspeak it uh' uhm:

{00:20:55} 0197 aactively at all.
 {00:20:56} 0198 and' uh /
 {00:20:58} 0199 so i was ttotally immersed. /
 {00:21:00} 0200 in: uh in sorbian uhm uh (4)
 {00:21:03} 0201 language?
 {00:21:04} 0202 and while being
 {00:21:06} 0203 immersed in sorbian llanguage?
 {00:21:08} 0204 i: was aalso totally immersed in sorbian culture.
 {00:21:12} 0205 because i: (4)
 {00:21:13} 0206 did not
 {00:21:14} 0207 i uh i mean i °coul- i i i (4)
 {00:21:17} 0208 i: ccould live only sorbian life. /
 {00:21:20} 0209 which: uh: uhm: (4)
 {00:21:22} 0210 which was upper sstrange (1)
 {00:21:24} 0211 but' uh which gave me a llot
 {00:21:26} 0212 in: uhm: (4)
 {00:21:28} 0213 having °uh °uh
 {00:21:30} 0214 like establish ccontact with people?
 {00:21:32} 0215 becoming ffriends with people?
 {00:21:34} 0216 uhm: (4)
 {00:21:36} 0217 being interested (11) °be- °uh
 {00:21:38} 0218 and sstarting to underSTAND is going on and how
 {00:21:42} 0219 how it wworks.
 {00:21:44} 0220 uh: (4) so
 {00:21:45} 0221 i would ssay:
 {00:21:46} 0222 that tthis fieldwork at the beginning of my thesis was eex-
 tremely? exhausted exhausting
 {00:21:52} 0223 eextremely. (2) /
 {00:21:54} 0224 i: (4) i was
 {00:21:55} 0225 there was a time i was ddepressed' uh
 {00:21:58} 0226 i did not want to go back tthere
 {00:22:00} 0227 uh when I was comparing my: (4)
 {00:22:02} 0228 my stays in bbrittany and in llusatia it was like you know
 {00:22:07} 0229 uh heaven and hell {chuckles} it was really (1)
 {00:22:10} 0230 like: in bbrittany i i i (4)
 {00:22:13} 0231 i was hhappy and you know.

{00:22:15} 0232 participating in *fest noz* in all these uh ddiscussions fes-
 tivals and uh (1)

{00:22:21} 0233 all possible aspects of breton life and in lusatia?

{00:22:25} 0234 i felt /

{00:22:25} 0235 °mmh: °uh /

{00:22:27} 0236 OFTEN alone? (2) /

{00:22:29} 0237 i felt that' uh: (4)

{00:22:31} 0238 i do not bbelong there?

{00:22:34} 0239 uhm: (4)

{00:22:35} 0240 and: ALSO which maybe /

{00:22:39} 0241 i mean i i: did not

{00:22:41} 0242 ffeel all the time that i'm aaccepted as a researcher there
 (1)

{00:22:45} 0243 mmh: (4)

{00:22:47} 0244 while in in brittany i totally had no uh: uh:

{00:22:50} 0245 impression like this.

{00:22:52} 0246 WELL it was much more distant so: uhm:

{00:22:56} 0247 °so °so °uhm: (4)

{00:22:59} 0248 also /

{00:23:00} 0249 maybe breton people? (7)

{00:23:01} 0250 were not tthat interested in my work as the sorbs °uhm:

{00:23:05} 0251 °were °or °would °be. h

{00:23:07} 0252 uh anyway? uhm: (4)

{00:23:09} 0253 also during my phd sstudies?

{00:23:12} 0254 i: was iinvited

{00:23:14} 0255 i think it was my /

{00:23:15} 0256 ssecond or tthird year: of phd studies?

{00:23:18} 0257 i was invited by /

{00:23:20} 0258 uhm: uh: elżbieta uhm: (4) /

{00:23:25} 0259 wrocławska?

{00:23:27} 0260 the lleader of uh

{00:23:28} 0261 polish (11) lusatian association? /

{00:23:33} 0262 *towarzystwo polsko serbołużyckie.* it is in poland so

{00:23:37} 0263 ass- uhm: (4)

{00:23:39} 0264 yes (6) po- polish sorbian association?

{00:23:41} 0265 uh: to: uh: (4)

{00:23:43} 0266 to give a llecture on my- on my research on my work.

{00:23:47} 0267 and THEN? uhm:

{00:23:49} 0268 i discovered that there is something like these ppolish

{00:23:53} 0269 sorbian uh connections? h

{00:23:55} 0270 °uh and that' uh these polish sorbian connections are quite:

{00:23:60} 0271 uh important. /

{00:24:02} 0272 uh: so we had mmeetings and °uhuhuh

{00:24:05} 0273 since this ffirst time we- uh i started to participate in these meetings (7)

{00:24:09} 0274 and it was every mmonth uh one afternoon

{00:24:12} 0275 we had uh: °mmh (4)

{00:24:14} 0276 a PARTS uhm: (4)

{00:24:15} 0277 of °uh like a ppopular scientific' uh lectures?

{00:24:20} 0278 someone did ()

{00:24:21} 0279 i have to say i was very aactive and i've had a lot of lectures there? (1) h

{00:24:56} 0280 D so so the- po- polish uh sorbian association. h

{00:24:60} 0281 there was about (4) /

{00:25:02} 0282 ten (4) to twenty people participating in these meetings?

{00:25:05} 0283 uh mmost of them uh: (4)

{00:25:07} 0284 i would say °mmh (4) / ((clicks her tongue))

{00:25:10} 0285 in retirement (11) age.

{00:25:12} 0286 so: uhm n- not yyoung people.

{00:25:15} 0287 there was only a ffew young people: (4)

{00:25:17} 0288 °uh who did participate in these' uh (4)

{00:25:19} 0289 in these meetings? /

{00:25:20} 0290 bbut it was

{00:25:21} 0291 nice (11) /

{00:25:23} 0292 and from time to time at least once a yyear we had' uh

{00:25:27} 0293 a gguest from lusatia who came to visit us and say something. or

{00:25:33} 0294 uh: or °uhm: (4) /

{00:25:36} 0295 °to: (4)

{00:25:37} 0296 it it was cconnected somehow with' uh with the:

{00:25:41} 0297 uh: mmh: °uh (4)

{00:25:42} 0298 book mmar:ket. in

{00:25:44} 0299 in wwarsaw

{00:25:45} 0300 where there was also ddomowina:

{00:25:47} 0301 who was uh °uhm: (4) /

{00:25:50} 0302 showing °uh: their bbooks

{00:25:52} 0303 but i i i (4)

{00:25:54} 0304 here? i'm not really sure.

{00:25:56} 0305 i did not organise. so uh

{00:30:24} 0306 D I m uh mm m no? (4) and i would say that uh i

{00:30:29} 0307 i'm: not sure how to explain it but i've got some /

{00:30:33} 0308 some things in my mind. (1)

{00:30:35} 0309 uh first of all uhm: (4) /

{00:30:38} 0310 °uh uhm: (4)

{00:30:39} 0311 s- s:: (4) sorbian culture is a very rrural culture. /

{00:30:43} 0312 uh: and i was bborn living in wwarsaw in a big ccity (2)

{00:30:48} 0313 for aall my life uh: °mmh: (4)

{00:30:51} 0314 / /

{00:30:53} 0315 and i tthink that it is not like MY

{00:30:56} 0316 it is- °it

{00:30:56} 0317 i mean

{00:30:57} 0318 °we- we could say that i'm uhm: °uhm you know (7) /

{00:31:01} 0319 being sslav is not

{00:31:02} 0320 ENOUGH to feel connection with (1) h

{00:31:05} 0321 i mean i i think that i would aalso have a problem to feel like

{00:31:09} 0322 uh ccultural connection with polish uhm:

{00:31:12} 0323 ccountryside.

{00:32:08} 0324 D I felt /

{00:32:10} 0325 mmuch more

{00:32:11} 0326 uh: (4) /

{00:32:12} 0327 in the ea:se (2)

{00:32:13} 0328 in brittany? than i was in lusatia.

{00:32:16} 0329 and of course?

{00:32:17} 0330 there was a llot of different bboundaries

{00:32:20} 0331 the first was llanguage.

{00:32:22} 0332 i mean (7) i ddo understand the language but i would not ssay that i'm a fluent speaker of uh of uh: (4)

{00:32:28} 0333 of sorbian.

{00:32:29} 0334 even nnow (2)

{00:32:31} 0335 after: many yyears when i'm

{00:32:33} 0336 i i ddo? speak this language.

{00:32:35} 0337 making a lot of mmistakes because i'm: very bad in grammar and' uh everything like this so

{00:32:40} 0338 on ddeclinations i know that i put polish and: uh: (4)

{00:32:44} 0339 instead of uh: instead of uh: (4)

{00:32:46} 0340 uh sorbian?

{00:32:47} 0341 but uhm: (4) i can-

{00:32:48} 0342 i can ssay quite everything that i:

{00:32:51} 0343 i wwant to say

{00:32:53} 0344 i sstill have this BARRIER i mean

{00:32:55} 0345 it is nnot that i'm able to say eeverything

{00:32:58} 0346 how i ffeel what i ffeel what i tthink (2) /

{00:33:01} 0347 uhm: uh: (4)

{00:33:03} 0348 in sorbian. /

{00:33:04} 0349 then uhm: (4)

{00:33:05} 0350 bbilingualisme of lusatia?

{00:33:07} 0351 wha- while

{00:33:09} 0352 my german was very ppoor?

{00:33:11} 0353 was also an obstacle?

{00:33:13} 0354 °for °this /

{00:33:15} 0355 uh: (4)

{00:33:16} 0356 and' uh

{00:33:17} 0357 i /

{00:33:18} 0358 °ha i

{00:33:19} 0359 °ha HAD this language barrier that i:

{00:33:22} 0360 ccould not understand everything? in when when

{00:33:25} 0361 there are bbilingual things that i can understand only ssomething /

{00:33:30} 0362 so this was second tthing

{00:33:32} 0363 °m- maybe the third thing was that uhm: (4)

{00:33:36} 0364 /

{00:33:37} 0365 ((clicks her tongue)) the uh: wa- was also? like uh:

{00:33:40} 0366 i would say ttransport problems maybe? (1)

{00:33:43} 0367 that uh: you know in in' uh: (4)

{00:33:46} 0368 in llusatia everything what is important is: going on the countryside?

{00:33:52} 0369 so to: take ppart in any

{00:33:55} 0370 activity in any event?

{00:33:57} 0371 i had to ask someone to pick me there.

{00:33:60} 0372 and: uh: (4)

{00:34:01} 0373 i could not ddecide where

{00:34:03} 0374 WHEN and WHERE (2) i want to go

{00:34:06} 0375 °o- of course

{00:34:06} 0376 it is possible.

{00:34:08} 0377 sometimes to ggo with the bbus

{00:34:10} 0378 i did not have car. uh: in this time

{00:34:12} 0379 but' uh: (4)

{00:34:13} 0380 but it was not that eeasy h

{00:34:16} 0381 uhm: (4)

{00:34:17} 0382 uh: °to to do it

{00:34:19} 0383 uh: (4) /

{00:34:21} 0384 and' uh: (4) /

{00:34:23} 0385 and YES (2) i mean i i uh: (4)

{00:34:26} 0386 / °mmh

{00:34:27} 0387 and there i- (7) there is one more very important tthing

{00:34:30} 0388 particulary /

{00:34:31} 0389 uhm: (4) i mean (7)

{00:34:33} 0390 you know that there is uupper lusatia? and llower lusatia.

{00:34:36} 0391 probably (4)

{00:34:37} 0392 you are mmuch more interested in upper lusatia because of this connection with poland and °uh and czech republic.

{00:34:42} 0393 which /

{00:34:45} 0394 particulary with

{00:34:46} 0395 uh with czech republic?

{00:34:48} 0396 °mmh these contacts are

{00:34:49} 0397 mmo:stly (2) with upper lusatia and °not with lower lusatia.
/

{00:34:53} 0398 but uh uhm: (4)

{00:34:54} 0399 °uh so uupper lusatia is a very catholic?

{00:34:57} 0400 uhm: (4) /

{00:34:59} 0401 uh: (4) culture?

{00:35:01} 0402 with a very sstrong /

{00:35:02} 0403 uh: uhm: uh

{00:35:04} 0404 ccatholic

{00:35:05} 0405 °group where catholicisme
 {00:35:08} 0406 is the CENTRE of this culture.
 {00:35:10} 0407 like the mmost important uh:
 {00:35:12} 0408 uhm: (4) /
 {00:35:14} 0409 ((clicks her tongue)) (12) /
 {00:35:15} 0410 °uh °uh the PILLAR of of uh sorbian culture.
 {00:35:18} 0411 and i'm nnot? a catholic.
 {00:35:20} 0412 i'm uh: (4)
 {00:35:21} 0413 which is uh also s- uh: (4)
 {00:35:23} 0414 maybe sounds STRANGE with pole? (1)
 {00:35:25} 0415 poles are all catholic. (1)
 {00:35:26} 0416 but no. not all {chuckles} not all of h
 {00:35:29} 0417 and': uh: and uh °mmh °mmh
 {00:35:32} 0418 not being ccatholic in ppoland?
 {00:35:34} 0419 is mmuch more? than not being ccatholic somewhere else.
 {00:35:37} 0420 because if you've ggot
 {00:35:39} 0421 a very very strong majority.
 {00:35:41} 0422 then uhm: nnh: (4)
 {00:35:43} 0423 being a mminority (2)
 {00:35:45} 0424 and a cconscious minority within this °uh very strong catholic-
 icisme? h
 {00:35:49} 0425 MAKES you somehow anticatholic. /
 {00:35:53} 0426 uh: and uh: (4)
 {00:35:55} 0427 i was eexhausted also in lusatia /
 {00:35:58} 0428 in participating? uh in all this cat- catholicisme
 {00:36:02} 0429 which is also sstructuring life and connections with people
 {00:36:06} 0430 and the role of uh women? and the role of men (2)
 {00:36:09} 0431 uhm: (4)
 {00:36:10} 0432 i'm a feminist. so it is very anti-
 {00:36:13} 0433 uh it's not like in upper lusatia? {chuckles} i can tell you
 so h
 {00:36:17} 0434 so like? cculturally i'm totally on the other side of it. so
 {00:36:21} 0435 it took me a few yyears (2) /
 {00:36:24} 0436 to /
 {00:36:25} 0437 become? much more cconscious anthropologist. /
 {00:36:29} 0438 who is oobserving?
 {00:36:31} 0439 their

{00:36:32} 0440 culture?

{00:36:33} 0441 taking the aamic [academic]

{00:36:35} 0442 perspective?

{00:36:36} 0443 on this

{00:36:37} 0444 not to JUDGE them?

{00:36:38} 0445 which is very eeasy i mean

{00:36:40} 0446 °mmh: (4) /

{00:36:41} 0447 you know.

{00:36:42} 0448 i don't llike it- it's- it's not nice (1) but

{00:36:44} 0449 to understand?

{00:36:46} 0450 WHAT

{00:36:46} 0451 catholicisme MEANS

{00:36:48} 0452 FOR this uhm: uh: (4)

{00:36:50} 0453 ffor this people.

{00:36:52} 0454 WHAT

{00:36:53} 0455 these tradditions (2) means for these people.

{00:36:56} 0456 what DOES:

{00:36:57} 0457 it mmh: (4) MEAN

{00:36:59} 0458 or (4) why

{00:37:00} 0459 it is so iimportant to ddress in this traditional ccostume
which

{00:37:04} 0460 at the beginning i just could not understand it? i mean

{00:37:07} 0461 {chuckles}

{00:37:08} 0462 how can you do it {chuckles} yourself (1) h

{00:37:10} 0463 so uhm: i learned? as a- as a-

{00:37:13} 0464 as a scientist? i learned

{00:37:15} 0465 a LOT (2)

{00:37:16} 0466 during my fieldwork in: uh in lusatia?

{00:37:19} 0467 AND it was a hhard lesson.

{00:37:22} 0468 so i would ssay that uh /

{00:37:24} 0469 mmh: (4) /

{00:37:27} 0470 pprobably it was eeasier for me /

{00:37:30} 0471 being ppole to: to

{00:37:32} 0472 bbe there. but nnot really? to be

{00:37:34} 0473 aaccepted /

{00:37:37} 0474 °as mme. (11)

{00:37:38} 0475 i:
 {00:37:38} 0476 tthink i: (4)
 {00:37:40} 0477 i: had to play a lot of roles?
 {00:37:42} 0478 like also (4) you know participating in cal- in: in catholic
 {00:37:46} 0479 LIFE /
 {00:37:47} 0480 to gget to know peo:ple to understand
 {00:37:50} 0481 how they live? h
 {00:37:51} 0482 uhm: ne (4) /
 {00:37:53} 0483 s- so
 {00:37:54} 0484 there are also a lot of mmasks
 {00:37:56} 0485 uh: there.
 {00:37:57} 0486 uh: (4)
 {00:37:58} 0487 in play.
 {00:37:58} 0488 i would say.
 {00:38:05} 0489 M uhm: and sso
 {00:38:07} 0490 yyou told me so you discovered uh:
 {00:38:09} 0491 the ssorbs when you were in pparis? /
 {00:38:11} 0492 AND i wanted to know?
 {00:38:12} 0493 uh do you have the ffeeling. that: uhm: (4)
 {00:38:15} 0494 ppeople in: ppoland? (2)
 {00:38:17} 0495 know about the ssorbs? (2)
 {00:38:18} 0496 generally? or not at all. /
 {00:38:21} 0497 D nnot at all.
 {00:38:22} 0498 i mean (4) /
 {00:38:23} 0499 there are: only (4) a few ggroups: /
 {00:38:27} 0500 that uhm: (4)
 {00:38:29} 0501 that kknows about sorbs? i mean there are (4)
 {00:38:32} 0502 i i was? quite interested in it uh:
 {00:38:35} 0503 a few yyears ago
 {00:38:36} 0504 °i °mean (7) maybe /
 {00:38:38} 0505 a few more: years ago.
 {00:38:39} 0506 ccertainly it is different uh:
 {00:38:41} 0507 in the wwestern poland closer to lusatia?
 {00:38:45} 0508 mmh 'uh: (4)
 {00:38:46} 0509 particulary on this border (4)
 {00:38:48} 0510 zone? /

{00:38:49} 0511 mmh: (4)

{00:38:50} 0512 historically there was SOME?

{00:38:52} 0513 sorbs living: in the territory which is now (4) /

{00:38:56} 0514 °mmh (4) in poland.

{00:38:57} 0515 BUT historically so the last uh: uhm

{00:39:00} 0516 sorbian families in poland (4) /

{00:39:03} 0517 uh: °uhm left poland after second world WAR? and even before there was probably about five uh:

{00:39:09} 0518 °families °like °this.

{00:39:10} 0519 so: uhm there was'n- °mmh °uh °mmh °mmh (4)

{00:39:13} 0520 NO territory? where the sorbs would .

{00:39:16} 0521 but (9) /

{00:39:17} 0522 °the- there is uh: uhm (4)

{00:39:19} 0523 the territory which is called

{00:39:21} 0524 polish lusatia: (4)

{00:39:23} 0525 and: people THERE (4)

{00:39:25} 0526 uhm: (4)

{00:39:26} 0527 also establish some-

{00:39:27} 0528 some CLOSER contact.

{00:39:29} 0529 but from the perspective of uh:

{00:39:30} 0530 of warsaw? i would say that

{00:39:33} 0531 this uh uhm: (4)

{00:39:35} 0532 uh: (4)

{00:39:36} 0533 consciousness.

{00:39:37} 0534 about uh uhm: (4)

{00:39:39} 0535 slavnic minority: °living °in germany is

{00:39:42} 0536 very very low?

{00:39:44} 0537 i also made some test? i was uh uhm: (4)

{00:39:48} 0538 i was (4) teaching at the university?

{00:39:50} 0539 something like minority °language-. minority studies?

{00:39:53} 0540 and: uh: (4)

{00:39:55} 0541 uh at the beginning of uh of each uh uhm: (4)

{00:39:58} 0542 year academic year? (7) i was doing this kind of test

{00:40:01} 0543 i was asking uh questions do you know or c-

{00:40:05} 0544 can you say: something about?

{00:40:07} 0545 and' uh as I thought?

{00:40:09} 0546 uhm: (4)
{00:40:09} 0547 this consciousness is very very llow. (2)
{00:40:12} 0548 BUT /
{00:40:13} 0549 still i would say that i had the SAME thing.
{00:40:16} 0550 as i as i ttold you. i had NO idea who the sorbs are.
{00:40:19} 0551 uh: when i was uh twenty two.
{00:40:21} 0552 uhm: (4)
{00:40:23} 0553 sso uhm (4) /
{00:40:24} 0554 it is NOT? like there're a lot of uh: °mmh
{00:40:27} 0555 proGRAMS, in the radio, or television, or wherever? (2)
{00:40:32} 0556 uh: this is very °uhm: (4)
{00:40:35} 0557 /
{00:40:36} 0558 °uh i mean (7)
{00:40:37} 0559 of course °uh (4)
{00:40:39} 0560 i i: uh: (4)
{00:40:40} 0561 i present some topics related to the sorbs. and other people
are doing it.
{00:40:45} 0562 but it is rather?
{00:40:46} 0563 THEIR community who had this kknowledge and other °from
{00:40:50} 0564 °who °just doesn't care. about it it is totally not?
{00:40:53} 0565 not' uh uhm: uh: (4)
{00:40:56} 0566 not' uh: (4)
{00:40:57} 0567 important not iinterested (2)
{00:40:59} 0568 they are not iinterested in it
{00:41:01} 0569 but i would say that uhm:
{00:41:02} 0570 it ddoes not concern only the sorbs. (2)
{00:41:05} 0571 it concerns also i mean (4)
{00:41:07} 0572 i was aasking also this question about the:
{00:41:09} 0573 minorities living in ppoland
{00:41:11} 0574 and' uh: the °the level of knowledge was qquite the SAME? (1)
{00:41:14} 0575 so: uhm:. uh uh mmh:? /
{00:41:18} 0576 ccertainly
{00:41:19} 0577 there are ggroups /
{00:41:21} 0578 who
{00:41:22} 0579 hhave some knowledge?
{00:41:23} 0580 and it is different ccloser to lusatia?

{00:41:26} 0581 °than: °uhm: (4)

{00:41:27} 0582 than in the ccentre or: uhm: (4)

{00:41:29} 0583 or in other pparts of poland?

{00:41:31} 0584 but i would not ssay that this level of knowledge is hhigh. /

{00:41:35} 0585 and these are MOST? of all academic centre.

{00:41:37} 0586 who are? uhm /

{00:41:39} 0587 who are iinterested. so there are

{00:41:41} 0588 quite sstrong relations there was with uh wwarsaw,

{00:41:45} 0589 wwrocław, (2)

{00:41:46} 0590 oopole,

{00:41:47} 0591 uh: (4) /

{00:41:48} 0592 ()

{00:41:51} 0593 i i i i'm' °mmh: (4)

{00:41:53} 0594 i'm NOT convinced that people have this knowledge. (1)

{00:41:56} 0595 /

{00:41:57} 0596 M ok

{00:41:58} 0597 and: (4) do you think maybe also there is a ddifference?

{00:42:01} 0598 uh between the generations?

{00:42:03} 0599 that maybe the: oolder generation? /

{00:42:05} 0600 has more KNOWLEDGE? that the younger generation?

{00:42:09} 0601 OR you would say it's a: general

{00:42:12} 0602 °uh feeling.

{00:42:12} 0603 °that °people °don't °really °know °about

{00:42:14} 0604 the ssorbs.

{00:42:15} 0605 / /

{00:42:17} 0606 D HERE i cannot say.

{00:42:19} 0607 i mean (7) uh: i uh (4)

{00:42:21} 0608 it wwould be interest- /

{00:42:23} 0609 interesting to: °uh °to (4)

{00:42:25} 0610 uh to d- dig in it uh uh: (4)

{00:42:28} 0611 to to to DIG in it (2)

{00:42:29} 0612 uh ddeeper h

{00:42:30} 0613 but' uh: uhm: (4)

{00:42:32} 0614 ii can say

{00:42:33} 0615 uh uhm

{00:42:34} 0616 the rreverse.

{00:42:35} 0617 because my?
 {00:42:36} 0618 on- i had one?
 {00:42:37} 0619 research pproject.
 {00:42:38} 0620 uh which cconcerned
 {00:42:40} 0621 uhm: the: °mmh (4)
 {00:42:42} 0622 like connection of the ssorbs (2)
 {00:42:45} 0623 with uh
 {00:42:46} 0624 ppoles and with °uh °with °czech and uh so
 {00:42:49} 0625 so (7) uh i was °mmh
 {00:42:51} 0626 doing a qquestionnaire (2)
 {00:42:53} 0627 among? the uhm: (4)
 {00:42:55} 0628 upper sorbian
 {00:42:56} 0629 i would say ()
 {00:42:57} 0630 so °mmh: °mmhmmh (4)
 {00:42:59} 0631 you know NOT in the °uhm.
 {00:43:00} 0632 uh ccountryside? but rather in mmmh: (4)
 {00:43:03} 0633 bautzen *budyšin*?
 {00:43:04} 0634 within the institu- tions
 {00:43:06} 0635 AND with uh different generations? and /
 {00:43:10} 0636 these qquestionnaires ha- had about twenty mmh:
 {00:43:13} 0637 twenty questions concerning the knowledge of llanguages and
 being able to understand different slavic languages?
 {00:43:19} 0638 but also on?
 {00:43:20} 0639 cconnection. whether you have ffriends in poland or in czech
 Republic or in other places
 {00:43:25} 0640 or: uhm: (4) /
 {00:43:28} 0641 if you hhave (2)
 {00:43:29} 0642 how do you communicate with tthem?
 {00:43:31} 0643 and THIS research
 {00:43:32} 0644 sshowed that there is a very important uh: uhm: (4)
 {00:43:37} 0645 intergenerational difference.
 {00:43:39} 0646 between
 {00:43:40} 0647 SORBS (2) / uh: uh (4)
 {00:43:42} 0648 of yyounger? generation and the °o- older generation.
 {00:43:45} 0649 the oolder? sorbs and then like °i would say from h
 {00:43:49} 0650 from uh: mmh (4)
 {00:43:50} 0651 uh from this (7)

{00:43:51} 0652 ggeneration.

{00:43:52} 0653 uh in bbetween?

{00:43:54} 0654 they had' uh M:UCH more contact with poles and with czechs?

{00:43:58} 0655 and these were ccloser contacts?

{00:44:01} 0656 uhm: (4)

{00:44:02} 0657 than? uh the yyoung sorbs now. (2) /

{00:44:05} 0658 so / uhm mmh: (4)

{00:44:07} 0659 but i cannot? (7) aanswer the question

{00:44:09} 0660 °the °the the ooriginal question you asked

{00:44:12} 0661 how it is in poland? /

{00:44:14} 0662 i have NO idea whether: uh: (4)

{00:44:16} 0663 the oolder generation have mmore information about the sorbs.

{00:44:21} 0664 M ok (7)

{00:44:22} 0665 [and]

{00:44:22} 0666 D [MAYBE it is related too with uh]

{00:44:24} 0667 with the level of eeducation and the place °uh °mmh

{00:44:27} 0668 people are living? but

{00:44:29} 0669 but as a sscientist i would have to say to answer this question
i would need to: (1)

{00:44:32} 0670 to have some research on it (1) {chuckles}

{00:45:39} 0671 M uhm: (4) /

{00:45:40} 0672 so YES i: also wanted to know uh

{00:45:43} 0673 do you

{00:45:44} 0674 think (11) uh: (4)

{00:45:46} 0675 because we talked? a lot about the ppeople but

{00:45:48} 0676 uh: i would like to know?

{00:45:50} 0677 i see it's uh also a though question?

{00:45:52} 0678 uhm: (4)

{00:45:52} 0679 about the ppolish ggovernment? /

{00:45:55} 0680 and maybe hhow it is uh:

{00:45:57} 0681 °how °it °is SEEN

{00:45:58} 0682 in poland uh the mminorities. h

{00:46:01} 0683 uh i'm asking THIS? because

{00:46:03} 0684 last year? i:

{00:46:04} 0685 i worked on: uh: (4) yes (6)

{00:46:06} 0686 the visegrád group? /

{00:46:08} 0687 D [°yes]
{00:46:08} 0688 [and: the: (4)]
{00:46:09} 0689 M defence of nnational uh identity? in those countries
{00:46:12} 0690 and also the FEAR of
{00:46:14} 0691 losing their identity? /
{00:46:16} 0692 and so: uh: (4)
{00:46:18} 0693 a huge part of my wwork was uh on poland /
{00:46:21} 0694 and thus i was wwondering if maybe? /
{00:46:24} 0695 uhm: it could (4)
{00:46:26} 0696 °how °can °i °say °that
{00:46:27} 0697 motivate? (2)
{00:46:28} 0698 uh in a way polish ggovernment to help
{00:46:30} 0699 the SORBS?
{00:46:31} 0700 because they could
{00:46:32} 0701 uh in a way recoGNIZE themselves (2) /
{00:46:34} 0702 uhm: knowing that the ssorbs are: currently (4)
{00:46:38} 0703 eendangered i would say a threatened mminority? /
{00:46:41} 0704 uh i don't know if my question is: clear (8) {chuckles}
{00:46:44} 0705 D i i think i underSTAND it.
{00:46:46} 0706 But uh i maybe i've got this uh imiage? because i think that'
uh your question is very
{00:46:51} 0707 difficult. /
{00:46:52} 0708 and i think that there are
{00:46:54} 0709 two SIDES. of this problem?
{00:46:56} 0710 °at °the °beginning the first ONE (4)
{00:46:58} 0711 i have to say it's
{00:46:60} 0712 at the beginning. because uh:m (4)
{00:47:02} 0713 /
{00:47:04} 0714 °the THERE
{00:47:05} 0715 if?
{00:47:06} 0716 any (2)
{00:47:07} 0717 uh discourse on?
{00:47:09} 0718 uh ssorbs
{00:47:10} 0719 °exist in public life /
{00:47:12} 0720 mmh it is? /
{00:47:14} 0721 mmh (4)

{00:47:14} 0722 related? with the difficult mmoments
 {00:47:17} 0723 in sorbian LIFE
 {00:47:18} 0724 for example when
 {00:47:20} 0725 uh:m uh the mmh: (4)
 {00:47:22} 0726 /
 {00:47:23} 0727 °what °is °the °name °the f- FOUNDATION for po- for sorbian
 people
 {00:47:27} 0728 uh: is cutting down the funds? /
 {00:47:30} 0729 OR (2) when uh: (4)
 {00:47:32} 0730 there are some aattempts to close the schools (2)
 {00:47:35} 0731 or: to: establish the number of uh pupils
 {00:47:39} 0732 uh necessary to hheld lessons of sorbian?
 {00:47:42} 0733 THEN mmh uh uh
 {00:47:44} 0734 ssorbs are launching the-
 {00:47:46} 0735 some kind of ccampaigns?
 {00:47:47} 0736 against' it /
 {00:47:49} 0737 and:' uh uhm: (4)
 {00:47:51} 0738 and here (7) maybe not? on the level of ggovernment. (4) but
 still
 {00:47:55} 0739 °s: /
 {00:47:56} 0740 a LITTLE (9) bit (2) /
 {00:47:57} 0741 cconnected with
 {00:47:58} 0742 politics
 {00:47:59} 0743 uhm: uh mmh /
 {00:48:01} 0744 I can see that there is
 {00:48:03} 0745 eengagement ffrom the side of of' uhm
 {00:48:05} 0746 of ppoles and there are polish instiTUtions who are signing
 these petitions
 {00:48:10} 0747 and eeven (2) a few years ago i don't remember
 {00:48:13} 0748 i think it was uh it was about uh:
 {00:48:15} 0749 *sstiftung* or about uh: (4)
 {00:48:18} 0750 sschools
 {00:48:19} 0751 here i- mmh
 {00:48:20} 0752 we would have to CHECK it but' uh
 {00:48:23} 0753 but there wwas (2)
 {00:48:24} 0754 an en- eengagement (2)
 {00:48:25} 0755 and some °mmh

{00:48:26} 0756 even lletters of the attaché uh °mmh
 {00:48:29} 0757 °i °don't °know °uh °mmh
 {00:48:31} 0758 °polish °attaché (7)
 {00:48:33} 0759 uhm: to: °mmh (4)
 {00:48:35} 0760 pprobably:
 {00:48:36} 0761 ssaxony or brandenburg?
 {00:48:38} 0762 uh to to: (4)
 {00:48:40} 0763 to STOP it or to:
 {00:48:41} 0764 to reverse these uh:m (4)
 {00:48:43} 0765 these things. (7)
 {00:48:43} 0766 so
 {00:48:44} 0767 sometimes (9)
 {00:48:45} 0768 it IS touching this' uh this level of uhm: (4)
 {00:48:48} 0769 of uh: uhm: (4)
 {00:48:51} 0770 ppolitical questions. /
 {00:48:52} 0771 BUT
 {00:48:53} 0772 uh /
 {00:48:56} 0773 the qqestions? on /
 {00:48:58} 0774 SLAVIC
 {00:48:59} 0775 identity. and
 {00:49:01} 0776 protection of ssorbs. /
 {00:49:04} 0777 are also (4)
 {00:49:06} 0778 and here i i really (4) hesiti- hesitate how to (1)
 {00:49:09} 0779 how to put it in wwords.
 {00:49:11} 0780 are also? related with (4)
 {00:49:13} 0781 uh: (4) /
 {00:49:15} 0782 ()
 {00:49:17} 0783 way of tthinking. /
 {00:49:20} 0784 uh: which i (4)
 {00:49:22} 0785 ffind (2) /
 {00:49:23} 0786 extremely /
 {00:49:26} 0787 ddifficult but
 {00:49:27} 0788 terrible (11) and' uh: °mmh
 {00:49:30} 0789 i had? /
 {00:49:32} 0790 °mmh: mmany times
 {00:49:33} 0791 °even in my uhm: (4)

{00:49:35} 0792 observing? sorbian /
{00:49:37} 0793 polish: relations? /
{00:49:40} 0794 the mmoment i felt that
{00:49:43} 0795 people eengaged (4)
{00:49:45} 0796 or SOME people not all (7)
{00:49:46} 0797 not all (2) °uh
{00:49:47} 0798 ssome people eengaged in
{00:49:49} 0799 mmh: sorbian (4)
{00:49:51} 0800 uh: issues?
{00:49:52} 0801 from poland? /
{00:49:54} 0802 are (4) / /
{00:49:56} 0803 mmh: (4) °in po-
{00:49:58} 0804 po- ppolitical or uh
{00:50:01} 0805 you know °mmh: °mmh:
{00:50:02} 0806 in TERMS of uh of their
{00:50:05} 0807 ideology?
{00:50:06} 0808 unacceptable.
{00:50:07} 0809 for me.
{00:50:08} 0810 that THEY represent /
{00:50:11} 0811 anti german attitudes? /
{00:50:14} 0812 that THEY represent something (4)
{00:50:16} 0813 i would say (4)
{00:50:17} 0814 ()
{00:50:18} 0815 i DON'T want to use mmh the the the word
{00:50:21} 0816 fascism?
{00:50:22} 0817 but (9) uh (9)
{00:50:23} 0818 ssomething that' uh /
{00:50:26} 0819 that is uh:
{00:50:27} 0820 very nat- nationalistic? and which uh
{00:50:31} 0821 which is (7) uh mmh
{00:50:32} 0822 WELL
{00:50:33} 0823 this anti ggerman discourse?
{00:50:35} 0824 in poland
{00:50:36} 0825 is still quite (4) sstrong?
{00:50:38} 0826 so when it is uused' uh °mmh (4)
{00:50:42} 0827 mmh when relating it to /

{00:50:44} 0828 SORBS (2)
{00:50:45} 0829 that you know (7)
{00:50:46} 0830 these poor sorbs
{00:50:47} 0831 these poor - o- ours
{00:50:48} 0832 uh our younger brothers or smaller brothers
{00:50:51} 0833 need: (2) our help against those awful:
{00:50:54} 0834 germans who wants to kill? them
{00:50:56} 0835 who wants to prevent them their language and culture
{00:50:59} 0836 and WE (2) as slaves
{00:51:01} 0837 or poles or whoever h
{00:51:02} 0838 have to do something
{00:51:04} 0839 it is something that i just don't accept
{00:51:06} 0840 that i want to have nothing again- (2) uh nothing (4)
{00:51:10} 0841 °connected °with °it.
{00:51:11} 0842 and it exists. (2) so uhm (4) /
{00:51:14} 0843 ((clicks her tongue)) /
{00:51:16} 0844 so i think that there are (4) two /
{00:51:18} 0845 th- th- that th- that
{00:51:19} 0846 this is
{00:51:20} 0847 a very delicate question?
{00:51:22} 0848 as a- an-
{00:51:24} 0849 academics.
{00:51:25} 0850 or people who are uh (4)
{00:51:26} 0851 having friends in lusatia (4)
{00:51:29} 0852 uh: we ARE?
{00:51:31} 0853 engaged in:
{00:51:32} 0854 any kind of protest'uh that the sorbs are launching and
having?
{00:51:37} 0855 BUT
{00:51:38} 0856 uh (4)
{00:51:39} 0857 i can hear?
{00:51:40} 0858 that /
{00:51:41} 0859 there are? also /
{00:51:44} 0860 people who are using /
{00:51:46} 0861 mmh: those protests to:: (4)
{00:51:49} 0862 uh: also to voice

{00:51:51} 0863 some uh: (4)
{00:51:52} 0864 issues that i (4) do not accept.
{00:51:55} 0865 i don't know if i ddid answer your question but it is very complicated and i don't feel
{00:51:60} 0866 in eease uh
{00:52:01} 0867 when talking about it. {chuckles}
{00:52:31} 0868 D WELL i would say uhm: (4)
{00:52:34} 0869 and NOW (2) i'm i'm (4)
{00:52:35} 0870 i'm saying it from:
{00:52:36} 0871 the perspective of someone who is researching.
{00:52:39} 0872 uh: uhm: °mmh:
{00:52:42} 0873 language and cultural maintenance or revitalization for
{00:52:46} 0874 many years? /
{00:52:47} 0875 uh: it is (4)
{00:52:49} 0876 not possible
{00:52:50} 0877 at ALL. /
{00:52:51} 0878 i mean
{00:52:52} 0879 it is oonly. up to
{00:52:54} 0880 sorbs? /
{00:52:55} 0881 to maintain it? /
{00:52:56} 0882 it is oonly up to sorbs to: (4)
{00:52:59} 0883 speak the llanguage
{00:52:60} 0884 and to: uh: (4)
{00:53:02} 0885 to live their
{00:53:02} 0886 cculture.
{00:53:03} 0887 if they (9) do not want to do it?
{00:53:05} 0888 nno one would help them. (2) /
{00:53:07} 0889 BUT
{00:53:08} 0890 of ccourse /
{00:53:09} 0891 there are /
{00:53:11} 0892 °mmh (4)
{00:53:12} 0893 it is possible to SUPPORT (2)
{00:53:14} 0894 people
{00:53:15} 0895 in it.
{00:53:16} 0896 uhm: (4)
{00:53:17} 0897 obviously?

{00:53:19} 0898 it is nnot
 {00:53:20} 0899 that uh /
 {00:53:22} 0900 polish people could do so-
 {00:53:24} 0901 al- or po- polish polish
 {00:53:26} 0902 °mmh poland as a- as a country could do uh:
 {00:53:29} 0903 something about it? /
 {00:53:30} 0904 °mmh: (4) or any- anything? or maybe something?
 {00:53:33} 0905 uh but'uh uhm: (4) /
 {00:53:36} 0906 it is MOST of all the question of'uh
 {00:53:39} 0907 of LOCAL (2)
 {00:53:40} 0908 ggovernments and': uh: (4)
 {00:53:42} 0909 on
 {00:53:42} 0910 germany
 {00:53:43} 0911 to ggive the tools nnecessary (2)
 {00:53:45} 0912 to: maintain the culture. and:' the (4)
 {00:53:48} 0913 and language? to °uh
 {00:53:49} 0914 for sorbs to be able to / h
 {00:53:52} 0915 uh: to have sschools? in this language
 {00:53:54} 0916 to: have their aassociations' uh
 {00:53:57} 0917 to have some ssupport of the fremd levels
 {00:53:59} 0918 to have their political representATions °at-
 {00:54:02} 0919 and so on and so (forth?)
 {00:54:04} 0920 and here obviously
 {00:54:06} 0921 uh: uh (4)
 {00:54:06} 0922 po'and or czech republic uh
 {00:54:09} 0923 cannot do: anything about it at all? (1)
 {00:54:11} 0924 nuh mmh (4)
 {00:54:12} 0925 BUT of course uh:m (4)
 {00:54:15} 0926 what I? think that
 {00:54:17} 0927 can be helpful?
 {00:54:18} 0928 and i think it is ssomehow related with
 {00:54:21} 0929 with the wway? uhm:
 {00:54:23} 0930 s: sorbian (11) uh: (4)
 {00:54:26} 0931 organisATions (2) see it also
 {00:54:28} 0932 uhm: (4) it is /
 {00:54:31} 0933 °hmmhmm °hmm

{00:54:32} 0934 wha- what ccan be helpful? is to give people /
 {00:54:35} 0935 mmore
 {00:54:36} 0936 positive
 {00:54:37} 0937 SIGNS that uh you know
 {00:54:39} 0938 being sorb
 {00:54:40} 0939 and'uh learning sorbian?
 {00:54:43} 0940 or speaking sorbian?
 {00:54:45} 0941 ccan have any ppositive uh
 {00:54:47} 0942 iinfluences (2)
 {00:54:49} 0943 on our c- c- can be positive (7)
 {00:54:51} 0944 in uh those people:
 {00:54:53} 0945 uh (4) uh s- s- sorbian sspeakers or: ppotential sorbian
 sspeakers.
 {00:54:58} 0946 uh: learning oother (4)
 {00:54:60} 0947 sorbian. uh other slavic languages?
 {00:55:02} 0948 that it is much eeasier? to: (4)
 {00:55:04} 0949 communicate' uh uh (4) in
 {00:55:07} 0950 poland?
 {00:55:08} 0951 or in cczech republic having sorbian language?
 {00:55:10} 0952 that is mmuch easier even to learn
 {00:55:12} 0953 russian? /
 {00:55:14} 0954 when hhaving' uh: (4) /
 {00:55:16} 0955 uh when having sorbian as a language? /
 {00:55:19} 0956 uh that' uh: uh (4)
 {00:55:21} 0957 it is uh: (4) /
 {00:55:23} 0958 uh that it can be useful?
 {00:55:25} 0959 uh: also to speak different' uh
 {00:55:27} 0960 slavic languages?
 {00:55:28} 0961 so wha- what ii think that COULD be (2) uh
 {00:55:31} 0962 establish?
 {00:55:32} 0963 BUT sstill (2)
 {00:55:33} 0964 i
 {00:55:34} 0965 see that it
 {00:55:35} 0966 MUST be initiative ffrom the sorbian side and not from the
 side of
 {00:55:39} 0967 poland or czech republic?
 {00:55:41} 0968 that there could be mmuch more uhm: (4)

{00:55:44} 0969 exchanges.

{00:55:45} 0970 of' uh school people

{00:55:47} 0971 with' uh with' uh sschools

{00:55:49} 0972 from poland or: uh: (4)

{00:55:51} 0973 czech republic?

{00:55:52} 0974 JUST to

{00:55:53} 0975 show pupils this' uh: mmh: (4)

{00:55:56} 0976 uusefulness (2) of sorbian.

{00:55:58} 0977 that it is' uh ppossible to use it also (2) outside lusatia?

{00:56:03} 0978 and hhere i'm not talking about

{00:56:04} 0979 the ssorbs who are

{00:56:06} 0980 nnative sspeakers of the language. because for THEM

{00:56:09} 0981 i mean they /

{00:56:10} 0982 at least uupper sorbs

{00:56:11} 0983 at least ccatholic uupper sorbs they can communicate and use the language h

{00:56:15} 0984 uh: among themselves?

{00:56:17} 0985 in the ccountrysides' °uh during eevents and even

{00:56:20} 0986 °in THEIR like every- daily life? /

{00:56:23} 0987 BUT for tthose who are llearning the language.

{00:56:26} 0988 or who'are for mmixed language families?

{00:56:28} 0989 uhm: (4) it is (7)

{00:56:30} 0990 °it °is kind of iimpulses that

{00:56:32} 0991 this language is uuseful (2)

{00:56:34} 0992 uh: °mmh (4)

{00:56:35} 0993 and that it can sserve (2) for other

{00:56:38} 0994 sspheres for other uh uh things?

{00:56:41} 0995 wwould be of' uh of' uh °mmh °uh (4)

{00:56:44} 0996 would be really

{00:56:45} 0997 ssupportive. h

{00:56:46} 0998 and: and hhere? i also what

{00:56:48} 0999 what ii would like to ssay (2) h

{00:56:50} 1000 uh is tthat uh i: mmh (4) /

{00:56:52} 1001 i think that what is? very important for:

{00:56:55} 1002 uh: for minority languages?

{00:56:57} 1003 is not as as particular it is? (7) /

{00:57:00} 1004 it IS like this in

{00:57:02} 1005 in lower: lusatia. but in

{00:57:04} 1006 upper lusatia?

{00:57:05} 1007 there is this uh uhm: (4)

{00:57:07} 1008 ccatholic upper sorbian groups /

{00:57:09} 1009 who are

{00:57:10} 1010 the gguardians (2) of the language and cultures?

{00:57:12} 1011 and there are (4)

{00:57:14} 1012 uhm: (4)

{00:57:14} 1013 QUITE a lot of ppeople who either were

{00:57:17} 1014 assimilated linguistically? or culturally

{00:57:20} 1015 with' uh °mmh the german culture?

{00:57:23} 1016 OR

{00:57:23} 1017 uh: they are NOT from sorbian speaking /

{00:57:27} 1018 °mmhn families?

{00:57:29} 1019 BUT who are LIVING (2) at uh

{00:57:31} 1020 uh the territory (7) where the sorbs are living. so

{00:57:34} 1021 when thinking about the revitalization? of sorbian language
or maintAIning it

{00:57:39} 1022 for mme the most important is here

{00:57:42} 1023 i mean not the most important. but

{00:57:43} 1024 vERY important is to concentrate on

{00:57:46} 1025 creating nnew speakers of these languages. (2) to

{00:57:49} 1026 to give the possibbility for THOSE

{00:57:52} 1027 children or even aadults.

{00:57:54} 1028 who DID not uh

{00:57:55} 1029 acquire the language at home?

{00:57:57} 1030 uh: to become'? uh speakers.

{00:57:58} 1031 aand also to be accepted by: uhm: (4)

{00:58:02} 1032 by the: uh: (4)

{00:58:03} 1033 the community.

{00:58:04} 1034 uhm:

{00:58:05} 1035 the sorbian community AS a speaker of sorbian which is not
that obvious.

{00:58:09} 1036 but' uh but i think that hhere?

{00:58:12} 1037 uhm: (4) /

{00:58:13} 1038 mmh:

{00:58:14} 1039 here aalso? uh this' uh mmh: /

{00:58:18} 1040 uh: this aaspect of utility?

{00:58:20} 1041 so the ccloseness with poland and cczech republic ccould be:
uh:' mmh: (4)

{00:58:25} 1042 could be: uh: (4)

{00:58:27} 1043 important. /

{00:58:28} 1044 oo mmh: (4)

{00:58:29} 1045 when doing my rresearch in:' uh

{00:58:30} 1046 in upper sorbian

{00:58:32} 1047 *ggymnasium* (2)

{00:58:33} 1048 uhm: (4)

{00:58:34} 1049 we had oone interview i mean me and' uh

{00:58:36} 1050 and cordula ratajczak? we had one interview with a uhm

{00:58:40} 1051 GERman

{00:58:41} 1052 uh

{00:58:43} 1053 sspeaking (2) /

{00:58:43} 1054 uh gguy from

{00:58:44} 1055 vvery multilingual family from

{00:58:46} 1056 °uh °ther- there was like h /

{00:58:49} 1057 aarabic refugees: who installed in germany (4) °mmh

{00:58:53} 1058 something? °mmhmmh like mixture of languages uhm but

{00:58:57} 1059 sorbian was totally nnew for him. /

{00:58:59} 1060 but (9) he was learning ssorbian and he told us that he's very
iinterested in this language?

{00:59:04} 1061 because he would like to become?

{00:59:06} 1062 uh: mne: m- m- m- (4)

{00:59:08} 1063 medical doctor. /

{00:59:10} 1064 bbut' uh it would be nnot? possible for him to study in gger-
many? °where it is too eexpensive and too difficult to: (4)

{00:59:17} 1065 °you °know to pass the the exams?

{00:59:20} 1066 SO he is thinking about going to poland or to czech republic.

{00:59:23} 1067 or? to oother south slaviv like in ex yougoslaviv uh: °mmh (4)

{00:59:27} 1068 uh ccountries h

{00:59:28} 1069 to sstudies medicine?

{00:59:30} 1070 and

{00:59:31} 1071 he knows that uh uh

{00:59:33} 1072 having ssorbian as a language now will be helpful for him.

{00:59:37} 1073 SO something like tthis is °uh °mmh:
 {00:59:39} 1074 is /
 {00:59:40} 1075 positive example that' uh: (4)
 {00:59:42} 1076 °that °it °ccan °be °useful. °so
 {00:59:44} 1077 so on the ppolitical level i don't tthink we could do
 {00:59:47} 1078 uh i mean poland or czech republic could do anything? /
 {00:59:51} 1079 uh bbut
 {00:59:52} 1080 uh: (4)
 {00:59:53} 1081 IF (2) the ssorbs
 {00:59:54} 1082 would have
 {00:59:55} 1083 any: (4)
 {00:59:56} 1084 iideas /
 {00:59:58} 1085 how WE can support them
 {00:59:60} 1086 as academics as people ass' uh (2)
 {01:00:03} 1087 ccultural associations? also.
 {01:00:05} 1088 because it is not only about you know
 {01:00:07} 1089 mmusic (2)
 {01:00:08} 1090 there's a LOT of networks (2) musical networks. and uhm:
 {01:00:11} 1091 ddance groups etc
 {01:00:12} 1092 so
 {01:00:13} 1093 on tthis? level i think
 {01:00:15} 1094 °mmh °mmh °mmh
 {01:00:16} 1095 ccertainly
 {01:00:17} 1096 there is' uh
 {01:00:18} 1097 a LOT of' uh possibilities for uh (4)
 {01:00:21} 1098 for support.
 {01:03:13} 1099 D during our research also in: uh: (4)
 {01:03:17} 1100 concerning revitalization? of' uh:
 {01:03:19} 1101 of sorbian languages? we
 {01:03:21} 1102 par:ticipated in a few days:' uh workshop
 {01:03:24} 1103 uh for uhm: mmh: (4)
 {01:03:27} 1104 young ppeople (2)
 {01:03:28} 1105 from the sorbian uh: °mmh: (4)
 {01:03:31} 1106 grammar school *gymnasium?*
 {01:03:33} 1107 uhm: who are in this cchoir:.
 {01:03:35} 1108 *bbrigada.*

{01:03:37} 1109 certainly you did hear about it. they've got this

{01:03:39} 1110 vvery °mmh: (4)

{01:03:41} 1111 this is something very iimportant for them and they are very pproud and this is very ssorbian. (2)

{01:03:45} 1112 very

{01:03:46} 1113 sorbian. i mean

{01:03:47} 1114 NO german speaker:

{01:03:49} 1115 °uh: °uh can pparticipate in it (1)

{01:03:51} 1116 i mean

{01:03:51} 1117 °uh: german only speaker? /

{01:03:53} 1118 and

{01:03:54} 1119 they this' °uh °uhm (4)

{01:03:56} 1120 they have this ccamp this workshop?

{01:03:58} 1121 uh: uh (4)

{01:03:60} 1122 / / /

{01:04:06} 1123 they ddecided to have it there?

{01:04:08} 1124 bbecause uh it was in cczechs so

{01:04:10} 1125 there would- there would be no: german language influences so the pure:

{01:04:15} 1126 you know (7) so- ssorbian)mmh

{01:04:17} 1127 sorbian milieu. (1)

{01:04:19} 1128 uhm: uh (4)

{01:04:20} 1129 n- not sorbian but SLAVIC languages so (7)

{01:04:22} 1130 °mmh you know.

{01:04:23} 1131 im- im- iimmersion: in slavic languages °etc.

{01:04:26} 1132 the first? dday (9)

{01:04:27} 1133 and they- they wwere: uhm (4)

{01:04:29} 1134 they were hhaving the

{01:04:31} 1135 uh it was not a hhotel but

{01:04:32} 1136 ssomething like in between in the:

{01:04:34} 1137 kkloster. in uh: (4)

{01:04:36} 1138 in this VILLAGE one of the villages on uhm:

{01:04:39} 1139 on: the czech uh (4)

{01:04:41} 1140 in the czech republic?

{01:04:42} 1141 the FIRST day (9)

{01:04:44} 1142 uh the (4)

{01:04:44} 1143 ddirector or the HEAD of this kloster

{01:04:47} 1144 ca:me there to
{01:04:50} 1145 °uh °to °welcome?
{01:04:51} 1146 uh: all these i tthink there was about fifty? maybe forty
fifty °mmh: (4)
{01:04:56} 1147 young people who came?
{01:04:57} 1148 AND he asked
{01:04:59} 1149 whether (4)
{01:05:00} 1150 they would like to: (4)
{01:05:02} 1151 him to speak
{01:05:04} 1152 uh: (4)
{01:05:04} 1153 CZECH?
{01:05:06} 1154 or ggerman. /
{01:05:08} 1155 and you know what the answer {chuckles} what it was (8) /
{01:05:10} 1156 tthey ALL
{01:05:11} 1157 i mean
{01:05:12} 1158 people who went THERE
{01:05:13} 1159 to be iimmered (2) in slavic languages they aall answered
{01:05:17} 1160 german. /
{01:05:19} 1161 and' uh: (4)
{01:05:20} 1162 and it was something that made us' uh: (4)
{01:05:23} 1163 thinking (2) that' uh
{01:05:25} 1164 it is nnot? only about you know uhm: (4)
{01:05:27} 1165 being
{01:05:28} 1166 °mmh: ABLE to understand languages but also to
{01:05:31} 1167 °mmh WILLING to make this EFFORT (2)
{01:05:34} 1168 to understand languages
{01:05:35} 1169 °uh °mmh mutually intelligible.
{01:05:38} 1170 uh: that is important? and /
{01:05:41} 1171 it is like the °mmh
{01:05:42} 1172 ddeparture point for- for the-
{01:05:45} 1173 for the project.
{01:05:46} 1174 so it was something that mmade' uh
{01:05:47} 1175 wwow (2) °is
{01:05:48} 1176 is it ppossible that? (1)
{01:05:50} 1177 that it iis like this that uh
{01:05:52} 1178 mmh i mean uh (4)

{01:05:53} 1179 uh I can say that you know i'm going to (4)
 {01:05:56} 1180 czech republic since: ' i was in high school and' uh (4)
 {01:06:00} 1181 uh it was °uh (4)
 {01:06:01} 1182 always the place where: (4)
 {01:06:03} 1183 we did not
 {01:06:04} 1184 even tr-
 {01:06:05} 1185 ttry (9) to
 {01:06:06} 1186 i mean i i would not even tthink about speaking eenglish in
 czech republic
 {01:06:10} 1187 and nnow when i'm going tthere and i say something °uh °uh in
 between
 {01:06:15} 1188 uh polish czech and' uh upper sorbian?
 {01:06:18} 1189 and iimmediately (2)
 {01:06:20} 1190 uh everybody wants to: (4)
 {01:06:22} 1191 switch to: english.
 {01:06:24} 1192 i mean it is rreally
 {01:06:25} 1193 ddifficult that you have to make an eeffort (2)
 {01:06:27} 1194 to use
 {01:06:28} 1195 sslavic languages in other slavic countries. (1)
 {01:06:31} 1196 so: uh: so (4)
 {01:06:33} 1197 °p- pprobably (2) it is also something that is' uh: /
 {01:06:37} 1198 uh: that is important
 {01:06:39} 1199 for
 {01:06:40} 1200 those rrelations /
 {01:06:41} 1201 uh whether
 {01:06:43} 1202 you know °w- °w- °w- °w- °w- °w- what /
 {01:06:45} 1203 sslavic relations
 {01:06:47} 1204 can be based on ttoday. (2)
 {01:06:49} 1205 if
 {01:06:51} 1206 llanguages (2) /
 {01:06:52} 1207 °mmh LOST
 {01:06:54} 1208 their: uhm: (4) /
 {01:06:56} 1209 ((clicks her tongue)) importance (2)
 {01:06:58} 1210 because there uh there is eenglish.
 {01:06:60} 1211 and' uh it is aalways (2) e easier to communicate
 {01:07:03} 1212 at least the yyounger generation.
 {01:07:05} 1213 with older nno? because they do not kknow english. (2)

{01:07:08} 1214 but with yyounger (9) °who who knows
{01:07:10} 1215 who knows this language
{01:07:12} 1216 they: don't wwant to make this effor' or they do not kknow
{01:07:15} 1217 that /
{01:07:17} 1218 it is possible uh (7) /
{01:07:19} 1219 °to °make °this °effort
{01:07:20} 1220 so mmh: °uhuh
{01:07:23} 1221 so pprobably (2) it will also influence' uh: °uhm: (4)
{01:07:26} 1222 something like sslavic
{01:07:28} 1223 relations. /
{01:07:30} 1224 °uh: °mmh: (4)
{01:07:32} 1225 among uh: mmh
{01:07:34} 1226 among
{01:07:35} 1227 ppeople because if it's /
{01:07:37} 1228 not a language? it is not
{01:07:40} 1229 bbeing in (2)
{01:07:41} 1230 oone
{01:07:42} 1231 uh i mean /
{01:07:44} 1232 historically? those relations between poland
{01:07:47} 1233 czech republic and lusatia were also (4) /
{01:07:50} 1234 sstronger because of being in: the communist bbloc
{01:07:54} 1235 {chuckles} let's say (1)
{01:07:55} 1236 mmh' uh uh on
{01:07:56} 1237 the ssame side of the iron curshain?
{01:07:59} 1238 uh: °mmh (4)
{01:08:00} 1239 because of hhaving
{01:08:02} 1240 uh: the same sstruggle the same ppolitical struggles?
{01:08:06} 1241 uhm: (4)
{01:08:08} 1242 plus? /
{01:08:09} 1243 it was mmuch
{01:08:10} 1244 eeasier to live in poland or in czech republic than it was in
lusatia? so
{01:08:14} 1245 it was ppoles or cczechs who did hhelp
{01:08:17} 1246 sorb-
{01:08:18} 1247 sorbian people who were sending the bbooks' uh
{01:08:21} 1248 or you know uh (4) /

{01:08:23} 1249 sstasi was mu- much mmore

{01:08:25} 1250 uhm powerful that any: any uh: (4) /

{01:08:29} 1251 ppolitical h

{01:08:30} 1252 uhm: (4)

{01:08:31} 1253 powers in ppoland or in cczech republic. so

{01:08:34} 1254 so °mmh °mmh

{01:08:35} 1255 poles or czechs ddid /

{01:08:37} 1256 ssupport

{01:08:38} 1257 ssorbs on different levels.

{01:08:40} 1258 and aalso (2) going to ppoland or to cczech republic was?

{01:08:44} 1259 GREAT for sorbs' uh: °mmh (4)

{01:08:47} 1260 because °uh °uh they could ccome here h

{01:08:49} 1261 i uh the- there is uh uh

{01:08:51} 1262 QUITE a lot of people from uh uh

{01:08:53} 1263 the ggeneration let's say around seventies? who are saying that

{01:08:57} 1264 they did discover:

{01:08:59} 1265 the ppoetry the new way music etc being?

{01:09:03} 1266 in poland or in czech republic visiting their friends.

{01:09:07} 1267 so uhm (4)

{01:09:08} 1268 so it wwas something /

{01:09:10} 1269 mmuch more iimportant much more (2)

{01:09:12} 1270 uh: mmh (4)

{01:09:13} 1271 ppowerful than only y' know being sslav. (2)

{01:09:16} 1272 and THEN uh °mmh (4)

{01:09:18} 1273 when the ppolitical situation cchanged?

{01:09:20} 1274 uh: you know (7) after uh after this' uh °mmh (4) /

{01:09:25} 1275 uhm' uh the chute of of berlin

{01:09:27} 1276 wwall (2) it was

{01:09:28} 1277 iimmediately lusatia found itself on the OTHER side of the curtain (2)

{01:09:33} 1278 uh: so h

{01:09:34} 1279 uh: t- t- they they were in: european uunion? while poland and czech republic had to wait uh fourteen years to {chuckles}

{01:09:42} 1280 uh to go there? to be to be apart of it? /

{01:09:45} 1281 uh let's say (4)

{01:09:46} 1282 it will llast? {chuckles}

{01:09:48} 1283 hopefully {chuckles} h
{01:09:50} 1284 uh: °mmh so: uh: (4)
{01:09:52} 1285 so uh it was? uh /
{01:09:55} 1286 so WE became
{01:09:57} 1287 nnot (9)
{01:09:58} 1288 interested- ting any longer. wwe were (2)
{01:10:01} 1289 ppoor.
{01:10:02} 1290 wwe were (2)
{01:10:03} 1291 those: who: were going tthere to earn any mmoney.
{01:10:07} 1292 uhm: (4) °we °w °w °w
{01:10:10} 1293 we were going tthere to you know (8)
{01:10:12} 1294 to have ccontact with the western world. (1)
{01:10:15} 1295 uh: so uhm (4) /
{01:10:18} 1296 so i tthink that it also iinflunes the fact that
{01:10:22} 1297 sorbs did llose (2) some:
{01:10:25} 1298 iimpetus in you know searching for: (4)
{01:10:27} 1299 for ccontacts or ssupport from the part of' uh
{01:10:31} 1300 of' uh poles or czech
{01:10:32} 1301 czechs which of ccourse now °i °mmh: (4)
{01:10:35} 1302 °mmh it °mmh (4)
{01:10:37} 1303 it IS important but it works differently. (2)
{01:10:40} 1304 i mean it is not based on this vvery: uh
{01:10:43} 1305 it is bbased on
{01:10:44} 1306 some
{01:10:45} 1307 iideologies? /
{01:10:46} 1308 this is one thing?
{01:10:48} 1309 on the aassociations which have the traditions.
{01:10:50} 1310 the other thing?
{01:10:52} 1311 oon the research?
{01:10:53} 1312 and the researchers? academics. who are working on
{01:10:56} 1313 llusatia and:
{01:10:58} 1314 i would say that /
{01:10:59} 1315 mmh these are MOSTly poles and czechs who are
{01:11:03} 1316 working °on:
{01:11:05} 1317 on: lusatia and sorbian issues? /
{01:11:08} 1318 uh of ccourse not oonly but uh: uh uh °mmh (4)

{01:11:12} 1319 but i would say that tthese research are concentra- concen-
trated here?

{01:11:16} 1320 uhm: (4)

{01:11:17} 1321 but uh uhm like (4)

{01:11:20} 1322 individual? /

{01:11:21} 1323 contacts /

{01:11:23} 1324 became less important. /

{01:11:25} 1325 than uh: (4)

{01:11:27} 1326 it /

{01:11:29} 1327 that were

{01:11:30} 1328 before.

{01:11:31} 1329 oobviously it depends on pperson?

{01:11:33} 1330 uh: it depends on (4)

{01:11:35} 1331 on different aspects (4)

{01:12:13} 1332 D but' uhm: (4) /

{01:12:15} 1333 YEAH (6) i think that a lot?

{01:12:16} 1334 ddid change

{01:12:18} 1335 and it is the question of' uh (4) the common language?

{01:12:21} 1336 on the utility

{01:12:22} 1337 of' uh this kkind of sslavic esperanto we did use (1) uh:

{01:12:26} 1338 bbefore and now (4)

{01:12:28} 1339 iinstead of it we us english?

{01:12:31} 1340 and also uh: (4)

{01:12:33} 1341 what /

{01:12:34} 1342 po:land or czech republic can ooffer.

{01:12:37} 1343 uh: to uh: (4)

{01:12:39} 1344 to sorbs or to sorbian ppeople.

{01:12:41} 1345 obviously? /

{01:12:43} 1346 the ccultural networks are still important?

{01:12:45} 1347 the ffolkloric music networks

{01:12:48} 1348 are very sstrong? /

{01:12:50} 1349 here i'm not a a specialist?

{01:12:51} 1350 but i kknow that uhm this uh (4) /

{01:12:55} 1351 a- around these uh (4)

{01:12:57} 1352 ttraditional music festivals or dances?

{01:12:60} 1353 they've got a llot of ddifferent connections. and' uh

{01:13:03} 1354 and iinspirations. so
 {01:13:05} 1355 so /
 {01:13:06} 1356 tthis is something that that llasts (2)
 {01:13:08} 1357 and' uh and' uh and can be: (4)
 {01:13:11} 1358 can be very important? but' uh (4) /
 {01:13:14} 1359 mmh but on on °mmh (4)
 {01:13:16} 1360 on the °uhm: °mmh (4)
 {01:13:18} 1361 sside of you know °mmh (4)
 {01:13:20} 1362 nnetworks of iindividual people? uh (4)
 {01:13:23} 1363 poland and czech republic uh (4)
 {01:13:25} 1364 certainly lost' °uh (4)
 {01:13:27} 1365 aa lot.
 {01:15:44} 1366 D wha- what is?
 {01:15:45} 1367 in- /
 {01:15:46} 1368 iinteresting particularly in lower lusatia?
 {01:15:49} 1369 is that tthere are a lot of ppoles who are going there to work
 uh: (4) /
 {01:15:54} 1370 for example as a teacher °or
 {01:15:56} 1371 teachers of sorbian (11) of lower sorbian.
 {01:15:59} 1372 uhm: (4)
 {01:15:60} 1373 mmuch more than in upper lusatia.
 {01:16:02} 1374 there are a lot of
 {01:16:04} 1375 ppoles °who a lot.
 {01:16:06} 1376 i mean /
 {01:16:07} 1377 TAKE °mmh °uh °mmh: (4)
 {01:16:09} 1378 *toute proportion gardée* {chuckles}
 {01:16:11} 1379 uh this is a very very small minority so (1)
 {01:16:14} 1380 a lot of people (4)
 {01:16:15} 1381 maybe it's ffive or sseven (1) but uh °mmh
 {01:16:18} 1382 you know (8) uh °mmh
 {01:16:19} 1383 there are
 {01:16:20} 1384 mmh poles who are wworking in: uh
 {01:16:22} 1385 sorbian institutions h
 {01:16:24} 1386 mmh: like' uh:? (4)
 {01:16:26} 1387 sorbian institute.
 {01:16:28} 1388 like' uh: uhm: (4) /

{01:16:31} 1389 sorbian radio.
 {01:16:33} 1390 in: in llower lusatia uh (4)
 {01:16:36} 1391 one of' uh of °mmh: (4)
 {01:16:39} 1392 of the? uhm /
 {01:16:41} 1393 (director?) of this radio is po-
 {01:16:43} 1394 °mmh she's pole
 {01:16:44} 1395 uh there are at least a few:? uhm (4)
 {01:16:47} 1396 polish uhm: uhm: (4)
 {01:16:50} 1397 ppeople who b'came
 {01:16:51} 1398 tteachers of lower sorbian. /
 {01:16:54} 1399 °uhm: (4)
 {01:16:55} 1400 so
 {01:16:56} 1401 it is
 {01:16:57} 1402 also that nno:w? (11)
 {01:16:59} 1403 m:- maybe /
 {01:17:01} 1404 the situation? did change
 {01:17:03} 1405 because it is
 {01:17:04} 1406 i mean uh: you know
 {01:17:05} 1407 beings' uh tteacher
 {01:17:07} 1408 in: lusatia?
 {01:17:09} 1409 uh and being teacher in ppoland?
 {01:17:11} 1410 it is a very bbig difference in:
 {01:17:13} 1411
 {01:17:13} 1412 what you earn. ((smiles))
 {01:17:14} 1413 uh: so
 {01:17:15} 1414 it is mmuch uh uhm (4)
 {01:17:17} 1415 bbetter for ppoles to ggo- °uh to be: a tteacher (7) of' uh
 {01:17:21} 1416 in in germany?
 {01:17:22} 1417 and THEN they are searching for tthose who are able to:
 {01:17:27} 1418 to learn? uhm: (4)
 {01:17:28} 1419 lower sorbian qquite
 {01:17:30} 1420 quickly?
 {01:17:31} 1421 uh because there is ttotally (2) lack of of teachers' uh
 {01:17:34} 1422 the situation of llower sorbian is really (2)
 {01:17:36} 1423 ffragical. /
 {01:17:37} 1424 uh: so uhm: (4)

{01:17:39} 1425 so
 {01:17:40} 1426 you have to participate in a- in a- uhm: (4)
 {01:17:43} 1427 a few months' uh uh (4)
 {01:17:45} 1428 intensive course of the language?
 {01:17:46} 1429 to become? a teacher. (2) and already have the competence.
 {01:17:49} 1430 so it's °o- °o- obviously
 {01:17:51} 1431 for someone who have uh: (4)
 {01:17:53} 1432 who has
 {01:17:54} 1433 polish as a first language it is much easier (2)
 {01:17:56} 1434 to do it and to become a teacher? than for (4)
 {01:18:00} 1435 someone for whom:
 {01:18:02} 1436 you know slavic languages are: (4)
 {01:18:03} 1437 something new (2)
 {01:18:04} 1438 i mean /
 {01:18:06} 1439 how would it be possible to learn
 {01:18:08} 1440 any slavic language in a few months i have no idea (1) {chuckles} (m- chuckles)
 {01:18:11} 1441 uh: i mean uh it's uh uh (4)
 {01:18:13} 1442 i i'm not very keen in languages but
 {01:18:16} 1443 thinking about you know lang- lea- learning
 {01:18:19} 1444 polish not being uh: uh uh: (4)
 {01:18:22} 1445 sl- slavic person (1)
 {01:18:24} 1446 {chuckles}
 {01:18:24} 1447 it totally uh: (4) h
 {01:18:26} 1448 makes me uh:?
 {01:18:28} 1449 astonish that there are people who are doing °it. /
 {01:18:31} 1450 uh also
 {01:18:32} 1451 if you look at' uh: mmh (4)
 {01:18:35} 1452 the' uhm: (4) /
 {01:18:36} 1453 ((clicks her tongue)) the institutions?
 {01:18:39} 1454 you would see that
 {01:18:40} 1455 uh the generation of
 {01:18:41} 1456 i would say my parents or or
 {01:18:44} 1457 °mmh older so
 {01:18:45} 1458 let's say (4)
 {01:18:46} 1459 sixty plus /

{01:18:48} 1460 tthere are? there were a llot of people who had a vvery °mmh

{01:18:52} 1461 cclose contact with' uh

{01:18:54} 1462 with uh poland or czech republic.

{01:18:57} 1463 uh: who (4)

{01:18:58} 1464 sspeak tho- uh these languages.

{01:18:60} 1465 for yyears: (2)

{01:19:01} 1466 many many years (2) uhm

{01:19:03} 1467 the hhead of' uh sorbian institute was dietrich scholze solta?

{01:19:07} 1468 who: uh: (4)

{01:19:09} 1469 who are ppoland- ().

{01:19:11} 1470 uh uh uhm: uh (4)

{01:19:13} 1471 who were speaking

{01:19:14} 1472 ffluently polish and for me it was uhm: (4)

{01:19:17} 1473 really h

{01:19:18} 1474 like' uh uh: (4)

{01:19:56} 1475 D and for mme it was very hhelfful when i wwent there with my very very poor sorbian. and not existing german?

{01:20:02} 1476 that i hhad? someone

{01:20:03} 1477 with whom i could speak ppolish.

{01:20:05} 1478 {chuckles} it was' uh

{01:20:06} 1479 it was very nnice

{01:20:07} 1480 ALSO the ccurent uhm: uh: (4)

{01:20:10} 1481 hhead of sorbian institute?

{01:20:12} 1482 uh hhauke bartels?

{01:20:14} 1483 he is not /

{01:20:16} 1484 m- maybe nnow

{01:20:17} 1485 i ddid not speak polish with him uh

{01:20:20} 1486 anytime but i wwrite in polish to him.

{01:20:22} 1487 he was sstudying in lubin in one of' uh (4)

{01:20:25} 1488 of polish cities.

{01:20:27} 1489 so: uh: (4)

{01:20:28} 1490 so there are? a lot of people

{01:20:30} 1491 with whom we can use this language. and' uh (4)

{01:20:34} 1492 °who: °uh: (4) / uh

{01:20:37} 1493 uh but

{01:20:38} 1494 THEY are particulary in the oolder generation. not °in °the °younger.

{01:23:03} 1495 D of ccourse there are a llot of people who are coming here because it's

{01:23:06} 1496 it's ccheaper. than' °uh

{01:23:09} 1497 °than other places but' uh /

{01:23:12} 1498 but' uhm: (4)

{01:23:13} 1499 WELL i i uh: (4)

{01:23:15} 1500 wi- wi- with

{01:23:16} 1501 the sorbs (9)

{01:23:17} 1502 it is much more ccomplicated? because it's so cclose (2)

{01:23:19} 1503 i mean uh uh you know it takes one hhour (2)

{01:23:50} 1504 D so it is

{01:23:51} 1505 really like' uh (1) uhm: (4)

{01:23:53} 1506 there are llot of people who are going to: czech republic for buying ccigarettes (2)

{01:23:58} 1507 uh: on the regular basis so uh i mean?

{01:24:00} 1508 uh i- i- i- it is so cclose uh that

{01:24:04} 1509 it is not maybe? eexciting to: (4)

{01:24:07} 1510 to ddo it you rather use it as uh (4) /

{01:24:10} 1511 uhm: (4)

{01:24:10} 1512 YES (6) as your- as your-

{01:24:12} 1513 as your pplace.

{01:24:14} 1514 °mmh like uh (4)

{01:24:15} 1515 like

{01:24:16} 1516 pprobably mmost of border regions. so

Annex XXII Interview Transcription L

{00:33} 0001 L my name is uh l? h
{00:36} 0002 and' uh: (4) i work in my private firm? h
{00:40} 0003 and' uh: uhm my: 'uh o- our (4) /
{00:44} 0004 MAIN h
{00:45} 0005 uh: (4) direction is' uh (who) sale. h
{00:48} 0006 (who) sale with cceramic and (who) sale with procelain? h
{00:52} 0007 and' uh (4) /
{00:53} 0008 at the SAME time h
{00:55} 0009 ah uh TOO (2)
{00:57} 0010 i: hhh uh: (4)
{00:59} 0011 translate' uh: (4)
{01:00} 0012 from' uh: rush [russian] h
{01:02} 0013 and' uh: (4) /
{01:04} 0014 another
{01:05} 0015 sslo- slovenian /
{01:07} 0016 uh: (4) languages (7).
{01:20} 0017 L i prefer? to say that in czech. {chuckles} h
{01:23} 0018 and my: personal? relations (4)
{01:26} 0019 ((clicks her tongue)) uh: with the sorbs h
{01:28} 0020 uh: (4)
{01:29} 0021 are very cclose. / h
{01:33} 0022 i: had the opportunity
{01:35} 0023 personally? h
{01:37} 0024 uh: to get to know' uh several local sorbian families? h
{01:43} 0025 i ALSO had the opportunity (4)
{01:45} 0026 to: get to know' uh
{01:47} 0027 important? h
{01:49} 0028 uhm: (4) /
{01:50} 0029 representatives? of the sorbian institutions? h
{01:54} 0030 and: uh: everything
{01:58} 0031 that has actually
{01:59} 0032 uh hhappened in the last six years?

{02:02} 0033 these contacts h
{02:04} 0034 actually led us to h
{02:06} 0035 tthis
{02:07} 0036 uh: to found (4)
{02:09} 0037 our association societas amicuum liberec? h
{02:12} 0038 which is ALSO
{02:14} 0039 uh ddedicated to the cooperation with the sorbs.
{02:30} 0040 L h uh: (4)
{02:31} 0041 i knew:?
{02:33} 0042 that the sorbs had existed for mmany years. h
{02:37} 0043 but: (4) /
{02:39} 0044 tthe
{02:40} 0045 rreal awakening?
{02:43} 0046 of interest in them? h
{02:45} 0047 uh: was brought to me (4) h
{02:47} 0048 by one of our colleagues?
{02:49} 0049 who was tthen not a member of the association but who later h
{02:52} 0050 joined the aassociation his name is milan turek. h
{02:56} 0051 who: uh (4)
{02:57} 0052 devoted himself to llusatia h
{02:60} 0053 uh: (4)
{03:01} 0054 you might say now? ttwenty-five years.
{03:03} 0055 of his life. h
{03:05} 0056 wwhere he went very often. uh
{03:08} 0057 °mister turek is already an elderly person? /
{03:11} 0058 ((clicks her tongue)) and (4) h
{03:12} 0059 uh when' uh he told me about
{03:14} 0060 lusatia? and the sorbs uh very enthusiastically. h
{03:20} 0061 he caught my attention h
{03:22} 0062 and: actually?
{03:23} 0063 in two thousand ffifteen
{03:26} 0064 for the first time we- for the first time ii went personally to llusatia h
{03:29} 0065 and the sorbs. h
{03:32} 0066 and: uh: (4)
{03:34} 0067 and that is how it all started. (7) {chuckles}

{03:47} 0068 L [uh: (4)]
{03:47} 0069 M [°so]
{03:48} 0070 L °no: as i said (2) my colleague mister turek brought me to lusa-
tia? h
{03:54} 0071 and: uh: (4)
{03:55} 0072 we visited lusatia several times?
{03:58} 0073 and: (4) we said to ourselves? h
{04:00} 0074 uh: that: (4) /
{04:02} 0075 it would be vvery?
{04:04} 0076 pleasant very interesting (2) h
{04:06} 0077 wwhat we saw there
{04:08} 0078 to present it?
{04:09} 0079 in liberec. /
{04:11} 0080 because we uh h
{04:13} 0081 and met uh (4)
{04:15} 0082 in lusatia? h
{04:16} 0083 the family ccyžová?
{04:18} 0084 uh: who has (4) /
{04:20} 0085 in german it is called (7) *ttrachtenfundus?* h
{04:23} 0086 and this is: (4) h
{04:25} 0087 uh' hhh actually a fu- fun- (4)
{04:28} 0088 fund' uh: of folk ccostumes. h
{04:31} 0089 and: uh (4)
{04:32} 0090 nnot only did they have these costumes (2)
{04:35} 0091 in life size or lend them for various events?
{04:39} 0092 but they also have h
{04:42} 0093 an exhibition of costumes on ddolls. (2) / h
{04:45} 0094 and: this exhibition? (4)
{04:47} 0095 they sshared it with us
{04:49} 0096 and it was first presented HERE
{04:52} 0097 in the liberec library? h
{04:54} 0098 in ttwo thousand sixteen. /
{04:58} 0099 uh the eexhibition lasted a month? h
{05:01} 0100 and was aaccompanied by several lectures. /
{05:05} 0101 they aroused?
{05:06} 0102 quite a strong iinterest / h

{05:09} 0103 and: (4)
 {05:10} 0104 because: (4)
 {05:12} 0105 after the lectures uh h
 {05:14} 0106 the listeners came to us? h
 {05:17} 0107 and asked
 {05:18} 0108 if we would continue to deal with this topic (2)
 {05:23} 0109 they actually highlighted the need
 {05:26} 0110 to start ((noise in the background))
 {05:28} 0111 organising this activity somehow h
 {05:30} 0112 so we founded? (2)
 {05:32} 0113 the association h
 {05:33} 0114 uh *societas amicuum liberec*? h
 {05:35} 0115 in two thousand sixteen it will celebrate its fifth anniversary
 this year h
 {05:42} 0116 AND actually since then it has started to focus very intensively
 on
 {05:47} 0117 just
 {05:48} 0118 *lusatia*. ((noise in the background))
 {05:49} 0119 which
 {05:49} 0120 were mainly. excursions? /
 {05:52} 0121 lectures h
 {05:54} 0122 and trips?
 {05:54} 0123 to *lusatia* to attend cultural performances.
 {06:11} 0124 L this: (4)
 {06:12} 0125 i am going to tell the truth now °mmh: °uh: (4)
 {06:15} 0126 it is MY personal impression. (2)
 {06:17} 0127 ((noise in the background))
 {06:19} 0128 i:? (4) think there is a big difference.
 {06:22} 0129 between (2) h
 {06:24} 0130 asking me this question. (7)
 {06:28} 0131 about? *upper lusatia*. / h
 {06:31} 0132 or *lower lusatia*. / h
 {06:34} 0133 we HAVE (9)
 {06:35} 0134 uh in these five years
 {06:37} 0135 had the opportunity to get to know *upper lusatia* very well.
 {06:42} 0136 but regarding *lower lusatia*.
 {06:44} 0137 we are only starting to get to know it. (7)

{06:47} 0138 [there are? big differences.]

{06:47} 0139 [((noise in the background))]

{06:56} 0140 L h uh: so (4)

{06:58} 0141 as far as? uupper lusatia is concerned

{06:60} 0142 uh: there definitely (4) h

{07:02} 0143 uh: what is: (4)

{07:04} 0144 determining (4) h

{07:05} 0145 uh their' uh: (4)

{07:07} 0146 faith their ccatholic faith / h

{07:10} 0147 and with THAT °uh the the (4)

{07:12} 0148 and THE customs and traditions. h

{07:15} 0149 uh that they follow. h

{07:17} 0150 the: (4)

{07:18} 0151 the way' uh families actually live there how they stick together?
h

{07:24} 0152 and: (4)

{07:25} 0153 how' uh: they really (2) h

{07:27} 0154 uh tthis (11) how they actually according to what they profess
in their catholic faith. h

{07:33} 0155 also? live: (4)

{07:34} 0156 in a very ordinary life. /

{07:37} 0157 it: (4)

{07:38} 0158 is for example? for uus /

{07:41} 0159 hhere in: the region where i live (4) h

{07:44} 0160 we ARE? fundamentally atheists. /

{07:45} 0161 here: (4)

{07:47} 0162 there are no very big: uh (4) {°chuckles}

{07:49} 0163 big religious directions. h

{07:53} 0164 and: (4)

{07:54} 0165 so there is? llower lusatia. / h

{07:57} 0166 llower lusatia: (4)

{07:59} 0167 uh: (4)

{08:00} 0168 uunlike upper lusatia where it has actually been preserved h

{08:04} 0169 upper ssorbian (2) h

{08:06} 0170 where at least: (4)

{08:08} 0171 in some pparts' uh (2)

{08:10} 0172 in some vvillages it is ccommon. (2) h

{08:12} 0173 uh: (4)
 {08:13} 0174 in everyday life? sorbian is used. (2)
 {08:17} 0175 in llower lusatia
 {08:19} 0176 you hardly come across lower sorbian language. / h
 {08:23} 0177 but that does nnot mean (2)
 {08:24} 0178 a' lleast as i experienced it. h
 {08:27} 0179 that these people do not feel? ssorbian. (2)
 {08:31} 0180 they just do not use (4) h
 {08:33} 0181 aanyore /
 {08:34} 0182 their language.
 {08:36} 0183 they speak german. (7) / h
 {08:37} 0184 the other thing that makes: them different? and' uh
 {08:41} 0185 which is actually (4) h
 {08:43} 0186 i think a bit: uh: determining? h
 {08:46} 0187 is that lower sorbs are of evangelical rreligion. (2) / h
 {08:50} 0188 and: all the same
 {08:52} 0189 there are
 {08:53} 0190 there are differences between the ccatholic faith? and the eevan-
 gelical protestant faith. (2)
 {08:58} 0191 and again?
 {08:59} 0192 because? lower lusatia (4) /
 {09:02} 0193 is uh actually mostly part of bbrandenburg? h
 {09:06} 0194 and of ccourse the german population is mainly
 {09:10} 0195 of pprotestant religion? h
 {09:12} 0196 so there is tthat? (4) / h
 {09:14} 0197 °uh influence or the the: the (4)
 {09:17} 0198 belonging? to: to the german speaking population h
 {09:21} 0199 is different tthere: (2) h
 {09:23} 0200 tthan
 {09:24} 0201 in uupper lusatia. but h
 {09:26} 0202 all of these? are just mmy: (4)
 {09:28} 0203 uh: (4)
 {09:29} 0204 ffeelings.
 {09:30} 0205 °yeah (6) my? personal feelings. {chuckles}
 {10:00} 0206 L uh i have probably already answered that a llittle bit (4)
 {10:03} 0207 in the previous?

{10:05} 0208 M [ano (6)]

{10:05} 0209 [uh question h]

{10:06} 0210 L but: uh: (4)

{10:08} 0211 we °mmh: (4)

{10:10} 0212 one? of the students.

{10:12} 0213 i was ttalking about at the beginning (2) h

{10:14} 0214 is mister bart. / h

{10:16} 0215 and mister BART' uh is actually uh: (4)

{10:19} 0216 the aauthor? (2)

{10:20} 0217 and ppromoter? (2) h

{10:22} 0218 of the wwitaj project. / h

{10:24} 0219 and the wwitaj project?

{10:26} 0220 M [°ano (6)]

{10:26} 0221 [you know it {chuckles} i suppose h]

{10:28} 0222 L uh who actually intends? (2) h

{10:29} 0223 to bring bback actually' uh

{10:31} 0224 ssorbian both in upper lusatia? and in lower lusatia h

{10:37} 0225 into kindergartens. into schools? h

{10:39} 0226 and into everyday llife. h

{10:41} 0227 so uh: (4)

{10:42} 0228 i think that: (4)

{10:43} 0229 there is hope

{10:45} 0230 but again i think there is? ggreater hope in upper lusatia h

{10:50} 0231 that at least the llanguage (2) h

{10:52} 0232 wwill be for at least a few more?

{10:54} 0233 hopefully decades years (1) uh:

{10:57} 0234 ppreserved and will be passed on to h

{10:59} 0235 uh: the next generation? h

{11:01} 0236 and uh: (4)

{11:02} 0237 i know that an effort? is being made in lower llusatia as well
but (4)

{11:07} 0238 it is much hharder there. (2)

{11:08} 0239 because: the real h

{11:11} 0240 number of lower sorbian sspeakers is (4)

{11:14} 0241 in ccomparison with the number of upper sorbian (2)

{11:16} 0242 a mmuch smaller h

{11:17} 0243 uh: (4)
 {11:19} 0244 ((clicks her tongue)) nnumber. h
 {11:21} 0245 uh: (4)
 {11:21} 0246 i tthink that regardless of
 {11:24} 0247 uh whether it is upper
 {11:26} 0248 or lower lusatia. h
 {11:28} 0249 such' uh: a huge? uh problem (4) h
 {11:32} 0250 and and influence on? how their life actually developed:
 {11:36} 0251 was the ccoal mining. h
 {11:38} 0252 which actually: (4)
 {11:40} 0253 ddestroyed many villages
 {11:42} 0254 °these were hundreds of villages that disappeared? h
 {11:44} 0255 whose inhabitants were rresetled (2)
 {11:47} 0256 in pplaces where there was actually a predominantly ggerman
 speaking (2) h
 {11:52} 0257 uh population (2) h
 {11:53} 0258 there were bbroken (2) h
 {11:55} 0259 uh: the the ttraditions the roots that they had there? h
 {12:01} 0260 and: (4)
 {12:03} 0261 and actually: (4) that period ended? about twenty twenty five
 years ago? h
 {12:09} 0262 and now there is an eeffort to make (2)
 {12:12} 0263 it: a territory (4)
 {12:14} 0264 an attractive tourist /
 {12:17} 0265 area? h
 {12:19} 0266 but: i think that (4)
 {12:21} 0267 as far as the sorbs are cconcerned.
 {12:23} 0268 so in this h
 {12:25} 0269 this effort will not' uh help °them much. / h
 {12:30} 0270 °uh actually the conversion? oof:
 {12:32} 0271 the coalfield? into into into these tour-
 {12:35} 0272 touris- into thes tourist places. h /
 {12:39} 0273 ((clicks her tongue)) i know that (4)
 {12:41} 0274 uh in the last? actually uh: (4)
 {12:43} 0275 in the last two years? h
 {12:45} 0276 uh: there hhas been (2)
 {12:46} 0277 a ccampaign? quite strong? h

{12:51} 0278 *ja klar? sorbisch ja kar* h
 {12:53} 0279 where they are aactually trying h
 {12:56} 0280 uh: through this: uh: (4)
 {12:58} 0281 to actually mmake the german population aware that they HAVE
 {13:02} 0282 actually their own national sslavic h
 {13:05} 0283 uh minority? h
 {13:06} 0284 and to draw their attention to it? h
 {13:08} 0285 and: uh: i think that it is
 {13:10} 0286 on another side it is ggood (2)
 {13:12} 0287 because (4) h
 {13:14} 0288 we are' uh because (4)
 {13:16} 0289 because here in the cczech republic we do NOT KNOW (2) that the
 sorbs live there h
 {13:20} 0290 uh: it mmay (4)
 {13:22} 0291 seem strange to us who are involved in this. (7) h
 {13:24} 0292 but it is not that? inconceivable. (2) h
 {13:27} 0293 but: (4) it is surprising? h
 {13:29} 0294 as ffor example when we were h
 {13:31} 0295 uh ((clicks her tongue)) on an eexcursion in lower lusatia in
 spreewald? /
 {13:35} 0296 we uused to go there by /
 {13:37} 0297 boats? h
 {13:38} 0298 and: (4) we were there on hholiday?
 {13:41} 0299 and all people on the boat were ggerman? h
 {13:45} 0300 and it was very sstrange to hear him ttell? (4) h
 {13:49} 0301 uh: the ggondolier? (4)
 {13:51} 0302 about the hhistory that there was a sslavic population (2) h
 {13:56} 0303 historically h
 {13:57} 0304 how h
 {13:58} 0305 ssurprised the german were (2) /
 {14:01} 0306 that: (4)
 {14:02} 0307 they had nno idea (2)
 {14:04} 0308 [that actually (4)]
 {14:04} 0309 [((noise of a sheet being crumpled))]
 {14:05} 0310 such a hhuge area had EVER h
 {14:08} 0311 been inhabited: (4) by slavic tribes. h
 {14:11} 0312 so that that is i think' uh (4)

{14:13} 0313 so one thing (4) h
 {14:16} 0314 that? hhh' uh
 {14:17} 0315 the campaign CAN (2)
 {14:19} 0316 actually uh: (4)
 {14:20} 0317 highlight and draw attention to it (2) h
 {14:22} 0318 that the sorbs actually live there? and h
 {14:25} 0319 and again this attention can if /
 {14:29} 0320 it is (4) h
 {14:30} 0321 given enough support (2) h
 {14:33} 0322 it can help them actually? (2) h
 {14:35} 0323 survive (2)
 {14:36} 0324 uh: into the next' uh (4) decades.
 {15:04} 0325 L h uh: (4)
 {15:05} 0326 as i i already said
 {15:07} 0327 this' uh: (4) our association was founded five years ago?
 {15:10} 0328 in two thousand sixteen (2) h
 {15:12} 0329 and the the' uh (4)
 {15:13} 0330 first impulse? h
 {15:15} 0331 was to cooperate with the sorbs (4) h
 {15:19} 0332 uh: to make them uh:
 {15:20} 0333 more popular (2) h
 {15:21} 0334 visiting lusatia discovering actually (2) h
 {15:25} 0335 uh not only as i say' uh
 {15:27} 0336 tourist areas but also culture? / h
 {15:31} 0337 it's just that?
 {15:32} 0338 uh: (4) it?: when we started to go there (2)
 {15:35} 0339 we found out? h
 {15:37} 0340 that there was not only upper lusatia?
 {15:40} 0341 but also lower lusatia h
 {15:42} 0342 and that lusatia was: (4)
 {15:45} 0343 or is not only in the territory of today's saxony and branden-
 burg? h
 {15:49} 0344 but that there was also a PART of lusatia? h
 {15:51} 0345 that was in bohemia (2)
 {15:53} 0346 small h
 {15:53} 0347 and that? there was also a part of lusatia that is now in poland.

{15:57} 0348 in lower silasia. / h
 {15:59} 0349 SO (9)
 {15:60} 0350 from there we started to {chuckles}
 {16:02} 0351 we started to visit aall these places (2) h
 {16:05} 0352 so actuaLLY? h
 {16:07} 0353 today (2)
 {16:07} 0354 after five years of activity it seems (2) h
 {16:11} 0355 that we devote to?
 {16:12} 0356 again.
 {16:13} 0357 ppopularisation? (2)
 {16:14} 0358 tourism (2)
 {16:15} 0359 by ppublishing? various' uh h
 {16:18} 0360 uh: (4) popular mmaterials gguides? h
 {16:22} 0361 actually not only? °uh: (4)
 {16:24} 0362 oriented? to the sorbs. h
 {16:27} 0363 but actually to the entire:? (4)
 {16:28} 0364 eeuroregion nisa in which lusatia was llocated. (2) h
 {16:32} 0365 sso today that means (4) lower silesia? h
 {16:35} 0366 and a part of bbrandenburg? (2)
 {16:37} 0367 and actually a part? of uh: (4)
 {16:39} 0368 saxony?
 {16:40} 0369 the non lusatian part {chuckles} if i may say it this way. h
 {16:43} 0370 yeah (6)
 {16:44} 0371 and as i? said: (4)
 {16:46} 0372 actually uh: (4)
 {16:48} 0373 it is uh: in the form of eexcursions that we organise h
 {16:52} 0374 we go there uh: (4)
 {16:54} 0375 for example to (4) h
 {16:55} 0376 uh: bbautzen for Christmas? concerts (2)
 {16:59} 0377 or to: uh: (4) / h /
 {17:03} 0378 °s: watch the sorbian eensemble's uh performances uh (4) h
 {17:08} 0379 at the theatre in bbautzen h
 {17:11} 0380 of course we llove going to the riding pprocessions?
 {17:15} 0381 for easter? °it °is °the h
 {17:17} 0382 biggest event? /
 {17:19} 0383 however (4) i can say that we have aalready aalready

{17:22} 0384 already managed (4) h

{17:24} 0385 to welcome sorbs here h

{17:28} 0386 and we are trying to give them knowledge about the common history
(4) h

{17:32} 0387 uh: (4)

{17:33} 0388 the relations that were created here because? h

{17:36} 0389 bbetWEEN uh: liberec (2)

{17:39} 0390 and the sorbs? h

{17:41} 0391 the relations actually started to develop? after the second world
war. /

{17:46} 0392 that is wwhy? it was actually here the last year (2)

{17:49} 0393 the hhigh school (2) h

{17:50} 0394 because? in the year

{17:52} 0395 nineteen forty seven. (2) h

{17:54} 0396 liberec? h

{17:56} 0397 as a ccity? (2)

{17:57} 0398 took over? the cultural? ppatronage. (2)

{17:60} 0399 of?

{18:01} 0400 bautzen. / h

{18:03} 0401 and wwe actually? /

{18:05} 0402 many years (1)

{18:06} 0403 after?

{18:07} 0404 continued it. h

{18:08} 0405 uh: and: (4)

{18:09} 0406 i (4) must also say that here? in our region of

{18:13} 0407 liberec (2) h

{18:14} 0408 uh: (4)

{18:15} 0409 we are ttaking over from a very important man h

{18:20} 0410 uh: (4) whose nname is mister vvydra. /

{18:23} 0411 he aalso appears in the book of interviews. h

{18:26} 0412 and mister vydra? was a cclassmate (2) /

{18:29} 0413 of the students who sstudied here for one year. (2) h

{18:33} 0414 and: (4)

{18:34} 0415 they aroused in him: such a desire?

{18:37} 0416 to gget to know lusatia (2) h

{18:39} 0417 that he then in his pprofessional life (4)

{18:43} 0418 studied: (2)

{18:44} 0419 sorBIAN h
 {18:46} 0420 wrote a number of bbooks (2) h
 {18:48} 0421 went there a number of times as a tourist? (2) h
 {18:51} 0422 but all of this was: (4)
 {18:53} 0423 twenty?
 {18:54} 0424 thirty years ago. h
 {18:55} 0425 and WE actually his activities (4)
 {18:57} 0426 took it over. / h
 {19:00} 0427 so?
 {19:02} 0428 this is:? uh: (4)
 {19:03} 0429 the direction? in which the association is oriented to the ssorbs
 in the euroregion nisa (2)
 {19:07} 0430 and the llast part (2)
 {19:08} 0431 which is?
 {19:09} 0432 covered by our aassociation? h
 {19:11} 0433 is: (4)
 {19:12} 0434 the popularisation of ssacral monuments? /
 {19:15} 0435 and: (4) h
 {19:17} 0436 and tthis °mmh
 {19:18} 0437 especially (4)
 {19:19} 0438 done in our rregion liberec?
 {19:21} 0439 and: its surroundings? h
 {19:23} 0440 but also? (2)
 {19:24} 0441 partly towards:?' uh the border region here again the: euroregion
 nisa. h
 {19:29} 0442 and again: we do it in the form of excursions? or
 {19:33} 0443 by publishing gguides: (2) and lectures.
 {19:53} 0444 L uh: i:? (4)
 {19:55} 0445 hope and i ddare say ggood h
 {19:58} 0446 uh: we are? (4)
 {19:60} 0447 when' uh: (4)
 {20:02} 0448 we have? uh: (4)
 {20:03} 0449 °actually when the association was founded.
 {20:05} 0450 we started to think about? (4) h
 {20:07} 0451 how (2)
 {20:08} 0452 how to be?ST. (2)
 {20:09} 0453 introduce the sorbs not only? by going on eexcursions (2)

{20:12} 0454 but how best? to introduce them. h
 {20:15} 0455 and we came up with the idea h
 {20:17} 0456 of doing' uh (4) h
 {20:19} 0457 one: (4) YEAR
 {20:20} 0458 which would be: (4) very iintensive (2) h
 {20:23} 0459 in which? we would actually h
 {20:25} 0460 present
 {20:26} 0461 sorbian mmusic (2) uh: (4)
 {20:28} 0462 sorbian art.
 {20:29} 0463 sorbian visual art. h
 {20:31} 0464 uh: °mmh uh (4)
 {20:33} 0465 lliterature. h
 {20:34} 0466 and: (4)
 {20:35} 0467 and so we came up? with the idea (4)
 {20:37} 0468 of organising? a yyear of lusatian sorbs in the lliberec region
 h
 {20:41} 0469 which originally as i already (4)
 {20:42} 0470 said was supposed to last' uh (4) from two thousand ?nineteen to
 two thousand twenty?
 {20:47} 0471 a year and a half? h
 {20:48} 0472 AND /
 {20:50} 0473 THIS? °uh: (4)
 {20:51} 0474 this year wwe have actually been preparing ()
 {20:53} 0475 uh this cultural (4) h
 {20:55} 0476 project we have been pra-
 {20:57} 0477 ppreparing for almost two years. h
 {20:59} 0478 and during? the preparation: (2)
 {21:01} 0479 we have been working? very closely with uh: (4)
 {21:04} 0480 the sorbian union (4) h
 {21:06} 0481 °association domowina (2) h
 {21:08} 0482 we HAVE actually teamed up?
 {21:10} 0483 for example' uh: (4) h
 {21:12} 0484 with the sor- sorbian? institute in bautzen (2) h
 {21:16} 0485 with' uh: (4) the sorbian museum? in bbautzen (2) h
 {21:19} 0486 with' uh: (4) the sorbian? ensemble (2) h
 {21:22} 0487 also from bautzen (2) h
 {21:24} 0488 uh: at the same time:(4)

{21:26} 0489 we had the opportunity to get to kknow each other
{21:27} 0490 and: (4) we actually had a bbeautiful oopening concert here h
{21:31} 0491 uh: (4) the first ssorbian (2) h
{21:33} 0492 uh: (4) ensemble? (2)
{21:35} 0493 which: is (4) a large choir from the sorbian hhigh school in bautzen? h
{21:40} 0494 so uh: (4)
{21:42} 0495 i think we really (4) h
{21:44} 0496 had the opportunity to get to know:? many: uh: (4)
{21:47} 0497 actuALLY?
{21:48} 0498 of? the most. prestigious sorbian institutions? and h
{21:53} 0499 and what i am even mmore pleased about (2) h
{21:55} 0500 is that actually: (4)
{21:57} 0501 we formed bbeautiful friendships:? with the people
{22:00} 0502 we met. h
{22:02} 0503 but i hhave? to admit (2) /
{22:04} 0504 that it was not easy at the beginning. (2) /
{22:07} 0505 because: (4) h
{22:08} 0506 when we came to pre?SENT (2) what:
{22:11} 0507 we had planned (2) h
{22:13} 0508 i think that not everybody? was convinced. h
{22:18} 0509 uh: (4) that we were? going to succeed.
{22:20} 0510 and: (4) /
{22:21} 0511 ((slight noise in the background))
{22:23} 0512 and to gain? their trust (2) /
{22:25} 0513 uh: that really' uh: (4)
{22:27} 0514 and to show that it made sense? to work with us h
{22:30} 0515 maybe? six months. h
{22:32} 0516 but:? then when' uh (4)
{22:34} 0517 we proved to each other' uh: (4)
{22:36} 0518 proved? that that that that everything was going to wwork (2) h
{22:39} 0519 the collaboration? was really great.
{23:18} 0520 L uh: those' uh:? (4)
{23:20} 0521 activiTIES h
{23:21} 0522 uh: (4)
{23:22} 0523 today? uh (4) well. (6)

{23:23} 0524 if we look? at it from today's? point of view: (2)

{23:26} 0525 and we see year? two thousand twenty as the year of the pandemic
(2)

{23:29} 0526 when almost nothing could happen (7) h

{23:31} 0527 it seems like we? did not do a lot. h

{23:34} 0528 but: (4)

{23:35} 0529 on the other hand: (4)

{23:36} 0530 it is not true. (7) h

{23:38} 0531 because unfortunately (2) we started already' uh: (4) h

{23:41} 0532 °uh in two thousand nineteen? in spring. (2) h

{23:44} 0533 so?

{23:45} 0534 in the end i think that? there were even a few dozen events. h

{23:49} 0535 uh: as

{23:51} 0536 i said the main partner here was? the liberec library. /

{23:55} 0537 but? h

{23:56} 0538 certainly: °uh (4)

{23:58} 0539 cannot remember? all of them the overview is in the programme.
h

{24:01} 0540 but: uh: (4)

{24:02} 0541 certainly: (4)

{24:04} 0542 it was a spectacular event' uh (4)

{24:06} 0543 the opening of the year of the lusatian sorbs? h

{24:09} 0544 which took place? (4)

{24:11} 0545 ((clicks her tongue)) in october? two thousand nineteen (2) h

{24:14} 0546 AT

{24:15} 0547 uh: (4) the local? university of liberec h

{24:18} 0548 because actually (4)

{24:19} 0549 the building (2) /

{24:21} 0550 of the university?

{24:23} 0551 was once home (4)

{24:25} 0552 to the sorbian high school. (2) h

{24:27} 0553 uh: we? (4)

{24:29} 0554 unveiled? a commemorative plaque (2)

{24:31} 0555 on this building (4)

{24:32} 0556 which reminds that students? from lusatia studied there h

{24:36} 0557 uh: then we had? uh (4)

{24:38} 0558 in the auditorium?

{24:39} 0559 of the university? h
{24:41} 0560 the opening ceremony? h
{24:42} 0561 and: THE (4)
{24:44} 0562 ceremony? °uh was actually followed by the screening of the films?
h
{24:48} 0563 uh with the last living students? h
{24:51} 0564 and the wwhole thing was actually crowned: uh: (4)
{24:54} 0565 by the performance? h
{24:56} 0566 of the orchestra? (4) /
{24:57} 0567 of the sorbian ensemble? and (4)
{24:60} 0568 and: by: (4)
{25:01} 0569 the first Sorbian ensemble (2)
{25:03} 0570 °uh of students uh (4)
{25:04} 0571 the choir of the students? from the high school (2) h
{25:06} 0572 wwho actually performed? h
{25:09} 0573 uhm: (4)
{25:10} 0574 oratoriom? /
{25:11} 0575 uh hradiště. h
{25:13} 0576 uh: (4)
{25:14} 0577 which was beautiful and actually rreferred? to the h
{25:19} 0578 uh: (4)
{25:20} 0579 beginnings of life in llusatia?
{25:22} 0580 when they actually lived there? uh
{25:24} 0581 in the fortresses (2) h
{25:25} 0582 that opening:?? (4)
{25:28} 0583 attracted h
{25:29} 0584 including the performers? around three hundred (2)
{25:32} 0585 uh: (4) people h
{25:34} 0586 there were:?? (4) also friends from bautzen?
{25:38} 0587 ((noise in the background))
{25:38} 0588 and lusatia? h
{25:39} 0589 and: i really? think that- that-
{25:42} 0590 it was a very bbeautiful opening?
{25:45} 0591 worth of all those events. h
{25:47} 0592 and: this was tthen followed? uh: (4)
{25:49} 0593 by individual? lectures uh (4)

{25:51} 0594 which wwere °focused on different topics on history h
 {25:54} 0595 uh: uh: (4) and focused on tou- on touris-?
 {25:57} 0596 on tourism (2)
 {25:58} 0597 on lliterature. on ttheatre. on mmusic? (2) h
 {26:01} 0598 but the second?
 {26:02} 0599 biggest eeent (2) which (4)
 {26:04} 0600 took place in automn two thousand nineteen (4) h
 {26:07} 0601 uh: was:~? (4)
 {26:08} 0602 uh the eexhibition about krabat. (2)
 {26:10} 0603 and it took place here in the library? h
 {26:13} 0604 uh it lasted for several weeks? (2) h
 {26:15} 0605 and: in the (4)
 {26:17} 0606 uh: (4) /
 {26:19} 0607 course of it actually? (4)
 {26:21} 0608 [there were? uh: (4)]
 {26:21} 0609 [((noise of a sheet being crumpled))]
 {26:23} 0610 actually also TWO theatrical? performances about krabat h
 {26:27} 0611 uh: we showed:~? (4) h
 {26:29} 0612 fou- three? or four different versions? h
 {26:32} 0613 uh: of krabat (2)
 {26:33} 0614 there was a sspecialised conference. (2)
 {26:36} 0615 there were here? h
 {26:37} 0616 on display (4) a number
 {26:38} 0617 °books and actually a number of literary works on krabat. h
 {26:42} 0618 °whether there were works (2) h
 {26:44} 0619 of nowak nnjechorński or preußler (2) h
 {26:47} 0620 uh: so (4) /
 {26:49} 0621 iit i think that it was a very (7)
 {26:51} 0622 uh successful event indeed? (4) h
 {26:53} 0623 uh then wwe? actually? uh: (4)
 {26:56} 0624 at the beginning of the year two thousand twenty? h
 {26:59} 0625 started to leave? liberec (2)
 {27:01} 0626 we started? events? (4)
 {27:03} 0627 in other towns? in the region. h
 {27:06} 0628 uh: (4) for example in semily?
 {27:08} 0629 in turnov. (2)

{27:09} 0630 česká lípa. (2)
 {27:10} 0631 jablonec ?(2) h
 {27:11} 0632 where we through lectures? (2)
 {27:13} 0633 tried? (4)
 {27:15} 0634 present' uh: (4)
 {27:16} 0635 lusatia. h
 {27:18} 0636 then' uh? uh: (4)
 {27:20} 0637 unfortunately arrived? march.
 {27:22} 0638 two thousand twenty? and /
 {27:25} 0639 the events that we had planned for spring? h
 {27:28} 0640 were interrupted? h
 {27:29} 0641 but as soon as the situation? allowed it in june /
 {27:34} 0642 uh: we resumed the lectures? h
 {27:37} 0643 and we even managed? because we had pplanned (4) h
 {27:41} 0644 two excursions?
 {27:43} 0645 °uh of several days?
 {27:44} 0646 to upper?
 {27:45} 0647 and lower llusatia (2) so we managed to do one in the summer? h
 {27:49} 0648 and we actually visited for the first time? lower llusatia more
 iintensively. h
 {27:54} 0649 well and: in the automn?
 {27:55} 0650 we actually managed to give? in sseptember only one lecture? h
 {27:59} 0651 and once again. everything was {chuckles} closed h
 {28:03} 0652 however? (2) h
 {28:04} 0653 uh the liberec library? offered (4) h
 {28:08} 0654 uh to move: (4)
 {28:10} 0655 °the °uh: (4)
 {28:11} 0656 cultural programmes? and especially the lectures' uh
 {28:14} 0657 online? (2) h
 {28:15} 0658 field? h
 {28:16} 0659 and thanks to that? we were actually able to continue (2) h
 {28:20} 0660 at least this part? uh: (4) h
 {28:23} 0661 and: uh (4) actually our public? h
 {28:25} 0662 uh: (4) i think had the opportunity to be? at least indirectly
 (2)
 {28:31} 0663 in contact with us and the library? h
 {28:33} 0664 but at the same time also? (4) h

{28:36} 0665 uh: i think? (4) that by' uh (2)

{28:39} 0666 broadcasting? the lectures on ffacebook and youtube (2) h

{28:43} 0667 we reached: (4) h

{28:45} 0668 a completely' different audience. (2)

{28:47} 0669 than tthose who came to the? live lectures. (2) h

{28:51} 0670 and we were very happy about that?

{28:53} 0671 because: we a:re(4)

{28:55} 0672 according to the numbers uh (4)

{28:57} 0673 that we saw? (2) h

{29:00} 0674 we reached: (4)

{29:01} 0675 completely? (4)

{29:02} 0676 different? (4)

{29:03} 0677 age? groups h

{29:05} 0678 and completely? NEW? people actually. (2) h

{29:08} 0679 and we were? pleased and we hope that it stays this way? (7) h

{29:11} 0680 that we could actually pass on that knowledge to more and more (2)

{29:15} 0681 uh: (4) NEW (2)

{29:16} 0682 people interestted °in °this °field.

{29:18} 0683 hhh /

{29:19} 0684 M h uhm: (4)

{29:21} 0685 L [yeah i forgot to: add here? (7) h]

{29:21} 0686 [and]

{29:24} 0687 uh: that:~? (4) two other h

{29:27} 0688 uh last? eeents (2) /

{29:29} 0689 uh: (4) of the year of the lusatian sorbs that are actually ending? now in may (2) h

{29:34} 0690 two thousand twenty oone (2) h

{29:36} 0691 uh: and (4)

{29:38} 0692 there is actually an exhibition here in the lliberec library? h

{29:42} 0693 lusatian sorbs: (4)

{29:43} 0694 unknown? neighbours (2)

{29:45} 0695 which we are actually organising in cooperation with 'uh: (4)

{29:47} 0696 the sorbian museum? in bautzen h

{30:28} 0697 L and anyWAY we managed (4) h

{30:31} 0698 uh: actually to make an agreement with the management of the regional gallery in liberec? h

{30:35} 0699 where there was: (4)

{30:36} 0700 in OCTOber

{30:37} 0701 an exhibition of the leading sorbian artist maja nagelová that was opened h

{30:43} 0702 uh which: (4) is called *na kkromje?* (2)

{30:46} 0703 °on the outskirts? h

{30:47} 0704 which is mainly devoted? to (4)

{30:49} 0705 the devastation of lusatia? by coal mining. h

{30:53} 0706 so the exhibition was open? for three days.

{30:55} 0707 in october h

{30:57} 0708 ((noise in the background))

{30:57} 0709 then one day in december (2) / h

{30:59} 0710 and we finally managed: (4)

{31:01} 0711 to agree? with the management? h

{31:02} 0712 to extend it (4)

{31:04} 0713 until the end? of mmay. (2) h

{31:06} 0714 and fortunately (2) h

{31:08} 0715 on the fourth of may? the ggalleries were open.

{31:11} 0716 to the public. H

{31:49} 0717 L uh without? without' uh without' uh: (4)

{31:52} 0718 financial? ssupport (2) uh: (4)

{31:54} 0719 we'd be: we would not have been able at aall to: (4)

{31:57} 0720 to organise this big event. our association is h

{32:00} 0721 a non profit (2) h

{32:02} 0722 uh: non OWNED activity' uh: °that (4)

{32:04} 0723 earns actually nno income from its own activities? h

{32:07} 0724 there are about ttwenty five people around? our association (2) h

{32:11} 0725 so: °uhm: (4)

{32:13} 0726 we have been supported? and rrepeatedly supported? (2) h

{32:17} 0727 uh: by: (4) the cultural fund

{32:19} 0728 of both the city of liberec. (2)

{32:21} 0729 and the liberec region. h

{32:23} 0730 but aalso by the czech german fund for the future (2)

{32:26} 0731 this is especially nnow the eexhibition in the gallery h

{32:30} 0732 and alSO? h

{32:32} 0733 and we also prepared as ppart of this {chuckles}

{32:36} 0734 together? (2) h

{32:37} 0735 with the sorbian mmuseum (2)

{32:39} 0736 a cczech version?

{32:41} 0737 of the children's guide. (2)

{32:43} 0738 that? uh' is? (4) in the museum in bautzen. h

{32:46} 0739 so actually? (4) h

{32:47} 0740 uh: it is a very entertaining guide for children? to go through history h

{32:54} 0741 uh: actually to go through hhistory (2) uh: buh of course (4)

{32:58} 0742 basically? of all this (4) h

{33:01} 0743 has been expanded everything? here in the eexhibition (2)

{33:03} 0744 so this is in an expanded? form of?

{33:06} 0745 actually audio video? h

{33:08} 0746 guides? h

{33:09} 0747 uh that they have? in bbautzen? which we just? translated with the support of the euroregion nisa h

{33:14} 0748 uh: (4) into czech. h

{33:16} 0749 so these? (11) h

{33:18} 0750 uh were the essential ones? and of course we ALSO had help h

{33:22} 0751 from lusatia? h

{33:23} 0752 whether it was: (4)

{33:24} 0753 through domowina:?

{33:26} 0754 or the foundation? for? h

{33:28} 0755 uh ssorbian people? h

{33:30} 0756 or for example: uh (4)

{33:32} 0757 with the help of the morbian museum ensemble? (7) h

{33:35} 0758 uh wwithout that it really uh: (4)

{33:37} 0759 °would °not °have °been °possible.

{33:57} 0760 L h uh: her: (4)

{33:59} 0761 because? it: °uh: (4)

{34:02} 0762 was directed? h

{34:03} 0763 mainly to our? region that is to say to lliberec and to the large cities' uh in the liberec region h

{34:10} 0764 so of course it was oriented? towards cczechs. (2) h

{34:13} 0765 uh: who are interests. (2) h

{34:15} 0766 and there is an interesting? shift. h

{34:18} 0767 at the beginning (4)

{34:20} 0768 uh: apart from the opening ceremony and the big concert. °there
°there was really a very WIDE spectrum h

{34:26} 0769 but

{34:27} 0770 at the beginning? of these eevents (4) h

{34:30} 0771 uh: it is the? oolder generation that participated.

{34:33} 0772 because? the older generation? h

{34:35} 0773 knows? about the °sorbs. h

{34:39} 0774 but gradually? /

{34:41} 0775 others started to join us?

{34:42} 0776 from the mmiddle generation.

{34:44} 0777 and i would say that now actually? in the final stage (4)

{34:47} 0778 and especially thanks to facebook? and and: (4)

{34:50} 0779 youtube streaming? the yyounger generation has also joined in. h

{34:54} 0780 and that makes us very? happy? (2) h

{34:56} 0781 because (4) we tried to make' uh (4)

{34:59} 0782 the shows h

{35:01} 0783 as broad:? uh:

{35:02} 0784 as possible.

{35:04} 0785 [so for example (7) h]

{35:04} 0786 [((noise in the background))]

{35:06} 0787 there was a cchildren's show (2)

{35:08} 0788 on krabat? but there was also an aadult film on krabat. h

{35:13} 0789 so we simply tried? h

{35:14} 0790 to include everybody.

{35:42} 0791 L {chuckles} h

{35:44} 0792 well it's? {chuckles} h

{35:46} 0793 i am laughing? but it is rather ssad. {chuckles} h

{35:49} 0794 uh i admit? uh:(4)

{35:51} 0795 that i?

{35:52} 0796 actually when we? found the name of the eexhibition (2) h

{35:57} 0797 so it? /

{35:59} 0798 uh it came to us? uh: (4)

{36:01} 0799 uh a few years ago' uh: uh: (4)

{36:03} 0800 actually we found it thanks to actually? a meeting (2) i will not
say' uh h

{36:08} 0801 which person it was? but it was a person who (4)

{36:11} 0802 was quite uh: ((clicks her tongue))

{36:13} 0803 important (2) h
{36:15} 0804 in public administration? h
{36:17} 0805 and
{36:18} 0806 uh when we? talked: (4)
{36:20} 0807 about the sorbs? he looked at us? and said WHO IS THAT?(2)
{36:24} 0808 / h
{36:26} 0809 and and that was? °that °was actually the impetus. (2) h
{36:29} 0810 because the distance? (2)
{36:32} 0811 is here: (4) really small.
{36:34} 0812 sixty kilometres? it is (4) closer than prague.
{36:37} 0813 to liberec. h
{36:38} 0814 and yet (2) h
{36:40} 0815 i dare say? (2)
{36:41} 0816 eighty eighty five? percent of people do not know.
{36:45} 0817 that a nation so close to us (2) so
{36:48} 0818 similar to us? and so close to us? h
{36:50} 0819 uh: (4) lives here. (2)
{36:51} 0820 that is why? (4)
{36:52} 0821 maybe? it was a bit provocative {chuckles}
{36:55} 0822 but h
{36:56} 0823 i think that uh: (4)
{36:58} 0824 the czechs are used to go to lusatia? for sport (2)
{37:01} 0825 and leisure activities. /
{37:03} 0826 they visit the lakes? (2) h
{37:05} 0827 uh: (4) they go there to rollerblade? (2) h
{37:07} 0828 but (4)
{37:09} 0829 the history (2)
{37:10} 0830 and the richness of the culture (2) h
{37:13} 0831 it was: (4) unknown to them.
{37:16} 0832 so i hope that we at least? a little bit
{37:18} 0833 have
{37:18} 0834 helped? to make it known.
{37:39} 0835 L uh: i:? do not know uh: (4)
{37:42} 0836 ja:? ja jak' uh: (4)
{37:44} 0837 if? you look at it from an official. point of view? h
{37:48} 0838 i know that h

{37:49} 0839 that the sorbs (4) h
 {37:51} 0840 have the statut /
 {37:53} 0841 of national? minority here. / h
 {37:55} 0842 i know:?' uh that there is an eeffort or °mmh
 {37:59} 0843 depend-? depending ON who is the head {chuckles} of the state (2)
 h
 {38:03} 0844 but more or less there is an effort? for to cooperate (2) h
 {38:06} 0845 with the sorbs? and support them. h
 {38:09} 0846 uh: i know that there is an eeffort? to send (4)
 {38:13} 0847 czech teachers uh (4) to lusatia? h
 {38:16} 0848 but the association společnost přátel lužice in prague? could
 certainly tell you much more about this. h
 {38:21} 0849 but? (4) /
 {38:23} 0850 ((clicks her tongue))
 {38:24} 0851 uh: (4)
 {38:25} 0852 i do not know? whether' our' :efforts? as czechs (4) are suffi-
 cient. h
 {38:31} 0853 because: (4)
 {38:33} 0854 at least from what i? have heard uh (4)
 {38:36} 0855 uh so' uh: (4)
 {38:37} 0856 far' uh for example there have been?: uh: (4)
 {38:40} 0857 quite? big (4) h
 {38:42} 0858 obstacles (2) h
 {38:44} 0859 put? (2)
 {38:45} 0860 for example in the way of czech (2) teachers? by germany.
 {38:48} 0861 when they wanted to h
 {38:50} 0862 they had big demands on them? (2)
 {38:52} 0863 not only that they should teach? czech or sorbian there but that
 they had to pass for example a state exam in ggerman? (2) and so
 on
 {38:59} 0864 and i? find that? (4)
 {39:01} 0865 a little bit demotivating. /
 {39:04} 0866 that on the one hand? there is this effort to hhelp (2) but on
 the other hand it is actually prevented? by a third h
 {39:09} 0867 party. (2)
 {39:11} 0868 °so
 {39:12} 0869 we will? ssee if that changes now {chuckles} °or °not (1)
 {39:40} 0870 °well (4) {chuckles}
 {39:41} 0871 /

{39:43} 0872 uh: (4)
{39:44} 0873 i do not know if:? uh: (4) /
{39:47} 0874 in general? it it is one thing to look at it? h
{39:51} 0875 from the pposition (2) of an ordinary citizen? h
{39:54} 0876 and another to look at it? from the position (4)
{39:58} 0877 of the state. °so °that °is °what we were talking about h
{40:00} 0878 and: i: i: (4)
{40:02} 0879 i think that? (4) / h
{40:04} 0880 there is a little bit? of a problem' uh: (4)
{40:07} 0881 with: (4) the czech mentality (2) h
{40:10} 0882 because: uh: (4)
{40:13} 0883 i think we are too- (4)
{40:14} 0884 focused on ourselves. h
{40:18} 0885 that: (4)
{40:19} 0886 we have a little bit? of a problem with perceiving (2)
{40:22} 0887 something? different in general. (2) h
{40:25} 0888 but at the same time the sorbs? are not different (2)
{40:28} 0889 uh: at the same time those sorbs are not (2) h
{40:30} 0890 uh: our
{40:31} 0891 enemies. (2) / h
{40:33} 0892 on the contrary (2)
{40:34} 0893 uh: we are very? close to each other and (2) h
{40:37} 0894 and i think? that: uh: (4)
{40:39} 0895 /
{40:41} 0896 that it can? be (4) it COULD be
{40:42} 0897 for us (2) kind of: (4) /
{40:46} 0898 an example of (4)
{40:48} 0899 ((noise of a sheet being crumpled))
{40:49} 0900 how actually: it could have turned out: (4)
{40:52} 0901 our? development (2) h
{40:54} 0902 uh: if we' uh: had not been lucky enough (4) / h
{40:58} 0903 to create? an independent state / h
{41:02} 0904 uh: (4) i know that there were? aattempts here. h
{41:04} 0905 to:? make: uh (4) lusatia for example part of the cczech state.
(2) after the first world war or after the second world war h
{41:14} 0906 but: (4)

{41:14} 0907 it is strange:? (4) h

{41:15} 0908 that when you ask? the sorbs

{41:18} 0909 what they think about this? (2) h

{41:20} 0910 they say? h

{41:22} 0911 well if WE (2)

{41:23} 0912 were in a common? state (2)

{41:25} 0913 we would? not exist today.

{41:27} 0914 we would not be? (4)

{41:29} 0915 because? THE (2) /

{41:31} 0916 the slavs? are so cclose to each other (2) h

{41:33} 0917 that we would have actually merged? with you by now. h

{41:37} 0918 so:? (4)

{41:38} 0919 they on the other hand see:? (2)

{41:39} 0920 actually in the fact that they live? (2) in the middle h

{41:43} 0921 of germany they see it actually? h

{41:46} 0922 uh as a plus that they can? actually (4)

{41:49} 0923 [uh: (4) develop further and that they can actually still? keep their traditions (2) h]

{41:49} 0924 [((noise made by an ambulance))]

{41:54} 0925 uh: and and actually carry the culture? forward.

{42:16} 0926 L h well we have actually? talked about that too (2)

{42:20} 0927 i think that the cczech republic makes an eeffort to help? REALLY (2) h

{42:25} 0928 uh: (4)

{42:25} 0929 ale (2) /

{42:27} 0930 if if there is an oobstacle not only from the sorbian side? but also from the german side (2) h

{42:33} 0931 then it is very? difficult. (2) h

{42:35} 0932 but: uh: (4)

{42:36} 0933 it it: °uh: (4)

{42:37} 0934 that?'uh does not ddepend? on these international relations so i think h

{42:43} 0935 that it is precisely the kind? of activity (2)

{42:44} 0936 that? (4)

{42:45} 0937 that we are trying to develop? h

{42:47} 0938 ((noise in the background))

{42:48} 0939 just to spread the aawareness about the sorbs all the time? (2)

{42:52} 0940 to to simply: (4)

{42:54} 0941 so so that at least tthose who are interested in it? (2) h
{42:58} 0942 are aware of the uh: situation (2)
{42:60} 0943 and that actually in some way (7) h
{43:02} 0944 uh the action continues (2)

Annex XXIII Interview Transcription P

{01:49} 0001 P ok i'm p? i'm from pprague /
{01:53} 0002 h i'm twenty six: years old and i: study {chuckles}
{01:58} 0003 i study hhungarian language and literature. /
{02:02} 0004 bbut: uh:
{02:03} 0005 as a side: (11) uh
{02:05} 0006 side study i think? i have sorbian llanguage h
{02:10} 0007 and sorbian history. and i studied to work for one yyear in lleipzig?
{02:15} 0008 uh *sorabistik* /
{02:17} 0009 yeah h and: i'm: /
{02:20} 0010 actually i'm nnow
{02:22} 0011 wworking in a book shop BUT as: a volunteer? /
{02:27} 0012 i'm: here in the lusatian (4) seminar /
{02:31} 0013 *lausitzer seminar* uhm /
{02:33} 0014 in german /
{02:35} 0015 and: here is the society of
{02:37} 0016 the friends of lusatia.
{02:39} 0017 h and here i i don't work here i just work here because /
{02:44} 0018 we aall are volunteering {laughs}
{02:48} 0019 i- it's not paid {chuckles} (M - chuckles) it's °just uh
{02:51} 0020 yeah {chuckles}
{03:09} 0021 P h i speak upper sorbian? and llower sorbian ttoo
{03:13} 0022 because i learned it uh in leipzig.
{03:16} 0023 uh: but i i'm not /
{03:19} 0024 mmhr related to (4) to sorbs or so (9)
{03:23} 0025 uh it's just uh (4)
{03:24} 0026 an interest? h
{03:26} 0027 and: (4) / yeah (6)
{03:28} 0028 ppart of: my studies h
{03:31} 0029 and: / uhm
{03:33} 0030 ii've been to lusatia for (4)
{03:35} 0031 °i don't know

{03:36} 0032 twenty times or (11) so?
{03:39} 0033 so
{03:40} 0034 not NOW in in corona? {chuckles}
{03:42} 0035 but uh (4) /
{03:44} 0036 yeah earlier (4)
{03:46} 0037 i've been to lusatia: (4)
{03:47} 0038 like every two mmonths or so h
{03:50} 0039 °to (4) / yeah (6)
{03:51} 0040 (M- ok wow) i have
{03:53} 0041 lot of ffriends tthere /
{03:54} 0042 °too {chuckles}
{04:02} 0043 P at the university. /
{04:05} 0044 because / uh
{04:06} 0045 i study at a (11)
{04:07} 0046 philosophic- NO °it's
{04:09} 0047 faculty of aarts in english? actually h
{04:12} 0048 and: uh /
{04:14} 0049 my study (11) /
{04:16} 0050 uh it's (4)
{04:18} 0051 like uh (4) middle european sstudies?
{04:21} 0052 it's the name h
{04:22} 0053 and uh (4) /
{04:24} 0054 uhm (4) /
{04:26} 0055 the: (4)
{04:26} 0056 the llanguage that i'm (4) /
{04:28} 0057 especially ddoing? is hungarian.
{04:31} 0058 BUT i have also / mmh
{04:34} 0059 ppolish (4) language and slovak and so?
{04:38} 0060 history and just the (4) the context and uhm /
{04:42} 0061 the aarea of these h
{04:45} 0062 mmh sstates
{04:47} 0063 and (4) /
{04:47} 0064 germany too.
{04:48} 0065 and tthat's why h
{04:50} 0066 i (4) /
{04:51} 0067 i found: (4)

{04:52} 0068 Lusatia? and uh sorbs
 {04:55} 0069 and this: this topic /
 {04:58} 0070 when I started to study h
 {05:00} 0071 when I started sstudying °in bachelor h
 {05:03} 0072 on this.
 {05:04} 0073 M ok so you can llearn uh lusatian at prague's university?
 {05:09} 0074 P [uhm: no no yes (6)]
 {05:09} 0075 [or you had to go to leipzig (8)]
 {05:12} 0076 now yes (6)
 {05:13} 0077 but: uh earlier it wasn't / uh:
 {05:17} 0078 it wasn't just
 {05:18} 0079 ((noise of a falling object))
 {05:20} 0080 °sorry {chuckles} (M - it's ok) uh
 {05:23} 0081 yeah there- there wasn't (4)
 {05:24} 0082 the uh (4) the lecturer.
 {05:26} 0083 P [tthe teacher h]
 {05:26} 0084 M [ok]
 {05:28} 0085 but: nnow we have one
 {05:31} 0086 ssorb that teaches
 {05:33} 0087 uh: (4) upper sorbian /
 {05:36} 0088 in prag h
 {05:37} 0089 but
 {05:38} 0090 nnow it's only for ttwo years I think /
 {05:41} 0091 h so /
 {05:43} 0092 °yeah BUT there was a:? (4)
 {05:45} 0093 there was a:
 {05:46} 0094 a lesson (4) less- some lessons about uh lusatian history /
 {05:51} 0095 and that's /
 {05:52} 0096 the reason why I:
 {05:54} 0097 °just ffound it and sstudied it h
 {05:57} 0098 and then uh
 {05:58} 0099 then i ffound out that
 {06:01} 0100 uhm:
 {06:02} 0101 you can sstudy it in leipzig? h
 {06:05} 0102 and that it's /
 {06:06} 0103 really eeasy for

{06:08} 0104 cczechs / to go there and study h
 {06:11} 0105 zorbian
 {06:12} 0106 so /
 {06:13} 0107 yeah {chuckles}
 {06:14} 0108 M okay h
 {06:15} 0109 and may i ask are you uh:
 {06:18} 0110 a lot?
 {06:19} 0111 in your: in your studies to:
 {06:21} 0112 to learn ssorbian? or do you feel it was more like h
 {06:24} 0113 just a few persons (8)
 {06:26} 0114 P / / uh i don't think
 {06:30} 0115 that i understand cclearly (4)
 {06:32} 0116 the question sorry {smiles} h
 {06:34} 0117 M NO it's ok uhm:
 {06:35} 0118 i'm just asking if uhm:
 {06:38} 0119 other per- persons from your university are studying ssorbian
 {06:41} 0120 and: (4) if yes if uh there are many peo- persons? or it's just
 i don't know h
 {06:46} 0121 uh: few persons.
 {06:49} 0122 P hin hin h
 {06:50} 0123 uh (4) h
 {06:52} 0124 nnow i think that in the czech republic? /
 {06:55} 0125 there is:(4)
 {06:57} 0126 like: /
 {06:59} 0127 fifty persons? /
 {07:01} 0128 that can sspeak
 {07:02} 0129 zorbian.
 {07:04} 0130 uupper sorbian. /
 {07:06} 0131 yeah (6) because lower sorbian is not so ddifficult for czechs
 or
 {07:09} 0132 ok h
 {07:10} 0133 lower sorbian
 {07:11} 0134 is: not (4)
 {07:12} 0135 so alive. {chuckles} now h
 {07:15} 0136 so: it's really hard to:
 {07:16} 0137 to learn it? /
 {07:17} 0138 ((clears her throat))

{07:18} 0139 from /
 {07:19} 0140 ssorbs h
 {07:20} 0141 but: upper lo- upper sorbian (4)
 {07:22} 0142 is better.
 {07:24} 0143 the situation-
 {07:24} 0144 the situation is bbetter h
 {07:26} 0145 so: (4) /
 {07:27} 0146 we have (7) /
 {07:28} 0147 some people here but:
 {07:30} 0148 mainly? (4) /
 {07:31} 0149 it's oolder people.
 {07:33} 0150 ((clicks her tongue))
 {07:34} 0151 it's like uhm: (4)
 {07:37} 0152 sixty seventy years oold people? /
 {07:40} 0153 who knew:
 {07:42} 0154 uh sorbs /
 {07:44} 0155 which: (4) emigrated?
 {07:46} 0156 in cczechoslovakia? and they were friends and they h
 {07:50} 0157 learned it.
 {07:51} 0158 but: uh: (4)
 {07:52} 0159 young people? like students
 {07:55} 0160 P [it's not so °lot of us.]
 {07:55} 0161 M [((noise of a microsoft teams notification))]
 {07:57} 0162 P i think /
 {07:58} 0163 students (4)
 {07:59} 0164 we have in in pprag we have like
 {08:02} 0165 ten or ffifteen students that: (4)
 {08:05} 0166 learned
 {08:07} 0167 upper sorbian
 {08:08} 0168 i don't know °what the quality is {chuckles}
 {08:12} 0169 but: uh:
 {08:13} 0170 yeah (6) h /
 {08:15} 0171 in: (4)
 {08:16} 0172 brno? i think it's like ten people.
 {08:19} 0173 like students yyoung people ok (8)
 {08:48} 0174 P mmh: what i kknow. is that a lot of czech people? /

{08:52} 0175 know:?
 {08:53} 0176 that lusatia? was
 {08:56} 0177 ppart of czech kkingdom: in the
 {08:58} 0178 [((engine noise))]
 {08:58} 0179 [ffifteen century like really really (2)]
 {09:01} 0180 {chuckles} h in the history. it was /
 {09:04} 0181 part of cczech ccrown /
 {09:07} 0182 bbecause we learned it in: the:
 {09:10} 0183 school (11) like kids.
 {09:12} 0184 it's jjust a fact
 {09:14} 0185 bbut: / uhm: (4)
 {09:17} 0186 [((noise of a microsoft teams notification))]
 {09:17} 0187 [the ssituation of sorbs nnow /]
 {09:19} 0188 in germany / h
 {09:21} 0189 uh: (4) it's like unknown
 {09:23} 0190 for people here h
 {09:26} 0191 there are some: (4)
 {09:27} 0192 informations
 {09:28} 0193 llittle informations in nnewspaper or something like that like
 uh: (4) /
 {09:34} 0194 ethnological or
 {09:36} 0195 a ffolklore and so?
 {09:38} 0196 like iinteresting nnice h
 {09:41} 0197 yeah? (8) {smiles}
 {09:42} 0198 but: uh (4) when you aask people
 {09:45} 0199 on the streets about sorbs
 {09:47} 0200 like do you know sorbs (9) do you know where Lusatia is or /
 {09:51} 0201 tthat they are slav slaves and they speak
 {09:54} 0202 slavic language (7) h
 {09:55} 0203 it's like oh really (9) {chuckles}
 {09:57} 0204 °i didn't kknow that h
 {09:58} 0205 so (4) /
 {09:60} 0206 yeah {chuckles} h
 {10:02} 0207 and that's that's why we have the society here.
 {10:05} 0208 that' uh wwe: (4) work to /
 {10:07} 0209 make /

{10:09} 0210 lusatia more popular °in the czech republic /
 {10:12} 0211 h so °yeah {chuckles}
 {10:42} 0212 P ((coughs)) mmh (4) /
 {10:45} 0213 i've been there {chuckles}
 {10:47} 0214 uh: i've been to uhm
 {10:50} 0215 lower lusatia?
 {10:52} 0216 i've been to (4)
 {10:54} 0217 cottbus? the centre of lower sorbs
 {10:58} 0218 and (4) /
 {10:60} 0219 °and i've talken to /
 {11:03} 0220 ten /
 {11:05} 0221 people
 {11:06} 0222 that really /
 {11:07} 0223 can speal lower sorbian.
 {11:10} 0224 and i i'm afraid that tthese ten people
 {11:12} 0225 are the only 10 people in °cottbus /
 {11:17} 0226 that actually CAN speak.
 {11:19} 0227 uhm: (4) /
 {11:20} 0228 ((clicks her tongue)) but hhh
 {11:23} 0229 uh h i would i say (4) {chuckles}
 {11:26} 0230 oofficial situation that is described: bby
 {11:30} 0231 ppoliticians and uh (4)
 {11:32} 0232 wikipedia {chuckles}
 {11:34} 0233 like the nnumbers of sspeakers
 {11:37} 0234 who / uhm (4)
 {11:38} 0235 can actively uuse the language h /
 {11:42} 0236 what is ddescribed is
 {11:44} 0237 really (4) /
 {11:45} 0238 like / °mmh (4) ((clicks her tongue)) /
 {11:48} 0239 rreally really (2) good bbut
 {11:50} 0240 in reality it's: worse
 {11:53} 0241 ok (8)
 {11:55} 0242 it's like uhm:
 {11:56} 0243 when they ccount speakers?
 {11:59} 0244 ((clicks her tongue)) they ask
 {12:00} 0245 ccan you speak

{12:02} 0246 ssorbian.
 {12:03} 0247 and they say
 {12:04} 0248 *hhaj*
 {12:05} 0249 {chuckles}
 {12:06} 0250 like yyes {chuckles}
 {12:08} 0251 uhm: i can describe my nname my family my house and that's it /
 {12:13} 0252 so: it's not
 {12:14} 0253 actually the kknowledge of language ((clicks her tongue)) ok (8)
 {12:18} 0254 but they count like YES we can speak sorbian so:
 {12:21} 0255 we can h
 {12:22} 0256 have: bigger (4)
 {12:25} 0257 numbers of sorbs °ok h
 {12:28} 0258 but when you (7)
 {12:29} 0259 uh when you go to lusatia (9) and when you go to /
 {12:33} 0260 uhm: / the: (4)
 {12:36} 0261 ((clicks her tongue)) community (9) and when you (7)
 {12:38} 0262 ttalk to to serbs sorbs /
 {12:40} 0263 it's really hhard to
 {12:42} 0264 sspeak sorbian because you don't have the sspeaker on the other
 side ok (2) {chuckles} h
 {12:49} 0265 uhm: /
 {12:50} 0266 yeah (6) so (4)
 {12:52} 0267 ((clicks her tongue)) uh: u- upper sorbian is
 {12:55} 0268 really (4)
 {12:56} 0269 bbetter
 {12:57} 0270 than llower sorbian /
 {12:58} 0271 but
 {12:59} 0272 in bautzen (9) for example
 {13:01} 0273 bautzen is like the ccentre of upper sorbian?
 {13:04} 0274 uh of: upper sorbs h
 {13:06} 0275 but /
 {13:08} 0276 you can speak sorbian (4)
 {13:10} 0277 just: in the (4) h
 {13:11} 0278 house of sorbs
 {13:13} 0279 like where the domowina is: (4)
 {13:16} 0280 situated h

{13:17} 0281 °and that's all.
 {13:19} 0282 mmaybe in museum? (4)
 {13:20} 0283 but it's: not with all of them? (4) h
 {13:23} 0284 and mmaybe in theater?
 {13:25} 0285 bbut it's really hhard to (4)
 {13:28} 0286 mmh: (4)
 {13:29} 0287 to ffind someone °who can speak °ok h
 {13:33} 0288 so: (4) /
 {13:34} 0289 that's it (7) {chuckles} h
 {13:36} 0290 i don't know if if (7) this: (4)
 {13:37} 0291 explanation is is ok (8) {chuckles}
 {13:56} 0292 P yeah it's interesting that uhm:
 {13:58} 0293 you have sorbs there
 {13:59} 0294 but: for them is: hhard to: (4)
 {14:03} 0295 know who?
 {14:04} 0296 the other sorb is. h
 {14:06} 0297 ((clicks her tongue)) for example when you (7)
 {14:08} 0298 uh:
 {14:09} 0299 when you go to a shop? /
 {14:10} 0300 ((clicks her tongue)) and: there is the /
 {14:14} 0301 ((clicks her tongue)) °yeah °the seller of the shop ok h
 {14:19} 0302 you can ssay uh *dobry dzień* /
 {14:22} 0303 BUT you don't know if he understands
 {14:24} 0304 SO it's easier to say *guten tag* h
 {14:28} 0305 and he ALSO says *guten tag* and then /
 {14:31} 0306 none of (4) /
 {14:33} 0307 you know
 {14:35} 0308 tthat you are ssorbs or uh that you can sspeak actually
 {14:39} 0309 sorbian ok (8) h
 {14:41} 0310 so everybody sspeaks german? because it's easier h
 {14:45} 0311 and: (4) ((sniffles))
 {14:46} 0312 that's the problem.
 {14:48} 0313 i think. h ok (8)
 {15:12} 0314 P ((clicks her tongue)) so: (4) h
 {15:13} 0315 uhm: (4)
 {15:15} 0316 the: (4) society or association?

{15:18} 0317 is /
{15:19} 0318 more than (4) one hundred years oold.
{15:23} 0319 but: uh
{15:24} 0320 it was ddissolved
{15:26} 0321 by nazis? and then by communists so /
{15:29} 0322 yeah the history is: /
{15:32} 0323 a little bit bbad for us {smiles}
{15:34} 0324 but now: uh: (4)
{15:36} 0325 the nnew /
{15:38} 0326 uh: society
{15:40} 0327 was born (4)
{15:42} 0328 i think nineteen ninety /
{15:45} 0329 °or nineteen ninety three i'm not sure because
{15:48} 0330 there were TWO
{15:49} 0331 s- sl- associations?
{15:51} 0332 czech
{15:53} 0333 and they just uhm:
{15:55} 0334 P [joined ((clicks her tongue)) °yeah]
{15:55} 0335 M [ok.]
{15:57} 0336 P [in the nineteen nineties: yeah {chuckles}]
{15:57} 0337 M [{smiles}]
{16:00} 0338 P but nnow uh:
{16:02} 0339 we are more active (4) /
{16:04} 0340 i tthink that we are more active in
{16:07} 0341 politics: and literature h
{16:10} 0342 and the activities are: more: (4)
{16:12} 0343 ((clicks her tongue)) °uh like for (4) /
{16:15} 0344 for mmore people than earlier. ((clicks her tongue))
{16:18} 0345 because:
{16:19} 0346 uh: we are translating?
{16:21} 0347 literature: (9)
{16:22} 0348 from sorbian? and from
{16:24} 0349 german / too /
{16:26} 0350 uh: / we: (4)
{16:29} 0351 we are doing some (4)
{16:31} 0352 like travelling? /

{16:32} 0353 °or ((clicks her tongue)) i don't know how to say it h
 {16:35} 0354 uhm: / mmh: /
 {16:39} 0355 we are TAKING czech people to lusatia {smiles} h
 {16:42} 0356 tto uh: / /
 {16:46} 0357 tteach them that lusatia (9) is really nnear to us
 {16:50} 0358 and that sorbs (4) are really like bbrothers.
 {16:54} 0359 we have (7) this brotherhood with slovaks? but {chuckles} sorbs
 are
 {16:59} 0360 something like that too °so {smiles} h
 {17:01} 0361 yeah (6) and:
 {17:03} 0362 also we have the library °here
 {17:05} 0363 that is really oold (2)
 {17:07} 0364 from (4) eighteen century? h
 {17:10} 0365 and: that's the (4) bbiggest
 {17:12} 0366 sorbian library in: world (2)
 {17:15} 0367 out of lusatia h
 {17:17} 0368 so (4) /
 {17:18} 0369 'ts:
 {17:20} 0370 important for us? {chuckles}
 {17:22} 0371 °for sorbs too {smiles} h
 {17:23} 0372 and: (4) /
 {17:26} 0373 mmh yeah. ((clicks her tongue)) /
 {17:28} 0374 M ((clicks her tongue)) and uhm: (4)
 {17:30} 0375 those activities that you are doing?
 {17:32} 0376 iit's mmainly for people (4)
 {17:35} 0377 around prague?
 {17:37} 0378 or it is uh: more for the all czech republic (8) /
 {17:40} 0379 your public is /
 {17:41} 0380 ((unintelligible)) here (8)
 {17:44} 0381 P we're ttrying? to do it for: (4)
 {17:47} 0382 people (4)
 {17:49} 0383 outside of prague too {chuckles}
 {17:51} 0384 uh: this like when mmh:
 {17:53} 0385 for example (7) in liberec /
 {17:56} 0386 is uh: (4) uhm (7) /
 {17:58} 0387 llittle bit /

{17:60} 0388 bigger community? h
 {18:02} 0389 of: uhm: (4)
 {18:03} 0390 lusatian friends or °something like that h
 {18:06} 0391 and uh: they have (4)
 {18:08} 0392 some: (4) ((clicks her tongue))
 {18:10} 0393 uh: pfff: they have some (4) /
 {18:14} 0394 yeah {chuckles}
 {18:15} 0395 uhm: /
 {18:18} 0396 sorry i don't know now {chuckles}
 {18:20} 0397 how to say in english (1)
 {18:21} 0398 M you can say it in czech too (9) /
 {18:24} 0399 P [*výstavy*? /]
 {18:24} 0400 [°it's is no problem]
 {18:26} 0401 *výstavy oobrazů* /
 {18:29} 0402 like a (4) gallery but
 {18:31} 0403 temporary ok (8) h
 {18:33} 0404 and uh: /
 {18:35} 0405 *přednášky* (4)
 {18:37} 0406 M i think it's (7)
 {18:38} 0407 yeah exhibition (8)
 {18:39} 0408 P [YEAH (6) exhibition]
 {18:39} 0409 [° that's what you wanted to say i think YEAH ok (6)]
 {18:42} 0410 yeah / yeah (6)
 {18:44} 0411 and: uhm
 {18:46} 0412 we can support it from prague
 {18:48} 0413 that we can go there
 {18:50} 0414 and say something new (9) or:
 {18:53} 0415 bring some books and so and °so. h
 {18:55} 0416 so /
 {18:55} 0417 we are supporting people in other cities
 {18:58} 0418 to: uhm:
 {19:00} 0419 make lusatia more (4) /
 {19:03} 0420 known /
 {19:05} 0421 °within new people h ((clicks her tongue))
 {19:07} 0422 but yeah (6) the centre for us is prague /
 {19:10} 0423 because we have: (4)

{19:12} 0424 the house here.
{19:13} 0425 we have the seminar. /
{19:15} 0426 and library' °and (4)
{19:17} 0427 that's because (7)
{19:18} 0428 th- that's wwhy we are h
{19:20} 0429 here situated? but in brno f:- for example we have
{19:24} 0430 uhm: (4) h
{19:25} 0431 aalso our (4) /
{19:27} 0432 people? {chuckles} h
{19:29} 0433 like supporters and (4) /
{19:31} 0434 yeah. h
{19:33} 0435 uh: at the university too (7) /
{19:35} 0436 uhm: yeah it's: like (4)
{19:38} 0437 it's cconnected (2) and: uh: (4) we have some slovaks too (9)
{19:42} 0438 in bratislava: (4) or
{19:44} 0439 košice /
{19:45} 0440 so: (4) yeah h
{19:47} 0441 and we are making uh: (4)
{19:50} 0442 °this °uhm {chuckles} h
{19:52} 0443 uh: periodical? /
{19:55} 0444 P [you understand (8) /]
{19:55} 0445 M [ok]
{19:56} 0446 yeah (8)
{19:57} 0447 M yeah (6)
{19:58} 0448 P it's not-
{19:59} 0449 it's NOT newspaper it's just /
{20:01} 0450 uh: (4) /
{20:03} 0451 yeah (6) / {chuckles}
{20:07} 0452 ()
{20:11} 0453 {chuckles}
{20:11} 0454 M i- i know what you mean {chuckles}
{20:13} 0455 P yeah {chuckles}
{20:15} 0456 sorry sorry i just? h
{20:16} 0457 for (4) really long time
{20:18} 0458 i haven't (4) sspoken english so {chuckles} h
{20:22} 0459 it's /

{20:24} 0460 M [it-]
{20:24} 0461 P [a little bit hard for me °but ok {smiles}]
{20:50} 0462 P yeah ((clicks her tongue)) h
{20:51} 0463 uhm: / ((clicks her tongue))
{20:52} 0464 every (4) yyear
{20:55} 0465 we can get some money from (4)
{20:57} 0466 pprague
{20:58} 0467 for our cultural eevents or so h
{21:02} 0468 and: also we have (4)
{21:04} 0469 uh: some money ffrom (4) /
{21:07} 0470 the: minister (11) of culture °i °think
{21:11} 0471 it's: in english (4)
{21:13} 0472 yeah (6) mmh: minister
{21:15} 0473 ministry of- °or °something °like °that
{21:16} 0474 ministry °for °culture. (7) h
{21:19} 0475 uhm:
{21:20} 0476 bbecause there are some
{21:21} 0477 °mmh /
{21:24} 0478 friends?
{21:25} 0479 °i °don't °know °now (7)
{21:26} 0480 friends? h
{21:27} 0481 for these minority projects and: /
{21:30} 0482 minority: (4)
{21:32} 0483 ((clicks her tongue)) uh supporting h
{21:34} 0484 and so and so h
{21:36} 0485 so: (4) yeah. (6)
{21:37} 0486 but it's oonly for: culture and for eevents and: exhibition and
so
{21:44} 0487 bbut our problem for example is
{21:46} 0488 this hhouse? because it needs money too h
{21:51} 0489 uh: and this money we (4)
{21:54} 0490 have only from our: (4)
{21:56} 0491 supporters.
{21:58} 0492 like /
{21:59} 0493 ggifts h
{22:01} 0494 and so {chuckles} h

{22:02} 0495 so it's hard to {smiles} °to (4) /
 {22:05} 0496 like (9) °mmh (4) /
 {22:08} 0497 ffaction all these h
 {22:12} 0498 and: (4) / yeah (6) {chuckles}
 {22:14} 0499 but we have some support from a- authorities too h
 {22:17} 0500 and: uh: (4) we have also
 {22:19} 0501 some support ffrom:
 {22:21} 0502 politicians? h
 {22:23} 0503 senators (4) or so who can /
 {22:27} 0504 jjust /
 {22:28} 0505 speak up for us and: uh:
 {22:31} 0506 say something there and there (2) h
 {22:34} 0507 and that /
 {22:35} 0508 yeah we are /
 {22:37} 0509 better known? {chuckles} h
 {22:39} 0510 in these- (7)
 {22:40} 0511 in ssections so (4) h
 {23:08} 0512 P [OUH {chuckles}]
 {23:08} 0513 M [{chuckles}]
 {23:10} 0514 P uhm: /
 {23:13} 0515 nnow? /
 {23:14} 0516 these relations are (4) /
 {23:17} 0517 only ccultural.
 {23:19} 0518 not not political or so? /
 {23:22} 0519 mmh: (4) because lusatia is ppert of germany.
 {23:25} 0520 so: (4) /
 {23:28} 0521 mainly: these (4)
 {23:30} 0522 ccontacts are (4) /
 {23:32} 0523 czech german.
 {23:33} 0524 not czech sorbs. h
 {23:36} 0525 uhm: BUT
 {23:37} 0526 we have
 {23:39} 0527 some in:- (4) ((clicks her tongue)) /
 {23:41} 0528 uhm (4) ok (6) from the other side {chuckles} h
 {23:44} 0529 ffor example.
 {23:45} 0530 uh: we are planning (4)

{23:47} 0531 an exhibition? on the prague castle? /
 {23:50} 0532 ((clicks her tongue)) uh /
 {23:52} 0533 yes some- some pictures °or bbooks and
 {23:54} 0534 just cculture
 {23:56} 0535 yeah (6) h
 {23:58} 0536 and: (4) /
 {23:60} 0537 mmmain- (4)
 {24:01} 0538 main people? who are doing this are °the prague castle and do-
 mowina
 {24:06} 0539 the lusatian sorbs h
 {24:08} 0540 and serbsky muzej?
 {24:10} 0541 the- the museum (7)
 {24:11} 0542 in bautzen ((clicks her tongue)) h
 {24:12} 0543 BUT the problem is that
 {24:14} 0544 they ccan't communicate?
 {24:16} 0545 just tthese: people?
 {24:18} 0546 uh: they hhave to. h
 {24:21} 0547 uh they have to: be:(4)
 {24:23} 0548 ((clicks her tongue)) like supported? by: the: (4)
 {24:27} 0549 *sächsisches ministerium* /
 {24:30} 0550 ok (8) from culture. h
 {24:32} 0551 and that's the problem (7) because
 {24:34} 0552 the ggermans? are eeveywhere in these: uh contacts ok (8) h
 {24:40} 0553 uhm: (4) /
 {24:42} 0554 OR
 {24:44} 0555 other example
 {24:45} 0556 we are: uh (4) reconstructing? some uh (4) damaged bbooks in our
 library. h
 {24:51} 0557 and: we have uh: ssome (4)
 {24:53} 0558 money support? ffrom
 {24:55} 0559 ssorbs h
 {24:56} 0560 but it's not
 {24:58} 0561 from the ssorbs is- it's from:
 {25:00} 0562 ((clicks her tongue)) ggermany. h
 {25:02} 0563 like: officially {chuckles} h
 {25:04} 0564 and that's it. ok (8)
 {25:06} 0565 °the ccontacts

{25:08} 0566 mmh relations between sorbs and czech republic? h
 {25:12} 0567 like: in the official things or (4) /
 {25:16} 0568 politics or so? h
 {25:18} 0569 it's all
 {25:19} 0570 uhm: /
 {25:21} 0571 influenced?
 {25:23} 0572 bby: (4) germans. /
 {25:25} 0573 so (4) /
 {25:26} 0574 yeah. (6)
 {25:27} 0575 i think that that's the main thing h
 {25:30} 0576 that' uh everything is
 {25:32} 0577 bureaucratic? and: everything is under the german law h
 {25:36} 0578 and sorbs can't actually do (4)
 {25:41} 0579 any: (4) ((clicks her tongue)) /
 {25:43} 0580 °uhm:
 {25:44} 0581 they they can't MAKE any:
 {25:47} 0582 official relation.
 {25:49} 0583 °to °us.
 {25:49} 0584 without germans ok (8) {chuckles} h
 {25:53} 0585 but but (9)
 {25:54} 0586 it's is: (4) h
 {25:55} 0587 everything is just uh: cultural it's not politics °it-
 {25:59} 0588 yeah (6) we have some czechs {chuckles} °for °example yes (7)
 {26:03} 0589 we have some czechs that h
 {26:05} 0590 want to: (4)
 {26:06} 0591 annex? {chuckles} lusatia?
 {26:08} 0592 back to: (1)
 {26:09} 0593 czech republic? °or back to ok (8) h
 {26:12} 0594 it's like they are (4) /
 {26:14} 0595 uh: they are: talking about the czech crown in the fifteenth
 century °but
 {26:19} 0596 yeah h
 {26:21} 0597 but: it's just few of them {chuckles} h
 {26:25} 0598 and that's the only politics that we have here
 {26:27} 0599 about these
 {26:28} 0600 relations (1) h

{26:30} 0601 °yeah (6) {chuckles}

{26:32} 0602 M ok: h

{26:33} 0603 uhm: ((clicks her tongue))

{26:34} 0604 and so YES do you think that uh: / (4)

{26:37} 0605 ((clicks her tongue)) in that sense because i'm trying to: h

{26:41} 0606 to understand? and to see if uh:

{26:43} 0607 czech republic? could

{26:44} 0608 hhelp maintain sorbian identity?

{26:48} 0609 but: uh: i tthink if i understood correctly your aanswers

{26:52} 0610 the ffact that

{26:53} 0611 uh there is only: (4)

{26:54} 0612 cultural relationships? h

{26:57} 0613 uhm: it (11) is kind of a problem for this because there would need to be maybe more political relationships? h

{27:03} 0614 would you maybe ssay that (8)

{27:05} 0615 P /

{27:08} 0616 mmh (4) i'm afraid that /

{27:10} 0617 nnow /

{27:11} 0618 it's too llate.

{27:13} 0619 to have these: h

{27:14} 0620 °relations.

{27:16} 0621 because: uhm: (4)

{27:18} 0622 ((clicks her tongue)) sorbs (4)

{27:19} 0623 aare actively losing

{27:21} 0624 their identity?

{27:24} 0625 and: they are doing it (4) /

{27:26} 0626 uhm:

{27:28} 0627 like because it's e easier. h

{27:30} 0628 for example (4) the czech language? and upper sorbian h ((clicks her tongue))

{27:35} 0629 are: / mmh really (4)

{27:38} 0630 similar.

{27:39} 0631 the HARD thing is that sorbs h

{27:43} 0632 have (4)

{27:44} 0633 really sstrong german accent. °ok (8)

{27:47} 0634 it's: slav language?

{27:49} 0635 °or slavic language? h

{27:50} 0636 BUT with german accent.
{27:51} 0637 aand when
{27:52} 0638 you have
{27:53} 0639 czech people? and sorbs that are communicating together h
{27:58} 0640 they are communicating in german /
{28:01} 0641 because for them it's easier.
{28:03} 0642 to understand /
{28:05} 0643 ok (8) h
{28:07} 0644 and tthis the problem (7)
{28:08} 0645 i think
{28:09} 0646 that they are losing their identity
{28:11} 0647 because they can? (2)
{28:13} 0648 talk to czechs
{28:15} 0649 in upper sorbian. /
{28:17} 0650 ((clicks her tongue)) it's just
{28:18} 0651 they don't want? to. /
{28:20} 0652 or:
{28:21} 0653 when you have uh political session?
{28:24} 0654 in bautzen? for example h
{28:26} 0655 and you have ten politicians there?
{28:29} 0656 and ONE of them is german. and the rest of them is sorbian
{28:35} 0657 but all of them are speaking in german.
{28:38} 0658 because?
{28:39} 0659 the ONE german person here (12) h
{28:42} 0660 wouldn't understand? if they would speak in sorbian °ok (8)
{28:46} 0661 so: (4)
{28:47} 0662 all (4)
{28:48} 0663 the political sessions are in german(2)
{28:50} 0664 °because it's easier
{28:52} 0665 that's why i are they h
{28:54} 0666 losing their identity h
{28:56} 0667 aand:
{28:57} 0668 the czech part /
{28:59} 0669 here
{28:60} 0670 uh says: (4) or
{29:02} 0671 ((clicks her tongue)) we are saying them that

{29:04} 0672 you are losing your iidentity
 {29:07} 0673 °uh do you want (7)
 {29:08} 0674 us to help you? or (4) h
 {29:10} 0675 can we just
 {29:11} 0676 hhelp because we are
 {29:13} 0677 slavic bbrothers or something like that h
 {29:16} 0678 and the sorbs are like
 {29:17} 0679 NO (9) it's °ok /
 {29:20} 0680 ok (8) /
 {29:21} 0681 uh: germany (4)
 {29:23} 0682 gives us mmoney (9) and: (4)
 {29:25} 0683 it's like: (9)
 {29:26} 0684 germans are like ssupporting us and blablablablaba? (12) h
 {29:30} 0685 and: uh: some (4)
 {29:31} 0686 °of sorbs are saying for example that
 {29:35} 0687 if they would (4) aannect (2) to (4) czechs h
 {29:39} 0688 like after the s- first or second world war? h
 {29:43} 0689 they would be mmh: (4) /
 {29:45} 0690 bbohemised
 {29:47} 0691 ((clicks her tongue)) °if °you °can °understand ok (8) h
 {29:49} 0692 they would
 {29:50} 0693 be: / uhm: (4) {chuckles}
 {29:53} 0694 like they they would uh have to learn cczech? and they would be
 {29:57} 0695 they would be llosing their iden- 'dentity ffaster. h
 {30:01} 0696 they are ssaying that (2)
 {30:03} 0697 ()
 {30:04} 0698 but: uh: (4) h
 {30:07} 0699 now it's like they are germanised and °that's °that's °it. {chuckles}
 {30:11} 0700 M ok: (4) h
 {30:12} 0701 P °yeah (6)
 {30:12} 0702 M so because uhm: (4)
 {30:14} 0703 when you speak cczech with someone that sspeaks
 {30:17} 0704 upper lusatian? you can
 {30:18} 0705 understand each other (8) /
 {30:21} 0706 P [yeah (6) /]

{30:21} 0707 [if you speak like sslowly]
 {30:24} 0708 YEAH (6)
 {30:25} 0709 M [ok.]
 {30:25} 0710 [it's like: uh: (4)]
 {30:26} 0711 P they have to speak sslowly? h
 {30:28} 0712 and: uh: h ((coughs))
 {30:31} 0713 it's it's (1) {chuckles}
 {30:32} 0714 a little bit funny. because h
 {30:33} 0715 a lot of
 {30:34} 0716 uh young sorbs
 {30:36} 0717 are llearning czech llanguage (2) /
 {30:38} 0718 on hhigh school
 {30:40} 0719 because it's like (4) their second °language.
 {30:42} 0720 they can learn: uh: (4)
 {30:44} 0721 english? uh: (4)
 {30:46} 0722 they can learn ffrench and they can learn czech °because it's on
 the bborder. h
 {30:50} 0723 you have czech
 {30:51} 0724 teachers °there.
 {30:52} 0725 in in bautzen? in:
 {30:54} 0726 ()
 {30:56} 0727 ((clicks her tongue)) and there was h
 {30:57} 0728 also one- (4) h
 {30:59} 0729 but: uh: (4) /
 {31:01} 0730 like when you have the (7)
 {31:02} 0731 german czech border there are some °czech °teachers.
 {31:05} 0732 and they aare learning czech h
 {31:08} 0733 so: when i speak to my ffriend that is
 {31:11} 0734 i don't know now (7) twenty ffour years old? /
 {31:14} 0735 we can speak czech and sorbian?
 {31:16} 0736 BUT hhe speak in czech (1) and i'm speaking °sorbian and it's
 really funny.
 {31:20} 0737 M {chuckles}
 {31:20} 0738 P but {chuckles} h
 {31:22} 0739 it's like because uh: (4) /
 {31:24} 0740 we we said
 {31:25} 0741 ourselves that yeah (6) we can communicate like °that {smiles}

{31:29} 0742 BUT when i meet a- a nnew? person that i don't know

{31:33} 0743 and he's ssorb

{31:35} 0744 and he talks to me in ggerman and i say

{31:38} 0745 hey STOP i can understand upper sorbian. and i can sspeak upper sorbian actually really good h

{31:44} 0746 he's like

{31:45} 0747 ok? bbut (4)

{31:47} 0748 i (9) don't (9) kknow i don't think that i can underSTAND you

{31:51} 0749 let's speak in german.

{31:52} 0750 °yeah (6) /

{31:53} 0751 yeah (6) that's nno sense ok (8) {chuckles} h

{31:57} 0752 so:

{31:58} 0753 a- and the pproblem between sorbs and czechs

{32:00} 0754 is now: that: (4)

{32:02} 0755 we are criticizing them. h hhh

{32:05} 0756 because (7)

{32:06} 0757 czechs are travelling to lusatia? to bautzen

{32:10} 0758 they: come to bautzen? and they are saying that

{32:12} 0759 HEY whei- where are all the sorbs (5)

{32:15} 0760 why don't you speak sorbian. (5)

{32:17} 0761 because you're sorbs.

{32:18} 0762 we want to hear your sorbian.

{32:20} 0763 and the sorbs are like /

{32:22} 0764 °we °ccan't °speak °sorbian.

{32:24} 0765 **M** ooh

{32:25} 0766 **P** {chuckles} h

{32:26} 0767 so: yeah (6) {chuckles}

{32:28} 0768 **M** ((clicks her tongue)) do you feel maybe that's allso: (4)

{32:31} 0769 uh LINKED to the czech republic's history (8)

{32:34} 0770 if i may ask

{32:35} 0771 because there is uh

{32:36} 0772 kind of this FEAR also to lose uhm:

{32:39} 0773 his- its identity?

{32:41} 0774 there wwas this fear

{32:42} 0775 bbefore h

{32:43} 0776 and: (4) it might still be the case today so

{32:46} 0777 do you think that maybe the czechs h

{32:49} 0778 are: (4) more aafraid in a way for the sorbs (4)

{32:52} 0779 that: the sorbs uh themselves because they don't really: realise
it (8)

{32:57} 0780 P / °mmh:

{33:00} 0781 i think that /

{33:02} 0782 h uhm: /

{33:04} 0783 the destiny of sorbs /

{33:07} 0784 is like (4)

{33:08} 0785 ours

{33:09} 0786 IF we didn't have

{33:11} 0787 our palacký or (4)

{33:13} 0788 these °mmh (4) personalities in the nineteenth century?

{33:17} 0789 who were active against (4)

{33:20} 0790 °uh german and (4) /

{33:24} 0791 austria hungary °and °so. h

{33:27} 0792 and: uh

{33:28} 0793 it's kind of sad to SEE

{33:31} 0794 lusatian sorbs to

{33:33} 0795 losing their: identity? /

{33:36} 0796 because /

{33:39} 0797 we can see us

{33:41} 0798 ok (8)

{33:42} 0799 the: °the °the °the the process h

{33:45} 0800 is really the same

{33:47} 0801 but they don't have their

{33:50} 0802 palacký °or čelakovský or these: personalities. ok (8) h

{33:56} 0803 and: uh /

{33:58} 0804 ((clicks her tongue)) i think that's why: (4)

{33:60} 0805 we just want to help them: and: h

{34:02} 0806 HELP them build?

{34:04} 0807 this slavic {chuckles} h

{34:07} 0808 i don't know {chuckles} h

{34:08} 0809 M [yes]

{34:08} 0810 P [yeah you understand (1) can you understand what i want to say
(8) h]

{34:12} 0811 ok (8)

{34:13} 0812 so e e: (4)
{34:15} 0813 maybe it's: (4) a little bit
{34:17} 0814 sentiment or something like that (4) h ok (8)
{34:21} 0815 it's just uhm:
{34:23} 0816 i've heard for example i've heard from o- one of my friends?
{34:27} 0817 that slovak? /
{34:30} 0818 ((clicks her tongue)) our- uh are our brothers? and we helped
them.
{34:34} 0819 we helped them to: (4) /
{34:36} 0820 °uhm get their own state (4) and- and so and so? h
{34:40} 0821 uhm: (4)
{34:41} 0822 get away from the hungarians °and: (4)
{34:43} 0823 blablabla? h
{34:45} 0824 and NOW slovak
{34:47} 0825 have their own state and NOW we have lusatian sorbs and we can
help THEM {chuckles} h
{34:52} 0826 ok (8)
{34:54} 0827 but the sorbs (4) just don't want that {chuckles}
{34:57} 0828 because germany is good for them °so /
{34:60} 0829 °yeah (6) {smiles}