# JEMIE

Journal on Ethnopolitics and
Minority Issues in Europe

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# 'Celtic Meets Slavic': The Social Sustainability of Cornish and Silesian Heritage in Europe and Overseas

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## Abstract

Languages are subject to increasingly complex market conditions. This presents opportunities and challenges for sustainable development within minority communities, given tensions between identity and profit, particularly within regional tourism. Through a social sustainability lens, this article compares the opportunities and challenges for sustainable linguistic and cultural practices across two contexts: Cornish and Silesian. It seeks to answer the extent to which these cultures are sustainable, and how their futures could look. We focus on two distinct yet broadly interrelated themes, predominantly within Cornwall and Silesia: (old and new) media and commodification. For commodification, we also integrate a dialogue on Cornish-Mexican and Silesian-Texan heritage. Whilst we see the increased presence of old media in both Silesian and Cornish, there appear to be challenges – across both contexts - in terms of new media resourcing. Whilst commodification is a dynamic present across both contexts, it seems to have accrued more momentum in Cornwall than Silesia. In diverse ways, both cultures appear to show different commodification dynamics in the Mexican and Texan overseas communities, when compared with Cornwall and Silesia. In concluding, this article poses questions around the increased visibility of small languages and cultures: how they may be made more visible without

falling into the trap of misrepresenting communities' culture(s) and language(s). Reaching across sites helps us sketch avenues for future exploration and policy innovation. The focus on sustainable growth kindled by this paper is important to empower minority communities, scope out new possibilities, and ensure long-term conservation of minority futures both within and beyond Europe.

## Introduction: Cornish and Silesian 'meet' issues of sustainability?

For sociolinguists, 'sustainability' perhaps evokes the Graded Intergenerational Disruption (GIDS) scale (Fishman, 1991), intended to measure the intergenerational transmission of a language GIDS is thus used to measure the vitality (or otherwise) of a given language. To be sure, there are convincing parallels to be made with Fishman's (1991) definition of what might be considered 'linguistic sustainability' and one of broader cultural sustainability. Cultural tourism, anthropological, heritage (and cognate) disciplines often take as a departure point the UN's (1987) definition of sustainability, that is: "[…] meeting our own needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs, and, at a basic level, has been broadly associated with addressing *environmental*, *social*, and *economic* concerns and pursuits, the 'three pillars of sustainability'" (emphasis added).

Within cultural tourism, Terkenli and Georgoula (2022, p. 26) state that "during the past decade, culture has been valorized as a *fourth* pillar of sustainability" (emphasis added). In this way, Terkenli and Georgoula (2022, p. 26) seek to emphasise the recentring of the concept of culture in the very study of sustainability, for culture "engulfs all tangible and intangible manifestations of human life and obviously permeates all principles and precepts of sustainability." We adopt this line of enquiry from Terkenli and Georgoula (2022), in that culture is a core pillar of sustainability (e.g., in the definition provided by the UN, 1987), and view this as an extension of Fishman's (1991) theorization (albeit from a different perspective) which sociolinguists are used to. Following Wells (2020), we use this broader idea of sociocultural sustainability in the understanding that, important as linguistic heritage is, if we

are to capture the full sociocultural dynamics of heritage in our respective sites, we must somehow look beyond ideas of language loss to a broader view on the sustainability of culture.

In their seminal paper on Molise Croatian heritage, Rajko and Šimičić (2020) set their focus on linguistic minority heritage within this broader conceptual framing of (local) socioeconomic and cultural sustainability. They argue that this offers scaffolding through which to capture the shifting values of minority heritages within an age characterised by an enmeshing of global and local flows (also Pietikäinen et al., 2016). Dovetailing with the ideas of Pietikäinen et al. (2016), Duchêne and Heller (2012) highlight that minority languages are subject to increasingly complex market conditions. This means that they are increasingly situated on a linguistic market. As such, while in the past minority languages were used for nation-building projects (Pietikäinen et al. 2016), they are increasingly marketized and diverted as a source of "added value" (Jaffe, 2007). While this presents socioeconomic opportunities for people identifying with minority cultures, challenges can equally emerge around the sustainability of these heritages. It is precisely at this 'opportunity versus challenge' nexus where this article is situated.

In this study, a comparative angle is taken on the cultural minorities of Cornish and Silesian. Pivoting on two themes (new and old media and commodification), we aim to provide an overview of the current state of these two cultures in the aforementioned areas; this will ultimately allow us to explore the opportunities and challenges for both cultures in terms of social sustainability. Thus, we seek to respond to the following: *to what extent are these cultures sustainable and what do their futures look like?* The present paper is an expanded, collaborative work of two researchers, intersecting issues of minority heritage(s) and sustainability, thus developing this novel framing. This article is timely considering recent cross-European policy planning aimed at preserving minority languages and cultures. An example is the Minority SafePack Initiative (MSPI), a European Citizens' Initiative sponsored by the Federal Union of European Nationalities (FUEN), aimed at, among other objectives, protecting and promoting linguistic and cultural diversity, researching the value of minorities to our societies and Europe, and funding programmes for small linguistic communities (MSPI, n.d.; Willis, 2021). Aligning with the MSPI, it appears timely to elucidate the seemingly fine line between linguistic and cultural protection versus erosion and diversifying versus homogenising. We argue that, through the prism of our two contexts, a focus on sociocultural sustainability enables us to analyse these tensions and opportunities within a complex commodification and identity nexus. From a scholarly angle, this paper fits into and expands a

focus on the intersections between commodification and minority languages attested in similar minority language contexts. The next two paragraphs summarise the existing literature on the two linguistic settings from these thematic angles; firstly, Cornish sociolinguistic and cultural studies of the last few years will be presented, before an overview of Silesian literature connected to this topic.

For Cornish, although little work has been done on the commodification-language intersection, there is more concerning the tensions and opportunities of Cornwall's minority heritage tourism sphere, thus drawing together tourism and minority heritage(s) studies (Leitch, 2017; Kennedy and Kingcombe, 1998). This literature serves as contextualisation to the debates and tensions in Cornwall explored in this article. Interestingly, this cultural studies-focused literature appears to share similar concerns with certain foci in sociolinguistics scholarship concerned with small languages (debates and opportunities around agency, ownership, authenticity, globalisation, and so on). Looking to contexts in which the sister languages of Cornish are spoken (Breton in Brittany and Welsh in Wales), reveals more literature cutting across commodification and minority languages. Among these are Hornsby (2008), who analysed young Breton speakers' views on commodified Breton language, and Coupland (2010; 2012), who has focused on language and commodification in the Welsh context. Alongside others, Coupland has also looked beyond Wales, introducing overseas contexts, namely Welsh Patagonia (Coupland and Garrett, 2010), and the United States (Coupland et al., 2003).

For Silesian, our paper adds to the literature around contemporary media and commodification in and around the Silesian language, and is one of the first attempts of this kind. The contextualisation of the Upper Silesian cultural and linguistic landscape of autochthonous minorities includes both Germans and Silesians. There are inventories and brief analyses of significant publications focused on both minorities offered in the last few years (Pospiszil, 2019a, 2019b; Kubik, 2022b). Other studies analyse the current socio-cultural situation from the lens of postcolonial studies (Szmeja, 2017), even naming Silesian as an "Upper Silesian creole" (Kamusella, 2014). Also, by analysing the Silesian Museums in Görlitz (Germany), Katowice (Poland) and Opava (Czech Republic), the mixture between old and new media as a form of creating a contemporary Silesian identity has been analysed (Táborský, 2018). In a rather mocking manner, the urban landscape and usage of Silesian has been insufficiently analysed by retaining old narratives as a dialect of Polish so far (Momot, 2018). This article underscores the predominant literature to-date in Silesian studies; it also situates

Silesian research alongside other western Slavic minority languages (e.g., Kashubian, a regional language of Poland) and Sorbian (composed of two microlanguages spoken in eastern Germany). Publications concerning Kashubian are mostly provided by the Instytut Kaszubski (Kashubian Institute; Makurat, 2016) or the University of Gdańsk, where the first doctoral thesis in sociolinguistics written in the Kashubian language was published in 2011 (Makurat, 2014) and where Kashubian ethno-philology studies are offered, which was possible after this regional language was officially recognised by the state. The chances and dangers of losing Kashubian were analysed in comparison with Friulian (Woźniakiewicz, 2013). Another comparative study between the Kashubian region's cultural landscape with the one of Wales and Brittany has deepened the connection between different European regions (Dołowy-Rybińska, 2013), as this article also aims to attempt. The main publications for Sorbian are disseminated by the Serbski Institut/Sorbisches Institut (Sorbian Institute; Dołowy-Rybińska and Ratajczak, 2021) and the universities of Leipzig and Dresden.

This review highlights areas that our work will expand; to summarise, the existing literature highlights an increasingly urgent focus on commodification in the Cornish context, which, although dealt with from a tourism or cultural studies angle, has been largely neglected from a sociolinguistic or linguistic anthropological perspective (although, as previously alluded to and as would be expected, commodification-related concerns and scholarship straddle multiple disciplines). It is hoped this article extends this existing literature by lending a (albeit not exclusively) linguistic focus; this also adds to scholarship in sites where sister languages of Cornish are spoken e.g., Breton or Welsh. Uniquely, this article also brings Cornwall and a Cornish diaspora overseas community into dialogue. For Silesian, the article adds to a growing focus on the surrounding minority languages, e.g., Kashubian and Sorbian. Importantly, if we take a 'macro' focus on the contribution of this piece, to our knowledge a comparative lens on Cornish and Silesian communities does not exist, and so this article will expand dialogue across two (linguistically and culturally) different communities. Before doing so, we provide sociocultural and linguistic background to both contexts in the next section.

## 1.    Defining and delineating our areas of study

### 1.1 'Of England and Not of England': Cornwall's struggles, ambiguous identities, and revival

Cornwall, a duchy in southwestern Great Britain, was originally inhabited by Celtic peoples (the *Cornovii* tribe) in Roman times. This paralleled migratory flows across western Europe, with other Celtic peoples settling in peripheral areas e.g., Brittany, Ireland, Scotland, and

Wales. When the Celtic peoples settled, they brought their own Celtic language. As these areas were remote and not well-connected with each other, over time this Celtic language diverged, giving rise in the Cornish case to a distinctive Cornish language (with similarities nonetheless to other Celtic languages e.g., Welsh and Breton, nowadays sister tongues to Cornish).

Together with a separate language, Cornwall has a unique identity from other parts of England, but this fight for linguistic and cultural recognition has not been without its sociocultural shifts and struggles for the Cornish. As alluded to, Cornwall is neither a county, nor a separate nation - unlike Wales, Ireland, or Scotland (see Deacon 2007, p.8). Such cultural 'pushing and pulling' on both English and Cornish sides is highlighted by Cornish studies scholar, Bernard Deacon (2007, p. 8):

> Both 'of England' and 'not of England', it defies easy analysis. Cornwall and the Cornish teeter on the brink of a conceptual and historiographical crevasse, neither county nor nation.

Although too complex to expand here, over the centuries Cornish people experienced repression and cultural anglicisation by the English (often a source of rebellion by the Cornish people). This anglicisation was paralleled by a linguistic peripheralization of the Cornish language, a process which beckoned even in the 5th and 6th centuries. As the centuries progressed, this peripheralization became more marked. This English hegemony continued throughout the late 1700s, by which time the Cornish language had been pushed to the extreme fringes of west Cornwall. This 'enculturation and assimilation' (Hechter, 1999, p. 64) of Cornish culture into the English became more prominent, but this was not without its contradictions. Scholars (Everitt, 1979; Deacon, 2016; Payton, 2020), note how the Industrial Revolution, although it took place across the United Kingdom, actually (and perhaps paradoxically) served to further entrench a distinctive Cornish identity. Like several areas across England and Scotland, Cornwall developed its own unique industrial patterns through the mining boom (Payton, 2020, p. 8), with Cornwall's tin mining industry going from strength to strength. In the 18th and 19th centuries, mining became the predominant part of Cornwall's economy, with consequences for Cornish people's cultural demeanour and identity (Deacon, 2016, p. 59).

Cornwall's mining industry became renowned the world over, prompting the worldwide emigration of many Cornish people (Payton, 2020). This is important for one of our foci, the community of Hidalgo, Mexico. Cornish silver miners and their families migrated

there (a region north of Mexico City) in the 19[th]century. The Cornish community in Mexico was not the largest in the number of emigrants from Cornwall (Schwartz, 2006), but has left a lasting imprint on the cultural landscape of Hidalgo.

Returning to Cornwall, the region experienced 'rapid deindustrialisation' (Witterick, 2007) by the end of the 19th century, with significant consequences for Cornwall's economy and culture. This took shape in the form of the rapid demise of Cornish mining yet was accompanied by a Celtic cultural revival (Moseley, 2018, p. 29) which reflected a broader Celtic nationalism (Witterick, 2007) among Europe's Celtic peoples (Pittock, 1999). Moseley (2018, p. 29) underscores how the eroded mining industry was overtaken by tourism. Its development was facilitated by the construction of the London to Penzance mainline railway in the late 19th and early 20th century. This meant that for the first time, Cornwall was relatively well-connected to the rest of England. Thus, the construction of this railway and the later development of branch lines to coastal honeypots (e.g., St Ives, Looe, and Falmouth) enabled the 'opening up' of Cornwall to the rest of England. Cornwall's Celtic Revival and its tourism-based economy developed an enduring Cornish place-myth, noted by Moseley (2018, pp. 32-33):

> "The […] coastal edge of the geographic terrain— the periphery of a periphery— […] has continued to dominate the place-myth of Cornwall. The resultant 'emptying out' of the terrain, in which the centre falls away and out of representation, produces a set of exclusions around poverty and industry which have cemented a place-myth in which Cornwall remains rural, picturesque, archaic and unchanging. It is this place-myth that helps to maintain tourism as the primary (and troubled) regional economy".

A "contradiction" emerges (Moseley, 2018, p. 31) in the Cornish case. Whereas the Celtic revival was once an 'in-group' marker of a distinctive identity, such discourses have broadened to a tourism economy which has propagated a Celtic romanticism which often focuses on, in Moseley's (2018, pp. 32-33) words, "the periphery of a periphery", often neglecting Cornwall's poverty, particularly in those areas where mining once flourished. Moseley (2018, p. 32) notes how, in effect, this place-myth has reified centre-periphery relations (for representations of Cornish identity are almost always constructed by actors outside the region), and has served to reify poverty, exclusion, and precarity, as manifested in Cornwall's ever-fragile tourism economy. As can be imagined, such representations of a Cornishness from outside the region

have led to tensions among the Cornish community over the identity, agency, and ownership of Cornishness.

Nonetheless, counter-discourses have perhaps triggered a stronger Cornish revival which dates back to the 19th and 20th century Celtic Revival. This has led to renewed interest in Cornish language and culture. For the first time, the Cornish were granted minority language rights in 2014 under the auspices of the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. This followed a fifteen-year campaign, with claims for greater autonomy and recognition nonetheless stretching back into the 1960s (the advent of Cornish nationalism). Nowadays, the Cornish cultural revival is perhaps more prominent. Precise figures about the number of Cornish language speakers are debated, but it is thought that around 3000 people can speak some Cornish, with around 500 fluent speakers (Ferdinand, 2018, p. 109).

## 1.2 Upper Silesia: The struggle for linguistic and cultural recognition

As a Central European region, Upper Silesia has a long history and since the Second World War it has been a part of Poland (see Bahlcke 2011). This intermingling of German and Slavic cultures is visible in the regional language *'Wasserpolnisch'* ('Water-Polish', also known as: 'Silesian', 'ślōnskŏ gŏdka', 'po naszymu', '(Ober)Schlesisch', 'język śląski'). It is spoken alongside the minority German language and majority Polish language:

> 'Wasserpolnisch' is a language more related to Czech, which is spoken across the nearby border, than to High Polish, which was developed far away in the east as the language of the nobility and intelligentsia. As a result of historical development, there were also influences of the German language on Wasserpolnisch (also called 'Schlonsakisch' (Schlonsakian). (Herzig, 2015, pp. 83-84, translated by A.K.)

The terms 'Wasserpolen' (Water-Poles) and 'Schlonsaken' (Schlonsakians) also appear separately in the 'Atlas Linguisticus' (Bröring et al., 1934). For most Polish sources, '-polonica' in 'dialectus aquatic-polonica' has been taken as literary proof of Polishness in this area. Herzig's explanation of *'Wasserpolnisch'* harmonises with that of the Upper Silesian linguist Reinhold Olesch's interpretation that "the [Slavic] dialects bordering the Oder (the water)" (Olesch, 1992, p. 229) are the origin for the term.

In 1854, following the pioneer Father Leopold Moczygemba, the first Silesians emigrated to the area around San Antonio, Texas, in the United States, creating over 15 communities.

Today, around 200,000 Texans claim to have roots in Upper Silesia. Andrzej Brożek argues that the origins for leaving Upper Silesia lie in poverty:

> It is difficult to agree that the emigration from Upper Silesia to America, which after the Spring of Nations was caused primarily by the growing pauperisation of the rural population in the Polish districts of the Opole region, had as its background the German oppression. (Brożek, 1972, p. 67, translated by A.K.).

Since the schools and churches in the Upper Silesian settlements were led by Polish monks (the Resurrectionist Congregation) and nuns (the Felician Sisters), the process of polonising the Upper Silesians in the USA started (see Kubik, 2019). Its impact is seen in the identification of Silesian Texans as 'Polish-speaking Poles', provided by many scholars without taking a closer look at the term "polski" ("Polish") in the 19th century in Silesia, which rather meant "field" as in old Czech and old Russian than a national affiliation (Matuschek, 2021b, pp.65-68). This is often at odds within the Silesian Texans own self-identification in contact with Poles, because the Polish as spoken in Europe is often called 'Warsawian' by the Silesian Texans. They generally have no intention to learn either Polish or Silesian, which would not be useful in an English-speaking country, and therefore seems to be reasonable.

In Texas, language shift from Silesian and German bilingualism to English in the home domain was precipitated by intercultural marriages with non-Silesians, as well as a lack of institutional educational support after 1952. Nowadays, only c.100-500 people aged over 65 can speak the Texan variety of Silesian (these are generally 4th-5th generation descendants of the original Silesian settlers). Since support for Silesian language educational projects by the Polish government is not forthcoming, the Texan variety of Silesian is condemned to become extinct soon (Kurzaj, 2022; Elbaum, 2021; Mazurek Stephens, 2018).

After World War II, and during the Polish People's Republic and its strict Polonisation, Silesian was deemed to be merely an (unimportant) dialect of Polish. German was forbidden (Bereszynski, 2019; Dziurok et al., 2016; Dziurok & Linek, 2020). Recent research on Polish narratives from the communist era prove the one-sided understanding and nationalistic manipulation of this multicultural region and its people:

> It was quite common to identify the term Silesian, Upper Silesian or 'native' with the term 'Pole' and to contrast it with the term 'German'. These words were used interchangeably, appropriating the local population. (…) The thesis of the Polishness

of the Silesians was always maintained. (Baron et al., 2011, pp. 472-473, translated by A.K.)

Since 1989, native Upper Silesian society has demonstrated a large range of self-affiliations in national data patterns, varying between pure Silesian, Polish, German, and even different combinations. These can be depicted as typically European or transnational, considering the society's amalgamations with Czech and Texan identity.

Today's Upper Silesia is administratively divided between a smaller part in Czechia (the region of Moravia-Silesia), and the larger part in Poland (divided into the Opole and Silesian voivodships). Silesian is spoken in both-mentioned countries, as well as in Germany and Texas. It is recognised by the United States Library of Congress (Zabierek, 2007) and listed by the Endangered Languages Project (ELP). Silesian is considered a language by a respectable number of international scholars.[1] It is listed as a "transitional variety of West Slavic" (Greenberg, 2017, p. 519), recognised as the "Silesian language" (Kamusella, 2016, p. 96; Jaroszewicz, 2019, p. 25) or described as "an increasingly clear trend of Silesian becoming emancipated and officialised" (Zielińska & Księżyk, 2020, p. 8). According to the 2011 Polish census, Silesian has approximately 509,000 speakers, and there are 850,000 people who identify with a Silesian national identity. It nonetheless remains an "unrecognized regional and minority language" (Kamusella, 2020, p. 88), by the Polish government; this is also the case for Silesian as a nationality. This has been acknowledged by the Advisory Committee at the Council of Europe which "strongly regrets" (2019, p. 9) the situation and advises the authorities on a "more pragmatic approach" (Council of Europe, 2019, p. 10). The 2022 Czech census revealed almost 31,000 people claiming Silesian heritage (Długosz, 2022). In March 2021, the Polish government stated that the recognition of Silesian as a regional language could stop the Polish language from being used within Poland (Ferfecki, 2021). This narrative forms part of an ongoing ethnonationalist movement in Poland stretching back to 2015. Such movements depict Silesians as a threat to Polish nationhood. Despite political trends, academia produces new work on Silesian grammar, lexicon, and orthography; in October 2022 the first Polish-language volume on Silesian orthographic rules appeared (Jaroszewicz, 2022). In 2021, a German-language book *Das Slawoschlesische* ('The Slavo-Silesian', translated by A.K.) was published as an addition (Matuschek, 2021a) to an analysis of the linguistic landscape of the Romantic-era poet's Joseph von Eichendorff's homeland (Matuschek, 2021b).

The most recent activities showing the importance of linguistic recognition for Silesian date from the first half of 2022. For example, the Upper Silesian Member of the European

Parliament (MEP) Łukasz Kohut organised the „Śląsk w Europie" ('Silesia in Europe', translated by A.K.) conference at the European Parliament in Strasbourg, where he had previously used Silesian in 2020. He then filed an EU resolution for the recognition of Silesian language (Kohut, 2022a). An academic talk was also recently held in Heidelberg, entitled 'Why do Poland's Germans speak Silesian?' (see Kubik, 2022a). The recordings of both events are accessible via Facebook[2] and YouTube[3].

Moving to the core foci of this paper, we now define (old and new) media and commodification. These distinct, although intertwined themes, will enable us to chart the points of convergence and divergence in the context of the sites of study.

### 1.3 Defining our key themes: (Old and new) media, commodification, and diaspora

To give a definition of old and new media is to acknowledge that notions of 'old' and 'new' are notoriously difficult to prise apart, particularly in heritage contexts where 'old' heritage may become recontextualised in innovative and 'new' ways (Pietikäinen et al., 2016). However, scholars in the domains of communication and media generally make the old versus new distinction to denote the difference between media such as television, radio, and print media (encompassed in 'old' media), versus computational forms ('new' media), which rely on computer technology for (re)distribution (Manovich, 2003, pp. 13-25). Some examples of 'new' media, then, include websites, virtual reality interfaces, social media (Manovich, 2003, pp. 13-25) and mediums e.g., YouTube, Twitter or SoundCloud (McMullan, 2017).

The second theme which we draw on is commodification. Commodification is ubiquitous in daily life. In Cultural Studies and Sciences, several papers take as a starting point Appadurai's (1986) notion of 'diversion' to explain how culture may be exported (Fithrattulah, 2019, p. 83), and reshaped into a product (Fithrattulah, 2019, p. 84), thereafter placed on an economic market for consumption. This lies in contrast to Appadurai's (1986) notion of 'enclaving', whereby a cultural phenomenon was historically used for nation and identity-building purposes. Attesting the high level of commodification in minority heritage cultures across Europe (taking as a lens the Corsican, Sámi, Irish, and Welsh contexts), Pietikäinen et al. (2016, p.75), note commodification is not necessarily new, but its profusion and specific contextual uses are. Dovetailing with Pietikäinen et al. (2016), Fithrattulah (2019, p. 83) cogently notes how commodification can be both an advantage and disadvantage for minority contexts; commodification can exploit, sanitise, and at times eclipse the communicative value of the heritage language and culture. At the same time, Fithrattulah (2019, p. 83) reminds us of

how this marketisation may support a minority revival and thus "save culture from extinction" (Fithrattulah, 2019, p. 84). Duchêne and Heller (2012) encapsulate this shift from culture-as-enclaved to culture-as-diverted (Appadurai, 1986) in their framework of Pride and Profit. They note how there has been a shift from Pride (identity-building) models of cultural heritage to one centred on Profit (Duchêne and Heller, 2012), in which the minority culture may be treated as a source of 'added value' (Jaffe, 2007). Among more recent work, Pietikäinen et al. (2016) attest to not an entire shift from Pride to Profit, but rather a dialogic interaction of these two models, which may "coexist sometimes in tension and sometimes seamlessly" with one another (Pietikäinen et al., 2016, p. 77). This quote is pertinent when we explore the social responses to commodification in our respective contexts.

Our final concept, diaspora, is also met with debate. Grossman (2019, pp. 1264-1274) argues that this stems from researcher positioning, thereby hinging on whether the researcher falls into the positivist tradition which understands a diaspora to be 'out there' and thus be easily delineated (Grossman, 2019, p. 1264), or, on the other hand, if a more social constructivist approach is taken, in the understanding that diasporas are a social construct and therefore dynamic (Grossman, 2019, p. 1274). To redress this, Grossman (2019) inductively re-constructed a definition of diaspora, based on theorists' attempts. Thus, without wishing to use the term uncritically, we adopt the definition that diaspora, "is a community whose members (or their ancestors) emigrated or were dispersed from their original homeland but remain oriented toit and preserve a group identity" (Grossman, 2019, p. 1283).

## 2.     From 'old' to 'new' media

### 2.1  Media in Cornish: Publications, co-creation, and how to sustainably grow the language

Old and new media provide a fascinating angle to explore Cornish Studies. The advent of the Standard Written Form (2008) facilitated resource development in the Cornish language itself. Standard Written Form (SWF) was an attempt to standardise the language, and "provide public bodies and the educational system with a universally acceptable, inclusive and neutral orthography" (Block and Brauch, 2008, p. 1). This move was considered paramount by the Cornish Language Partnership (a representative public and voluntary body) to end spelling debate and secure funding and support to foster the use of the language. Standardisation has meant that the language has been codified to the extent that several publications in the language have emerged, including translated classic literature such as *Alice in Wonderland* (Carroll, 2009), and *Around the World in Eighty Days* (Verne, 2009). Recent years have seen the publication of original children's literature, notably by Will Coleman (2019), which offer an

engaging take on the scenery and people of Cornwall. Such publications have also extended to learner literature, such as *Bora Brav* (Prys, 2020), which is used in some language classes. Indeed, new market conditions for small languages have also enabled the accessibility of Cornish resources from outside Cornwall itself. E-books are an example of this, meaning those wishing to access literature beyond Cornwall can now do so relatively easily. Recent research (see Humberstone, 2021) showed that in at least one Cornish community trans-globally, those who identify with Cornish identity have engaged in resources such as the e-book *Bys Vyken* (Cornwall Forever, 2021), originally created for children in Cornwall at the turn of the millennium.

There remains one core challenge for Cornish in the domain of old media, however: how to grow new resources, particularly for adult learners? (for a review, see Broadhurst, 2021). The solution to this, at first glance, might appear simple, but is multi-faceted. Firstly, although there has been a considerable uptake in Cornish learning among adults during the Covid-19 pandemic (see Broadhurst, 2021, p.5), the production of adult resources requires a profound knowledge of the language (Broadhurst, 2021, pp. 4-5). Secondly, there are few Cornwall-based publishing houses dedicated to Cornish literature publication. That said, the number of publications in and around Cornish language and culture is steadily increasing, particularly with the latest developments in making anthologies and poetry more widely available - for example, those published by Francis Boutle. Furthermore, the lack of language learning materials available has prompted co-creation of learner resources, wherein learners are taking charge of creating and distributing learning resources for the collective benefit of the Cornish learning community (Goglia & Humberstone, in progress).

The recent emergence of new media in Cornish has had success with the launch of the new European-funded platform, IndyLan (LifeinLINCS, 2020). IndyLan is a mobile application which enables the learning of not only Cornish, but also Saami, Gaelic, Scots, Basque, and Galician. The application seeks to provide a holistic approach to the learning of small languages, thereby also aiming to provide the learner with cultural knowledge on a particular context (Strani and Cocco, 2020, p. 33). IndyLan appears to be successful for its placement of Cornish among its European minority language neighbours, in addition to the affordances in format for enabling mobile experiences which integrate both the study of language and culture. For Cornish, it is interesting to scope avenues for future digital platforms. Once again, this is funding-dependent, but IndyLan appears to demonstrate the strengths in such cross-linguistic collaborations.

## 2.2 Silesia: A view on old and new media

In relation to Silesian old media, two organisations to promote the Silesian language were established in 2007: 'Danga' (Silesian for 'rainbow') and Pro 'Loquela Silesiana' (Latin for 'For the Sake of Silesian'). 'Pro Loquela Silesiana', particularly, enabled Silesian to take a major step towards standardisation. To this end, it introduced 'ślabikŏrz' (the Silesian alphabet), as evidenced in the publications of 'Gōrnoślōnski ślabikŏrz' (Adamus et al., 2010) and 'Ślabikŏrz niy dlŏ bajtli' (Syniawa, 2010). In fact, the latter has almost replaced the 'Steuerowy szrajbůnek' (Steuer's alphabet) from the 1930s (Syniawa, 2014, pp. 51-63; Wyderka, 2014, pp. 27-40). In this regard, both Cornish and Silesian share the similarity of having a standardised form.

A few publishing houses in Silesia have a strong focus on publishing literature about Silesia, mostly in Polish, but rarely in German. Also, there is translated and original literature in Silesian from publishers such as Oberschlesisches Eichendorff-Kultur- und Begegnungszentrum (OEKB, Upper Silesian Eichendorff Cultural and Meeting Centre; established in 2000), Ślōnskŏ Nacyjnŏ Ôficynã (Silesian National Publishing House; established in 2003), Instýtut Ślůnskij Godki (IŚG, Silesian Language Institute, established in 2011) and Silesia Progress (SP, established in 2012). The IŚG publishes its 'Ślůnski Cajtůng' (Silesian Newspaper) in Polish and Silesian. The most successful Silesian publishing house is SP. Alongside languages such as German and Polish, the OEKB has also published academic and cultural texts in Silesian (see Kubik, 2020a, pp. 48-66). Additionally, renowned Polish publishing houses such as 'Wydawnictwo Literackie', 'Media Rodzina' and 'Wydawnictwo Czarne' have begun printing translations in Silesian. However, in contrast with Cornish, to date there is no learner literature such as coursebooks for those wanting to take up Silesian. Conversely, however, in contrast to the paucity of Cornish publishing houses, some Silesian publishers do exist; these are not financially supported by government bodies, but are private projects of Silesian cultural activists, who act – at the same time - as cultural activists, teachers, and learning resource creators. This is because there is no opportunity to undertake formal language training to become a teacher of Silesian.

Shifting to new media, a handful of online platforms provide information on and news articles in Silesian itself – e.g., *Wachtyrz.eu* (Guardian) and *Gryfnie.com*. Indeed, such online platforms are paramount to the future development and sustainability of Silesian. Such developments, as in the case of Cornish, rest on the will of Silesian speakers who have an advanced level of the language to be able to use it in written form. In many ways, these speakers

are (albeit unremunerated) Silesian cultural publishers and activists, working to ensure the long-term growth of the language and its place in the daily press.

What differentiates Silesian from Cornish is the size of its speaker community: Silesian has around 500,000 daily speakers, which helps the language to grow in many domains of everyday life and facilitates a situation of language immersion. Nevertheless, like the lack of new media in the Cornish context, the possibility of learning Silesian is limited because there is only one language learning website (*ponaszymu.pl*) which offers a Silesian language course, 'Kurs Ślōnskij Gŏdki'.

## 3.     Commodifying minority culture(s)

### 3.1 'Commodifying Cornish': A crucial perspective

Commodification is perhaps one of the most important issues facing Cornwall. The marketisation of peripheral sites is well-attested in small languages literature, with many studies across Europe noting the increased visibility of minority languages and cultures (Dołowy-Rybińska, 2013). Although Cornwall Council is gradually replacing its monolingual English language street signage in favour of a bilingual aesthetic, the usage of discourses both in and around the Cornish language and culture on the part of businesses is relatively new. This has dovetailed with wider commodifying practices - related to Cornwall's contended 'peripheral tourism' economy (Nash & Martin, 2003). Like other peripheral sites, Cornish tourism has capitalised on selling Cornwall as peripheral in relation to the rest of the United Kingdom (Andrew, 1997).

Leitch (2017, p. 1) notes that in Cornwall discourses of peripherality focus almost exclusively on remote rural or seascapes. Leitch (2017, p. 3) summarises such a paradox in the Cornish case: owing to the decline of traditional sectors such as mining and agriculture, Cornwall rests upon the success of its tourism industry. This fact, however, threatens to undermine heritage in a discourse of what Duchêne and Heller (2012) term 'profit'. Such 'diversion' (Appadurai, 1986) of Cornish culture may become problematic when discourses misappropriate the region's history, either conflating it with national heritage (Leitch, 2017, p. 33), or sanitising Cornwall as a "place to be consumed, to occupy, and to entertain" (Leitch 2017, p. 33). Indeed, cultural geography terms this phenomenon 'disneyfication' (Warren, 1994). Thus, with the profusion of Cornish-sounding businesses - perhaps to give off a sense of 'peripheral cool' (see Pietikäinen et al., 2016) - there are understandably tensions, which, to some, may seem increasingly (and perhaps, paradoxically), homogenising, and risk

"overthrowing local and more informed versions" (Leitch, 2017, p. 33), of Cornishness. Thus, from this viewpoint, the cultural and social sustainability of increased commercialisation of Cornish language and culture, is called into question.

It is important to highlight, however, that the Cornish-speaking community is not unanimous about the unsustainability of such practices. Whereas, indeed, some raise concerns about the commoditisation of Cornish language and culture, other speakers (Goglia & Humberstone, in progress), see any visibility of the Cornish language in a positive light, even, and including, the use of Cornish in places often frequented by visitors (such as on buses and train station signs displaying Cornish placenames). This observation echoes Jaffe's (2019) exploration into the experience of Corsican heritage by locals themselves in the village of Pigna, Corsica. She notes that, despite the high visibility, (and indeed, increasingly parodic, and playful framings) of Corsican in the landscape, initiatives such as Virtual Reality trails, in addition to a tightly organised and stylised visual landscape of colours, sounds and Corsican language (Jaffe, 2019, p. 15), "blur the boundaries between private and public" (Jaffe, 2019, p. 25). Jaffe (2019, p. 24) thus shows how these spaces offer opportunities for bidirectional encounters between tourists and locals, where Corsicanness is not sanitised, nor 'fetishized'. Indeed, in this case, such spaces put locals and tourists together at the heart of the cultural revival and make for fruitful cultural exchanges.

For Cornwall, then, perhaps the creation of similar initiatives could bring together tourists and locals in better harmony. Indeed, drawing on the idea of co-creation, it could be fruitful to draw on the many co-created initiatives already excavated by speakers of Cornish themselves. Expanding this focus to incorporate tourist communities, might make for more beneficial encounters where different communities' cultures are brought to the table, and better valued. This could be the key towards a more sustainable tourism, where pride is balanced alongside profit (Duchêne and Heller, 2012), and where more local, representative forms of heritage may be better preserved and developed.

### 3.2 Selling Silesianness: Re-centring the periphery?

The commodification of Silesianness is more strongly apparent and accepted by the Polish majority in the eastern parts of Upper Silesia, but almost totally silenced for political reasons in the western parts. The western parts of Upper Silesia are known as 'Opolskie', an administrative division which thereby seeks to avoid its connections with the other Upper Silesian part (Czok, 2020). This is because the Polish adjective 'opolskie' includes the word -

*polskie* meaning Polish (Dawid, 2020), which denotes the continuation of a Communist national narrative. This is also visible in the regional state television stations, which in Katowice/Kattowitz, offer a cultural talk show in Silesian called 'Dej pozór. Szoł tok Izoldy Czmok'. On the other hand, in Opole/Oppeln, there is no such support given to Silesian in the old media.

Silesian has historically had greater acceptance by the community in the industrial eastern area of Upper Silesia, and therefore the commodification of Silesianness is more visible here. Additionally, the recently-built Silesian Business Park in Katowice includes slogans written in Silesian, thereby helping the language to even enter the commercial domain.

'Pro Loquela Silesiana' started the campaign 'Gŏdōmy po ślōnsku' (We speak Silesian) for regional institutions of all kinds – offices, restaurants, and stores – with an open invitation to their visitors and customers to speak their mother tongue in the public sphere (Biernat, 2013). That said, only certain grassroots organisations provide, alongside official Polish names, signs with the Silesian names of places and offices. Signs written in Silesian are therefore not visible in all Silesian cities and towns (Momot, 2018), and where they do appear, they are generally made by bottom-up (rather than top-down, institutional), actors (Kamusella, 2016). This shows a major difference between Silesian and Cornish, where, in Cornwall, Cornish language signage seems to flourish. Of great success are products offered by the *geschäfts* (stores) like *Gryfnie*, *Ajncla*, and *Kaj ôn SHOW*, which sell their own Silesian brands (with descriptions and symbols, as well as books, and cultural products typical of Upper Silesia) in the Silesian language itself (**Figure 1).** Some of these Silesian brands are economically stable because the commodification of products, likely purchased in eastern Upper Silesia or online, provides an



**Figure 1**: Gryfnie - a Silesian store chain and brand with Silesian descriptions. Taken by the authors.

important source of income. Such initiatives do not receive financial support, for Silesian is not officially recognised as a minority ethnic identity or as a language.

Other campaigns have been spearheaded by MEPs – e.g., Marek Plura's 'Przajã bo ślōnski' ('I love it because it is Silesian') campaign to promote Silesian brands, restaurants, institutions, and so on (TVS, 2015). The 'Silesian embassy', located in Nikiszowiec, an historical district of Katowice, is becoming popular for Silesianness **(Figure 2)**.



**Figure 2**: The first Silesian Embassy - Office of Łukasz Kohut MEP. Taken by the authors.

Thus, the region and its language and culture are still not well-known in Poland, even if Silesian culture is gaining European political attention and becoming a marketing and tourist attraction with the recontextualization of its former coalmines, castles, palaces, and museums. People are still not aware of the intricacies of Silesian culture. Silesian is so far not supported by the government, with the latter instead comparing Silesia to the situation of Catalonia, thus inciting negative perceptions of Silesianness. In 2011 and 2012, Jarosław Kaczyński (currently the leader of the ruling PiS-party) called Silesians "hidden Germans" and a "fifth column", an internal threat to national Polishness. This provoked a scandal (Borowska & Kacprzak, 2011; Kołakowska, 2011; Król, 2021; Krzyk, 2019). At least for the foreseeable future, commodification therefore provides the only avenue to show and display Silesian in a positive light.

### 3.3 From Cornwall to Mexico: A shifting balance of linguistic losses and cultural gains

To gain a broader view of linguistic and cultural sustainability in our sites, we firstly shift our focus to one understudied, yet crucial part of the Cornish revival: the Cornish-Mexican diaspora of Mexico. From the perspective of *linguistic* sustainability, for the Cornish-Mexicans, historically, there was a marked shift from Anglo-Cornish (English with a Cornish influence), to Spanish, the majority language spoken in the Hidalgo area (Echenberg, 2017, p. 112). However, the cultural links remain salient. The Cornish-Mexican Cultural Society (n.d.), established in 2008, aims to increase awareness and preserve links between Cornwall and Mexico. From a sustainability angle, it is interesting how, among the descendants of the original Cornish miners, Cornish traditions live on, become revitalised, and (re)contextualised in new ways. During recent research, Humberstone (2021) found how descendants' children had newly connected with the Cornish language and culture, having visited Cornwall several times. Others spoke to preserve culinary traditions such as pasty making, as passed down through the maternal line. Notably, out of the passion to preserve Cornish tradition, one descendant had recently established a Cornish bakery, sharing their passion for Cornish food with others (**Figure 3** shows an example of the many shops selling *Pastes* in Hidalgo).



**Figure 3**: A shop selling Pastes, Real del Monte. Source: Ted's Photos (2016).

Focusing on regions with similar ethnolinguistic dynamics, Wells (2020, p. 138) warns against drawing out discourses of loss, for a cultural influence may remain, even if a heritage language has experienced an apparent complete shift. This is relevant in the Cornish-Mexican case, as we will explain. Like Silesia and Cornwall, Hidalgo has seen a paradigm shift away from a mining-centred industry. For Hidalgo, this decline occurred as late as the 1930s, which coincided with the cessation of migratory flows from Cornwall. Recently, such historical mining sites (some preserved), have been recontextualised for tourism. There has also been interest from the museum sector in Cornish-Mexican heritage, evidenced through the *Museo*

*del Paste* (*Pastie* Museum) (**Figure 4)**, and the *Museo de Minería* (Museum of Mining). And despite this commodification of heritage, and diffusion of the *Paste* (a Cornish-Mexican food), pride remains in this transcultural connection. In newly-(re)created spaces for Cornish-Mexican heritage such as the mines or museums, people (with and without familial links) come to learn about Cornish-Mexican culture. Such initial observations perhaps open space for exploration within a more transactional paradigm (Jaffe, 2019), where locals and tourists alike partake in cultural activities. A case in point is the *Museo del Paste*, which teaches visitors how to make pasties together. Such activities (Humberstone, 2021) provide an opportunity for visitors to bring skills home with them. In doing so, these visitors become part of the revival, collectively reinvigorating a Cornish future. Indeed, such observations require further investigation, particularly in relation to framings for sociocultural and economic sustainability in this diaspora.



**Figure 4**: The entrance sign to the Museo del Paste. Source: TheTurducken (2018).

### 3.4 Commodification of the Silesian diaspora

For most Silesian Texans, keeping their identity and memory alive was as important in the beginning (Nosiadek, 2020) as nowadays (Stanush, 2004). Indeed, thanks to transglobal projects, it possesses huge potential to rise again (Kubik, 2020b). One such organisation, the 'Father Leopold Moczygemba Foundation' (FLMF), has reintroduced the term 'Silesia' to Silesian descendants. FLMF therefore supports cultural projects trying to reconnect Silesians

on both sides of the Atlantic. It is thus the only institution in Texas providing narratives of Silesians and Silesian Texans. However, the latter does not benefit from any tangible visible presence in Texas (such as, for example, an exhibition space or bricks-and-mortar building).



**Figure 5**: Silesian Texans selling Polishness as their cultural heritage, instead of Silesianness - Panna Maria, Texas, in Spring 2019. Taken by the authors.

Nonetheless, a broader Silesian-as-Polish conflation is exemplified in the newly opened museum at Panna Maria, the first settlement created by Upper Silesians. The museum has been named the 'Polish Heritage Center' instead of 'Panna Maria Heritage Center' (see Kubik, 2019, pp. 109-110). In this museum, fragments of information are presented on Silesian Texans, but even then, they are discussed as Polish communities. To date, it has not been possible for Silesian descendants to discover the complexity of their real origins, neither in Panna Maria, nor in San Antonio. There is, therefore, perhaps the need to create a space which will demonstrate that Silesia, beyond being part of Poland as it is today, has equally been shaped through the centuries by neighbouring cultures such as Austrian, German, Czech, and Moravian. For now, the commodification of the Silesian Texans is based on nationalist narratives from the communist era of Polish history. It means that instead of commodifying Silesianness in Texas, the predominant cultural products which are sold feature red and white with Polish writing, in contrast to the yellow and blue colours of their original homeland, Silesia (Figure 5). In essence, the commodification of Silesian identity in Upper Silesia has not yet taken place in Texas. Rather, in the case of the Silesian-Texan community, the

commodification is that of a Polishness, thereby omitting the European transnational amalgam of identities emerging from the original cultural heritage of Upper Silesia.

**By way of conclusion: Which direction for the sociocultural and economic sustainability of Cornish and Silesian?**

In this paper, we have sought to establish the extent to which Cornish and Silesian are deemed to be economically and culturally sustainable across two core areas: 'old' and 'new' media and commodification, with the latter concept analysed through the prism of Cornwall and Silesia, paying equal attention to the overseas Cornish-Mexican and Texan-Silesian diasporas. So, what can be said for their sociocultural sustainability in the future?

Across both sites, we see similarities in the revival of these relatively 'small' languages: we note opportunities and challenges for our sites of study. Firstly, in both instances there is a continued blossoming of 'old' media, with increasingly specialised publishing houses offering translations and original literature in the respective target languages of Cornish and Silesian. In both cases, this has been thanks to a process of standardisation, which although debated, has enabled the continued growth of target-language literature. A key difference between Silesian and Cornish is, in the case of the former, a lack of textbooks for beginner learners to pick up the language, whereas for Cornish, the publication, and recent re-issue of the textbook *Bora Brav* by Polin Prys (2020) is often central to the beginner learner's experience nowadays. Perhaps, therefore, the development of learner literature suggests a core challenge for the sociocultural development of Silesian.

And yet, in terms of new media in *both* our respective languages of study, there is some way yet to travel towards developing a full range of online and virtual resources to support sustained learning and teaching in Silesian and Cornish. In this way, interesting parallels may be drawn across both languages for, owing to underfunding in the public sector, both rest on the active creation of resources and learning material on the part of speakers themselves. Indeed, this is not necessarily negative, for it enables learners to take agentive action in the revival movement and feel a sense of pride in their contributions towards the preservation of their heritage language and culture (see Broadhurst, 2020, p.25; Goglia & Humberstone, in progress). Yet, it still begs the question of how to ensure the long-term, intergenerational sustainability for these languages. Perhaps, as in the Cornish case with the IndyLan mobile application initiative, cross-European initiatives are important towards enabling building cross-

language platforms which enable learners to discover other minority languages from across Europe.

In both contexts, we see convincing parallels in the economic opportunities brought about by commodification and increased public presence of language and culture, but it is perhaps reasonable to suggest that Silesian has not undergone the same extent of commodification as Cornish. For each culture, we see commodification as having taken place to varying extents: in the Silesian case, we are perhaps seeing the first stirrings of a shift from identity to commodity – or 'Pride' to 'Profit' (Duchêne and Heller, 2012), and several campaigns encouraging businesses to integrate Silesian branding into their products. On the other hand, for Cornish, the accruing of a sort of 'peripheral cool' (Pietikäinen et al., 2016) of Cornish language and culture has augmented considerably. Interestingly, our respective case studies perhaps diverge in considerable ways in this respect: in the Cornish case, we see increased tensions of this 'opening up' of a minority language and culture to the outside which has dovetailed with a now-prominent troubled tourism economy, often regarded as economically and culturally unsustainable for Cornwall. By contrast, for Silesian, this sort of 'peripheral cool' (Pietikäinen et al., 2016) is perhaps less prominent, with efforts to 'open up' its minority culture to a tourism and outsider economy not always as successful as hoped. Indeed, it can be said that these two different dynamics are impacting on the perceived socioeconomic sustainability of our minority culture sites in different ways, and for different reasons. Such changes point to the varying capital each culture is accruing in our respective sites, and the ranging points on a Pride to Profit scale (following Duchêne and Heller, 2012) each minority culture may 'map' onto; whereas Silesian appears to be clambering for recognition as an integral part of a heritage tourism movement (a desire to move towards 'Profit'), the consensus is in Cornwall that 'Profit' models must somehow be balanced sustainably with those of 'Pride', if we are to integrate lived local experiences into the frame.

Shifting to our respective diasporas of study, it is interesting in both cases to note the 'recentness' of a revival of both Silesian and Cornish cultures. In the case of Silesian Texans, this has perhaps not been without its debates, for the Polish Heritage Center initiative might be seen on the part of some as conflating Silesian as Polish culture, which of course, may have ramifications for the perceived sociocultural sustainability of specifically Silesian (hi)stories in Silesian Texas. In relation to the recontextualization of Cornish-Mexican heritage in Hidalgo, it would be interesting to consider, in further research, how framings for 'Pride' and 'Profit' more fully map out in the negotiation of heritage among this particular community

(drawing on Humberstone, 2021), and if, and if so, how, the economic versus identity equilibrium of Cornish-Mexican Heritage is balanced. It is, in this way, useful to 'look across' minority sites to understand examples of good practice in relation to cultural tourism, and enable this to feed back into policymaking in other linguistic and cultural contexts.

To conclude, we see opportunities and challenges for the sociocultural and economic sustainability of both cultures explored here. It may be argued that this has come about owing to increased globalised flows, creating Fithratullah's (2019, p. 84) 'borderless societies'. Societies without borders create new economic opportunities for minority languages and cultures, but also tensions around rights, agency, ownership and, importantly for this paper, sociocultural sustainability. How do we 'open out' a language and culture to make it better known, whilst also ensuring the preservation of authentic heritage? Can we ensure the sociocultural sustainability of heritage without making it better known – the latter, perhaps inevitably forcing us to commodify it? For the sociocultural sustainability of minority heritage contexts, we suggest there is no straightforward answer to these questions.

Indeed, Pietikäinen et al. (2016, p. 41) remind us that "small languages exist in cluttered fields of competing ideologies." However, there are equally opportunities for minority cultures to ensure long term sustainability without neglecting lived, on-the-ground experiences of heritage as we have demonstrated with the cultural initiatives of our sites. In shifting economic markets, the challenge now is how to best foster the preservation of such rich, lived experiences of heritage in a sensitive way which balances sociocultural and economic wellbeing. It is finely balanced, but can be achieved for our 'borderless society' (Fithratullah, 2019, p. 84) has made it easier to reach across and beyond Europe and learn from different contexts. Such finely grained comparative analyses provides the key for policymakers and communities alike to innovate with initiatives relevant to their specific communities, and find creative avenues for sustainability. We hope our paper – which itself reaches across and beyond Europe – is the start of this dialogue.

*Notes*

[1] A list of Polish researchers with expertise in this area can be found at: https://tuudi.net/jezyk-slaski-argumenty-naukowe-przemawiajace-za-uznaniem-za-jezyk-regionalny/

[2] For the video, see Kohut (2022b).

[3] For the video, see Ein Oberschlesier (2022).

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